

GENDER DIFFERENCE IN SPORTS ADVERTISING: QUALITATIVE CONTENT
ANALYSIS COMPARING SPORTS PRODUCT ADVERTISING TARGETING MEN
VERSUS WOMEN

By

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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My study explored the similarities and differences in the manner in which advertisers target males and females within magazine advertisements for sport-related products. I utilized theories of capitalist hegemony, commodity feminism and social learning as a lens through which to examine the advertisements. In addition to the feminist and social theories employed, past research was also incorporated into the investigation.

Women have experienced vast development in the world of sports over the last 10 years; however studies have shown that advertising tends to portray women in a sexual light and does not recognize their physical abilities beyond sexual attraction. In addition to the ways in which reinforcement of gender stereotypes can affect women psychologically and socially, it can also affect marketer's sales as studies have shown that a lack of congruency between an advertisement's role portrayal and a consumer's role orientation can cause negative feelings about a product. Very little research has been conducted concerning print advertising for sports products and the presence of gender stereotypes. Therefore, my study attempts to uncover similarities and differences in the ways sport product advertisers target males and females in print advertising.

A total of 48 advertisements (24 targeting females and 24 targeting males) for sport related products were qualitatively content analyzed based partly on previously established gender related codes. The ads used appeared in a variety of both male- and female-oriented magazines and range from the years 2001 to 2007.

On the surface, the 48 ads in this sample appear to have made great strides in the portrayal of males and females. It seems that improvements have been made regarding the roles females play in advertising; for example, almost all ads targeting females that used a model showed the model participating in an athletic activity. It is obvious that marketers have recognized that females have come to play a large role in the sporting industry and are here to stay. Despite this significant step forward, there were a number of ways in which advertisements subtly stereotyped females and males. Overall findings of the study revealed that marketers of sports-related products use subtly different tactics in targeting women than they do men. Underscoring these tactics are subtle and indirect gender stereotypes that reinforce the patriarchal society in which we live.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Overview

Within the arena of sport, as throughout society, traditional stereotypes and definitions of both femininity and masculinity have established, maintained and reinforced gender differentiation. Female athletes in today's American society are playing a perpetual game of tug-of-war. On the one hand, they are trying to show the world that they are independent, powerful, championship-caliber athletes. On the other hand, society and the media are pulling them toward the "ideal" image of being sexy and feminine, inferring that only then can they truly be powerful and strong (Goldman et al., 1991; Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). Despite feminist contributions and large leaps taken in achieving gender equality, gender stereotypes still permeate all aspects of everyday life (Kane, 1989; Duncan, 1990; Goldman, Heath, & Smith, 1991; Lane, 1998; Costa, 2003; Lynn et al., 2004). Advertising, in particular, plays a large role in reinforcing these gender stereotypes (Goffman, 1979; Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Klassen, Jasper & Schwartz, 1993; Plous & Neptune, 1997; Kang, 1997; Lynn, et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). Yet few studies have been done examining sports advertising in particular (Lynn, et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004).

Based on previous research, expectations would be that stereotypes will continue to permeate sports advertising targeting both males and females (Cuneen and Sidwell, 1998; Cuneen and Clausen, 1999; Lynn, Hardin, Hardin, and Walsdorf, 2002; Goodman, Duke and Sutherland, 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). However, as female growth in the sports industry continues and female abilities grow closer and closer to equality with men, one would expect this to be reflected in sports advertising. The explosion of female involvement in sports has proven to be a lucrative opportunity for marketers and advertisers. Female participation, spectatorship,

and spending in the sports industry have drastically increased in the last decade (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). The exponential growth of the female sports industry and along with it, female-focused sports advertising, warrants an investigation into the similarities and differences in the tactics employed by sports advertising targeting females vs. males.

Purpose

The purpose of my study was to examine common themes found in sports-related advertising targeting women and to compare those advertisements with advertisements for the exact same product but targeted to men. For example, Bionic golf gloves uses different ads to advertise to men and women. Print advertisements will be qualitatively content analyzed, in part based on previously utilized gender-related codes (Goffman, 1979; Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974; Henley, 1977; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Blinde, Greendorfer & Shanker, 1991; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Milner & Collins, 2000; Lynn et al., 2002; Dodd et al., 2006). The ads used in this study come from a variety of both female-and male-oriented magazines. Issues of the magazines range from the years 2001 to 2007. In comparing pairs of ads that advertise for the exact same product but differ in their target gender, this study will aim to discover the themes found in male-and female-oriented advertising, particularly in relation to sports products and specifically through a feminist lens. Women have experienced vast development in the world of sports over the last 10 years; however, studies have shown that advertising tends to portray women in a sexual light and does not recognize their physical abilities beyond sexual attraction (Cuneen and Sidwell, 1998; Cuneen and Clausen, 1999; Lynn, Hardin, Hardin, and Walsdorf, 2002). This proves important because research has found that when media representations did not reflect viewers' experiences or desires, but instead devalued, trivialized or stereotyped female athletes, viewers became frustrated (Bruce, 1998). Advertising most certainly falls into this category of media representations not reflecting viewers' experiences and desires. In fact,

research has shown that negative outcomes result when an audience does not identify with the media image/model they see and that this further affects purchase intent (Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974).

Studies have also shown that sexual difference in advertising contributes to the social learning of what is ideal and appropriate behavior in terms of one's gender (Goffman, 1979; Cuneen and Sidwell, 1998). Based on these findings, female athletes are likely to mirror what they see in advertising.

