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From Housewife to Sex Goddess: the Shifting Portrayals
of Females on the Covers of *Sports Illustrated*, 1954 to
2000

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April 18, 2015
Bachelor of Arts in American Studies

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Introduction

The odyssey of thesis writing is long, extensive, and illuminating. As a junior, I knew it was a journey on which I wanted to embark, but I hesitated with the first steps. The American Studies major spreads across several disciplines, and the lack of limitations in topic choices was overwhelming. Instinct drew me to sports because I've been an athlete for over ten years in varying athletics and leadership roles. During commercial breaks of the 2014 Winter Olympics, I researched possible topics. The topic of women in sports stemmed from a multitude of sources that filtered into one cohesive project. One avenue of my research was a documentary called "Missrepresentation," which examined the ways that women are represented in the media on television, advertisements, and magazine covers. Influenced by the Olympics playing in the background, I was able to weave a common discussion between the topics of women and sports. The focus was broad, but it provided a stepping off point for the rest of my project.

The topic was fitting: as a female athlete, I was inspired to research a woman's role in sports and, more specifically, her portrayal in media outlets. Considering how the media depicts an athlete, male or female, the first publication to come to mind was *Sports Illustrated* (subsequently denoted by *SI*). By the end of my spring semester, I knew that I wanted to closely examine how women are depicted on the covers of *SI*. A magazine cover is important because it's the first thing the viewer sees. It sets the tone for that week's issue, but it also sends a message to the passer-by whose opinions are shaped by that one image, whether or not they read another word of the issue. I've always been fascinated by the way in which an advertisement on a billboard or a subway train "speaks" to an audience. Magazine covers act similarly with the exception that their products are not chewing gum or luxury cars, but content and people. The cover has a heightened role because it represents an entire issue, not just one product.

Exploring into the murky depth of thesis research, I had a preconceived notion and initial hypothesis of what I would find. Before any investigation, I hypothesized that the passage of Title IX in 1972 would cause a dramatic shift in the coverage of female athletes. I expected to find fewer covers featuring women pre-1972 than post. With Title IX into play, covers would reflect that change and therefore showcase a greater number of female athletes. Having crafted a premise, I met with advisor Mel McCombie as well as Erin Valentino to dive into the cyber stacks of online publications and books that addressed the representation of women both in sport and in magazine publications. With an intimidating pile of online journals, feminist theory books, and a list of sources I still had to acquire, Mel suggested I start with menial and tedious tasks that she would call my “scut” work. My first assignment of scut work was to look at every cover of *SI* from 1954 to 2009 and take notes of my observations. How did the women pose? Who were they with? What sports were the most prevalent? The data I obtained would veer my thesis into another direction.

Further research would prove my initial hypothesis completely wrong. After taking the time to painstakingly count the number of women on every cover, I was shocked to find that there were significantly fewer women on the covers today than in the magazine’s earlier years – well before Title IX came into effect. My initial wrong conjecture fueled my research because I had a new ambition to find out why the more recent issues were not as inclusive to female athletes. I possessed the quantitative data of the magazine covers, but I needed to investigate some of the qualitative attributes by identifying *which* women were on the covers. I was again surprised to find that the most featured women on this sports publication were not actually athletes, but supermodels. The woman with the most *SI* cover appearances is Australian

supermodel Elle Macpherson followed by track and field star Mary Decker. It seemed that athletes were not making the covers, but instead bodies that strayed from athletic benchmarks.

As I mentioned earlier, much of the drive to pursue this topic developed from the qualities in myself that I share with the women on the *SI* covers. Their athleticism is at a much higher caliber than any of the events I have partaken in, but there is a commonality between all women in sports. My experiences as a female athlete, and as a young consumer of pop culture, were linked to these women and representative of how the mentality surrounding female athletes reverberates from a large scale (societal) to small (individualistic). During the fall of my senior year in high school, I attended one of my girlfriend's soccer games. Two of my male friends who were on the boy's team came with me to cheer on the girls. As we watched the game, the two boys mentioned that they didn't enjoy watching the girls' games as much because "they played like they were underwater." The boys didn't feel the same excitement watching the girl's soccer team because they felt that the girls were not as fast and therefore not worth watching. The comment was not intended to offend or insult the girls' team, but the mentality revealed a biased element in the public's view on women sports.

Author David Ogden and Joel Rosen compare the popularity of women's sports versus their male counterparts in their book *A Locker Room of Her Own*. Women's sport "has never been anything more than a side-show in the American sporting word, a cultural hub in which the line between success and failure is often found in ticket sales and television ratings. Typically the male-dominated American sport public has been unmoved by women's sports."¹ Rosen and Ogden's argument accurately describes my high school sporting experience and further contests that a female athlete's success is determined by her ability to entertain the public regardless of

¹ David Ogden and Joel Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own* (Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2013), xxi.

athletic proficiency. A female athlete, in our society's standards, has reached stardom when she has fans that enjoy watching her move and therefore create a profit through ticket sales or magazine covers like *SI*. Women athletes, unlike men, compete both on and off the field. On the field, female athletes focus on their competition, but off the field a female athlete struggles to prove herself against the male version of her sport that has a greater emphasis on speed and power. Furthermore, a female athlete receives constant examination from a male audience. Because the athlete caters to a male audience, her feminine qualities need to overpower her athleticism. A female athlete is expected to make her mark in a world set by men's standards, and compete at a caliber that is comparable to the biological standards of men.²

Years before *SI* was created, female athletes faced unrealistic athletic expectations from which male athletes were exempt. The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL) survived from 1943 to 1954 and opened a literal and metaphorical space for women to play baseball. In order to exist in the sporting world, the AAGPBL "had to not only offer a package of highly skilled athleticism, but also create an image of the league that was acceptable to the public."³ This dualistic mentality is the same one that selects the poses and the female athletes shown on *SI* covers. Like *SI* cover figures, the players of the AAGPBL "were highly skilled...but at the same time looked like ladies."⁴ Wearing anything but feminine attire labeled the women as masculine or homosexual. Faced with uncertainty of their place in the sporting world, women had to connect athletic and feminine personas. Once the AAGPBL was envisioned, the focus shifted to promotion endeavors for public acceptance. Like the inaction shots I observe in the *SI* issues, the AAGPBL's women were not advertised in muscular poses,

² Ibid., xxii.

³ Ibid., 24.

⁴ Ibid., 24.

but instead depicted “fixing their hair or touching lipstick...Writers used mostly feminine adjectives and sexual imagery....to describe the players.”⁵ In order to be accepted by the public, the athletes of the AAGPBL had to promote and elevate their femininity instead of their athleticism.

The women of the AAGPBL having to play to sexual imagery in order to be legitimized demonstrates the impression that women were objects to be looked at. Apart from the athlete’s photograph, which is a majority of an *SI* cover, the article topics and headlines also fuel the idea that a woman’s physical prowess is separate from when compared to men’s. The circulated cover on February 19th, 1962, features golfer Mickey Wright and the issue’s headline broadcasts “How to Hit As Far As a Man” (refer to Fig.1). The editors, with this headline, claim that the technique and distance a man can hit a golf ball is the empirically good and ideal method –the epitome of the golf swing. The reader should not strive to hit as far *as a man* because this mentality further emphasizes the different physicalities of sexes, and considers men superior to women. Instead, the headline should address the reader on the basis of learning to hit the ball as far as their body allows, regardless of sex.

Over twenty years later, *SI* uses another sub-headline to detach women from the realm of male sports by emphasizing the biological differences between athletes. The inclusion of the word “woman” on the May 22nd, 1989 cover of Julie Krone creates a hierarchical structure in sports where women must be judged separately from men. Krone is a horse jockey, and her cover tells the viewers that she is “the Best Woman Jockey Ever” (see Fig. 2). Announcing that she is the best *woman* jockey is a backhanded compliment because while it celebrates her skill as a jockey, it suggests that she is inferior to a male one.

⁵ Ibid., 30.

Covers are not the only modes in which *SI* relay a message of female inferiority and the hierarchical structure of male and female athletes. Connections and networking with *SI* employees allowed my access to the *SI* archives library. The small room located inside the Time and Life building of New York City is crammed with files and books along dozens of moveable stacks. On one shelf of small special edition booklets, my eye caught one titled “Running for Women” written by Janet Heinonen in 1979. The chapters provide the means to be a better runner with sections on the type of attire to purchase as well as the beginning stages to becoming a runner. The book also has advice on how to overcome deterrents like menstruation, pregnancy, contraception, and other body differences.⁶ The inclusion of biological differences, like pregnancy, suggests that having female traits will affect or detract from athletic activity. Books like Heinonen’s rank men and women on separate hierarchical rungs of a social order, and imply that the public does not consider women capable of competing at the same level as male athletes.

Historical events also demonstrate that the covers, issues, and headlines of *SI* were representative of an overarching societal belief in woman as inferior athletes. Roberta Gibb breached the “values of a dominant culture” when she attempted to run in the Boston Marathon in 1966, which was an event that denied women participants.⁷ Gibb, whose intention was not to make a feminist statement but to measure her own potential over the 26.2-mile distance, hid in the bushes until after the starter’s gun went off and joined the pack. Although she completed the entire distance, an official forced her off the course seconds after crossing the finish line. The Marathon official who led her off the course told an interviewer for *SI* that Gibb “did not run in the Boston Marathon. She merely covered the same route as the official race while it was in

⁶ Janet Heinonen, *Sports Illustrated Running For Women*, (New York: Time, Inc., 1979), contents.

⁷ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 163.

progress. No **girl** [my added emphasis] has ever run in the Boston Marathon.”⁸ The unnamed official characterized a portion of the country that did not find women’s skills good enough to compete with men in the same event.

Scholars Lindsey Meân and Jeffrey Kassing recognize that women are “treated as females who play sports rather than simply (or only) as athletes.”⁹ Men do not share this problem because society allows them to identify as both masculine and athletic. In fact, the two are often interchangeable. To be considered “manly,” one often has to be athletic. Iris Young, in her article, “Throwing Like a Girl,” explores the concept of ranking women and men in athletic activities based on gender where a male’s athletic capabilities are higher than a female’s and therefore needs its own category. Young observes that:

Not only is there a typical style of throwing like a girl, but there is a more or less typical style of running like a girl, climbing like a girl, hitting like a girl. They have in common first that the whole body is not put into fluid and directed motion...rather the motion is concentrated in one body part; and second that the woman’s motion tends not to reach, extend, lean, stretch, and follow through in the direction of her intention.¹⁰

Young’s essay will be looked into with more detail further on into this project, but the above quote addresses the differences in which a man and woman move their bodies. By definition, a woman’s movement is not as athletic and because it is unlike men, it is not the ideal way in which to perform an agile movement.

Mimi Schippers, associate professor at Tulane’s Department of Sociology, supplements Young’s argument with her exploration of the disparity between hegemonic masculinity and

⁸ Ibid., 167.

⁹ Janet Fink, Mary Jo Kane, Nicole LaVoi, “The Freedom to Choose: Elite Female Athletes’ Preferred Representations Within Endorsement Opportunities,” *Journal of Sport Management* 28 (2014), 214.

¹⁰ Iris Young, *On Female Body Experience "Throwing like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 33.

subordinate femininity.¹¹ Schippers notes that femininity “consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”¹² She pushes the point and explains that women are kept “out of positions of power and authority if all women are framed as passive and dependent.”¹³ Kane and Maxwell support Schippers’s idea that “gendered hierarchies are embedded within organizational culture and ‘normalized’ to further the interests of dominant groups.”¹⁴ Kane and Maxwell look at the devaluation of women in the context of unequal power relationships based on gender.

Scholars like Schippers, Young, Kane, and Maxwell have identified that women’s athletic activities are not held to the same regards of men. *SI* covers indicate the shifting feminine ideal from domestic to hyper-sexualized with the creation of the Swimsuit Edition. Much of the literature I use to analyze the Swimsuit Edition comes from Laurel Davis, author of *The Swimsuit Issue and Sport: Hegemonic Masculinity in Sports Illustrated* paired with the theories of Laura Mulvey and Erving Goffman. Unpacking the messages that exist beneath the poses and photos of the Swimsuit Edition will explore “beyond the common feminist complaint that the issues sexualizes and objectifies women.”¹⁵ Addressing the objectification of women is important, but comparing the women on the earlier covers will provide a wider understanding of how femininity transforms through the years. As *SI* establishes a more dominant male readership, the covers reflect the male gaze. The poses grow more suggestive and provocative to please that audience. Framed by ideas from the aforementioned scholars (among others) we will

¹¹ “Mimi Schippers.” Tulane University, Department of Sociology.

¹² Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 125.

¹³ Ibid., 125.

¹⁴ Fink, Kane and LaVoie, “Freedom to Choose...”, 211.

¹⁵ Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue*, 2.

see exactly how the covers, and the poses of the female figures, reinforce femininity and simultaneously overlook the athletic achievements of the female athletes by painting them as motionless, as victims, and submissive in their interactions with males on the covers. Title IX does not have a lasting effect on transforming media portrayals of women, as women are instead forced to choose between embracing their athleticism at the risk of losing endorsement opportunities, or use sex appeal to meet societal standards for success. With the foundation laid down for the inequality of gender in sports, as well as the unique struggle for women to encompass femininity and athleticism, we can further step into the world of *Sports Illustrated* magazine.

Chapter 1: History of *Sports Illustrated*

There is a reason that *Sports Illustrated* is one of the most respected and well-known magazines in the United States. The magazine itself reaches out to over 19 million sports fans every week. The highly coveted, and sometimes controversial, Swimsuit Edition has 64 million readers every year. Of those 64 million, 17 million are women, which is a higher female readership than other magazines like *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan* or *Glamour*.¹⁶ The media kit from *SI* provides valuable information on the demographics of the readers that the older issues did not have the same access to. For example, the median age of an *SI* subscriber is 42, 80% of whom are male. 95% of readers are satisfied with the issue and 94% think that it is presented in an elegant and classy manner. The 2014 *SI* Media Kit stated the magazine's purpose to moderate "the national sports conversation through trusted, authentic, agenda-free reporting and emotional storytelling combined with the highest-level photography and design."¹⁷

Understanding the foundations of this large mogul provides a context to how the magazine shapes sports, and consequently, how the covers relay that message. *SI*'s initial idea was simple: a sports magazine that reported on events accompanied by state-of-the-art color photography and informative articles. America wouldn't recognize the prominence of the magazine for many years, but at the time of its conception in 1954, *SI* "assumed a universe of intelligent spectator sports fans that wanted more than just superficial personality pieces on the biggest stars, and it delivered a magazine just for them."¹⁸

¹⁶ "Swimsuit: Made in America 2015," *simediakit.com*, last modified September 16, 2014, <http://www.simediakit.com/files/SISwimsuit/Swimsuit%202015%20Overview.pdf>

¹⁷ *Sports Illustrated* Media Kit 2014.

¹⁸ Michael MacCambridge. *The Franchise: A History of Sports Illustrated Magazine*. (New York: Hyperion, 1998), 18.

The magazine, created by founder of Time Inc., Henry Luce, grew to be revolutionary not only for its content, but also the way in which it delivered material to the fans. The inclusion of color photography in their issues was fundamental to building a steadfast readership. Viewers loved seeing their favorite athletes, teams, and sports in color. The quality of the photographs exceeded that of any other sports magazine because it simply had higher advancements in the technology, which offset other mechanical drawbacks.¹⁹ The lighting, for example, required for indoor competition was bright and noisy. Color photography was expensive, slow, and required extra equipment. For the magazine's first issues, it took six weeks for a cover to be shot, plated, and distributed, which impeded publishing of the previous weekend's sporting events.²⁰ The photography editors had to avoid mundane black and white photographs, though quicker and cheaper to print, yet redefine color photography that could keep up with the fast-pace circulation that *SI* wanted.²¹

With revolutionized color photography, the *SI* photographers were more creative and determined with the angles of their shots to present the readers with a unique view to the sports they already loved. John Zimmerman was the first photographer to put a camera on the inside of the goal at an NHL game. Zimmerman also trademarked his innovation on the basketball courts when he placed a camera behind the glass backboard of an NBA game to give *SI* readers a remarkable view of the Los Angeles Lakers in 1962. Zimmerman captured Wilt Chamberlain's smiling face as he dunked the ball.²² Laguerre caught on to the impact that color photography had in transforming *SI* into an elite magazine. He no longer preferred leisurely photos of the

¹⁹ Ibid., 68.

²⁰ Walter Bingham, "Introduction," in *Sports Illustrated: the Covers*, ed. Terry O'Connell. (New York: Sports Illustrated, 2010), 25.

²¹ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 111.

²² Ibid., 109.

crowds at the Kentucky Derby, but instead pushed for “the decisive shot of the Saturday afternoon race.”²³ Utilizing the modernization of photography paved the way for *SI* to become a legitimate sports magazine that focused on action and spectator sports. He left behind the outdated trend of participant sports and less exciting photography. Laguerre found his solution to create high quality photographs at the speed that a weekly sports magazine demanded with offset printing, a method that allowed the color pages to print overnight. The quality of offset printing resulted in brighter and crisper photos, but the expedited printing allowed the editors to produce photos as quickly as they could write the latest sports news. By the end of the 1970’s, *SI* “became the first full-color newsweekly in the world...[and] *SI* took full advantage of the technology.”²⁴

Just as the revolutionized photography left competitor magazines reeling, *SI*’s journalism was of an unrivaled caliber. On February 18th, 2013, *SI* published an article called “The 15 Coolest Writers You Never Knew Wrote For *Sports Illustrated*.” The list includes popular figures like John F. Kennedy, though, many of the writers to make the list were members of the literary world. In 1955, John Faulkner wrote on two separate occasions for the magazine. Already a Nobel laureate, Faulkner covered a Rangers game at Madison Square Garden and then the Kentucky Derby. A year later, Robert Frost, a future poet laureate, wrote an article about the MLB All-Star Game for the July 23rd, 1956 issue. Many know John Steinbeck for *Of Mice and Men* or *Grapes of Wrath*, but eight years before he won the Nobel Prize for Literature, he wrote for the October 4th, 1954 issue. His piece examined the different fishing techniques that the Americans, British, and French use to compare the nature of the distinctive countries. Jack

²³ Ibid., 149.

²⁴ Ibid., 140-141, & 236.

Kerouac, a football star before he began a career in writing, highlighted his football career from Lowell, Massachusetts to Columbia University in a 1968 issue.²⁵

There are a few other notable persons included on *SI*'s list, but the ones I wish to highlight are the writers –many of whom became, or were at the time, prized writers in poetry and literature.²⁶ Their contributions to the magazine demonstrate *SI*'s value in hiring the best writers to change the face of sports journalism. Some of these authors, like Kerouac, were involved in sports in their past, but many others had no experience other than what they observed at the sport venue. The editors weren't necessarily looking for writers with an acquired knowledge of the sports world, but focused on finding writers who could deliver the most articulate and well-written prose. With exceptional journalism and advanced sports photography, *SI* was on the way to becoming a leading magazine in sales, circulation, and popularity.

Luce conceived the idea for the magazine against the advice of his most trusted aides who argued that there was no market for his idea. They told him that a sports magazine run weekly would be expensive and lacked a strong enough target audience to support its further circulation. Fifty years ago, the definition of "sport" was different than today's because those who involved themselves in sports were blue-collar "juveniles and ne'er-do-wells," which were looked down upon by the upper-class leaders at Time Inc.²⁷ The country's newfound free time and prosperity in 1954 marked the watching of and participating in sports as a leisure activity.²⁸ The golf bags, yachts, and bowling alleys on the covers showed that *SI*'s focus was on sports that

²⁵ Brian Armen Graham. "The 15 Coolest Writers You Never Knew Wrote for Sports Illustrated." Posted February 18, 2013. <http://www.si.com/extra-mustard/2013/02/18/the-15-coolest-writers-you-never-knew-wrote-for-sports-illustrated>

²⁶ Other figures who made the list (both writer and non-writer): Bill Russell, John Updike, John F. Kennedy, Carl Sandburg, James Michener, and Garrison Keillor.

²⁷ Ibid., 4.

²⁸ Ibid., 4.

one could *do* rather than watch. Walter Bingham, an editorial assistant in 1955, writes that it was a magazine for “people who looked at sports in an amused way, but without passion” and to the editors, “fly-fishing was as important as pro football.”²⁹ However, while critics dismissed the idea of a sport magazine, writers like Gerald Holland said that the Golden Age of sport was in the present and “America was in the middle of ‘the greatest sports era in human history.’”³⁰

Michael MacCambridge’s *The Franchise: A History of Sports Illustrated* provides a very detailed account of the magazine’s rise in popularity over the past six decades, and how the editors would take advantage of the Golden Age of sport to which Holland alludes.³¹ In 1954, with the emergence of autonomy for teenagers and the production of TV’s and Boeing 707’s to transport athletic teams, the sports setting transformed to accommodate a serious, sporting magazine like *SI*. The title was picked to emanate an elevated tone to offset the initial stigma and negative associations with the “distasteful” blue-collar sports fans. Although the conventional magazine’s readership extends to a broader audience, demographics for *SI* readers in the 1950’s demonstrate a narrowed approach. Reader surveys conducted in Columbus, Ohio showed the readers most closely embodied that of: “hard-working, upwardly mobile, overwhelmingly white, and increasingly suburban,”³² which became the most desirable

²⁹ Walter Bingham, “Introduction,” in *Sports Illustrated: the Covers*, ed. Terry O’Connell. (New York: Sports Illustrated, 2010), 25.

³⁰ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 47.

³¹ The history of *SI* relies heavily on MacCambridge’s book as a singular source. After extensive and thorough research for any other sources that explore *SI*’s background, it became clear that nothing exists. MacCambridge found a gap in the magazine’s history and chose to monopolize on the lack of information by conducting interviews with the people involved in the company’s rise to fame. I have yet come across any other scholars or authors who have attempted to either support or dismiss MacCambridge’s research.

³² *Ibid.*, 11.

customers and targeted audience. *SI*'s articles, photos, and covers would "dominate middle-class American discourse."³³

While middle-class America became *SI*'s targeted consumers, the contrasting socioeconomic status of the publishers created a discrepancy that hindered the magazine's ability to make a profit. André Laguerre, a Frenchman born in England, joined the *SI* staff in 1960.³⁴ Before Laguerre took over as managing editor, the magazine struggled to find its footing in the sports world because the editors did not direct their focus on either elite or popular sport. Their indecisiveness and inclusion of too many sports failed to attract one readership and left weak spots in the magazine's repertoire. On top of spreading themselves too thin in an attempt to feature nearly every sport, the editor's desire to be a weekly, timely magazine contradicted their desire to tackle the slow process of color photography. When Luce first learned of Laguerre's sense in the sport's world, he immediately asked him to leave his editor position at Time, Inc. to take on the challenge of making *SI* a profitable and respectable company.³⁵

Laguerre and the men of Time Inc. didn't "sweat," but were involved in sports of "rich men's pursuits –yachting, golf, croquet."³⁶ Luce's idea for *SI* faced opposition on the grounds that such a narrow focus on sport would be "financial folly" because "only males read sports magazines; that most of the males are either juveniles or ne'er-do-wells and the advertising agencies know it..."³⁷ Without the advertisers' interest to use the pages for their products, the

³³ Ibid., 12.

³⁴ Christopher Lehmann-Haupt. "Books of the Times; Drinking and Office Politics as the Primary Sports." review of *The Franchise: A History of Sports Illustrated*, by Michael MacCambridge, *New York Times*, October 9, 1997, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/09/books/books-of-the-times-drinking-and-office-politics-as-the-primary-sports.html>

³⁵ Lehmann-Haupt, "Books of the Times..."

³⁶ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 16.

³⁷ Ibid., 22.

magazine could not financially support itself. Instead of aspiring to be a sports magazine, some of the editors and directors at the company hoped for a more country club tone.³⁸ The photos on the covers demonstrate a shift in the population's outlooks on sports. Looking at the featured athletes in 1954 versus 2014 shows an overwhelming difference in the coverage of participant sports compared to spectator sports. World War II contributed to a gain of 20 million people in participant sports such as table tennis, softball, tennis, and skating. Because of the war's influence on the changing economy, "new suburban dwellers seemed to be drawn to pursuits that were once the exclusive province of the rich."³⁹ Activities like fishing, bowling, and even chess were worthy enough to make the covers of *SI*'s earlier issues, but recent editions follow football, baseball, and basketball.

Readers' Reception of *Sports Illustrated*

Present day researchers, or consumers, interested in learning the readership of the magazine are fortunate that almost all of that data can be accessed through the company's media kit, as observed at the beginning of this chapter. However, understanding the readers' perception of the magazine during the initial release is not accessible through compiled data, but instead through some cultural artifacts from the same time period. These sources provide a unique insight to the readers' reception of the magazine because they are direct sources from the American public. Although the opinions are varied, there is no possibility that their perceptions were muddled by the translation of a historian or author. One of the most valuable artifacts for understanding reader reception is the Letters to the Editors section, also known as *The 19th Hole*. The name, *The 19th Hole*, alone reflects the high-class tones emanating from the editors and the

³⁸ Ibid., 28.

³⁹ Ibid., 24.

consequent type of audience to whom they wished to target: those who were members of golf clubhouses and therefore existed in the upper class spectrum.⁴⁰

In the magazine's first set of letters dated August 30th, 1954, the public's reception to the newest and most revolutionary sports publication varies. Much of the feedback was positive and commended the editors on a job well done. Pauline Crenshaw⁴¹ of Illinois thought that the magazine was "a 'Fan Maker.'"⁴² Dave Hulburt from San Francisco warned the editors that if they "don't watch out [they] will make sports fans out of people who simply like to read."⁴³

Several readers disagreed with Crenshaw and Hulburt's appreciation. Gordon E. Jones from Olympia, Washington was so mad that the Gold Cup Race had only seven and a half lines, while an article "on baseball and bubblegum was feature[d] is beyond my comprehension. I was mad enough to cancel my subscription with issue one."⁴⁴ Jones' criticism signifies the struggle to find an appropriate readership or audience that plagued *SI*'s first 10 years. Dean C. Miller, Sports Editor United Press Radio Division, told the company that "In ranging far to please the entire family, it may have missed the prime target: sports fans. I don't know how much interest in poison ivy, art and sports-car racing fashions is found in a Dodger or White Sox grandstand."⁴⁵ Miller demonstrates that *SI* had failed to bridge the gap between lavish sports spectators that Laguerre and the men of Time Inc. embodied and the all-American sports fanatic who screamed, heckled, and celebrated in the country's largest grandstands.

⁴⁰ The term *The 19th Hole* refers to the bar in the golf clubhouse –a local watering hole. After men played a full round of golf (18 holes), they could return to the clubhouse, or the 19th hole, to drink and relax after their leisurely morning activities.

⁴¹ It is important to note that this writer was a woman. Women readers were fans of the magazine during its conception because it made a point to feature articles and photos that appealed to females.

⁴² *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 2.

⁴³ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 2.

⁴⁴ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 1.

⁴⁵ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 12.

In 1954, *SI* was without proper footing or a distinct trademark to set it apart from other magazines. Even with the advantage of innovative photography and journalism, the magazine lacked advertisers and a solid readership because it didn't speak to an identifiable audience. In a memo to Henry Luce, Laguerre brought his attention to the disadvantages of generality. He asked Luce to cut back on the articles about fashion, cooking, and travel, so that he could have more momentum with the magazine's new focus of just "sports."⁴⁶ In his memo, Laguerre argues that appealing to a general audience overlooks the fact that *SI* is a sports magazine. He very articulately states that the readers resent sport as a wealthy recreation because "they share in the sport mystique; some of them regard sport as an art form, and most of them as more than recreation...these people have the flame which makes any journalistic enterprise interesting, and with which we tamper at our peril."⁴⁷ While Luce was committed to attracting women readers as well, he was simultaneously and unknowingly killing the magazine's popularity as a "sports" magazine. One panelist described the contradiction between the differing audiences with the question "do baseball and boxing fans mingle with fox hunters in pink coats?"⁴⁸

The first edition of *The 19th Hole* shows *SI*'s difficulty in finding an appropriate balance between lesser, recreational sports and those that were considered worthy of attention like baseball and football. A mix of readers from New England to the Southwest piped in saying that they wanted to see articles on camping, spelunking, rodeo, archery, polo, bowling, curling, and badminton. These were considered lesser sports –ones that would never be on any of today's covers. Before the editors had formulated a way to attract a profitable audience they would first have an odd mix of football stars and chess enthusiasts on alternating covers.

⁴⁶ See Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 for examples of Fashion and Travel Covers

⁴⁷ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 106.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

While *SI* editors searched for their place in the vast world of amateur and professional sports, they also struggled with appeal to reader demographics with sex, especially when the Swimsuit Edition was created. C.G. Mortimer of White Plains, N.Y. told the editors “there’s so much good material in it I know my son and I will spend hours poring through it.”⁴⁹ Mortimer’s comments suggest that the magazine was geared towards the male gender because he explicitly states that he and his son can share in the activity. Theresa Anderson, Director of Physical Education North High School, supported Mortimer’s feelings towards the magazine. She offered that the magazine should use pictures and articles on “outstanding events for women...the type which stresses femininity as well as skill (not the women wrestlers).”⁵⁰ Anderson’s comment addresses the ambiguity of feminism and athleticism in female sports events that are discussed thoroughly in a later chapter. The Executive Director of the Niagara Falls Council of Girl Scouts complimented the magazine’s appeal to sports enthusiasts, but expressed concern that her “girls ages 7-15 would not find it very exciting.”⁵¹

As the magazine continued to gain readership, the male gaze becomes more apparent. On January 3rd, 1955 Frederic B. Cleaves of Evanston, Illinois wrote to the editors about a “Rare Specimen.” He asked, “please send me the markings, height and weight of Lizanne Kelly [actor and athlete] ...Believe me, in 20 years of assiduous watching I have never seen a more perfect specimen.”⁵² The editors responded with “5,8^{1/2} -140-35^{1/2} -25^{1/2} -37. Hmm! And eyes of blue, too.”⁵³ Cleaves’ request, although shocking to modern readers, was not that unheard of in 1955. His question reflects a mentality in our society that these athletes are specimens to be observed

⁴⁹ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 7.

⁵⁰ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 10.

⁵¹ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. August 30th, 1954, 12.

⁵² *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. January 3rd, 1955.

⁵³ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. January 3rd, 1955.

and appreciated for their body measurements. As far as the public knows, no one wrote in and asked for Kelly's statistics and athletic achievements because she was not viewed as an athlete who competes for athletic accolades. Her body is another thing to be looked at. Providing Kelly's body measurements was enough to emphasize body objectification, but the addition of her eye color as another attractive quality completely detracts from her athleticism. After all, what does eye color have anything to do with athletic performance?

The Way She Moves: A Brief Introduction to Women's Bodies

While I have laid out a brief history of the construction of the *SI* empire, I want to transition into the analysis of female coverage on *SI* covers with the theories of Iris Young who investigates the physical body structures of women compared to men. Young's research serves this project because analyzing the covers requires a careful look at the way a woman holds herself, or her spatial awareness that is reflected in her body positioning. Young's article "Throwing Like a Girl," first recites Erwin Strauss' study of gendered body movement. He approaches the differences in which men and women move their bodies with an analysis of boys and girls throwing baseballs. He notes that a young boy stretches and twists much more of his body to get full momentum to propel the ball forward with maximum speed. A girl, on the other hand, remains upright and only moves her throwing arm to send the ball.

The first logical proposition for the girls' less exaggerated movement was founded on biology: the presence of breasts makes it more difficult for a girl to get a full range of motion. Strauss rejects this hypothesis because the studied girls were too young to have developed breasts, and so he then proposes that the acceleration the muscle can exert is stronger in boys' bodies than the girls'. Strauss again questions his hypothesis when he decides that a girl would

overcompensate for her lack of muscular strength with more body motion, not less. He finally concludes that girls throw differently than boys because girls are inherently feminine.⁵⁴

Young identifies Strauss' thinking as a common misconception of femininity because it relies on a "feminine essence," instead of an acquired difference that develops from exterior forces at a younger age.⁵⁵ In general, women move their bodies unlike men in more instances than ball throwing. Women tend to take shorter strides in proportion to their height than a man. Even outside of a sports setting, men take up more physical space because they have wider stances⁵⁶ while a woman sits with closed knees and crossed arms in front of her chest.⁵⁷ Just as Strauss observed in his athletic study, the spatiality of a woman's body resides in one place and rarely moves away. Instead of jumping or diving to catch a ball, like men do, a woman will wait for the ball to come to her or hit the ball in a general direction instead of targeting a strategic spot.⁵⁸ This kind of mobility demonstrates a lack of follow-through motions that are indicative of women's spatiality.

In her analysis of women's spatiality, Young admitted she shares the same trepidation in how she moves her body that she studied in a general female populace. She says women don't have the confidence that their bodies are capable of moving in such ways. Women see their bodies as fragile and fear they will be harmed. Instead, women need to focus not on what can be done to their bodies but what they can do with their bodies. Women do not reach their physical

⁵⁴ Iris Young, *On Female Body Experience "Throwing like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 28.

⁵⁵ Young, *Throwing like a Girl*, 29.

⁵⁶ In December 2014 the term "manspreading" was coined to describe the splayed out manner in which men sit on subways, knees spread so wide that they infringe on their neighboring passengers who have significantly less space. The term became viral as Twitter pages and blogs flooded the Internet with pictures of men riding public transportation. Read more about the topic in Emma Fitzsimmons's *New York Times* article cited in the references section.

⁵⁷ Young, *Throwing like a Girl*, 32.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

capacity because they do not fully exert themselves for fear that they will come across as awkward or too strong, which may be a trait that society has conditioned.⁵⁹ While Young's observations may focus more on the population that are not professional (or amateur) athletes, the fact that society has conditioned women to view their bodies with such trepidation is applicable to young women who are just beginning to show an interest in athletics and look up to professional athletes as role models. However, if society does not promote the kind of bodies that express athleticism, fashion models like those on the Swimsuit Editions will continue to be the unrealistic and unattainable beauty norm.

The analysis of women's spatiality is broken up into the three modalities of feminine motility. The first is *ambiguous transcendence*: one part of the women's body moves to complete the task, while the rest stays immobile,⁶⁰ which would be the ball throwing example from Strauss' notes. The second, *inhibited intentionality*, marks women who underuse their true potential and capacity by thinking that she cannot do it before she tries—a self-imposed “I cannot.”⁶¹ The final modality, *discontinuous unity*, labels the part of the body that is not used in movement as wasted energy and a discontinuity from the rest of her moving body.⁶² Taking account these three modalities, a woman sees her body as the object of the motion rather than the originator. While Laura Mulvey discusses the male gaze and objectification of women's bodies, Young writes that the “feminine bodily existence is self-referred to the extent that the subject posits her motion as the motion that is looked at.”⁶³ The final piece to Young's analysis is the idea that a young girl:

⁵⁹ Ibid., 34-35.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁶¹ Ibid., 37.

⁶² Ibid., 38.

⁶³ Ibid., 39.

...acquires many subtle habits of feminine body comportment— walking like a girl, tilting her head like a girl, standing and sitting like a girl, gesturing like a girl, and so on. The girl learns actively to hamper her movements. She is told that she must be careful not to get hurt, not to get dirty, not to tear her clothes, that the things she desires to do are dangerous for her. Thus she develops a bodily timidity that increases with age.⁶⁴

The above quote points out society's conditioning of women how to act womanly. This mentality extends into the sports realm and affects athletes as well. Female athletes have to dress and move their bodies like "women," but an athlete is further constricted by these ideals because femininity and athleticism do not coincide. Therefore, moving like a woman further inhibits athletic achievement and defeats the purpose of competitive sport.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 43.

Chapter 2: An Up Close Look at *SI* Covers

With some analytical background, the significance of the covers begins to take shape. Using a theoretical framework to extract meaning from the *SI* images, we can incorporate Roland Barthes's ideas and the visual cues that pervade the covers. Barthes is one of the most well known philosophers of the 20th century. His theories on photographs and photographic imagery are foundational text for scholars everywhere. His essay, "The Rhetoric of the Image," examines the messages that lie within an image, specifically advertisements. The rhetoric that Barthes creates, although not founded on sports "poses," provides the basic framework in understanding how images can mean more than what is on the surface and is therefore applicable to my analysis of *SI* covers. Applying Barthes' analysis to *SI* covers will extrapolate information that is not immediately apparent and will further unearth a larger context to the photos' subtle messages.

Barthes' theory challenges the idea that images are true conveyers of meaning given that they are essentially imitators (or direct analogical representations) of something else.⁶⁵ His first point is that the word "image," in Latin, translates to "imitation." Knowing that the etymology already suggests a duality in meaning, Barthes divides the messages of an image into three categories: linguistic, symbolic, and literal. The linguistic category includes the text or the caption that accompanies the image. In my project, the linguistic facets of the covers are headlines or sub-headers that supplement the cover. Linguistic additions alter a viewer's perception of the image in two ways. The first, anchorage, suggests that images are prone to multiple meanings and interpretations. According to Hugh McCabe, a photographer and Barthes scholar, "anchorage occurs when text is used to focus on one of these meanings, or at least to

⁶⁵ Hugh McCabe. "The Rhetoric of the Image –Roland Barthes (1964)." Posted December 21, 2009. <http://tracesofthereal.com/2009/12/21/the-rhetoric-of-the-image-roland-barthes-1977/>

direct the viewer through the maze of possible messages.”⁶⁶ The second piece to the linguistic category is “relay,” which states that text and image work together to convey an intended meaning (i.e. a comic strip, which I analyze at another point in this project).

Barthes’ second category moves away from text and towards the actual image. The literal or denoted category is simple and refers to the non-coded messages of an image. Barthes’ theories for a viewer’s “relationship” with an image and its subsequent meanings are built up from multiple layers. The first is the initial degree of intelligibility, or the point in which we see more than shapes, color, and form.⁶⁷ For example, on a cover of Monica Seles, the first degree of intelligibility is the identification that the woman in a white polo shirt and skirt with a tennis racquet in one hand is a tennis player. The messages of the denoted category are without a code – meaning what you see is what you get. Barthes rejects the idea that an image, even a photograph, can be strictly denoted. The role of the denoted image is to make the image seem innocent by naturalizing the symbolic message and supporting the connoted elements. For the *SI* covers, the denoted image depicts a woman holding her tennis racquet or skis.

The third and final category is more complex than the previous two because the symbolic or connoted image can change depending on the viewer. An image can have multiple connoted meanings, but the interpretation of the image changes between observers. Barthes refers to the idea of a lexicon, or a body of knowledge within the viewer from where meaning is derived. A single image can stimulate multiple lexicons. Basically, the presence of a lexicon suggests that both the creator but also the consumer and the intersection of lexicons construct meaning from the signs contained in an image. The connotaters within an image are all the visual elements that

⁶⁶ “The Rhetoric of the Image.”

⁶⁷ Barthes, Roland, and Stephen Heath. “Rhetoric of the Image” from *Image, Music, Text*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 157-159.

can be used to connote signifieds. The entire set of connotators is the “rhetoric.” Thus “rhetoric of the image” encompasses all of the visual elements that can be employed as signifiers.⁶⁸ Now the connotated image takes a photograph to a new level because it uncovers the meaning of the woman standing with a tennis racquet. Some of the signifiers would be the outfit the woman wears, the position of the body, or the background before which she stands.

With a basic understanding of how to interpret the messages an image communicates, it is possible to examine the covers and make sense of their meaning. As this paper progresses, more themes, theories, and concepts will be incorporated to push the analysis of the *SI* covers. The foundational framework has been laid out paired with a history of the magazine so that the reader is aware of the weight *SI* has in the magazine world. Understanding the enormity and influence of the magazine offers a better idea of the power that the cover athletes (or figures) have on the readers. The following pages will expand across various subjects and distribute the covers into several categories.

Before narrowing in on specific covers, I want to provide some general numbers about the covers to supplement the historical information and give a more rounded, holistic view of *SI*. The following data spans from 1954 to 2010 and is a breakdown of all the athletes who have appeared on an *SI* cover at least four times. The number one athlete is Michael Jordan with forty-nine appearances, eleven spots ahead of the second-most athlete, Muhammad Ali. The only two women to make this list are Elle Macpherson and Mary Decker. Macpherson, with five appearances, is an Australian model featured in the Swimsuit Edition. Decker is a decorated Track and Field star. Of the one hundred and thirty-seven athletes (or perhaps “figures” is a more encompassing word) to appear on at least four covers, only two are women. Of the two women

⁶⁸ Ibid., 160-163.

to have the most appearances on a *sports* magazine, one is a fashion model. The holistic breakdown from 1954 to 2010 shows discrepancies in the gender distribution of *SI* cover stars.⁶⁹

The larger picture shows an inequality in female athlete coverage compared to their male counterparts, but collecting data by decade will serve an important purpose to further highlight the inconsistency. Terry McDonnell in *Sports Illustrated: the Covers* breaks up the section, “The Decades at a Glance,” into the “y-axis,” which lists 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. The “x-axis” lists the Team, the Stare, the Coach, the Heartthrob, and the Dogs. The Stare, alternatively labeled “the Game face,” has a male on each cover. The Heartthrob, which conversely identifies athletes for their sexiness and not athleticism, includes two males and four females.⁷⁰ The categories, and the gender of the associated athletes, reveal a mentality that promotes gender inequality. *SI* does occasionally use a man’s attractiveness for increasing fandom, but the fact that no woman has a game face while woman double men in the Heartthrob section displays a diminishment of female athletes while men remain unaffected.

McDonnell’s categories are useful to this project because they reveal the weight that the editors placed on characteristics that defined their “brand.” With the exception of the dogs, though humorous and relevant to the earlier issues, the other four categories accurately portray the sports world and the consequent social attention. The Team, the Stare, and the Coach are all key to any sporting event: the team instills community and competes on the field, the stare creates a crucial intimidation factor for competitive activities, and the coach guides the players or participants. I would have considered another category like “the Grimace,” which features athletes making the most scrunched up, usually unattractive, facial expression that demonstrates their physical exertion. Though slightly similar to the Stare, I would have been interested to see

⁶⁹ McDonnell, *Sports Illustrated: the Covers*, 14.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

the distribution of gender for this category. The division of the categories is not particularly unusual, but the athletes who make the list are representative of a gender divide between serious athletes and the sexualized ones who exist and are remembered solely as eye candy.

Still keeping a distant analytical eye, I counted the number of covers with women. All women were included in the count, even those who weren't the focus, but were visible at a quick glance.⁷¹ Not all covers that excluded women showed men instead. Because there are covers that have neither a man nor a woman,⁷² not every issue was computed. I compiled a table with all of the data and have attached it below:

⁷¹ This ranged from cheerleaders on the arms of football players to a woman on the sidelines of a bowling game. If the woman was not easily noticed because she was a face in the crowd, I did not include her in the count.

⁷² In the first few decades of *SI*'s start, it was not uncommon to have a cover with a boat, a dog, or a horse. Because the editors did not immediately recognize their target audience, and with Laguerre's upper class influence, the earlier editions featured show horses that appealed to a richer audience.

Year	Number of Covers with Women	Total Issues for the Year	Percentage of Women on Covers
1954	3	20	15%
1955	11	52	21%
1956	6	52	12%
1957	4	51	8%
1958	8	51	16%
1959	4	51	8%
Totals per decade	36	277	13%
1960	8	52	15%
1961	4	51	8%
1962	7	51	14%
1963	6	51	12%
1964	3	51	6%
1965	2	51	4%
1966	2	51	4%
1967	4	52	8%
1968	3	51	6%
1969	2	51	5%
Totals per decade	41	512	8%
1970	2	51	4%
1971	2	51	4%
1972	3	52	6%
1973	5	51	9%
1974	2	51	4%
1975	1	51	2%
1976	6	51	11%
1977	3	52	6%
1978	2	53	4%
1979	2	52	4%
Totals per decade	28	515	5%
1980	2	52	4%
1981	1	53	2%
1982	3	53	6%
1983	4	53	8%
1984	7	54	13%
1985	3	53	6%
1986	2	53	4%
1987	2	54	4%

* denotes Olympic year

1988	7	54	13%
1989	4	54	7%
Totals per decade	35	533	7%
1990	4	52	8%
1991	2	51	4%
1992	4	51	8%
1993	4	51	8%
1994	4	51	8%
1995	3	51	6%
1996	2	52	4%
1997	2	52	4%
1998	3	52	6%
1999	3	51	6%
Totals per decade	31	514	6%

Looking at the raw data, 13% of all covers feature women. The number is low, but the real significance is that the percentage drops to 6% from 1950 to 1999. It is difficult to determine whether or not the low number is a result of decisions made by biased *SI* editors or simply a response to a larger societal mentality that women were not meant to associate themselves with sports. Regardless, the data corresponds to the evolving readership and proves my initial hypothesis wrong. Women were on more covers in the first decade because the magazine believed targeting a larger audience would lead to greater profit. However, as the shift in demographics pushes for “hard” sports, women as domestic beings or athletes are not wanted.

Closer analysis of the actual images supports the idea that women become fewer, but also hyper sexualized due to the desires of a new readership. Women were not overlooked during the first few years because the third ever issue on August 30th, 1954 features Pamela Nelson (refer to Fig. 6). The readership was different in 1954 than it is now –female and male readers were targeted and so the editors’ decision to feature Nelson is logical. Hatton and Trautner sum up the ways that men and women are represented very well:

Media coverage of women athletes denies them power in two fundamental ways: first, by underrepresenting them...and, second, by over-emphasizing their femininity, sexuality, and appearance, rather than their physical ability and success. In contrast to men athletes who are shown in ways that ‘emphasize their athletic strength and competence’...women athletes are shown ‘off the court, out of uniform, and in highly passive and sexualized poses.’⁷³

As we continue to take an in-depth look at specific covers, the above quote is validated by the evidence of men and women on *SI* covers between 1954 and 2000.

Surges of Female Coverage in Olympic Years

As I tallied every cover with a lead female, I noted the associated time of year or sport. I kept a keen eye to the patterns of female coverage and later identified that every few years the number of covers with women spiked. The increased representation of sports like swimming, gymnastics, skiing or ice-skating was noticeable. All of these activities are particularly popular in the Olympics and receive less attention during Olympic “off” years. Cross referencing a list of every Olympic year from 1954 to every *SI* cover revealed that women were on the covers of more magazines in the years of either the summer or winter Olympics. In every decade besides the 1950’s, the highest percentage of featured women in the ten years was also an Olympic year (i.e. 15% in 1960; 11% in 1976; 13% in 1984 and 1988).

⁷³ Erin Hatton and Mary Nell Trautner, “Images of Power Women in the Age of ‘Choice Feminism.’” *Journal of Gender Studies* 22 (2013), 68.

Taking into account that the Olympics are one of the only large and competitive venues for sports like ice-skating and gymnastics, the correlation to more females on *SI* is reasonable. It is important to note that all of these sports are more feminine, so while female athletes received more coverage it was exclusive to those who practiced sports that were acceptable to American society. Elizabeth O'Connell, in her essay "The Woman Who Should Be King," also argues that, "Outside of the Olympics, few avenues were available for female athletes in large-scale competition, and even in those where women did compete, women were expected to maintain their femininity and not play 'like men.'"⁷⁴ Although there was a greater number of female coverage in the Olympic years, women did not receive higher media representation on the grounds of athletic legitimacy. Women appeared on more covers during these years because it was one of the only few times that these "feminine" sports had competitions that were worthy or exciting enough for media recognition.

Nicolas Delorme tackles the question of female representation in the Olympics in his article "Were Women Really Underrepresented in Media Coverage of Summer Olympic Games (1984–2008): An Invitation to Open a Methodological Discussion Regarding Sex Equity in Sports Media." His research suggests that in the Summer Olympics between 1984 and 2008, 28.79% of the time women were equitably represented, 49.97% overrepresented, and 24.24% underrepresented.⁷⁵ Delorme aims to prove that media did not play a role in disadvantaging women's coverage of the Summer Olympic games. My analysis of women representation in the Olympics correlates with Delorme's research although the years of observation are not exactly

⁷⁴ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 45.

⁷⁵ Nicholas Delorme, "Were Women Really Underrepresented in Media Coverage of Summer Olympic Games (1984-2008)? An Invitation to Open a Methodological Discussion Regarding Sex Equity in Sports Media." *Mass Communication and Society* 17 (2014): 142, accessed September 2014. DOI: 10.1080/15205436.2013.816740

the same. Both my case and Delorme's further support my hypothesis that women *do* appear on more covers and in more headlines during the Olympic years because it is one of the few high-status, elite events to cover traditionally feminine sports that are not as relevant during non-Olympic years. Women participants in the Olympics was almost equal to men—the breakdown for male and females in the 2012 London Olympics was 5,892 and 4,676, respectively,⁷⁶ but their portrayal detracts from their athleticism. When women do have the opportunity to demonstrate their athletic abilities in advertisements or media, their spotlight is overlooked by their sexuality and femininity in the form of photo cropping techniques, lighting, and positioning of the photographs, and the body positions of the athletes. The following analysis of *SI* covers shows examples of how female athletes are recognized for their appearance instead of their athleticism.

Gymnastics and Ice Skaters

In line with the topic of the Olympics, gymnasts and ice skaters on the covers of *SI* exhibit an overly sexualized depiction of female athletics and also provide support that Olympic years featured more women on the covers because of an increased attention to the feminine sports. Julia Weber and Natalie Barker-Ruchti's analyses of female figures in 1970's gymnastics photos translate to several athletes on *SI* covers. Their investigation of young, female gymnasts demonstrates "how sports photographs construct and establish gender and body standards through their visual construction of gendered and de-gendered gymnastics performances."⁷⁷ In order to assign meaning to the gymnast's poses and reveal the implications of the photography, Weber and Barker-Ruchti broke down the photos into four categories: bending, flirting, floating,

⁷⁶ "Factsheet London 2012 Facts & Figures."

⁷⁷ Julia Weber and Natalie Barker-Ruchti, "Bending, Flirting, Floating, Flying: A Critical Analysis of Female Figures in 1970's Gymnastics Photographs," *Sociology of Sports Journal* 29 (2012), 22.

and flying. The gymnasts, and ice skaters for that matter, represent a certain grace and femininity in their movements, yet also possess a conventionally masculine strength to control their bodies and carry out such physically difficult moves. By breaking down their movements into four categories, it becomes apparent that their “aesthetic movements...represent socially expected and desirable heterosexual femininities.”⁷⁸ I will use an example from *SI* to explain all four markers.

On February 7th, 1955 Carol Heiss, two-time decorated Olympic figure skater,⁷⁹ is featured on *SI* (see Fig.7). Her issue is the final one in three consecutive issues that feature women on the covers. Although Heiss is an ice skater rather than a gymnast, the body movements and patterns are similar enough that I adopted Weber and Barker-Ruchti’s framework and applied it to both sports. Heiss stands poised with a slightly arched back, her arms are outstretched –one over her head and the other behind her back. Her head tilts back over her arm as she smiles. Her pose reflects the nature of the sport: an emphasis on grace and femininity. The curvature of her body fits the “bending” gender-figuration because of the ballet-like, organic, and fluid movements that Weber and Barker- Ruchti identify for the bending category. Heiss’ pose aligns with a feminine portrayal and “constructs a passive and fragile gymnastics body that is only perceived capable of executing easy graceful movements.”⁸⁰ The pose does not highlight her strength for fear of being masculine, but instead accentuates the more feminine qualities of her sport like elegance.

The second gender-figuration, flirting, can be seen on Laurence Owen’s cover on February 13th, 1961 (see Fig. 8). Owen, like Heiss, was a young figure skater destined for

⁷⁸ Ibid., 36.

⁷⁹ “Carol Heiss.”

⁸⁰ Weber and Barker-Ruchti, “Bending, Flirting...,” 30.

success in 1961.⁸¹ Owen appears to be in the middle of a spin or twirl because her backside faces the camera, but she looks over her right shoulder into the viewer's direction. Her pose resembles Heiss' in many aspects: outstretched arms, a smile, but Owen's leg and pointed foot extends from her body. The position of the arms, the smile during physical exertion, and pointed foot suggest femininity. Weber and Barker-Ruchti categorize the flirting gender-figuration by the "excessive corporal employment to embody playful and flirtatious codes of femininity, an impression that reflects both dedication and avoidance."⁸² This definition places women as an active object that seeks heterosexual desire by using feminine gestures like smiling, tilting head, or down cast eyes.

For another example of the flirting gender-figuration, observe Olga Korbut on the March 19th, 1973 cover (see Fig. 9). The background is dark, with the exception of a few lights, most likely from flashing cameras. The photo crops out her legs below the mid-calf, but we can assume she is on a balance beam due to the angle of the camera, which shoots from an upward angle and suggests she is elevated. She raises her chin to exude elegance and confidence, but her eyes look down in the direction of the ground to the camera. Her relaxed hands contrast with the rigidity of her flexed legs. The expression on her face paired with her body positioning in this idle stance are all examples of Weber and Barker-Ruchti's flirting gender-figuration.

The first two categories looked at the corporeal patterns of the athletes in instances of stillness –maybe the end or beginning to an action. The final two categorize the athletes in movement and are difficult to differentiate from each other. In 1964, *SI* published an issue with the year's Olympic Preview (see Fig. 10). The cover featured a male track athlete, a female swimmer, and a female gymnast. The gymnast only takes up about a third of the page, but her

⁸¹ "Laurence Owen."

⁸² Weber and Barker-Ruchti, "Bending, Flirting...", 32.

body attracts the most attention because the camera focuses between her legs. The unnamed gymnast, who is in the middle of a flip, is captured upside-down in the air with her legs in a split formation. All of her limbs are fully extended, while her gaze follows the ground to spot her landing. Similar to the analytics of Nadia Comaneci in Weber and Barker-Ruchti's study, this gymnast's body "does not exist as a languid mass, but as a freely modeled and plastic entity. Actual effort and physical exertion, as well as potential performance set-backs, are left unrepresented."⁸³ Both the unnamed gymnast and Comaneci fall under the floating gender-figuration. Although the apparent weightlessness of her suspension in the air may suggest majesty, the angle of the camera and the position of her legs put her groin in open view. Her pose is transformed into a heterosexual one and therefore sexualizes and eroticizes the young woman.⁸⁴

Nearly 30 years later, *SI* published an issue with Michelle Kwan on the February 9th, 1998 cover (see Fig. 11). The photograph is simple: Kwan is suspended in the air, arms outstretched above her head, one leg behind, the other bent below, all superimposed on a completely black background. Without any other object or person in the background to distract the eye, the viewer has no choice but to look at Kwan. More importantly, her body is positioned so that the center of the page falls directly between her outstretched legs. Weber and Barker-Ruchti's final category is the flying gender-figuration and is very similar to the floating figuration with the exception that the former highlights more athleticism and "points to an athletic act, through which the gymnast appears to risk her body."⁸⁵ Although Kwan's physical strength is more apparent, the positioning of the photograph eroticizes her athletic endeavors.

⁸³ Ibid., 34.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 32 & 34.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 36.

Erving Goffman and the Female's Shift from Domesticity to Sexuality

Katharina Lindner wrote an article in 2004 called “Images of Women in General Interest and Fashion Magazine Advertisements from 1955 to 2002.” The following information refers to women in magazine advertisements, but the rhetoric and framework can be applied to *SI* covers because the cover acts to attract a reader to the issue (similar to how an ad attracts its viewer to the product). The body language and interwoven messages of an image are the same for an advertisement or cover photo. Studies of women in magazine advertisements, inspired by the Women's Movement in the early 1970's, concluded that “advertisements confined women primarily to tradition mother-, home-, or beauty/sex-oriented roles, which were not representative of women's diverse roles in society.”⁸⁶

SI shows this to be true in the first few decades of the magazine where women were stereotyped on the basis that they belonged in the domestic sphere. The July 14th, 1958 cover features a woman kneeling on the ground with a dog in her lap (see Fig. 12). This assumes that it would have been the woman who would have trained the family dog because she was the homemaker –she was the one available to train the dog. Women did not “belong” in the sporting world and are rarely photographed athletically. In 1958, when the issue was released, a woman's role was still domestic and women had yet to reach out of the domestic sphere.

Earlier in 1958, a female skier makes an *SI* cover. Pat Saviers, on December 1st, poses with her skis slung over one shoulder and her child in the other arm (see Fig. 13). Saviers's photo is distinctive because a male skier, Willy Schaeffler (November 25th, 1957), is illustrated skiing down a mountain a year earlier (see Fig. 14). Schaeffler portrayal in action serves to highlight his athleticism. The editors chose to show Saviers, motionless, with her child in her arms. She

⁸⁶ Katharina Lindner, “Images of Women in General Interest and Fashion Magazine Advertisements from 1955 to 2002.” *Sex Roles* 51 (2004), 410.

literally juggles a domestic life and one of an athlete, which would not have been accepted for women in the late 1950's. Savier's cover reveals several insights to the mentality of women in sports. Her daughter in one of her arms, while she carries her skis in the other, demonstrates the impossibility of Savier's being solely an athlete but still must uphold her domestic side. The earlier cover of Schaeffler, in motion and without a child in his arms, illuminates the established athleticism for male athletes who can focus on their sport instead of raising a family at the same time. Savier's cover is the ultimate example of a female's shift from a household figure to a sexualized one.

Today, women are still stereotyped, except the stereotype has evolved. With the movement towards gender equality, magazine advertisements tell us that a counteraction occurred in which women were portrayed as decorative and in more sexualized roles. Lindner argues, "progress in one area seemed to be counterbalanced by setbacks in another."⁸⁷ This mindset is supported by the creation of the Swimsuit Edition in 1964. Women are under-represented, but they are still stereotyped with their sexualized bodies, which is made evident by the scant bikinis and sheer or exposing swimsuits. Women's sexuality in advertisements and *SI* covers is more evident when a male character is in the frame too.

Several advertisement researchers noticed a large discrepancy in the way that characters of different genders interact in an ad. For example, First (1998) argues that women are displayed as subordinate to men and possess a more passive role or are depicted as sex objects.⁸⁸ Others note that the women who are displayed outside the home are employed in more traditional female roles. Coltrane and Adams (1997) stand by their research that regardless of the medium in which the advertisement is viewed, women are most often represented as sex objects, especially

⁸⁷ Lindner, "Images of Women..." 410.

⁸⁸ Monk-Turner, "Who is Gazing at Whom..." 201.

when the magazine had a predominantly male readership.⁸⁹ Lindner spends a significant portion of her article discussing the work of Erving Goffman.

In 1979, Goffman developed a technique to observe the more subtle clues of gender stereotyping in magazine advertisements. Goffman identifies a shift in the portrayal of women in advertisements. However, the shift was not in the amount of stereotyped, but instead in the type of stereotyping. His frame analysis paid careful attention to characteristics like finger biting or sucking, facial expressions, head posture, head-eye aversion, and the placement, size, and positioning of the women's bodies relative to others. Goffman also came up with five categories that "are indicative of gender differences in 'social weight,' that is social power, influence, and authority."⁹⁰ The categories are defined below:

Relative size compares the physical size of women to men who express superiority over women because they are often taller and end up taking up more space. Specifically, social weight (like power, authority or rank) is expressed through relative size (like height).⁹¹ Advertisements use biological differences to justify and support an inequality in social stature.

Function ranking depicts women in occupations of lesser importance. For example, a man may be posed as a high-end, suit-wearing businessman, while the woman is the barista preparing his morning coffee. This category not only includes professions, but also the actions of the models. For example, a male might be pictured in a foreign town showing a woman where to go as she looks up at him. The man, as the head of the household, takes the photos on family vacations. He might be manning the sail, while the woman stands on the boat watching him

⁸⁹ Ibid., 202-203.

⁹⁰ Lindner, "Images of Women in Magazine Advertisements," 411.

⁹¹ Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, 40.

work.⁹² Regardless of the settings, function ranking places men in a position of superiority where a woman is dependent on his physicality.

Feminine touch is what Goffman uses to categorize “women touching themselves in unnatural ways or caressing and cradling other objects.”⁹³ The way a woman cradles or barely touches the objects suggest a sort of electricity between the bodies. A woman rarely grasps or holds an object. Those who touch themselves “convey a sense of one’s body being a delicate and precious thing.”⁹⁴

Ritualization of subordination shows women who are posed to suggest others control them. An example would be a man’s embrace, or a woman physically lowering her body.⁹⁵ Goffman makes note of a contrast in early portraits where men are portrayed as the central figure (seated), while the woman acts as background support.⁹⁶ Women are also depicted more on floors than men because the ground is dirtier and less pure: trash, shoes, dog beds, dirty clothes are all put on the floor.⁹⁷ Goffman highlights typically feminine poses that men do not personify: “bashful knee bend,” head or body cant (acceptance of subordination or submissiveness because it lowers the head or body from the viewer), body clowning and childlike guise, and costumed garb.⁹⁸

Licensed withdrawal describes women who are depicted looking away in order to emotionally remove themselves from a social situation. The woman may appear disoriented or gazing into the distance. Men tend to look alert and into the camera, while a woman averts her

⁹² Ibid., 45.

⁹³ Lindner, “Images of Women in Magazine Advertisements,” 411.

⁹⁴ Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*, 43.

⁹⁵ Lindner, “Images of Women in Magazine Advertisements,” 411.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 52.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 54-66.

head or eyes. Goffman's discussion on fingers and hands touching the face or mouth suggests that the touches can represent fear, anxiety, happiness or sadness. A woman may also hide her face behind another object or person.⁹⁹

With this knowledge in mind, I explored the ways in Goffman's categories apply to *SI*'s covers. I wanted to know if Goffman's assessments were accurate and that *SI* had, in fact, depicted women in stereotypical feminine poses. Is *SI* a culprit responsible for these images of women by their publishing of the photos alone? Or are they only reflections of a bigger societal problem?

Inaction Shot

My previous section stressed how *SI* depicted females for their hyper sexuality and chose photos (or poses) that emphasized their femininity and role as objects to be desired. The body poses are gendered in the sport of ice-skating and gymnastics, but also the positioning of the camera, the backdrop, and the cropping technique can alter the viewer's perception to highlight femininity and sexuality. Female athletes who are not photographed for their inherent femininity may be instead photographed lacking motion and therefore delegitimizing their athleticism and physical capabilities. I'm labeling covers that fit into this description as "inaction shots."

Although the athlete benefits from the media's coverage, her lack of depicted athleticism negates the publicity and further downplays her athletic prowess and legitimacy. Instead of being distinguished as an athlete, she becomes another thing to look at.

On December 20th 1976, Chris Evert's motionless cover downplayed the name she had built for herself. A tennis star at an early age, Evert was the youngest player to make the semifinals in the 1971 U.S. championships. Her fame crested seven years later where she was

⁹⁹ Ibid., 72.

ranked the number one player in the world.¹⁰⁰ In 1976, though young, Evert was already a celebrated athlete. She made the *SI* cover because she was awarded Sportswoman of the Year.¹⁰¹ Her photo does the exact opposite in commending her athleticism: she is photographed from the profile wearing a boater hat, a long white dress that covers her neck and reaches up to her chin, and her tennis racquet (see Fig. 15). Evert stands in a room that looks like a den or living space – nothing close to a tennis court. The way in which she holds her racquet is more reminiscent of a bouquet of flowers rather than the key piece of sporting equipment that enables her athletic success. The long white dress is a noticeable change from her tennis uniform because it’s formal attire (and therefore non-athletic), but is also a societal set back to a time where women were prohibited from wearing shorter skirts and showing skin. The dress touches the ground, which means it would restrict her movement –again, a feat for which she is being recognized. The racquet, like her dress, is not a modern design but archaic. Featured again in 1989, Evert poses motionless with a racquet over her shoulder (see Fig. 16). Evert was a talented tennis player, but she also fit the bill of American beauty: blonde, young, and feminine.¹⁰² Her attractiveness explains her covers where the viewer can observe Evert in her “true” feminine state and not in the motion of athletics that was associated with masculinity.

On July 10th, 1978, female golfer Nancy Lopez mirrors Evert’s 1989 stance. Lopez was named Player of the Year four times in her professional career, and was also the first woman to win the Frances Ouimet Award.¹⁰³ Lopez faces the camera at a three-quarter angle so that her head turns slightly over her shoulder to make eye contact with the camera (see Fig. 17). Evert’s

¹⁰⁰ “Chris Evert.”

¹⁰¹ Billie Jean King, another tennis player, was the first woman to ever receive this award in 1972. Refer to the Title IX section to read about the history of the award.

¹⁰² Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 113.

¹⁰³ “Nancy Lopez.”

face is stoic and subdued, but Lopez's eyes are squinted and her mouth opens as she laughs. She wears a golf uniform, including her glove and visor, but the shaft of the golf club rests on her shoulder. One hand holds the handle while the other closes very slightly almost as if she is about to wave at the cameraman. Like Evert, Lopez is not recognized for her athletic ability, but instead for how she looks in front of a camera. The publicity isn't unflattering—in fact, she looks personable and pretty. Though the adjectives are complimentary, they do not describe her demeanor as an *athlete*. The photo does her skill no justice. To the viewer, Lopez is another light-hearted, ditzy face in the crowd.

Nancy Lopez is not the only female golfer exemplified for her looks instead of how well she could hit a ball. Judy Torluemke, “the best *girl*” golfer, holds her putter for the August 21st, 1961 issue (see Fig. 18). She averts her eyes to look at something out of the camera frame, an immediate sign of licensed withdrawal, but she smiles nonetheless. Her hands do not invoke Goffman's feminine touch. Instead, she grasps the shaft right below the head of the putter. Her tight grip could stem from triumph or joy, but without context the grip looks unnatural as if she does not know the correct way to hold a golf club especially a putter, which requires a relaxed grip for a smooth stroke. The fascination of Torluemke's cover is heightened when compared to Deane Beman's feature on the September 11th, 1961 issue (see Fig. 19). Beman's cover captures the golfer's follow-through stroke. His eyes squint to spot the putting green in the distance, arms raised with the shaft just slightly above his head. In this instance, Beman is photographed as an athlete. He has purpose and drive in his game, but Torluemke looks more like an awkward, giddy, school-girl with her unnatural grip and lack of movement.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ I put this analysis in a footnote because it is purely speculation without any source for back up. As I drew up the inaction photos of women, I noticed a fair amount of them were golfers. I wonder if they were posed in this manner because they were “invading” a sport that had been

Mary Decker is the leading female athlete to have the most *SI* covers (she is behind supermodel Elle Macpherson). On July 26th, 1982, she posed for a cover under the headline “The Record Breaker” (see Fig. 20). Decker faces the camera head on. Her head tilts forward slightly to make eye contact with the camera while she places her hands on her hips. Decker wears her running uniform: a tight singlet on the top and spandex brief bottoms. Her attire is more revealing than the others covers we’ve looked at so far, but that is a characteristic of the sport and the uniform enables her performance. However, the photographer’s decision to pose her in a tight, flesh-showing racing singlet is worth questioning –especially if Decker was meant to stand still and therefore didn’t need an outfit that ensured mobility at that time. Had the editor wanted to photograph an inaction shot then it would be logical to dress her in casual clothes –not the ones she would have worn to break her records. Decker pops her right hip, which is a very gendered stance. The uniform shows off Decker’s toned physique to highlight her femininity but the photo does not accurately portray the record-breaking athlete in her most impressive form, which is in motion.

To continue with the theme of track and field covers, the Texas Track Club showed three women positioned in starting blocks on the April 20th, 1964 cover (see Fig. 21). Initially, it was pleasing to see female athletes portrayed in the element of their sport. Although they weren’t actually in motion, the women were getting into starting blocks and were positioning themselves to begin the race. After a closer look, the women’s hair in the background appear styled and “coiffed.” This suggests that although women participated in sports, they were expected to meet

predominantly male in the past and completely exclusive to those who were not of the Country Club class (based on gender, race, and socioeconomic standing). The women are seen as intrusive to the sport, and are therefore not depicted as legitimate athletes because they were not seen in such a way.

a standard level of femininity in order to compete in the sport. Their athletics had to employ womanliness.

There are dozens of covers that highlight women in their idle stances instead of in their athletic form. January 24th, 1955, shows two gymnasts on the floor, shoulder to shoulder. Their motions are in sync: the right arm is raised over their heads (with some round ball-like object in their right hands), while the left bends slightly in front of their bodies, hands outstretched and poised. They both cock their head to the left and give large smiles (see Fig.22). Bonnie Prudden, who also appears to be a gymnast or dancer, is positioned on the August 5th, 1957 cover so that her head is flat on the ground, left knee also to the ground, and her right leg straight and pointed to the sky (see Fig. 23). The pose is difficult to unpack because it simply looks like she is playing around on the ground –there seems to be no athleticism in the way she is photographed. Along the lines of Prudden’s cover, the 1996 Olympic preview depicts three of the women from the Olympic basketball team (see Fig. 24). They are all in uniform with a basketball, and are even in motion or at least in the air. However, their movements give no resemblance to basketball players. The way that they hold the basketballs are unnatural and do not suggest that they will be used to pass, shoot, or dribble. The basketballs appear more like props for dress-up than the object that reflect the players’ skills. Their body positions look silly, and so the viewer does not take them, or their athletic legitimacy, seriously.

Women as victims

By now I have covered women in most forms: motionless, flying, bending, and floating. One staffer told Michael MacCambridge, author of *The Franchise*, that women were not on the cover unless they were “a victim or a babe, or both.”¹⁰⁵ We’ve identified the babes, but there are

¹⁰⁵ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 356.

a few instances where women were on the covers as victims. On August 23rd, 1993, Mary Pierce is pictured holding her racquet with the headline “Why Mary Pierce Fears for Her Life.” Pierce was abused by her father at a young age,¹⁰⁶ and this insight into her personal life was worthy enough to make the *SI* cover. In the photo, she clutches her racquet in front of her body to express her victimization and need to physically hide behind something (see Fig. 25). Her facial expression is withdrawn as she looks off into the distance. The headline as a focal point to her non-athletic side of her life detracts from her respect as an athlete. Additionally, her cradling the tennis racquet and the pained look in her eyes paints her as a damsel in distress versus a woman who is strong in the face of hardship. While her situation is devastating, the media portrayal could have re-envisioned the pose to suggest strength instead of weakness and victimization.

One year later, on January 17th, 1994, Nancy Kerrigan’s face appears on the cover with the words “Why Me?” The only visible parts of her face are her eyes, nose, and mouth because everything above her eyes and below the mouth has been cropped. Her face expresses anguish and distress, and is scrunched up as if she is holding back tears (see Fig. 26). Kerrigan was attacked at the Olympic Trials and survived. The attack is newsworthy because it put her life at risk, but whether or not that news is relevant to a sports issue is questionable. Kerrigan’s popularity rose because she was a victim, but not for her valued athleticism or success as an ice skater.

Monica Seles, like Kerrigan, was attacked by a deranged fan wielding a knife during a tennis match. While it is odd, though irrelevant, that women keep getting attacked by knives, the incident earned Seles two *SI* covers (see Fig. 27 and Fig. 28). In 1993 and 1995, Monica Seles

¹⁰⁶ Ira Berkow, ““Sports of The Times; The Barking That Follows Mary Pierce.” *New York Times*, August 25, 1993, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/25/sports/sports-of-the-times-the-barking-that-follows-mary-pierce.html>

was featured after she was stabbed in a tournament in Germany. She had won eight Grand Slam single titles –none of which merited a spot on the cover of *SI*. Seles and these other athletes are examples of female athletes’ lives on display that “is especially true of individual sports like boxing or figure skating. This is also the case with professional tennis...”¹⁰⁷ The attacks against all of these women are upsetting and should not be taken lightly, but it does not detract from the fact that their hardships are being used to paint them as victims and sell more issues. Seles, Kerrigan, and Pierce are all examples of athletic talent that was overlooked by the excitement surrounding their non-athletic lives.

Women with Men

The previous sections identified singular females on the cover of *SI*. In order to gain better perspective of female athletes’ portrayals, it is important to not only compare their covers to ones that have solely men, but also ones that feature both a man and a woman on the same cover. Using Goffman’s framework as a lens to identify the presence of women *with* men on the covers, results show that many of his observations are true. On March 6th, 1967, *SI* released an issue with Arnold Palmer and a woman, assumed to be his wife Winifred, standing behind him (see Fig. 29). Palmer is seated, but his wife is positioned behind him with her hand on his shoulder. Because his body is physically closer to the camera, he appears to be larger than his wife. He has a slight smirk on his face, but hers remains very stern. Using Goffman’s framework, we can identify these poses as an example of relative size. Although Winifred is slightly taller than Palmer, his body takes up more space on the cover. He is dominant: his back is to Winifred and he doesn’t seem to acknowledge her presence at all. This particular photo also has traits that

¹⁰⁷ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 113.

suggest ritualization of subordination. Arnold sits in the center as a dominant figure of the household, while Winifred, although taller, is at his side as a submissive presence.

On December 24th, 1984, *SI* published an issue that showed both the Sportsman and Sportswoman of the Year, Edwin Moses and Mary Lou Retton, respectively (see Fig. 30). Similar to the Palmer photo, one figure sits while the other stands, although the roles are reversed. Moses stands behind Retton with his hand placed gently on her shoulder. The relative size of the two athletes is obvious, but the most interesting part of this cover is the way that Retton literally looks up to Moses. Considering they are both professional athletes it would seem logical to place them at equal levels. They are smiling, but her gaze towards Moses signifies a ritualization of her subordination.

On December 19th, 1955, *SI* published a cover with two skiers posing on a ski mountain (see Fig. 31). The woman, wearing all of her skiing equipment, stands next to a man in his winter boots. The two are talking, the woman is laughing. Her left knee is slightly bent and her left hand is on her hip. She leans slightly into her left arm, as if to support her body from the movements of her laughing. Her right arm is outstretched and holds on to the man's arm. He remains standing with his hands in his pockets. Her touch can mean two things: she is physically leaning on him for support but also her grab is flirtatious, which invokes a feminine quality. The second point can be coded with Goffman's category of feminine touch. The man on the left is in the position of power in this photo.

The aforementioned 1955 issue used flirtation to label the female character as the subordinate figure, but it is one of several covers to use love or infatuation between the male and the female characters to promote the male's superiority and dominance as an athlete. On June 13th, 1988, boxer Mike Tyson made the cover with his wife Robin Givens (see Fig. 32). The

photo is a close-up shot of their faces, his is slightly larger because Givens is positioned behind his shoulder. The placement of her hand on his shoulder suggests that she leans on him for support. She also stands behind him, which implies that she acts as a background support for her dominant husband in front of her. Above their heads reads a headline “Will Love and Marriage K.O. Mike Tyson?” The positioning already puts the woman in a submissive role, but the headline also implies that Givens’ love for her husband could be detrimental to his life as a formidable athlete. Givens is now depicted as the docile being that will negatively impact Tyson’s athletic identification.

The Tyson and Givens example shows a more dramatic take on how the editors manipulate emotions like love to give power certain figures more power than others. Several other examples use the presence of a female to encourage manliness. For example, there are several covers that feature winning football teams. Instead of showing photographs from the game, the players are shown with a woman around their arms, like in 1959, 1988, and 1994 (see Fig. 33, 34, and 35, respectively). All three covers have some sort of heading that mentions the team being number one or coming away victorious. Also, all three are either holding or kissing a woman (usually a cheerleader). Many of the covers I’ve explored look at female athletes, but these examples highlight how a woman’s presence promotes a man’s masculinity and further makes her passive. The relationship between the characters on the cover implies that being number one not only means winning the game, but also getting (or owning) the girl. Jimmy Connors, pictured with Chris Evert in 1974, is labeled as a winner for his athletic success, as well as having the “sweetheart of Wimbledon” (see Fig. 36).

Muscles and the Feminine Myth

While women photographed with a man accentuates his masculinity, the exposure of her musculature negatively impacts her image. One of *SI*'s most iconic female covers, apart from the Swimsuit models, is the 1999 issue of Brandi Chastain (see Fig. 37). I chose this cover to begin my discussion of the Feminine Myth not only for its fame, but also because I see it every day hanging in my team's locker room. Chastain's picture has received a lot of attention over the years, and has become a symbol of strong, powerful women in the sport's world. The photo has become an inspirational poster because it captures the soccer star's celebration on the soccer pitch. Her knees are to the ground and she sits on the back of her heels. Her hands are thrown up triumphantly, fists in the air, while her mouth opens mid-cheer. Her left hand holds the shirt she ripped off, so that she sits in the middle of the field in just her shorts and sports bra. Chastain's blonde hair is tied back in a ponytail and her fit stomach doesn't show any flab –in fact, it is a true testament to her athleticism and fitness.

In 1971, Evonne Goolagong made the cover as a celebrated tennis star (see Fig. 38). Although she does not have long, blonde hair, she is a tennis player and therefore embodies certain feminine qualities. For the first time in the magazine's history, the photo shows a female athlete's musculature. The muscle definition is not glaring, but it does appear in her left leg. Again, in 1976, we see a little more musculature in her calf (see Fig 39). Serena Williams's cover suggests that 1999 was the year for women's muscles to make its mark in *SI*. Williams's cover is fierce: her face wrinkles in exhaustion and focus, but her shoulder is incredibly toned (see Fig. 40). The definition of her deltoid and the top of her latissimus dorsi are engaged and speak to the sheer strength of Williams's swing. Again, the muscle appears on an athlete in a traditionally feminine sport, but the musculature and the facial expression are noteworthy because they do not fit the American standard for beauty. Chastain's exposure of her toned body

meshes with beauty norms, and so her athleticism is celebrated. Williams's, on the other hand, is neither blond nor white, so her photo does not align with beauty standards. The evident athleticism hinders the cover's acquired popularity. The rest of my research found very few representations of women with muscles. Many of them were runners and track and field participants. For the most part, women featured on *SI* covers do not display their toned physiques.

I have touched briefly on the myth of femininity in athletics, particularly those that promote the presence of muscular tone. One could argue that it is impossible to be feminine and athletic because to be athletic you must have muscles. However, this argument is flawed because it uses skewed standards for what is considered feminine. Laurel Davis comments on this ambiguity in relation to the Swimsuit models. Davis writes that the models were sculpted to resemble the modern feminine beauty ideal at the time. Taken out of context, it does not seem that unusual to mold models to speak towards society's perception of beauty, but keeping in mind that *SI*'s (not per se the Swimsuit Edition) focal point is sports and athletics, looking for models that exemplify standards of beauty instead of athleticism seems illogical. Davis writes that the models lack blemishes and, more importantly, muscle definition.¹⁰⁸ Because our conventional beauty ideal does not promote muscular women as feminine, the models in turn shy away from athleticism. This supports the idea that this is geared towards men to show off women's bodies, and has nothing to do with sport, or else the models would be muscular and athletic women. Shifting our social acceptance of femininity can alter that perspective to be inclusive of women that are both feminine and strong, or muscular.

¹⁰⁸ Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue...*, 26.

Jamilla Rosdahl comments on woman's unique identification crisis of toeing the line between having the type of body necessary to succeed in sport, and the one that is accepted by our social culture. Rosdahl writes about a certain perplexing ideology of female body builders whose appearance contradicts gender stereotypes. The presence of muscle on a woman challenges "the assumption that all men are big, strong, and powerful and that all women are naturally smaller, weak, passive and dependent."¹⁰⁹ Several feminist writers argue that female bodybuilding is empowering because it challenges what society deems as a naturally male or female body. Choosing to disregard these social confinements and ideals thus gives that woman a unique empowerment.¹¹⁰ These kinds of theorists also believe that because the discourse for woman and muscular bodies has expanded, the glass ceiling on muscular women is pushed upwards. Whether or not the musculature is accepted by the American public "women's bodies are [still] primary sites of sexual desire and cultural consumption used as a central cultural resource to live out ideas of self-identity through the deployment of femininity."¹¹¹ The bigger issue is that women are seen as the deviants who transcend the normative definition of woman, when maybe we should rethink our definition of what it means to be feminine and the amount of emphasis we choose to place on meeting those expectations.

Rosdahl conducted an ethnographic study in 2008 at a local gym. She also draws our attention to a key difference between bodybuilding and bodysculpting in her study. While bodybuilders are encouraged to develop large muscles, bodysculpting competitions penalize women "for displaying muscles that are too big. Instead they are advised to emphasize femininity, symmetry, proportion, tone, definition and grace rather than physique and muscle

¹⁰⁹ Jamilla Rosdahl, "The Myth of Femininity in the Sport of Bodysculpting." *Social Alternatives* 33 (2014): 36, accessed September, 2014.

¹¹⁰ Rosdahl, "The Myth of Femininity...", 37.

¹¹¹ Rosdahl, *Ibid.*, 37.

mass.”¹¹² In other words, bodysculpting is more a beauty contest where women are judged for their sexiness and glamor instead of their conventionally “masculine” muscles. Bodysculpting competitors are expected to be slim and graceful with muscles that are only visible when flexed. Women cannot pose with closed fists (as men do in bodybuilding competitions) but open palms to keep in line with more feminine poses: “The ideal Western female body is one of display, sexiness, youth and even bloneness, and the effects of these ideas and expectations are clearly visible on the women who compete in bodysculpting.”¹¹³ These women wear lipstick, dye their hair, alter the way they carry themselves whereas men are solely judged on their mass and definition. While men were judged on their muscular size and development, women were used body proportion and grace to edge out their competition. Bodybuilding and bodysculpting are examples of a double standard. As Mulvey argues, women are objects of the gaze while the men remain active participants.

The most important point that Rosdahl is trying to make is what does it mean to be a *real* woman? Our societal norms tell us that a real woman doesn’t have muscles or that a real woman is sexy. Similarly, *real* athletes struggle with the question of how sex sells: should the athlete be portrayed as an athlete which reflects “the reality of all the hard work, physical ability, and commitment it took to compete and succeed at elite levels...” or chose to use sex to sell endorsements that are based on their femininity.¹¹⁴ Jaimee, one of the women who spoke with Rosdahl speaks about the fine line in bodysculpting. Too much muscle denotes masculinity and can add unwanted bulk that is not traditionally associated with femininity. In order to win these contests, the women have to be sexy and pass as natural women: they wear stilettos, lingerie, and

¹¹² Rosdahl, Ibid., 38.

¹¹³ Rosdahl, Ibid., 38.

¹¹⁴ Fink, Kane and Lavoie, “Freedom to Choose...,” 213.

counter the “masculine” musculature by minimizing aggression and strength to emphasize hyper sexualized womanliness. Rosdahl concludes her article by referring to the theories of Iris Young and the idea of spatiality that is associated with gender. Feminine appearance acts as a deterrent to full physical capacity because there is a limited space in which a woman’s body can function.¹¹⁵

Her final point is provocative: she points a critical finger at the practices that limit a body’s capacity in the name of femininity. She ends saying that “there is nothing unnatural about a muscular and strong body. What is unnatural is preventing and discouraging women from creating their full physical potential in the name of femininity.”¹¹⁶ Body sculpting is not the only sport that toes the line between femininity and athleticism. In almost every sport, there is some aspect that pushes the athlete to identify herself as an athlete and embrace the musculature that accompanies that skill, or lean towards the opposite spectrum that stresses the importance of being a *female* athlete that embodies society’s ideal of what it means to be both feminine and beautiful. Women of the National Basketball Associate, for instance, have to defy the norms of femininity in order to succeed in their sport. The WNBA, and other professional sports leagues, are forced to work with characteristics of femininity that “are in direct contrast to the qualities female athletes need to do their job effectively –compassionate and gentle are not two words usually used to describe great athletes.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Rosdahl, “The Myth of Femininity...,” 39-41.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 41.

¹¹⁷ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 126.

Chapter 3: Sex Sells and the Objectification of Women

In order to bridge the gap between athleticism and feminism, women connect the two identities by displaying their bodies for the public. Women, athletes in particular, cannot solely rely on their athletic skills to promote their achievements because an athletically successful body is muscular and powerful –two traits that are not traditionally feminine and therefore not attractive to the general population, both to women who admire attractive women as inspiration and to men who wish to look at said attractive women. The contradiction of athleticism and femininity is made apparent by the appearance of covers with docile women depicted motionless and then the lack, or significantly lower number, of covers with muscular women. Female athletes are forced to decide between embracing their non-traditional bodies or highlight their sex appeal, and overlook athletic success, to campaign their names. This mentality explains covers like Evert in 1976 or Decker in 1982 as discussed in the previous chapter, and also why the readers see shifting portrayals of women in more sexualized tones, especially the Swimsuit Edition.

Although Title IX may not have had as large of an influence on *SI* covers as I initially suspected, overlooking the role it had in shaping the female athlete would detract from its impact on society. Before Title IX's passage in 1972, only 1 in 27 high school girls participated in sports. Today, that number is 1 in 2.5.¹¹⁸ Female athletes act as positive enforcers in the media because they promote a body image that emphasizes physical health instead of lowered self-esteem that accompanies the need to be skinny or have a thigh gap. These athletes are role models and demonstrate the possibility of feeling accomplished of their bodies instead of

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth Daniels and Heidi Wartena, "Athlete or Sex Symbol: What Boys Think of Media Representations of Female Athletes," *Sex Roles* 65 (2011), 567.

ashamed.¹¹⁹ Having an athlete's body is attainable with hard work, but fashion models provide unrealistic expectations of what the beauty norm should be.

Statistics, like the ones above, show that female participation in sports has grown since Title IX, however, the *coverage* or use of women in sports advertisements remains limited. When female athletes are featured in endorsement campaigns they are not depicted for their athletic prowess or competence, but instead for their femininity. Because their femininity is more attractive to a male audience, the female athletes are then sexualized. Female athletes face a unique struggle because “femininity” and “athleticism” exist on opposite ends of a spectrum, and society does not accept (or is attracted to) a woman who is both feminine and athletic. Our beauty standards are set so that athleticism negates feminine qualities, and vice versa. Conversely, male athletes find that masculinity and athleticism fall hand-in-hand. Societal gendered expectations have created a tension between being athletic and “appropriately feminine.”¹²⁰

With regulations like Title IX, women comprise a larger portion of athletes in sporting events, but their media portrayal and standards for success are constructed around physical appearances. For example, 44% of the United States 2012 London Olympic participants were female, but they brought in more medals than the men and were responsible for winning two-thirds of all U.S. medals.¹²¹ Even with this monumental feat, only two women made the 2012 *Forbes* list of 100 top paid athletes. The women, Maria Sharapova and Li Na, both play tennis,

¹¹⁹ Victoria Carty, “Textual Portrayals of Female Athletes: Liberation or Nuanced Forms of Patriarchy,” *Frontiers* 26 (2005): 137, accessed September 2014.

¹²⁰ Janet Fink, Mary Jo Kane, Nicole LaVoi, “The Freedom to Choose: Elite Female Athletes’ Preferred Representations Within Endorsement Opportunities,” *Journal of Sport Management* 28 (2014), 207.

¹²¹ Fink, Kane, LaVoi, *The Freedom to Choose...*, 207.

which has a reputation for its femininity.¹²² The presence of two overtly feminine players in the top paid athlete list suggests a correlation between femininity and athletics as further evidence for the consumer ideology that the emphasis on feminine quality and sexualized portrayals sell more magazines. Janet Fink, Mary Jo Kane, and Nicole LaVoi, co-authors of “The Freedom to Choose: Elite Female Athletes’ Preferred Representations Within Endorsement Opportunities,” point out that two tennis players are among the 100 top paid because “females who participate in individual, aesthetically pleasing sports embody –both literally and figuratively –conventional norms associated with femininity and physical attractiveness.”¹²³ Fink, Kane and LaVoi’s vantage point argue that Sharapova and Na are worth more money because they are conventionally feminine, physically attractive, and therefore earn more endorsements than athletes who emphasize athleticism over femininity.

The concept that “sex sells” is increasingly relevant when incorporating the Swimsuit Edition into the discussion. Chapter four reveals the readers’ criticisms towards the sexuality and inappropriateness of the models, or more specifically, fashion models. *SI* boasts about its revolutionary sports coverage, but employing *fashion* models to sell a *sports* magazine suggests that the editors use the models’ sexualized bodies to target a limited male readership. The editors, photographers, and models know that the hyper-sexualization of fashion models sells more issues than depictions of athletically built woman. The *SI* Swimsuit Edition usually opts for fashion models on their covers, but even when an athlete makes it onto one of the covers, the sexualization does more damage to *SI*’s public image because it diminishes their athletic legitimacy.¹²⁴ *SI* takes advantage of this manifestation by using skinnier fashion models who

¹²² Consider the skirts and elitism associated with tennis.

¹²³ Fink, Kane, LaVoi, *The Freedom to Choose...*, 208.

¹²⁴ David Ogden and Joel Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 129.

intrigue male readers. Instead of celebrating athletic qualities of female bodies, *SI* and media redefine a woman's role in the culture industry as an "accumulation of capital" that caters to the elite males who control the industry.¹²⁵

Many sportswomen "appear consigned to the notion that a focus on their sex appeal is necessary to sell themselves and their sport" because that is what the public demands from them.¹²⁶ Olympian soccer player Hope Solo expressed that selling herself as a sex symbol brings in a larger readership and a committed fan base. Women athletes are left off of the covers, primarily the Swimsuit Edition, because they do not fit the traditional notions of femininity, and are therefore not "sexy" to the average, heterosexual male. Muscle tone does not provide the same explicit thrill that the other curvy yet slender models offer. Elite athletes not only argue that selling sex is appropriate, but it is also a necessary and effective strategy for endorsements.¹²⁷ This "effective strategy" may fiscally benefit the athletes, but resorting to sexuality to meet physical standards as a mode to athletic promotion illegitimizes the athlete's achievements because it creates a custom where women need sell their bodies to succeed.

Victoria Carty, in her article "Textual Portrayals of Female Athletes," examines a paradigm shift where female athletes redefine femininity. She notes that while culture looks for ways to sexualize women's toned bodies, female athletes are campaigning to equate femininity with strong and feminine bodies.¹²⁸ Carty spoke with a variety of female athletes who have been heralded for their athletic ability and their sensuality and/or overall attractiveness. Although the media manipulates photos with tools like Photoshop, lighting, or decisive cropping to accentuate sexiness, some athletes argue that their personal body image disagrees with the media's

¹²⁵ Carty, "Textual Portrayals...", 136.

¹²⁶ Fink, Kane, LaVoi, *The Freedom to Choose...*, 208.

¹²⁷ Fink, Kane, and LaVoi, "Freedom to Choose...", 208.

¹²⁸ Carty, "Textual Portrayals...", 137.

representation. They are proud to show off their bodies and were not under the impression that they were being objectified. Brandi Chastain, having one of the most iconic *SI* covers to this day, explained that she posed in nothing but her cleats in a 1999 Nike advertisement for personal reasons. Her piece of mind for the photo shoot stemmed from a sense of accomplishment –she flaunted the muscles that she had developed from intense activity and diligence. Chastain embraces a body that reflects her hard work.

Jenny Thompson, once labeled as one of the world’s greatest female swimmer, shares Chastain’s pride in her body. Thompson posed topless for *SI* with nothing covering her breasts but her clenched fists. She defends the photo on the basis that it was not for sex appeal, but to validate her strength, fitness, and “the beauty of muscles.”¹²⁹ The German National Soccer team that posed semi-nude in a German version of *Playboy* also believes there was nothing wrong with displaying the bodies they had worked so hard to tone.¹³⁰ While Chastain and Thompson can argue that their aims were not about objectifying their bodies, media outlets like *SI* can mistranslate a model’s intention in order to cater to a different cultural ideal. The end result is completely different from what the model originally intended. The media shapes Chastain and Thompson’s message because these particular athletes happen to fit the ideal image of male fantasy: blond, white, and physically fit.¹³¹ Their muscles are less threatening because the women exemplify the traditional sense of femininity in other ways. Chastain and Thompson possess a luxury that not all women have because they are conventionally beautiful and can be both feminine and strong.

¹²⁹ Carty, “Textual Portrayals...,” 138.

¹³⁰ Fink, Kane, and LaVoi, “Freedom to Choose...,” 211.

¹³¹ Carty, “Textual Portrayals...,” 138.

Female athletes face societal pressure from the public to use their bodies as profit-makers and “succeed” in standards that suggest wealth equals success. Larger influences, like the Sports Sponsorship Advisory Service, support the sex appeal route and told female athletes that they should “play the sex appeal card to attract more media coverage and therefore more sponsorship.”¹³² Women’s bodies are demanded by the public, but also legitimate advisories validate this demand and encourage the behavior. Recognizing that this labeling exists shows an inequality between how men and women’s bodies are perceived, but further understanding the role the difference has on society is crucial because it illegitimizes athletic skill. When female athletes are judged more on their looks than their athletic talent, the integrity of the entire sport is questioned. For example, in the 1990’s, Anna Kournikova’s sex appeal fueled her fame and brought in endorsements irrespective of the fact that she had never won a singles tournament.¹³³ However, she was blond, slender, and pretty.

The emphasis on sex appeal not only has an effect on media coverage and endorsements, but it can also shape the sport. For example, an ESPN reporter revealed that Wimbledon officials seeded attractive athletes in the center courts and the less attractive ones in the side courts with smaller audiences.¹³⁴ Similarly, emphasizing a beauty ideal that centers on an athlete’s body takes the attention away from unhealthily skinny fashion bodies that are an unrealistic goal. Former *New York Times* style editor Holly Brubach argues that muscles are actually sexy because they:

bestow on a woman a grace in motion that is absent from fashion photographs, and other images in which the impact resides in a carefully orchestrated, static pose. Muscles also impart a sense of self-possession –a quality that is unfailingly attractive...the athlete has come by her powers of attraction honestly. Other women’s valiant attempts to make

¹³² Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 129.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

themselves beautiful –even when they succeed –are no match for the athlete’s evident pleasure in her own articulate body.¹³⁵

Brubach argues that an athletic body is attractive because it represents hard work. On another note, the photographs of athletes are arguably more interesting than those of fashion models because they do possess the same self-confidence that an athlete. The idea of how a woman holds her body and the demeanor it reflects touches upon Iris Young’s theories on spatial awareness.

SI is not the only medium that portrays the ambiguity of athletic prowess and a more docile, feminine approach. Nike ran an ad, “Let Me Play,” during the 1996 Summer Olympics that pushed women to “own” their physical strength, have self-confidence and practice healthy habits. The words are inspiring, but the images that accompany the lyrics are disconnected because the women are depicted in dresses, fixing each other’s hair, or standing with gymnastic rings (not unlike the inactive portrayals of women on *SI* magazine). Ads like Nike’s further negate the message that female athletes are trying to redefine femininity that is inclusive of athleticism and strength.¹³⁶ This advertisement is particularly powerful because it deceives the viewer into believing that women are breaking stereotypes. In reality, the advertisement highlights our naivety of in thinking that the perception of serious female athletes is progressing for the better.

Careful analysis of women on the covers of *SI* has not only yielded quantitative data (i.e. exact number of women on the covers in a particular year), but closer examination demonstrates the representation of certain sports deemed feminine or not. Eleanor Metheny in 1965 argued that there is “a direct correlation between which types of sports a female participates in and how

¹³⁵ Ibid., 131.

¹³⁶ Carty, “Textual Portrayals...,” 141.

socially acceptable –or stigmatized –that participation was depending on how much a particular sport required them to challenge traditional gender stereotypes.”¹³⁷ Using Metheny’s analytical framework, individual sports like tennis and golf are appropriate for female athletes because the movements are aesthetically pleasing and the apparel emphasizes “girliness.” With the same framework in mind, team combat sports like football and basketball that require aggression and physicality to take down another player are inappropriate for female athletes because it challenges that convention of girliness. Although Metheny’s work in gendered sports was conceptualized 40 years ago, the typology is still prevalent in today’s athletic realm.¹³⁸

With some of this background in mind, we can start to craft a hypothesis answering why the passage of Title IX seems to have little effect on the coverage of women in *SI*. With society growing more accepting of females in athletics, one would expect to see that acceptance reflected on the covers of the biggest magazine in the sports world. Although society has widened the range of participants they deem acceptable to partake in sports, like gender and race, gender stereotypes prevent women from being celebrated for their athleticism. Until women in sports are seen as athletes instead of women who play sports, we cannot expect *SI* to increase their coverage of women. After all, sex does sell. Female athletes who do receive endorsements “are much more likely to come from individual sports where traditional beauty norms rule the day.”¹³⁹ Athletes are influence young, and older, followers. Forcing women to choose between identifying as an athlete or a woman disrupts their role as positive influences because it promotes an unnatural beauty standard.

Women as Object of the Gaze

¹³⁷ Fink, Kane, and LaVoi, “Freedom to Choose...,” 208.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 209.

¹³⁹ Fink, Kane, and LaVoi, “Freedom to Choose...,” 209.

Athletes, both male and female, act as role models because they inspire a level of achievement that requires hard work and is not easily accessible to the average person. *SI* uses the influence athletes hold over the general population to sell magazines. Featuring skilled and attractive role models seems like an obvious choice for the most profit. The distinction that Ogden and Rosen make in their book, *A Locker Room of Their Own*, is that women are not aware of their objectification. The authors write “What separates today’s female athlete from the sheer entertainment quality of their typically male predecessors, however, is that the only ones who do not seem to know that they are not spectacles or affectations or source of public sexual relief...are the women themselves.”¹⁴⁰ While the athletes on the covers may be led to believe that their bodies are featured as an inspiration for younger women, their bodies are actually interpreted as overtly sexual objects to be looked at.

Women are not completely absent from *SI* covers. However, the motives and specifics of the poses and choice of which women make the cover are driven from a sexualizing perspective. For example, when Gil Rogin selected Mary Decker to be the 1983 Sportswoman of the Year, the other editors questioned why a more dominant athlete like Edwin Moses or Martina Navratilova had not been chosen instead. The staff joked that Rogin’s decision stemmed from his infatuation and obsession with the middle-distance runner. Kenny Moore, one of Rogin’s employees, said that Rogin was “entranced by watching her run, watching her move.”¹⁴¹ His extreme obsession and desire to pursue relations with Decker threatened the prestige of the magazine and also raised some moral and ethical issues. Decker, a diligent and prodigious runner was not appreciated for her skill, but for the editor’s obsession with her looks and physical attractiveness. Men are not exempt from receiving “heartthrob” labels that may improve their

¹⁴⁰ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, xx.

¹⁴¹ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 262.

chances of making a cover. However, there has not yet been a situation where a male athlete was specifically chosen to appear on an *SI* cover for his sex appeal to the masses (or one voyeuristic editor who misused a power). Decker is an example of women whose athletic achievements are overlooked in favor of their attractiveness.

In Laura Mulvey's collection of essays, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, she uses a feminist analytical framework to explain situations like Decker's and explores the relationship between male gaze and the objectification of women. Having a background in cinema, much of Mulvey's theoretical framework relies on film as examples of the asymmetry of gender power. For example, directors tend to shoot films in the perspective of a male's eye and therefore focus more on women's backsides and breasts. My junior year American Studies professor used a scene from the first *Transformers* movie to demonstrate how a camera lens acts as a heterosexual male's eye when in the presence of an attractive female. About twenty minutes into the 2007 film, actor Shia LaBeouf sees Megan Fox walking down the road, and offers her a ride, but the

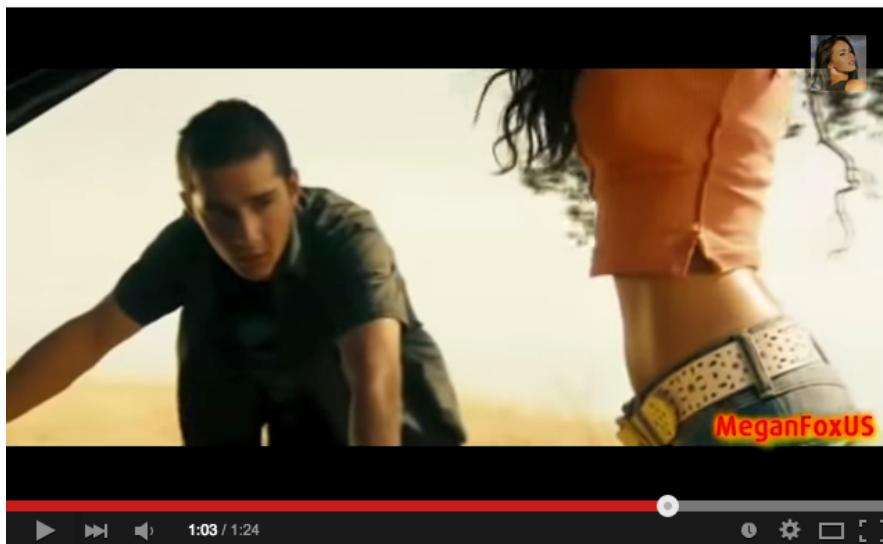


Figure 1. Dir. Michael Bay, *Transformers* YouTube Clip

car breaks down soon after. Fox pops the hood, and begins to inspect the engine.¹⁴² At the start of the shot, the camera focuses in on Fox's midriff from the side, as LaBeouf stares in awe. Her head isn't even in the

¹⁴² *Transformers*. Paramount Home Entertainment :, 2007. Film.

shot.¹⁴³ LaBeouf's eyes are focused nowhere near the inside of the car or her face, but on Fox's body. This is an example of the director filming in such a way that forces the audience to view the cast members, specifically the women, as a straight male would. The lens scans the body to fetishize a portion of the woman to be looked at.

The *Transformers* scene is one of many in the rest of the film, but its tenets are present in all other forms of media like *SI*. I chose to use the above scene to clarify the simplicity of the concept and how media employs male gaze theory. Fox, in this example, is an epitome of Mulvey's "to-be-looked-at-ness." Mulvey describes the passive, objectified image of a woman as "isolated, glamorous, on display, sexualised."¹⁴⁴ Gil Rogin's decision to put Mary Decker on the cover of *SI* because of his attraction can be identified as a scopophilic instinct or as Mulvey describes it, "pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object."¹⁴⁵ Rogin disregarded Decker's athletic talent in favor of the sexual attraction he felt towards her body. This insight into the thought processes of the editors' further supports the over-sexualized messages of females on *SI*. By looking at the poses, placement, and relation, if any, to other people on the magazine we see that these women are objectified because they are viewed through a male gaze lens. Victoria Carty, who studied print advertisements of women in a variety of magazines, including *SI*, argues that females are advertised as sex objects. Just as the male gaze works in camera lenses, the sexual characterizations "are constructed in a way that sexualizes the athletes to appeal to the male audience."¹⁴⁶ Mulvey's cinematic study can be transferred to still photos to

¹⁴³ YouTube. *Transformers scene* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ch0Hu917CQ>

¹⁴⁴ Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 15-26.

¹⁴⁵ Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, 25.

¹⁴⁶ Carty, "Textual Portrayals...", 135.

support Carty's point that female athletes cater to a male audience as shown by their poses, attire, and angling of the camera on *SI* covers.

Mulvey's theory and the example from popular movies like *Transformers* show that the media uses sex to sell their product, but does not disclose the success of the sex sells tactic. A 2007 study published in the *Journal of Gender Studies* examined the effectiveness of sex in advertisements. Out of two hundred and eighty-seven advertisements, the researchers concluded that a majority of the advertisements did not use sex appeal, but those that did were most often in magazines that were geared towards a male audience. The models, or characters, in question were predominately females alone or with a male.¹⁴⁷ The emphasis on the female character's appearance further implies that "women's primary reason for being is to be 'admired, manipulated, and used by men.'"¹⁴⁸ The study sorted the three basic ways in which advertisers used sex to sell their products. The first states that women are shown as an *object* of either another character's gaze or their own –perhaps in a mirror. Second, they express *alluring behavior* like a wink, batting eyelash, or lip biting. And the final category is the *clothing* (often provocative) that includes both how covered they are and type of clothes that the character wears.¹⁴⁹

To conduct the study, the researchers randomly selected nine magazines (with a mixture of male readership, female readership, and neutral) and coded certain variables. If the characters signified any one of the three categories, then it was marked as using sex to sell. Of the 287 advertisements, 53% were geared towards males, 37% to females, and 15% neutral. The

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Monk-Turner, Kristy Wren, et al. "Who is Gazing at Whom? A Look at How Sex Is Used in Magazine Advertisements." *Journal of Gender Studies* 17 (2008): 201, accessed September 2014.

¹⁴⁸ Monk-Turner, "Who is Gazing at Whom..." 202.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

characters in the ads were almost exactly equal male or female. The results proved that 99% of the ads included alluring behavior, 82% provocative and 46% were objectified.¹⁵⁰ The magazines that were geared towards a male audience were much more likely to have objectified images of women. The gender-neutral magazine audiences rarely had images that used sex to sell a product. The data collected by Monk-Turner's study supports Mulvey's male theory because "objectified advertising characters were much more likely to appear in magazines aimed at male audiences than others. Thus, it is primarily a male audience that observes objectified female advertising characters."¹⁵¹ To relate back to my study of *SI* magazine, this study helps explain the shifting readership demographics of the company. Throughout the years, the number of women who appear on the covers decreases, but the manner in which they pose is more suggestive and provocative –especially with the creation of the Swimsuit Edition. The changing dynamic suggests that the covers are changing to conform to a higher male audience, or that the male readership is increasing because more sexualized women appear on the covers. By catering to a male audience who prefer to see women in an objectified light (whether or not they are aware of this), the female athlete is delegitimized because she must revert to using her sex appeal to appear on covers, which in turn overlooks her athletic achievements.

Understanding Naomi Wolf's ideas will improve the analysis of a woman's, especially an athlete's, grappling of how to be appropriately feminine. While Mulvey and others explored the concept of using a woman's sex appeal to satisfy a specific audience, or to obtain endorsements, Wolf's ideas about femininity help express a battle women fight in defining who they are. Wolf, in her book *The Beauty Myth*, traces the idea of a beauty myth back to biology. Beauty is something women wish to embody, and men wish to possess women who embody that beauty.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 204-205.

¹⁵¹ Monk-Turner, "Who is Gazing at Whom...", 207.

Wolf notes that men will fight each other for the most beautiful woman and are consequently more reproductively successful. In this way, beauty correlates with fertility in the socio-biologic view. Because it is based on sexual selection, “it is inevitable and changeless.”¹⁵²

The previous paragraph is a myth. Beauty is not reliant on biology, nor is it static. Wolf argues that “beauty” is a currency system that is “determined by politics, and in the modern age in the West it is the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact.”¹⁵³ She pushes the idea that men created inorganic physical standards that women compete to possess. Beauty is culturally imposed to express a hierarchy of power relations.¹⁵⁴ Wolf turns the beauty myth around on men because it is not about women, but men’s “institutions and institutional power.”¹⁵⁵ As it stands, our economy relies on the beauty myth because women become consumers, in order to uphold this standard, to fuel our industrial society.¹⁵⁶

Wolf’s analysis of the beauty myth is important in my research because it explains a larger context for the placement and choice of women on *SI* covers. The publication itself is not solely responsible for posing women as overly sexualized, feminine figures who cannot possess both beauty and athleticism simultaneously. However, the *SI* covers act as evidence for the pressures that society places on female athletes. It’s difficult to find a balance between athleticism and femininity. If you’re too girly, you’re not strong enough to be a successful athlete. But if you’re too muscular or athletic, then you’re stereotyped as “butch” and are unattractive to the general public, which becomes particularly difficult for athletes who are seeking endorsements and support from sponsors. The good news, if Wolf’s theory is correct, is

¹⁵² Wolf, Naomi. *The Beauty Myth*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991, 12.

¹⁵³ Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, 12.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

that the beauty myth is not rigid or changeless. Because it's a societal standard, it is possible to transform.

Chapter 4: “Nudity is More Destructive to Our Youth Than an Atom Bomb”¹⁵⁷ and The Birth of the Swimsuit Edition

Contemporary *SI* issues publish articles and covers on “hard sports” like football, basketball, and baseball. However, in its conception in 1954, *SI* concentrated on leisure activities that included fashionable sportswear, exotic travel, card games, and boating. With the creation of the Swimsuit Edition, as well as the coincidental shift from “soft” to “hard” sports, the company earned a significant profit. On January 21st, 1963, the magazine ran a travel piece with a picture of a young model wearing a swimsuit in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico. The managing editor, André Laguerre, chose this story to satisfy the *SI* producers who perceived a time gap in sports between football bowl games and baseball spring training. Because the magazine was losing money during the lull periods between sports season, Laguerre opted to fill the space with the inaugural Swimsuit Edition “on the cover and five pages of pictures of women models in swimsuits.”¹⁵⁸ Laguerre’s editorial ingenuity raked in so much money that Swimsuit Edition became a staple for this country –an American tradition along with “baseball, hot dogs, and Mom.”¹⁵⁹

Nineteen sixty-four marked a time of turmoil and the Freedom Summer for the U.S., the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights and Feminist movement.¹⁶⁰ That same year, *SI*’s ideal consumer teetered towards a male readership with fewer females reading the issues.¹⁶¹ One fall day in 1964, in the midst of social and cultural commotions, Julie Campbell, an assistant in the fashion department, made her own waves at *SI*. Laguerre called Campbell into his office and asked her to photograph some beautiful women in an exotic place to fill the space in the winter

¹⁵⁷ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 139.

¹⁵⁸ Laurel Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue and Sport: Hegemonic Masculinity in Sports Illustrated*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 10.

¹⁵⁹ Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue*, 16.

¹⁶⁰ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 162.

¹⁶¹ Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue*, 15.

season. Senior writer Jack Olsen would write a travel piece to accompany the photo shoot. Campbell, thrilled to have an opportunity to express her creativity and productivity, immediately went to California to find the ideal model. In her words, she explains her choice of woman: “I thought we should use more natural kinds of women. And in California, they are bigger and healthier; and look more like beach girls. The girl who I chose to put on the cover still had her baby fat, and that was in the days when everyone was really, really skinny.”¹⁶² Sue Peterson fit Campbell’s standards and would become the first face of the provocative Swimsuit Edition.

Campbell found other young women with similar bodies to Peterson’s. She explained in a 1967 memo that “I just look for a girl who seems the type my husband would like...the girl has to look healthy, has to be the kind men turn around to stare at, has to have visible spirit and should be athletic.”¹⁶³ Campbell explicitly states that the sole purpose of these swimsuit models, and therefore the issue entirely, is to be looked at by men. Although she may not have wished for their objectification, Campbell could not have been unaware to the implications of selecting a type of women that would cater to a male audience. The final product resulted in highly sexualized photographs, but Cheryl Tiegs, one of the models, describes Campbell as a woman who encouraged the models to feel good about their bodies. If the posing became too provocative or inappropriate, Campbell stepped in front of the cameraman for the defense of her models’ well being. She kept her eye on the models and warned the photographers about getting involved with the women.¹⁶⁴

Over ten years after Campbell’s successful shoot with Sue Peterson, the Swimsuit Edition, which started as a travel magazine with popular vacation spots, transformed into a hotly

¹⁶² MacCambrige, *The Franchise*, 138.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

contested, soft pornographic spectacle. In the fall of 1977, Campbell and Cheryl Tiegs worked in Brazil with photographer Walter Iooss. Tiegs was on the beach, kneeling in the surf. The staff grew impatient because they had yet to capture a decent shot. They took one last photo—one that Campbell never expected to run in the magazine. Before Iooss snapped the final photo, Campbell suggested that Tiegs dip down in the water to make her skin glisten. On January 16th, 1978, *Sports Illustrated*'s cherished "sunshine issue" featured Tiegs in a white fishnet suit with a panel of white fabric below the waist. Her chest, including her breasts and nipples, were visible through the fishnet. Her skin glistened, but the water also made her swimsuit sheer, which spurred an inundation of reader complaints for its provocativeness.¹⁶⁵

Reception of Sports Illustrated Swimsuit Edition: the "Sunshine Issue"

Cheryl Tiegs's revealing swimsuit photo "earned a record number of letters, far surpassing the highest prediction in the office's annual guess-the-number-of-cancellations pool."¹⁶⁶ Readers labeled Campbell a "perv." A photo with such controversial imagery would have caused a commotion regardless of the model, but Tiegs's previous work for the magazine in 1970 disrupted the readers' familiarity with the model and instead left the readers feeling invasive, as if they had witnessed the model disrobe.¹⁶⁷ The incident also altered the modeling industry's focus from clothing to a titillating and provocative vision. The fishnet photo and the hiring of Kelso Sutton to replace Laguerre after his retirement generated the Swimsuit Edition's averaged sales of 79,000 a week in 1977.¹⁶⁸

Profits soared with the Swimsuit Edition. The concept that initially featured beach vacations grew into *SI*'s best selling annual issue. Although it was a hit on the stands, both

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 217.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 218.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 218.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 234.

female and male readers willingly expressed their ill feelings about the issue. W. Frank Caston of Columbia, South Carolina, wrote to the editors that the Swimsuit Edition did not associate with legitimate sports. Caston also found the Sunshine Issue inappropriate for a younger audience. He wrote:

You may think that such pictures sell more copies, but I do not believe they do...I certainly do not want such pictures coming into my home for my young teenage son to ogle, much less myself. Think of the thousands of other youngsters around the country that you people are influencing, and don't do this just for what may be financial gain. Please leave that to the pulp magazines!¹⁶⁹

Mr. Caston of South Carolina represents a portion of the population who felt that the Swimsuit Edition extended outside the sports realm and breached into a sexualized and unwelcome cultural item. Before the conception of the Swimsuit Edition, *SI* reached out to a broad audience of men and women, adults and young sports fans. The targeted audience narrows to only men, which is shown both in the current *SI* media kit¹⁷⁰ and the increasing objectification of women. The latest installment of the Swimsuit Edition was so unconventional that Caston felt uncomfortable allowing his son to see the issue.

Caston's letter was sent just a few days after the first Swimsuit Edition was released. However, three years later, the issue still received criticism. On February 20th, 1967 readers argued against female nudity. Wendell Diehl Jr. of Fremont, Ohio addresses a concern in the January 30th 19th *Hole* where another reader said, "nudity is more destructive than an atom bomb."¹⁷¹ Diehl says he would rather see "Marilyn Tindall [the model in question] dropped into the center of our city instead of an atomic bomb..."¹⁷² Benjie Fontaine of Louisiana argues, on

¹⁶⁹ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. February 10th, 1964.

¹⁷⁰ The media kit, described in chapter 1 on page 12, shows that the readership break down is 75% male and 25% female.

¹⁷¹ *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. January 30th, 1967.

¹⁷² *Sports Illustrated*, Letters to the Editors. February 20th, 1967.

the same matter, that some works of art display more nudity than “Miss Tindall.” Caston, a family man whose values rested on the proper upbringing of his child, detested the issue for its explicitness, while Fontaine and Diehl were unfazed by *SI*’s new development. Men like Fontaine and Diehl were key targets for the editors.

The controversy surrounding the Swimsuit Edition is not only apparent in the letters to the editor, but also in a popular comic strip where the characters comment on the overt sexuality of the recent issues. In 1989, “Doonesbury” writer Garry Trudeau published a series of comics where Boopsie, one of the main characters, models for the Swimsuit Edition. Spanning from January 23rd to the 28th, Doonesbury provides comic relief for Boopsie and her modeling stint. In the first strip, Boopsie calls B.D. and comments on how well they [the staff] treat her (see Fig. 41). She expresses her confusion about the magazine’s controversy and tells B.D. that it’s “nice that once a year there’s an issue of the magazine just for women readers!” She remarks that the purpose of the magazine is to help women choose beach apparel, and then asks, “Why do you think it’s such a big seller?” Trudeau’s characters express a larger societal belief that the over-sexualization of women is spun in a way that the women are mistakenly taken as advertisers for beachwear. B.D. is skeptical of the magazine’s real intentions, but she assures him the issues strictly sponsor women’s beachwear. As she speaks with B.D., she is posed lying on her side, backside in the air and then reclining on the beach with her eyes closed and her hair dripping behind her shoulders.¹⁷³

The following strip, Boopsie is given all the necessary accouterments for the photo shoot: hair spray, suntan lotion, and a bathing suit (see Fig. 42). When the director asks Boopsie to try on the bathing suit, Boopsie replies with “This? Oh, sorry, I thought it was dental floss.” Boopsie

¹⁷³ Garry Trudeau, “Doonesbury.” January 23, 1989.

makes light of the skimpiness of the swimwear, but then later vocalizes her discomfort because she feels like she is posing for *Penthouse*. After the photographer assures Boopsie that she's a natural, he asks her to actually put on the swimsuit for the final shots. She had been wearing the suit the entire time, and says to the director "see, that's what I mean!" In these past strips, Trudeau again comments on the sexuality of the magazine, this time poking fun at the actual swimwear.

The January 25th strip moves away from the absurdity of the bathing suits and instead to the actual message of the Swimsuit Edition. Boopsie tells the photographer that the poses are too suggestive. He again tries to dissuade her concerns and tells her that she needs to do it for the 12-year-old boy who is too young to buy *Playboy* and must therefore patiently wait all year for his father's *SI* subscription to come out with the Swimsuit Edition so that he can see revealing pictures of attractive women. He then says that she needs to do it for "the 12-year-old boy in **all** of us!" (see Fig. 43) Trudeau's dialogue between his characters reinforces the concept of a male gaze and a women's objectivity. He also alludes to the immaturity of men and their desire to see illicit, naked women.¹⁷⁴ The director reinforces Caston's concern that the photos were inappropriate for young readers—boys get a thrill from seeing these swimsuit models because they are not mature enough to be exposed to such sexuality. He tells Boopsie to "Lean back, close your eyes, and think about what we're selling!" In the final frame, we see Boopsie arching her back, swimsuit untied, and a thought bubble that says "sports wear." (see Fig. 44) We see in this strip the irony of Boopsie ignorantly believing she is selling the swimsuit when her pose suggests otherwise. Her naivety represents those in society who deny that there is anything wrong with what the Swimsuit Edition sells. The covers manipulate the readers to think the

¹⁷⁴ See section about scopophilia.

issues exude innocence in looking at beachwear when in reality the issues are selling sex through objectification of the models' bodies (see Fig. 46).

British writer, producer, and comedian John Oliver, like Garry Trudeau, uses satire to raise questions and reflect some serious opinions regarding the relevance of *SI*'s best selling issue. Oliver posted a video on YouTube for his "Last Week Tonight" report on February 15th, 2015. The video addresses the Swimsuit Edition and asks the question, "how is this still a thing?" Within the opening scene, as Oliver introduces the topic for the week's report, a few women in the background are heard proclaiming "yes" in agreement to the Swimsuit Edition's absurdities. Oliver compares the positive reception of the magazine to "a creepy chorus of approval."¹⁷⁵ He then shows newsreels that quote men who commend the issue for being a "great, great magazine."¹⁷⁶ The next point addresses the fact that although the magazine was conceived in a time of blatant sexism, the edition has continued to linger and has become the focal selling point for the entire magazine. The continued relevance of the magazine is shocking because of our access to computers, and Google searches for naked ladies, so why the excitement over a once-yearly magazine?

To combat the increasing odds of irrelevancy, *SI* releases covers that stir controversy in several ways. They have featured racist covers with exotic locales and in 2014 issued a cover with Barbie, an *object* that already faces dispute for upholding unrealistic beauty standards. Most recently, *SI* caused a stir for how much of Hannah Davis's pubic region is shown. The raunchy cover sparks the question of "what comes next?" Oliver jokes that a full-frontal photo of female genitalia will appear in the future 2019 issue if *SI* keeps up its progression of sexualized models.

¹⁷⁵ "Last Week Tonight with John Oliver: Sports Illustrated Swimsuit Issue - How Is This Still a Thing?" YouTube Video. Posted by, "Last Week Tonight With John Oliver," February 15, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8QNDRbjong>.

¹⁷⁶ John Oliver, "Last Night...", 0:42.

Sports Illustrated Swimsuit Cover Analysis

Although the idea for the Swimsuit Edition was generated on the January 21st, 1963 cover about travel in Puerto Vallarta, it did not come to fruition until the following year when Babette March posed in a white bikini in the wash of a beach. This issue is important, not only for spearheading the movement that would become a bestseller magazine, but because it also sets the tone for the rest of the issues in the following years. March's pose appears neutral and innocent: she stands knee deep in the ocean, her right hip popped slightly, her right hand touches her face as she smiles and looks into the distance. This is not the first time that *SI* has shown a woman in her swimsuit (see: Zale Perry May 23, 1955 Fig. 46 or Chris Von Saltza Fig. 47) but her placement within the frame is key to setting the Swimsuit Edition apart from the other magazines. Davis notes that the models are put in the center of the frame where their bodies take up a large space in the picture. With attentive cropping (rarely below mid-thigh), the viewers are forced to focus on the women's bodies.¹⁷⁷

March's body does not give off immediate notions of sexuality or objectification: there is no cleavage and her bikini bottoms cover a large portion of her lower half. Using Goffman's theories to unpack the image, the subtle messages of femininity come to surface. Her legs are parted slightly, and her popped hip insinuates a feminine stance. The way in which she traces her face suggests Goffman's feminine touch. These visual cues demonstrate how the editors and photo directors pose the women to exude highly feminine qualities to appeal to a heterosexual male audience. The consequent femininity means that these women are using their bodies to sell the magazine. Regardless of the magazine's genre or targeted audience, women's bodies are being objectified as a sales ploy. If the roles were reversed and men's bodies were objectified for

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 26.

selling purposes, magazine stands would have muscular, physically attractive men, probably shirtless on traditionally women's magazines like *Glamour*, *Vogue*, or *Cosmopolitan*. Sex does sell, but magazines geared towards a female readership rarely, if ever, use half-naked men to promote the company.

As the Swimsuit Edition marks its presence in the *SI* domain and across newsstands everywhere, the covers grow more risqué as made evident by the evolving models and the lessening of their bathing suits in 1973 (refer to Haddon on page 79). Cheryl Tiegs, before her infamous not-quite-nip-slip in the white bathing suit incident, posed for the Swimsuit Edition issue on January 12th, 1970 (see Fig. 48). Her first cover is an excellent example of the power that carefully planned cropping can have in directing a reader's gaze. The first thing the reader sees is her crotch because the positioning of the photo places her pelvis near the center of the page. Although her lower half rests near the bottom of the cover, the above-the-thigh cropping leaves no room for the eye to wander, so it falls directly to her groin area. Her clothing simultaneously sexualizes and desexualizes her body. Her swimwear is not low-cut or revealing: the piece is long sleeve with a slight V-neck that covers almost all of the skin on her upper body and torso. However, the bottom of the shirt/dress ends just around the middle of her pelvis. The bright colored stripes that decorate the hem of the clothing, the slight tilt of her pelvis and the decision to crop the photo a little above mid-thigh directs the reader to literally look up her skirt. This cover invites a man's scopophilic instinct or the hormone-driven desire to "sneak a peak."

Laurel Davis explores intricacies and reasons behind a model's poses. She says that models often embody a natural and animalistic look where they are "crawling with the buttocks thrust upward, similar to the way many animals appear."¹⁷⁸ Although these types of poses may

¹⁷⁸ Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue*, 27.

not invoke certain femininity, a woman who crawls on her hands and knees acts as the submissive and her rawness in a natural state appeals to a male fantasy. Heidi Klum sits on her haunches, hands to the ground on her February 20th, 1998 cover (see Fig. 49). The photo is so zoomed in that the top of her head, her hands, and profile of her backside are cropped out. However, her hand placement allows her body to bend in such a way that her cleavage is immediately obvious and is the first thing the reader sees. The intensity of her gaze also invokes an animalistic feel. Like Klum, Dayle Haddon on January 29, 1973 alludes to animalistic forms (see Fig. 50). She sits in a few inches of water, her back is arched and she looks over her right shoulder to make eye contact with the camera. Her skin is smooth and wet enough that it glistens. While Klum's body was angled so that she faces the reader on a straight plane, Haddon is arranged so that the reader sees her profile, and therefore has a better view of her backside. The intensity of her stare and the positioning of her slender back refer to Davis' animalistic qualities.

Both Klum and Haddon, who exhibit inhuman poses, also sit on the ground. Women are more often than men depicted lying on beds or on the floor, according to Goffman's ritualization of subordination coding category. Women on the ground are sexually vulnerable and suggest submissiveness to men. On January 17th, 1966, model Sunny Bippus, lies sideways in the ocean's tide (see Fig. 51). Her face angles upwards to the sky, but her eyes are closed, hair falling back behind her shoulders with her arm bent behind her head. Bippus is completely vulnerable to the viewer's gaze because there is nothing between the camera lens and her bare stomach and covered genitalia. There is no hair to cover her face, and the arm she is not propping herself up with is positioned behind her body. Her facial expression is one of licensed withdrawal, but also the overall pose is overtly feminine and one that a man would never use.

Tannia Rubiano on February 1st, 1971, strolls along a beach in a red halter “wrap” (can’t quite call it a bikini) with a sarong around her hips (see Fig. 52). The top of the sarong is tucked in at the front, which exposes her right leg. Her “bashful knee bend” and the way her body weight rests on leg creates a very clear body cant. The pop of her left hip is a characteristically “girly” way to position one’s body. In 1982, Carol Alt exhibited some similar movements (see Fig. 53). Because of the angle, we can’t quite see her full leg but the bend at the hip suggests her right leg is positioned like Rubiano’s. Her head tilts slightly forward in a seductive stare. The final aspect of this cover worth noting is the sensual stroking of her right leg. Her hand just lightly rests on the top of her right thigh and looks as if she is bringing the hand all the way up her body.

Almost all of the Swimsuit covers are coded with Goffman’s feminine touch. The majority of the women caress their hair, face, or leg. Elle Macpherson’s February 10th, 1986 cover adds another depth to the feminine touch a step by tugging at her swimsuit and therefore revealing more skin (see Fig. 54). She holds the straps of her suit that run vertically from her shoulders, over her breasts, and connect to the bottom half. Her hands are positioned below the breast, elbows back, and push outward against the strap.¹⁷⁹ Her hands do not wrap around the strap nor do they clench the suit. The straps rest in her hand between the thumb and forefinger so that her other fingers are long and outstretched –a characteristic of the feminine touch. As is the swimsuit model fashion, Macpherson’s head tilts back, eyes closed, and her hair falls behind her shoulders.¹⁸⁰ This cover pushes the feminine touch into a more sexualized realm because she

¹⁷⁹ The best way I can think to describe this without the picture is to imagine a man stretching the front of his suspenders away from his body. Instead, replace with a bathing suit.

¹⁸⁰ See also Tyra Banks’ February 21, 1997 cover for more swimsuit tugging action, as well as another Macpherson shot in 1988 where she pulls down the front of her suit to reveal her cleavage (see Fig. 56 and 57).

uses her hands, already delicately poised, to suggest that she is going to reveal a part of her naked body to the viewer. The angle of her body reveals the side of her breast, and teases the reader into thinking he (or she) will get to peak at her breasts.

Almost exactly a year later, Macpherson again appeared on a swimsuit cover (see Fig. 54). Although she's not tugging off her bathing suit, the revealing swimsuit exposes much of her pelvic region because of its cut. The leg opening extends high up her body to expose her hipbones. The low cut neckline exposes the top and sides of her breast, but the photographer chose this shot because her nipples are prominent. The lighting and material of the swimsuit make them more visible. The suggestive pose and the outline of the model's breasts and nipples through the swimsuit are examples of how a women's sexuality is used as a marketing tool. Had the models stood in gender-neutral poses or in swimsuits that covered more of their bodies, the magazine would not sell as many issues.

Daniela Pestova in 1995 exhibits two mannerisms that are reminiscent of Macpherson's: shirt tugging, as well as exposure to the model's nipples because of the shirt's clinging fabric (see Fig. 55). Pestova stands in front of a body of water, her midriff is bare and reveals a toned stomach. On her upper body she wears a t-shirt that is assumed to be wet because of the way it clings to her body and highlights the model's nipples –little is left to the imagination. She hugs her arms close to her chest, with the bottom of the raised shirt clenched in her hands. The stance suggests that she is lifting her shirt to expose her midriff, and will raise the shirt above her head and reveal her topless body.

The final groupings I want to bring attention to are the covers that have more than one nearly naked female. Even if the models are not positioned in overtly provocative or suggestive ways, the presence of more than one half-naked woman plays to a male sexual fantasy and a

trope of pornography. These types of covers allow the male viewer's sexual fantasies to play out in front of him. In 1994, *SI* published an issue called the "Dream Team" (comprised of Kathy Ireland, Elle Macpherson, and Rachel Hunter: see Fig. 58). The term is often associated with sports and consists of a group of people made up of the most valuable and skilled athletes of a particular sport. When applied to in the Swimsuit Edition context, the words rate or rank women for their sexuality. They must meet standards of femininity in order to be considered the best for male viewers. The Valeria Mazza and Tyra Banks cover in 1996 also alludes to a male fantasy where two women, almost naked, touch each other and the man gets to watch (see Fig. 59). Mazza and Banks are positioned back to back, with their backs arched to further accentuate the curvatures of their backsides and breasts.

The impact of using women's bodies as sexual selling tools is significant because it suggests that it's socially acceptable to objectify women. Their bodies are no different than an advertisement used for some other product. The employment of highly sexualized poses, defined by Davis, Goffman, and Mulvey, puts women in a place as a means to make money. Because our culture and society hold these beauty standards, other women thus strive to possess these feminine qualities in order to feel accepted, beautiful, successful, or to define self worth. If a woman does not possess a natural body that looks like these models, she may go to unhealthy lengths to attract a male audience like the swimsuit models do. The only models who are inspiring are athletes because they have healthy, toned bodies as a result of hard work. But because society doesn't see their athletic bodies as something to be desired in the eyes of a heterosexual male, they are labeled as unwelcome.

Conclusion and Title IX: A Revolutionary Year in Sports, but maybe not *SI*

Addressing the implementation of Title IX is important because although it may not have had a large impact on how women were portrayed on the covers, the law still changed women's participation in sports. It may take several more years for the media to alter their perceptions of women athletes, but Title IX has created an opening for that change to occur. Title IX is relevant to this project because it shows how publications like *SI* overlooked the legality and still chose the favor of the people over the rightness of the athletes. While laws promote the equality of females, *SI* and the public's desire to look at objectified women overpowers formal regulations, which actually reverses the law's effect because the female's athleticism is overlooked for appearances, sexuality, and femininity. Because men do not face the same treatment, *SI*'s lack of coverage for females builds the inequality that laws like Title IX try to combat. Until *SI* and the media can alter their portrayals to encompass more of a woman than just her attractiveness, women will continue to be considered lesser than their male counterparts.

Although the passage of Title IX may not have had a lasting effect on the coverage of female athletes for *SI*, the mandated law did spark a response from the editors that is reflected on the covers and behind the scenes. Title IX of the Education Amendments protects people, particularly women, from discrimination in the forms of sexual harassment, discrimination based on pregnancy and the "failure to provide equal opportunity in athletics."¹⁸¹ To gauge the impact the law had on the publication, I noted the number of women on the covers during the law's implementation. In 1972, three women made the cover. The following year, which would have shown the most resonance from Title IX, had five women. The number is low, but the nearly doubled amount is significant because there hadn't been that many females on the covers since

¹⁸¹ "Fast Facts: Title IX."

1963 (with six). For the following years, the number of covers featuring women remains steadily low and doesn't come back up until 1976, which also happens to be an Olympic year.¹⁸²

The year after Title IX provides a brief glimpse, although deceptive, of the potential upward trajectory of women on *SI* with which the magazine could have followed through. The number of women participating in sports (at an amateur and professional level) has increased since Title IX was passed.¹⁸³ Today, these female athletes have also intermixed into sports that were gendered male, like football, wrestling, ice hockey, and have stepped away from gendered female sports like ice-skating, tennis and gymnastics. The number of female participants has increased, but textual portrayals of women still focus on sexual appeal and feminine qualities instead of their athleticism.¹⁸⁴ For reasons of convention, the Title IX mandate did not have a large impact of female athlete coverage in the magazine. It is necessary to note that these kinds of social changes, even supported by an official law, take time to be accepted and reintegrated in the general public's ethos. However, *SI* missed an opportunity to be ahead of other magazine companies and spearhead the women's movement for gender equality by conversely fueling the disparity between men and women athletic coverage.

Many women were responsible for commanding the women's movement in sports. In my experience, the first ones that come to mind are the members of the Yale Crew in 1976, also referred to as the Red Rose Crew. Yale went co-ed in 1969, and the women's rowing team was relatively new in 1976. The men's team was the top of the pecking order. Though the men's statistics were not as impressive as the women's, they rowed with state-of-the-art equipment

¹⁸² Refer to the section about Olympic coverage of female athletes. Olympic years tend to have more women on the covers than any other year due to the increased opportunity for coverage of more "feminine" sports like ice-skating or gymnastics that do not have as much attention during the regular season.

¹⁸³ Carty, "Textual Portrayals..." 132.

¹⁸⁴ Carty, *Ibid.*, 132.

while the women were left with shoddy boats and oars. Without showers in their facilities, the women describe the wait after practice as the worst treatment: the women were forced to sit in their sweat in a cold bus while the men showered. Eventually, the women brought their grievances to athletic director Joni Barnett on March 3rd, 1976. Nineteen women stood in front of Barnett with nothing but the words “Title IX” painted on their bare stomachs and chests as they literally showed off their exploited bodies. This call for action would not be the only charge for women’s equality in sports.¹⁸⁵

After the women who worked behind the scenes of *SI* filed a sex discrimination suit against *Time, Inc.*,¹⁸⁶ Billie Jean King received the first ever Sportswoman (previously sportsman of the Year) in 1972. According to some of the editors, “the victory was a defining moment in female sports history.”¹⁸⁷ *Sport’s Illustrated* series on women in sports won a National Magazine Award and went to show the world where they stood on the stand of women participating in sports. The series was meant to reveal the effects that the newly mandated Title IX law would have on women and NCAA sports.¹⁸⁸

Three years before the Yale standoff, *SI*’s July 16th issue featured Billie Jean King who was voted the first Sportswoman of the Year. Until 1972, only men could win the Sportsman of the Year Award. King was awarded in 1972, which may or may not be in accordance with Title IX, but was not featured until 1973 (see Fig. 60). The latter fact is a direct result of the passage of Title IX. Had the law never been passed, it is hard to say if King would have ever been featured or at least not until later. It is plausible that she won the award in 1972, irrespective of

¹⁸⁵ Steve Wulf. “Title Waves.” *ESPN Magazine*, July 14, 2012. <http://espn.go.com/espnw/title-ix/article/7985418/espn-magazine-1976-protest-helped-define-title-ix-movement>

¹⁸⁶ MacCambridge, *The Franchise*, 174.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 195.

the law, but with the commotion of the new law, the *SI* editors thought they should hop on board and give King her cover. King's award may have been a result of the Battle of the Sexes tennis match in which King challenged male tennis star Bobby Riggs. Granted King was about twenty years younger than Riggs, but her victory would ignite a movement in women's sports. The match, for King, was not about winning, but instead proving that "audiences would be interested in watching women's tennis."¹⁸⁹ The win was amazing, but unfortunately would be overshadowed by the sex scandal that would follow soon after.¹⁹⁰

King's award was big for women in sports. As she told a New York Times reporter, "This is a definite break-through for us...This is great for women in general."¹⁹¹ King went on to express her happiness that women were recognized and will hopefully see women win the award alone (instead of sharing it with a male athlete). King also tells the reporter that it's time for people to change their views. The reporter and his article alone points to exactly what King is talking about. The entire article labels her as "Mrs." even after the reporter explicitly states that she "prefers Ms. in the best of women's liberation thinking..."¹⁹² The reporter notes that, as part of the women's liberation, King prefers a name that is not attached to her husband, yet his blatant disregard for her preferences further illuminates people's attitudes that women athletes were not taken seriously and their voices were overlooked, just as was there athletic talent.

¹⁸⁹ Ogden and Rosen, *A Locker Room of Her Own*, 48.

¹⁹⁰ The public later learned of King's homosexuality after an affair with her secretary. The scandal surrounding her affair and sexuality demonstrates that the public shapes their opinions of an athlete based on activities that are completely irrelevant to the sport.¹⁹⁰ Her sexuality reinforced the "butch" trope that continues to plague female athletes.

¹⁹¹ "Mrs. King Sportswoman of the Year." *New York Times*. December 21, 1972.

<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B05E3DC153DEF34BC4951DFB4678389669EDE>

¹⁹² "Mrs. King Sportswoman of the Year."

Another interesting part of the article is when the reporter lists her successes (winning the French, U.S., and Wimbledon Championships) along with the fact that she earned more than \$100,00 for the second straight year. His inclusion of her salary brings into the question of how society at the time, and even now, measures athletic success. Are we measuring her success based on her salary, or is her salary a reflection of that athleticism? It is hard to differentiate exactly, but the presence of the figure is something that needs to be questioned.

The “Red Rose Crew” and Billie Jean King are all indicators of the uproar that Title IX caused in an effort to give female athletes the same equality as their male counterparts. Rather, I should note the uproar was a result of the society’s reaction and inability to comply with the laws, as women still struggle to receive equal treatment from media outlets as made evident by *SI*’s lack of female portrayal in their post-1972 issues. Title IX legally allowed women’s involvements in sports and therefore increase their participant number. However, the lack of respect for these laws is what fueled the women’s movement in sports. Billie Jean King’s and the Red Rose Crew’s reactions to their inequality even with Title IX in effect demonstrates a failed societal acceptance for the laws. Had society, and media outlets like *SI* used the passage of Title IX to increase female coverage and put more females on their covers, King and the women of Yale would not have had to react so viscerally. Instead, the editors disregarded the laws to portray women in conventionally feminine poses.

Throughout this yearlong project I have studied the works of famous feminist and sociological scholars. With the writings of Mulvey, Goffman, Young, and Wolf, I have acquired a better understanding of how women are portrayed in the media. Ogden and Rosen, along with MacCambridge, provided important background to gather context about *Sports Illustrated* magazine and the immense impact it has in both the sporting and social world. With their

knowledge, and using analytical lenses like that provided by Roland Barthes, I learned to unpack the covers to reveal subtle messages that speak to societal mentalities. In the earlier issues, we learned that women's roles were primarily domestic or for sports fashions. They were not viewed as legitimate athletes and were seen on a completely different level than men. As the years progress, we see that women's stereotype evolves to a more sexualized one where athletes are forced to choose athleticism or femininity. Even with Title IX, fewer women are on the covers of *SI* than in the earlier issues, and they are featured in ways that downplay their athleticism, accentuate their femininity, and act to greater separate female athletes from males.

I wanted to conclude my thesis explaining the influences that Title IX had in the sporting world, yet did not budge the media coverage of female athletes. It is not simply enough that we establish the laws that award women equality, but society needs to recognize that allowing women to participate in sports does not diminish the over sexualization and objectification of women's bodies that have been pointed out in my study of *SI*. *SI* still does not give female athletes the recognition they deserve. For the 2015 year so far, two covers have shown women: one with the UConn's win at the NCAA championships, and the Swimsuit Edition of Hannah Davis's extremely provocative photo. In a time, and place, where so much of our thoughts and actions are influenced and perpetuated by celebrities and the media, *SI* plays a huge role in shaping the public's opinion. Women do have *more* equality than they did in the earlier half of the 20th century, but until industries like *SI* figure out how to represent a woman in more than her sexuality there is no equality. The fact that women today only made two covers is disappointing, especially in a time where female participation is significantly higher in sports than it was three decades ago.

Using sex appeal and objectifying women's bodies to increase fandom is the larger societal issue that needs to be addressed. Female athletes need to be celebrated for their talent, and, yes, their muscles, instead of pushing to reach beauty norms for increased endorsements. After all, we want our daughters to idolize these athletes for their hard work and health. We want our sons to look at a strong woman and not feel intimidated, but attracted. Leaving female athletes off the covers, on the basis that they are unattractive to the general population is an injustice and nothing will change if magazines with as much power as *SI* don't start pushing and counteracting the stereotype. Like the generations before us who fought to break through the domestic sphere and into a realm that embraced sexual openness, it may be time for another counterculture that defines femininity and beauty and upholds the value in healthy body images and successful female athletes.

Appendix

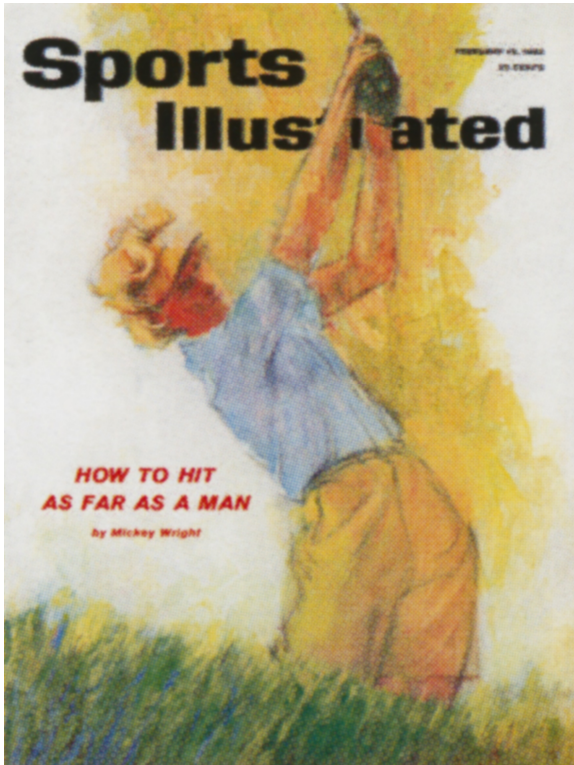


Figure 1. *Sports Illustrated*, Mickey Wright, 2/19/62.



Figure 2. *Sports Illustrated*, Julie Krone, 5/22/89.



Figure 3. *Sports Illustrated*, Sports Fashion, 10/17/60

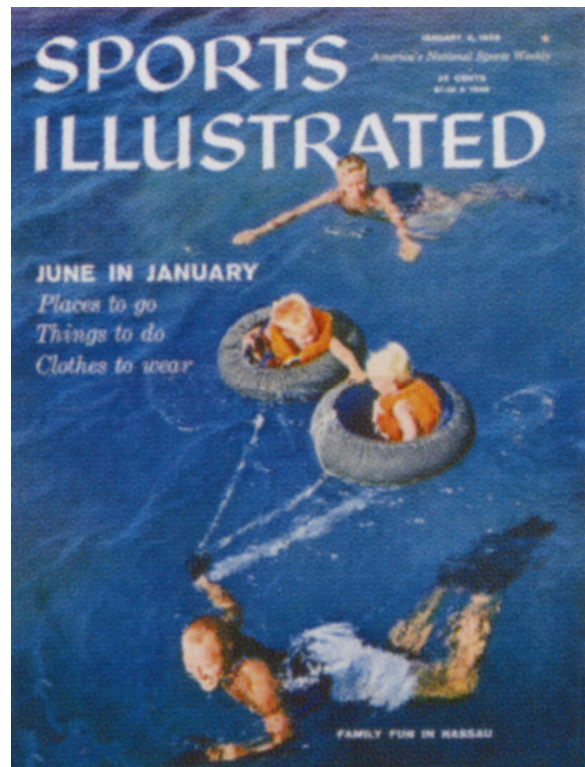


Figure 4. *Sports Illustrated*, Vacation Spots, 1/5/58

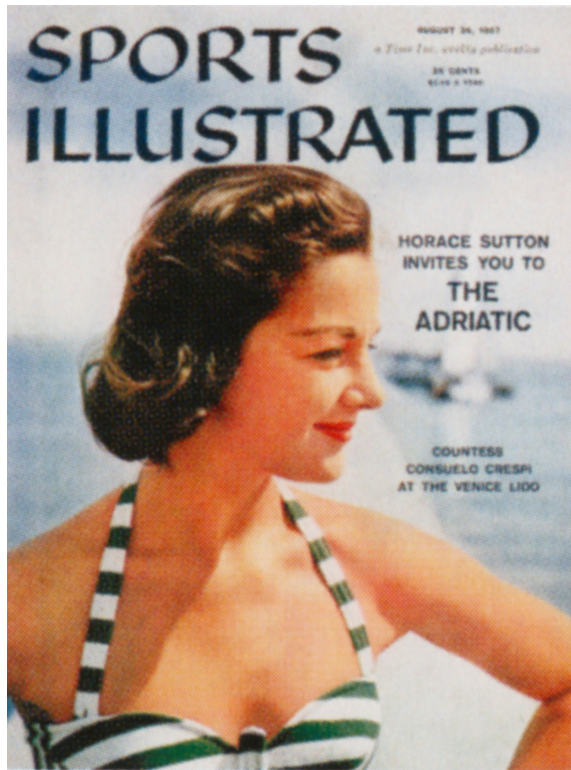


Figure 5. *Sports Illustrated*, Adriatic Beaches, 8/26/57.

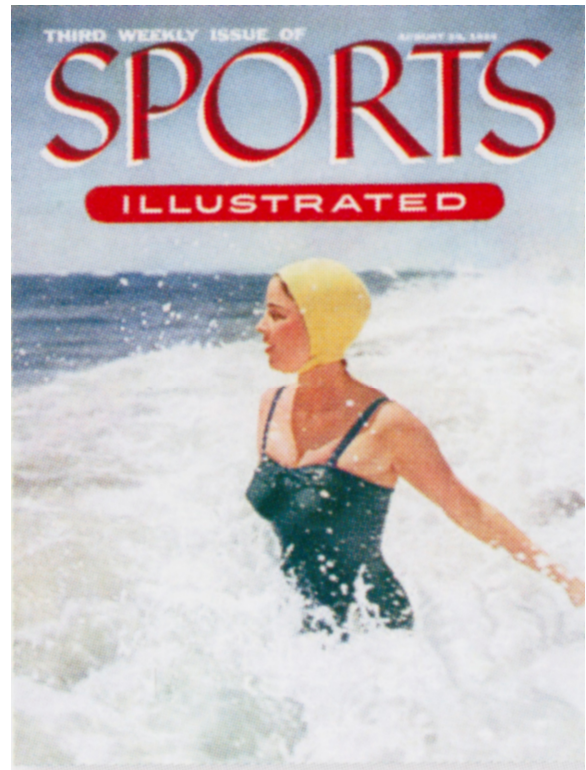


Figure 6. *Sports Illustrated*, Pamela Nelson, 8/30/54.

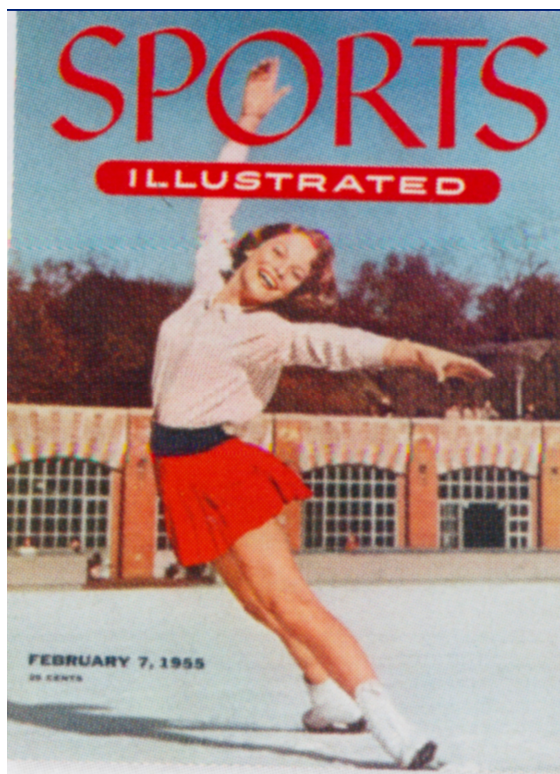


Figure 7. *Sports Illustrated*, Carol Heiss, 2/7/55.

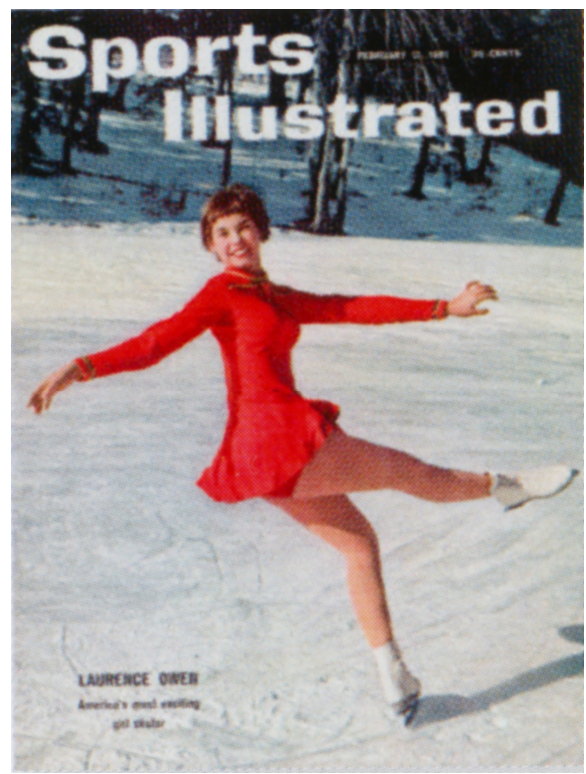


Figure 8. *Sports Illustrated*, Laurence Owen, 2/13/61.

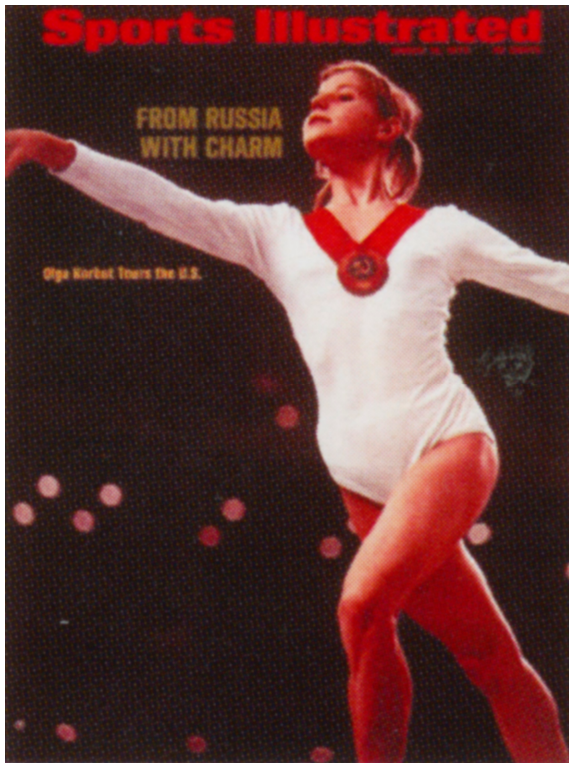


Figure 9. *Sports Illustrated*, Olga Korbut, 3/19/74.

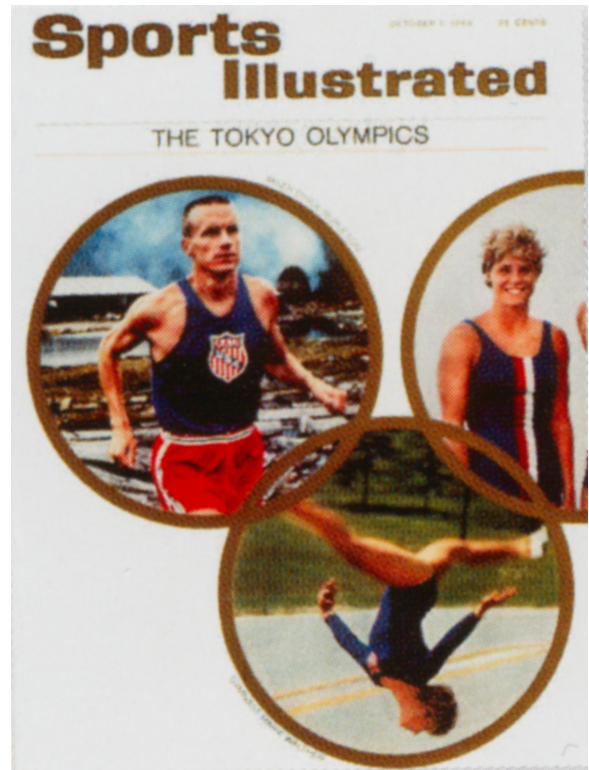


Figure 10. *Sports Illustrated*, Olympic Preview, 10/5/64.

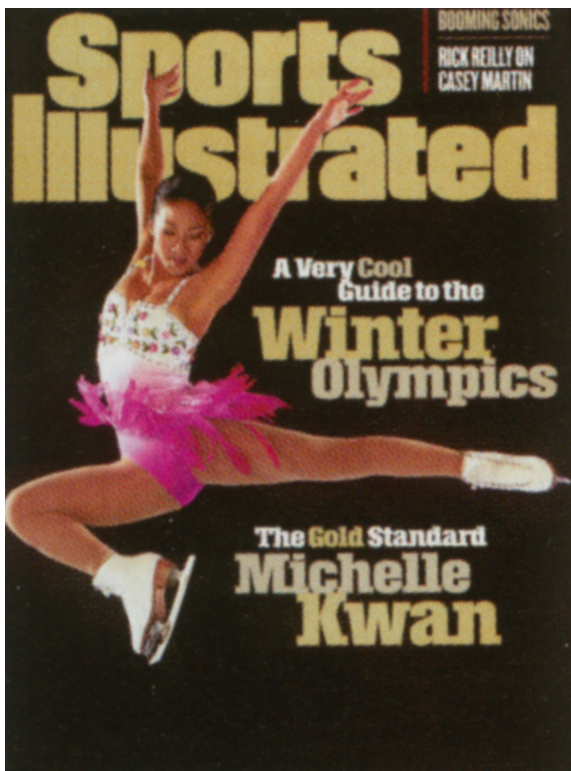


Figure 11. *Sports Illustrated*, Michelle Kwan, 2/19/98.

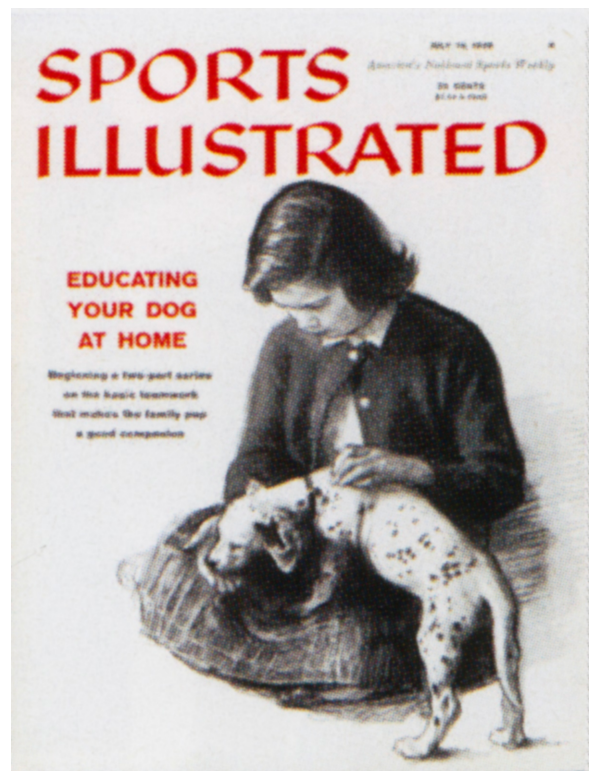


Figure 12. *Sports Illustrated*, Dog Training, 7/14/58.



Figure 13. *Sports Illustrated*, Pat Saviers, 12/1/58.

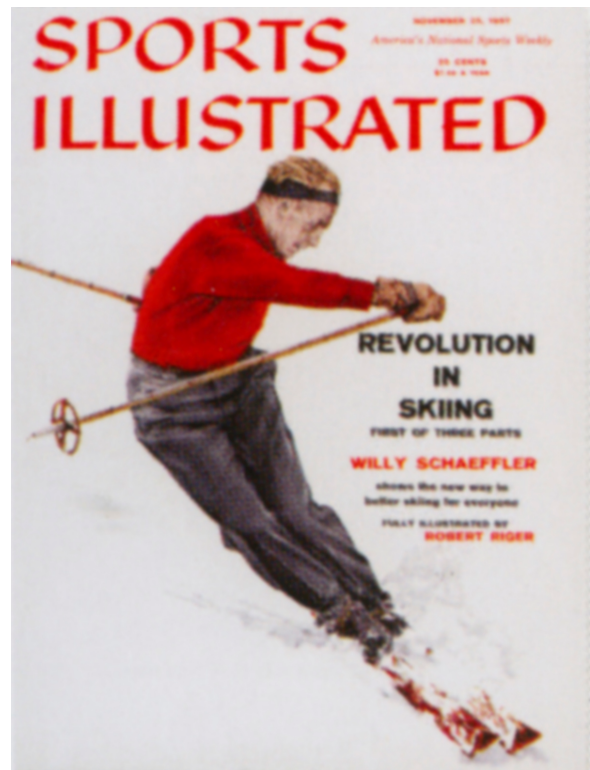


Figure 14. *Sports Illustrated*, Willy Schaeffler, 10/25/57.



Figure 15. *Sports Illustrated*, Chris Evert, 12/20/76.

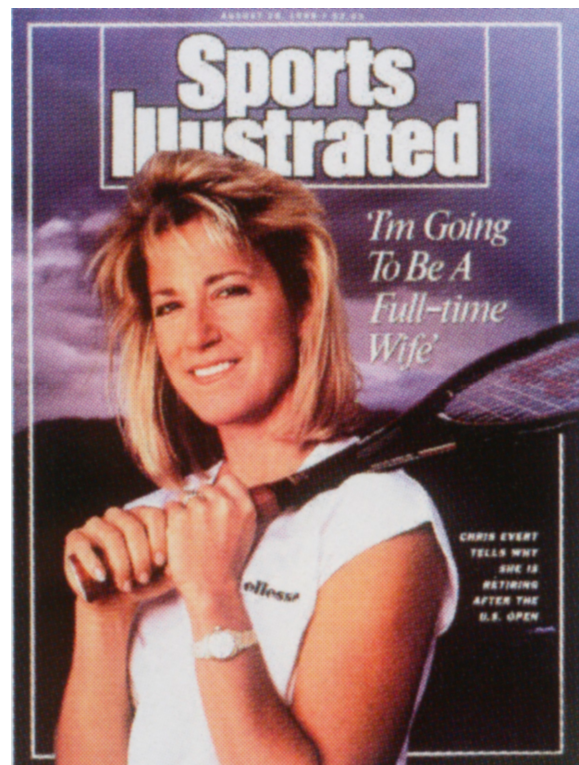


Figure 16. *Sports Illustrated*, Chris Evert, 8/28/89.

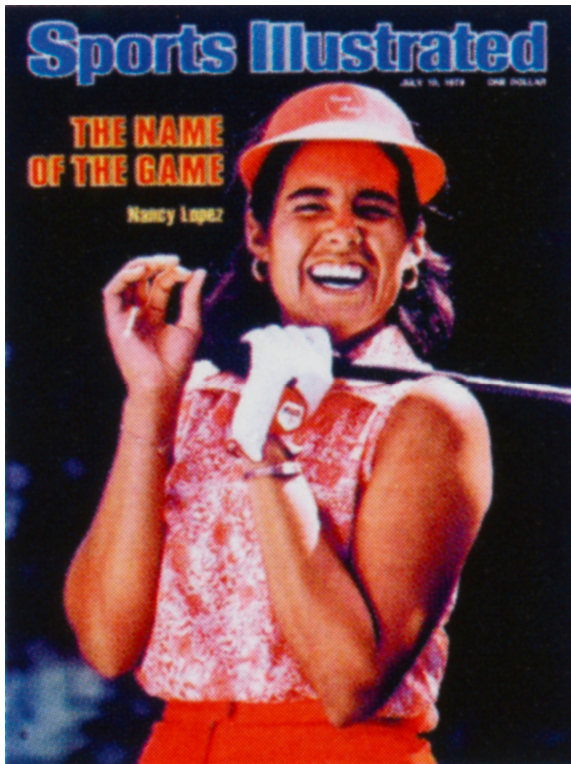


Figure 17. *Sports Illustrated*, Nancy Lopez, 7/10/78.



Figure 18. *Sports Illustrated*, Judy Torluemke, 8/21/61.

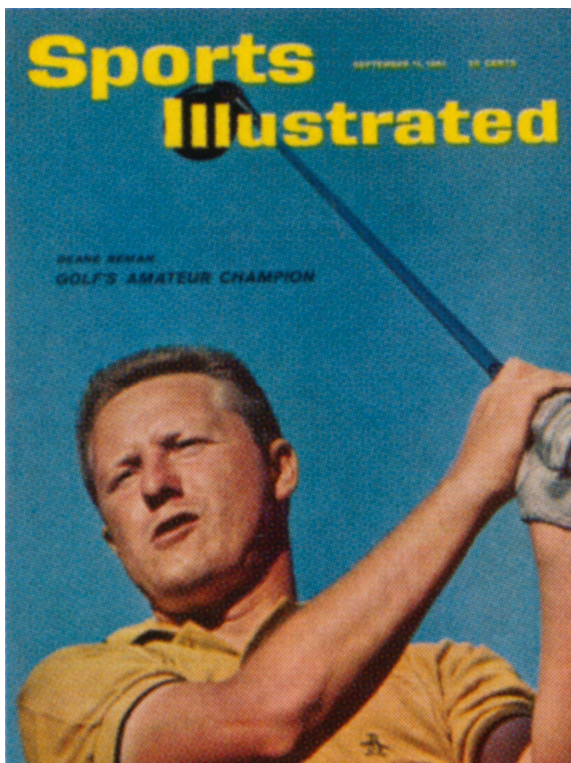


Figure 19. *Sports Illustrated*, Deane Beman, 9/11/61

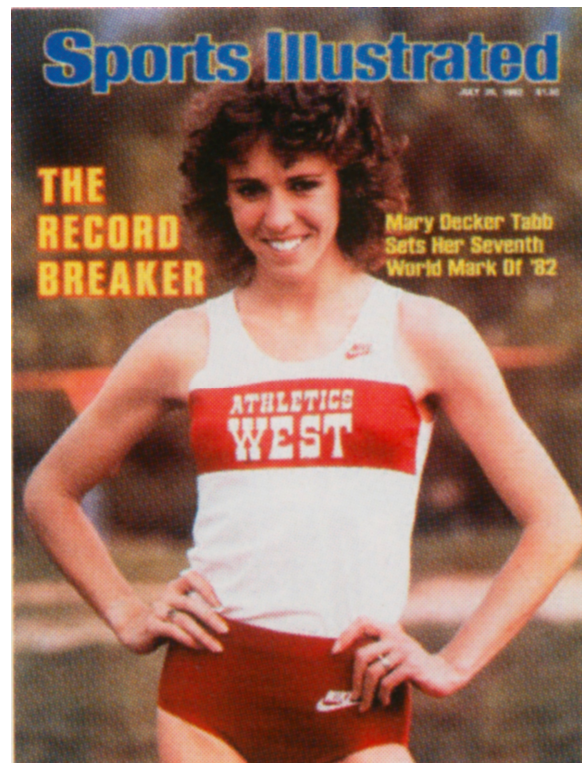


Figure 20. *Sports Illustrated*, Mary Decker, 7/26/82.



Figure 21. *Sports Illustrated*, Texas Track Club, 4/20/64.

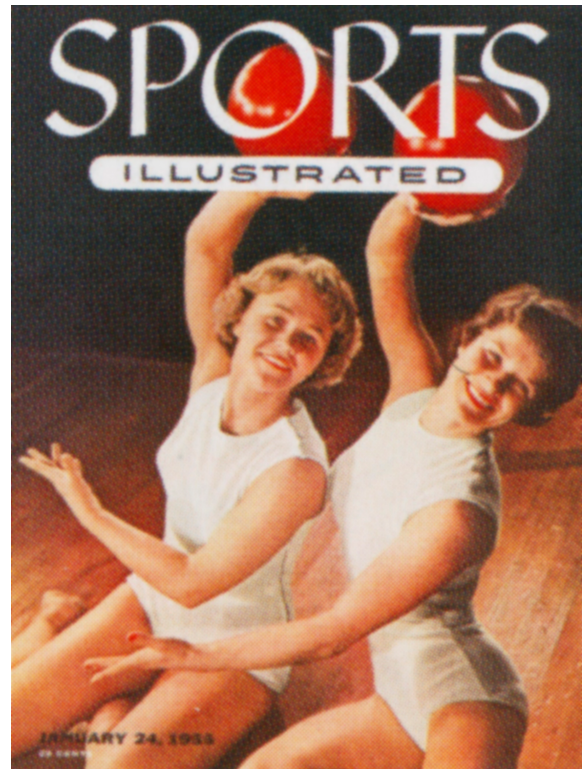


Figure 22. *Sports Illustrated*, Gymnasts, 1/22/55.

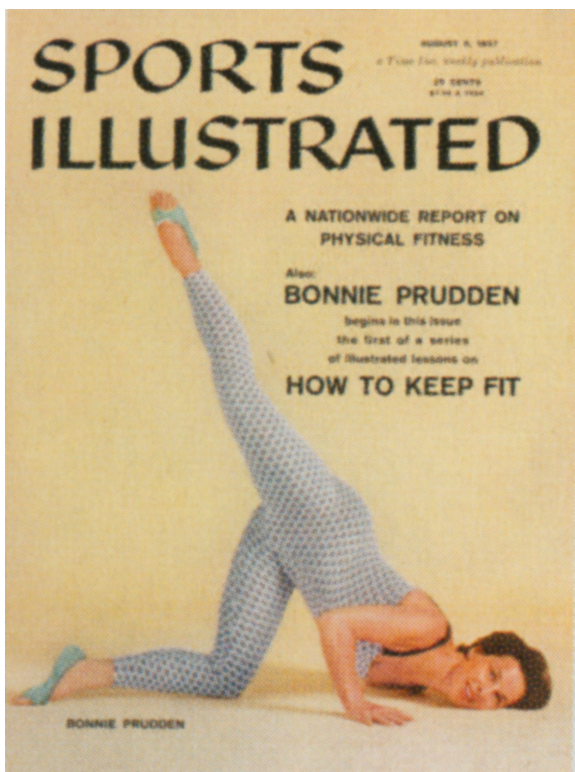


Figure 23. *Sports Illustrated*, Bonnie Prudden, 8/5/57.

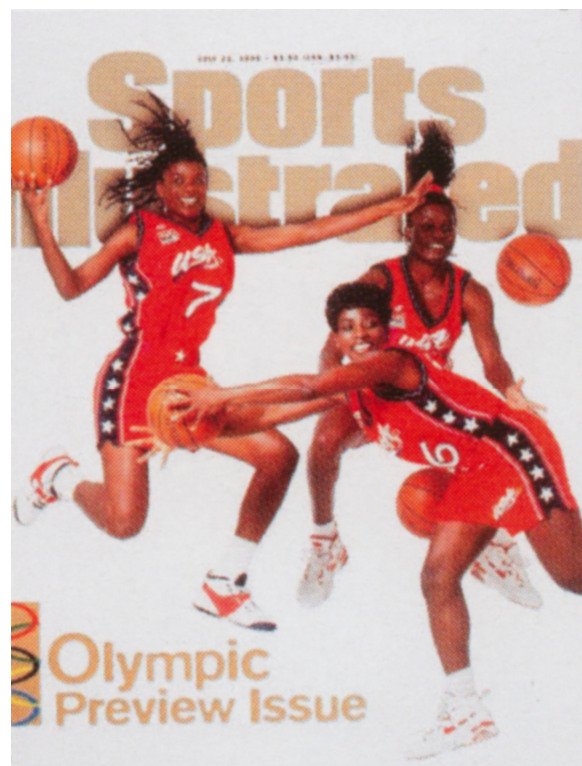


Figure 24. *Sports Illustrated*, Olympic Preview, 7/22/96.

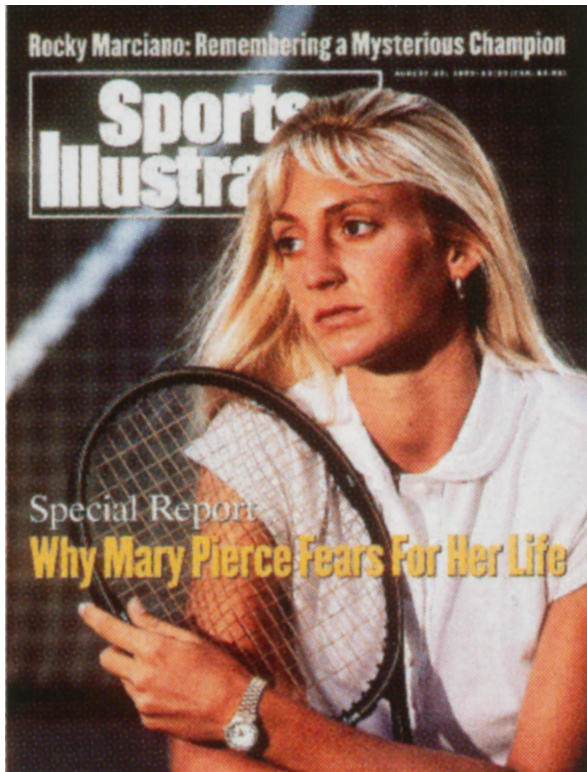


Figure 25. *Sports Illustrated*, Mary Pierce, 8/23/ 93.



Figure 26. *Sports Illustrated*, Nancy Kerrigan, 1/17/93.

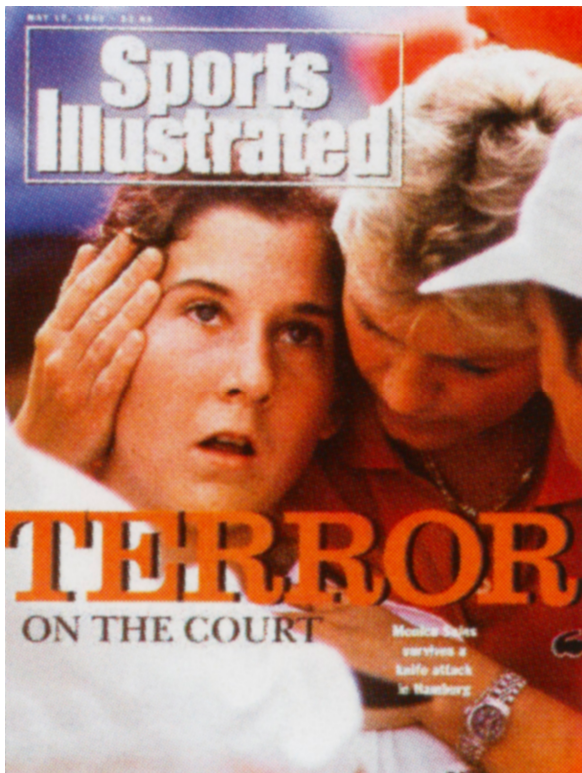


Figure 27. *Sports Illustrated*, Monica Seles, 5/10/93.

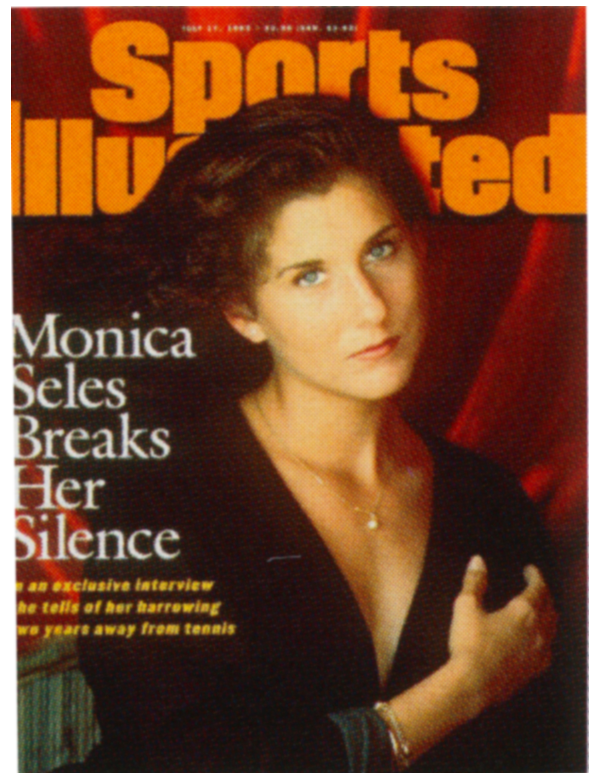


Figure 28. *Sports Illustrated*, Monica Seles, 7/17/95.



Figure 29. *Sports Illustrated*, Arnold Palmer, 3/6/67.



Figure 50. *Sports Illustrated*, Mary Lou Retton and Edwin Moses, 12/24/84.



Figure 41. *Sports Illustrated*, Skiing in the U.S., 12/19/55.

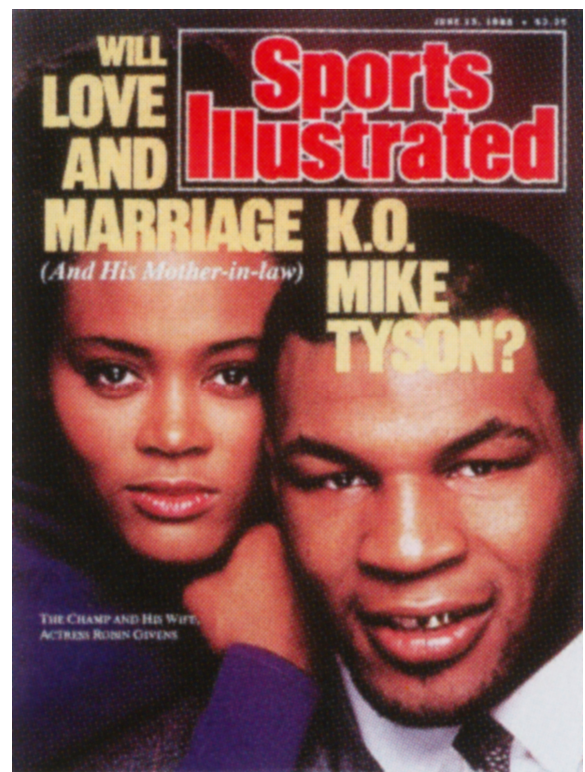


Figure 32. *Sports Illustrated*, Mike Tyson, 6/13/88.

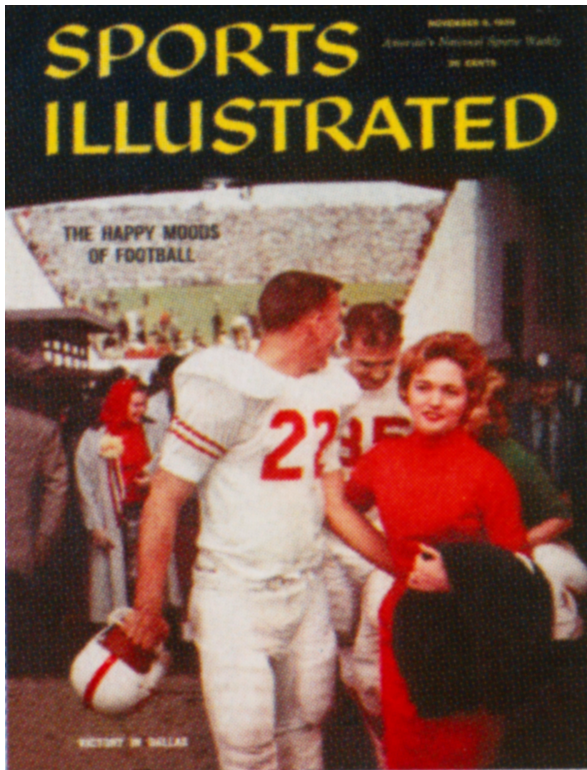


Figure 33. *Sports Illustrated*, Texas Football, 10/9/59.



Figure 34. *Sports Illustrated*, Miami Football, 1/11/88.



Figure 35. *Sports Illustrated*, Florida State, 1/10/94.

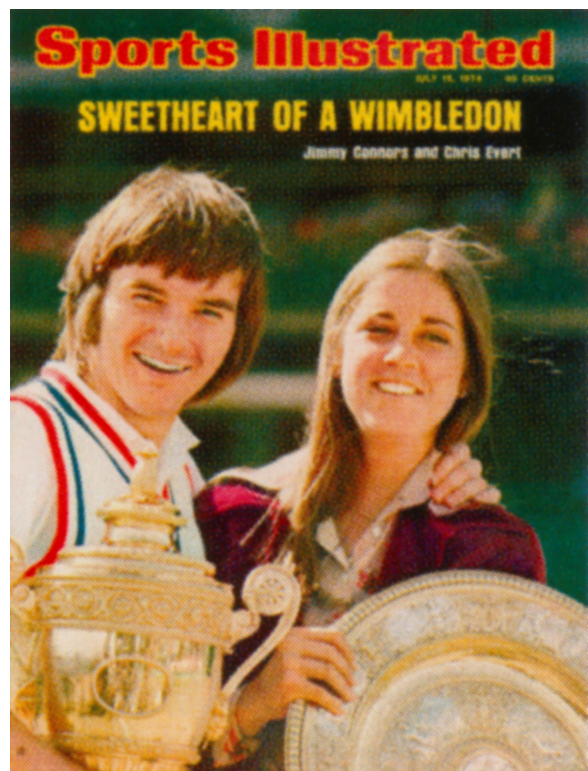


Figure 36. *Sports Illustrated*, Connors and Evert, 7/15/74.

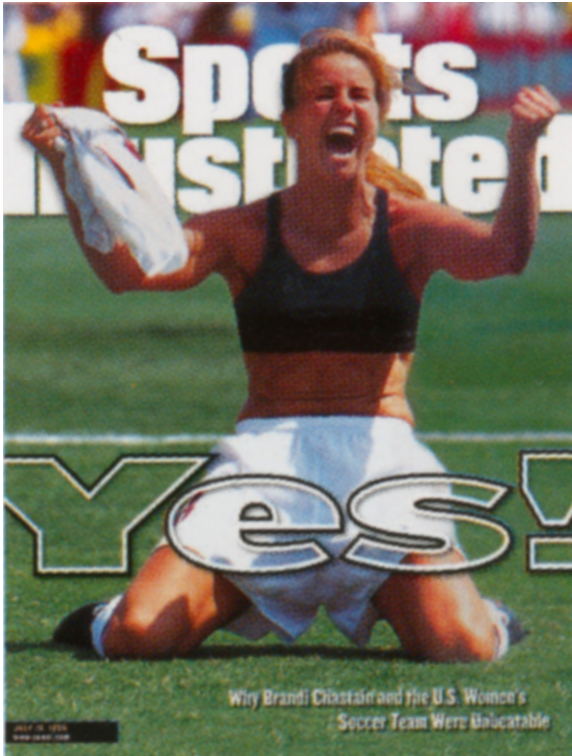


Figure 37. *Sports Illustrated*, Brandi Chastain, 7/19/99.

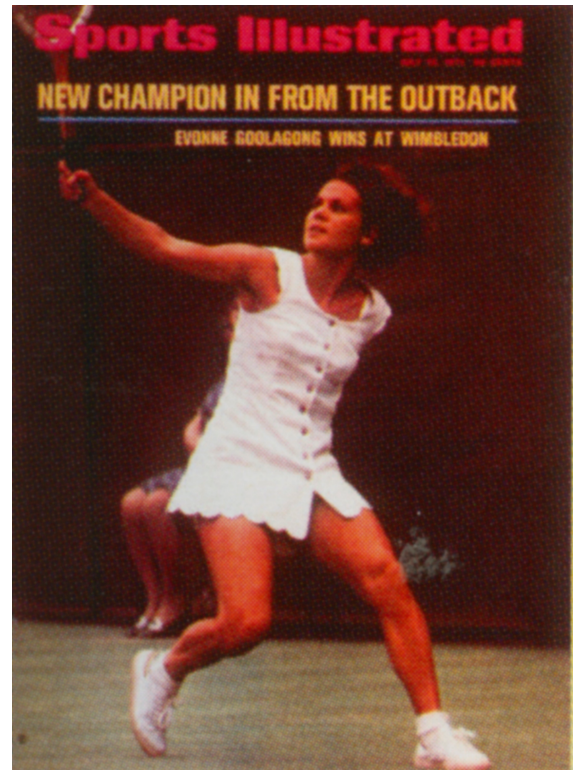


Figure 38. *Sports Illustrated*, Evonne Goolagong, 7/12/71.

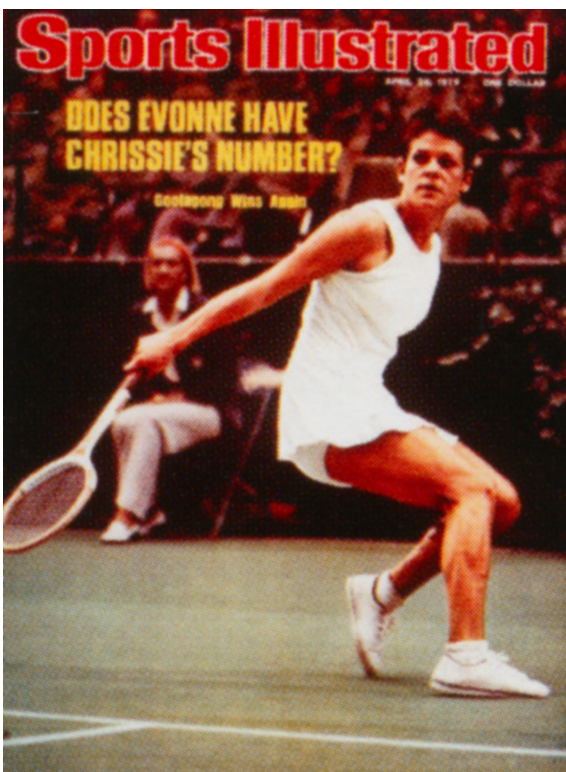


Figure 39. *Sports Illustrated*, Evonne Goolagong, 4/26/76.



Figure 40. *Sports Illustrated*, Serena Williams, 9/20/99.

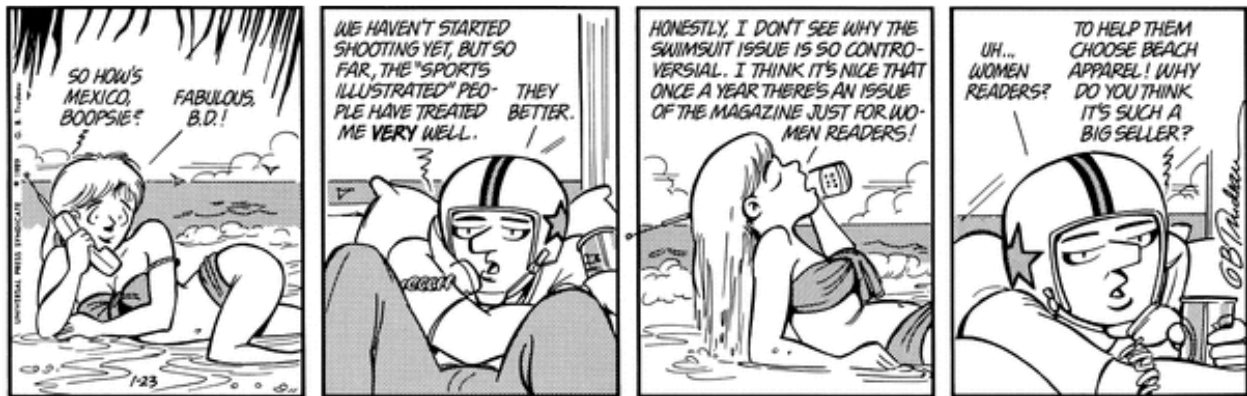


Figure 41. Garry Trudeau, *Doonesbury*, 1/23/89.

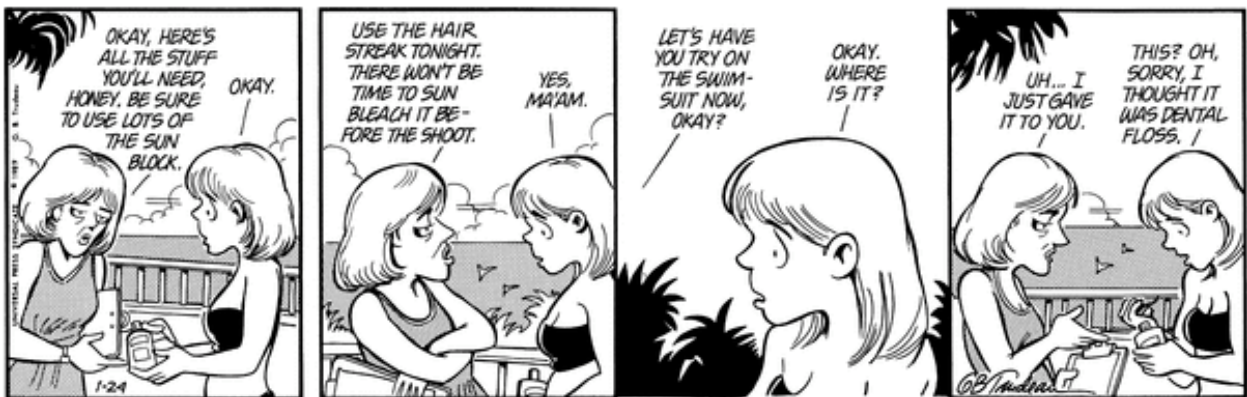


Figure 42. Garry Trudeau, *Doonesbury*, 1/24/89.

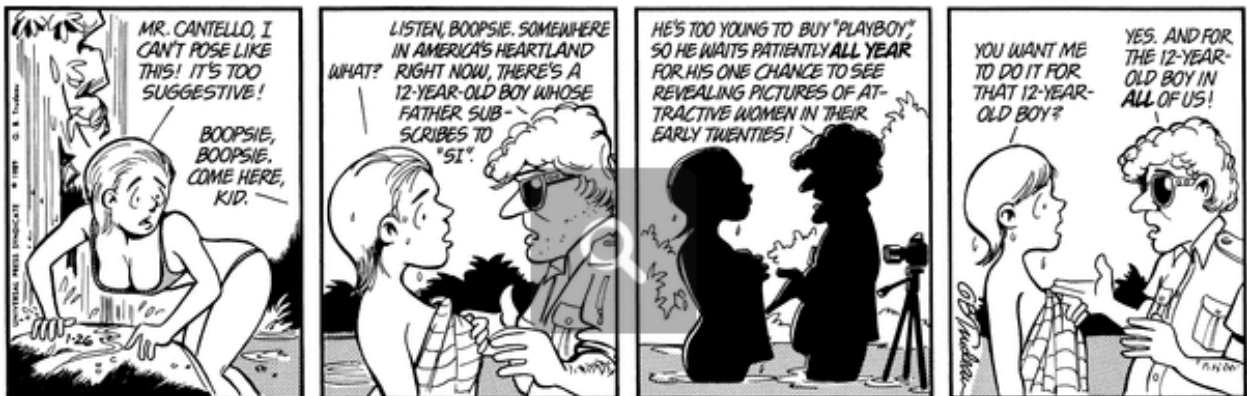


Figure 43. Garry Trudeau, *Doonesbury*, 1/26/89.



Figure 44. Garry Trudeau, *Doonesbury*, 1/27/89.

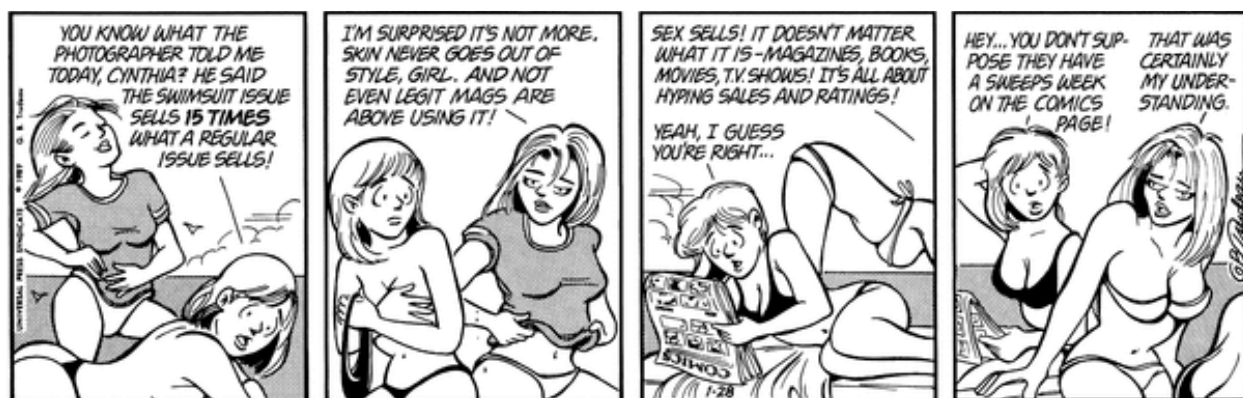


Figure 45. Garry Trudeau, *Doonesbury*, 1/28/89.

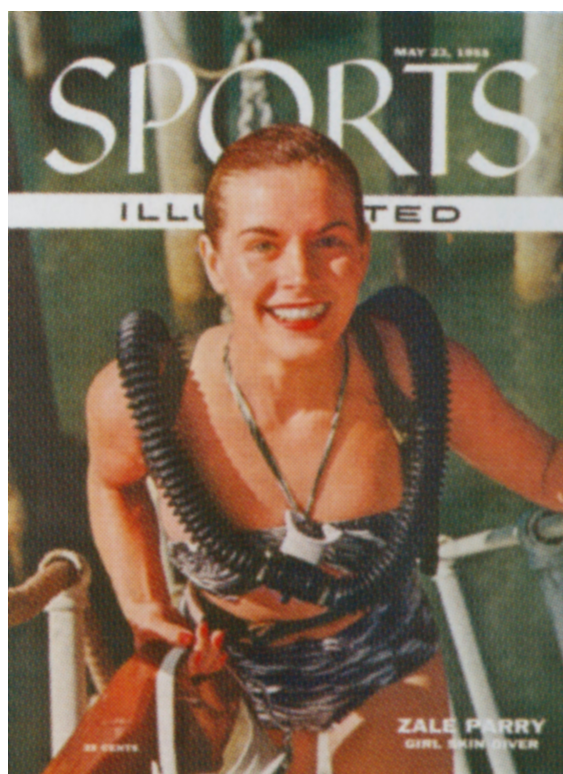


Figure 46. *Sports Illustrated*, Zale Perry, 5/23/55.

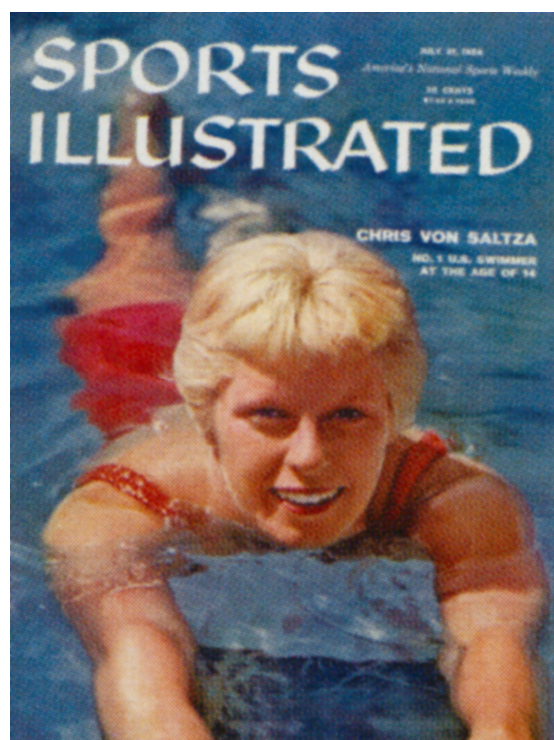


Figure 47. *Sports Illustrated*, Chris Von Saltza, 7/21/58.



Figure 48. *Sports Illustrated*, Cheryl Tiegs, 1/12/70.



Figure 49. *Sports Illustrated*, Heidi Klum, 2/20/98.

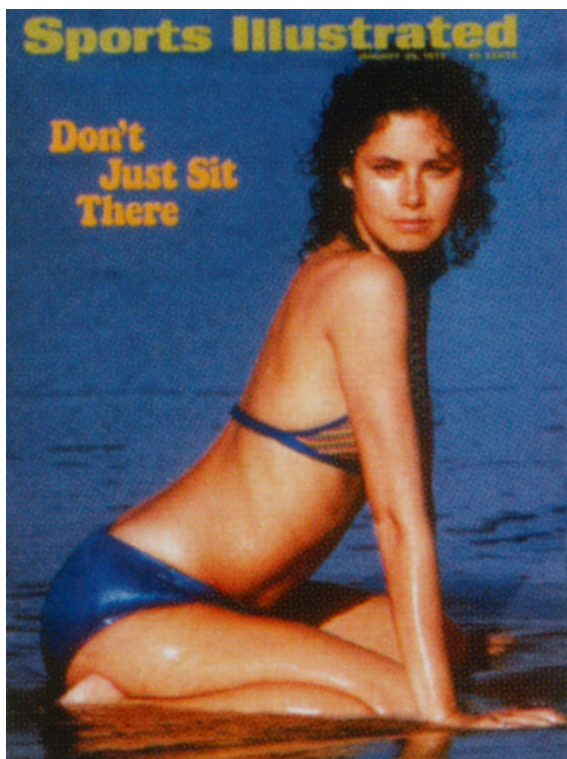


Figure 50. *Sports Illustrated*, Dayle Haddon, 1/29/73.

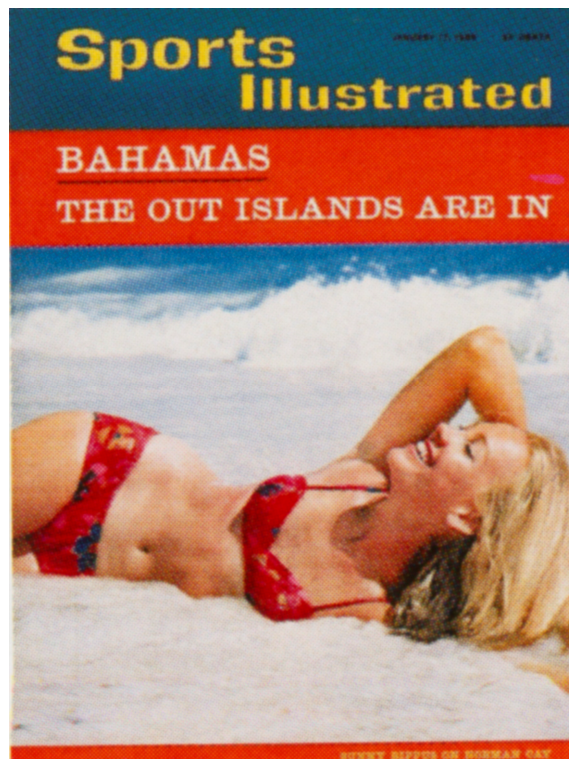


Figure 51. *Sports Illustrated*, Sunny Bippus, 1/17/66.



Figure 52. *Sports Illustrated*, Tania Rubiano, 2/1/71

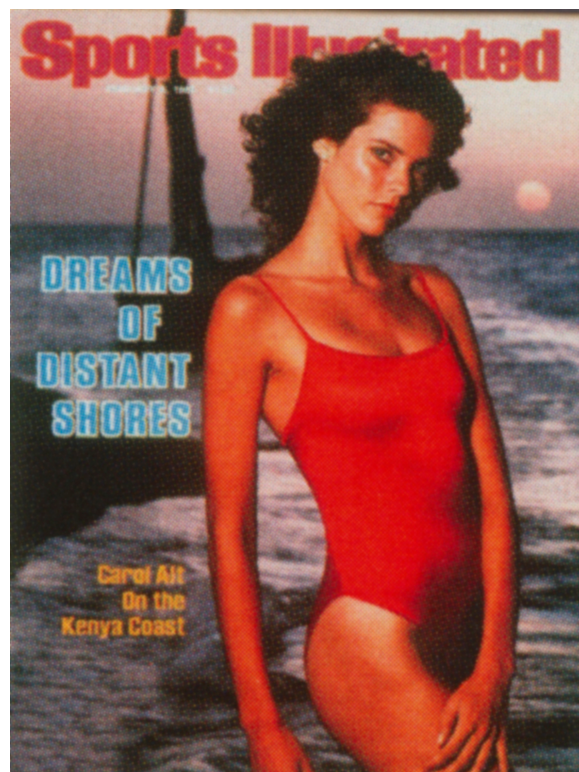


Figure 53. *Sports Illustrated*, Carol Alt, 2/8/82



Figure 54. *Sports Illustrated*, Elle Macpherson, 2/10/86.



Figure 54. *Sports Illustrated*, Elle Macpherson, 1/9/87.



Figure 55. *Sports Illustrated*, Daniela Pestova, 1/20/95.

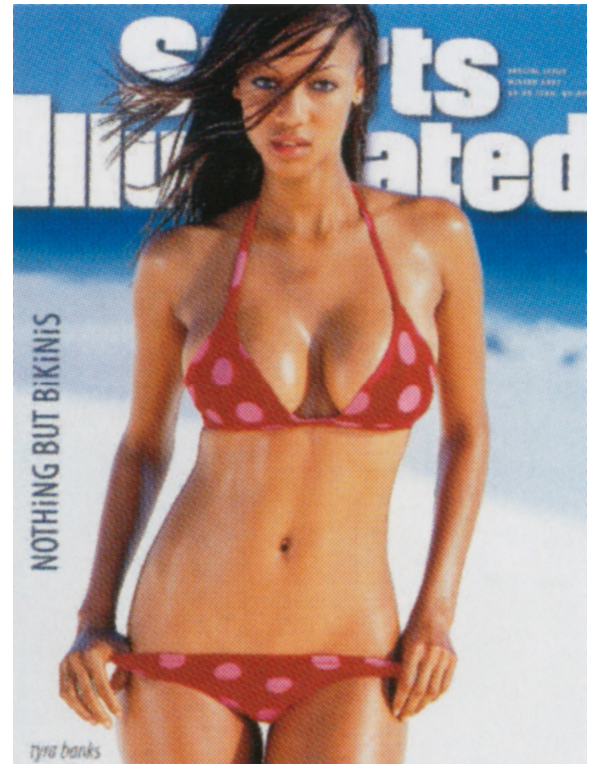


Figure 56. *Sports Illustrated*, Tyra Banks, 2/21/97.



Figure 57. *Sports Illustrated*, Elle Macpherson, 2/15/88.

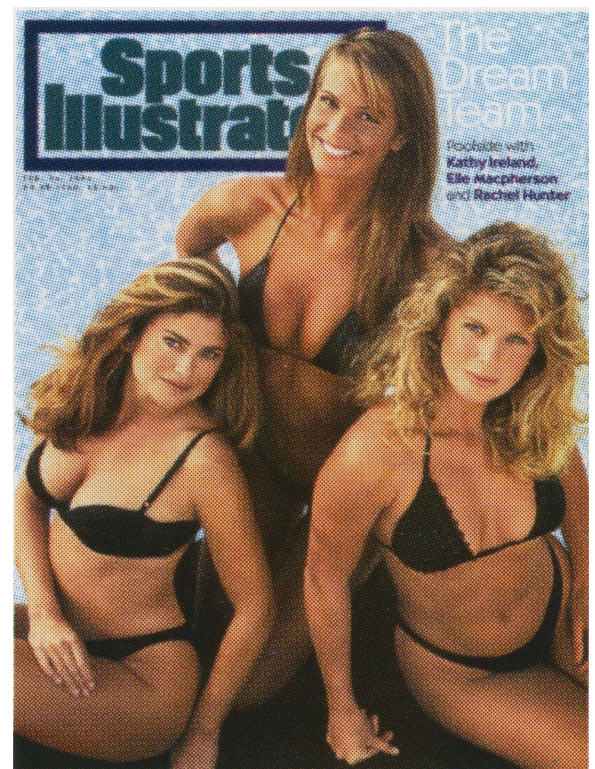


Figure 58. *Sports Illustrated*, Dream Team, 2/14/94

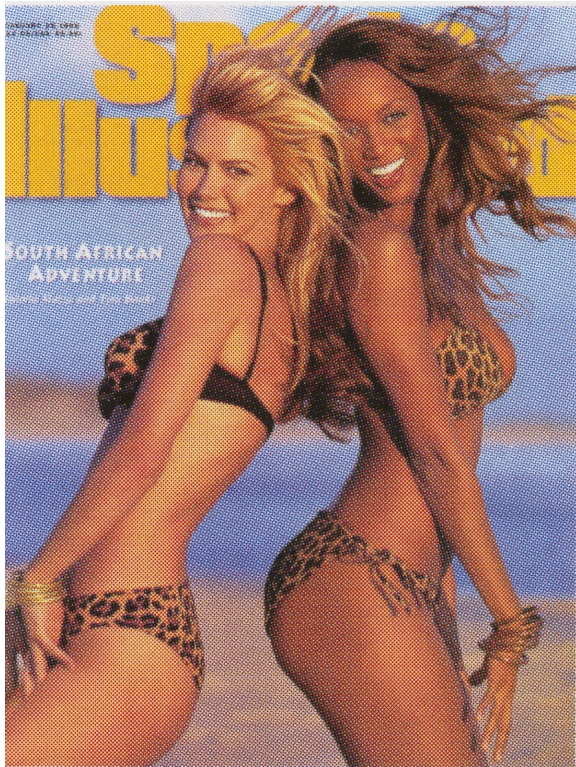


Figure 59. *Sports Illustrated*, Mazza and Banks, 1/29/96



Figure 60. *Sports Illustrated*, Billie Jean King, 7/16/73.

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