Rationale

The explosion of female involvement in sports has proven to be a lucrative opportunity for marketers and advertisers alike. Female participation, spectatorship, and spending in the sports industry have increased by immense proportions; however, the media seem to ignore this as findings of previous studies delineate the reinforcement of gender difference within many aspects of modern sports media (e.g. Kinnick, 1998; Tuggle & Owen, 1998; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Cuneen and Sidwell, 1998; Goodman, Duke, Sutherland, 2002; Lynn et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). Very little research has been conducted concerning print advertising for sports products and the presence of gender stereotypes. This study will attempt to uncover similarities and differences in the ways sport product advertisers target males and females in print advertising.

Significance of Study

The media serve as an educational source for what roles are acceptable for men and women to play (Tuchman, 1978; Kane, 1989; Goldman et al., 1991; Cohen, 1993; Artz & Murphy, 2000; Lynn et al., 2002). While women are portrayed as sex objects who are passive, dependent, incompetent and dumb, men are portrayed as adventurous, powerful and aggressive (Wood, 1994). Men and women are likely to mirror what they see in advertising (Wood, 1994).

The way the media misrepresents gender can cause distortion in how we see ourselves and what we perceive as normal and desirable for us as men and women. Relating this to the world of sports, the sexualized and feminine portrayal of the female athlete makes women's involvement in sport seem illegitimate, stripping them of their power in society as well (Cohen, 1993).

Therefore, reinforcing gender roles within advertising could be psychologically limiting females' capabilities and more specifically the potential of female athletes everywhere.

In addition to the ways in which reinforcement of gender stereotypes can affect women psychologically and socially, it can also affect marketers' sales. Studies have shown that when media representations did not reflect females' own experiences or desires but instead devalued, trivialized or stereotyped females, frustration resulted (Bruce, 1998). Leigh, Rethans and Whitney (1987) found that "consistency between an ad's role portrayal and the audience's role orientation generated more favorable attitudes toward the ad" (p. 59). Furthermore, "these attitudes [carried] over to attitudes toward buying the product" (Leigh, Rethans and Whitney, 1987, p. 59). These results also applied to mismatches between ad copy and the target audience's attitudes and beliefs (Leigh, Rethans and Whitney, 1987). Based on these findings, marketers may want to re-think their methods for targeting women, especially when it comes to sports products. Instead of emphasizing stereotypical role portrayals and focusing on attractiveness and the body, it seems that marketers would benefit from focusing on qualities such as strength and performance in sport product ads targeting females.

This study aims to uncover the stereotypes current sport product marketers are using in targeting males and females. Revealing similarities and differences in the methods used for each gender will allow us to evaluate whether stereotypes still permeate sports print advertising. If women are being stereotyped in a matter that runs counter to the female athletes' concerns, needs, and characteristics, then marketers may need to reconsider their strategies in targeting

male and female athletes. To better understand the research question, the remaining part of this chapter will explore the impact of Title IX on women's athletics, the birth of the modern female sports industry, and the capitalization upon the modern female sports industry.

Impact of Title IX

The growth in both the number of female athletes and in the value of the female sporting industry has been exponential. One of the most influential factors that led to women's growth in the sports industry was the passing of Title IX, an educational amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Costa, 2003). The act required any institution receiving federal funds to provide an equal opportunity for both females and males in coaching, playing and officiating, as well as equal access to facilities (Costa, 2003). During the few years both preceding and following the enactment of Title IX, there was much controversy over what effects it would have on male participation in sports, as Title IX is often held responsible for the eradication of some men's sports teams (Lane, 1998).

Despite surrounding controversy, the enactment of Title IX changed the landscape of sports and athletics for women and girls everywhere. At the time the law was signed in 1972, one in 27 girls in the United States participated in high school sports (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). In 1998, one-third of girls claimed to be involved with organized sports (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). Since the amendment's inception, the number of females involved in sports has risen dramatically and continues to climb at a steady rate (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). A large amount of that growth occurred during the 1990s, a decade widely accredited with the expansion of the female sport industry.

Modern Female Sports Industry

Growth of Leagues

Despite obstacles faced by some women's leagues, many women's sports leagues, such as the Ladies' Professional Golf Association, the Women's National Basketball Association and the Women's U.S. Tennis Association, continue to grow. The WNBA has 11 sponsors and complete financial backing by NBA franchises. To this day, the NBA and WNBA are the only professional teams close to racial and gender equality (Costa, 2003). The Commissioner of the NBA insisted that the WNBA be an equal partner, meaning they are given "equal access to coaching, media representation, officiating and medical facilities, and most importantly a large share of revenue dollars" (Costa, 2001; 2003, p. 157).

Unlike the WNBA, which boasts only an 11-year history, the LPGA has been around since 1950 and has experienced steady growth since the 1970s, when it switched from being a player-run organization to an actual business and hired its first commissioner (www.LPGA.com, 2007). Although it still lags far behind men's golf, women's golf is on the rise while growth of men's golf remains stagnant (Fitzgerald, 2007). Between 2000 and 2005, participation in women's golf rose about 20% to 6.6 million, according to the National Golf Foundation (Fitzgerald, 2007). An estimated 7 million women currently play golf, which is about 25% of the total number of golfers (Fitzgerald, 2007). Moreover, Nike's research shows that the women's segment of golf has more potential for growth this year than the sport as a whole (Fitzgerald, 2007).

Women's tennis also has seen a steady rise in growth both professionally and recreationally since the late 1990s (Fialkov, 2006; Fleetwood, 2006). According to Kurt Kamperman, chief executive of community tennis for the U.S. Tennis Association, 52% of new recreational players in the U.S. are women. Women also now make up a growing segment of the players who play more than once a week (Fleetwood, 2006). "While men's tennis was being

criticized for being too fast and one-dimensional in the late 1990s, the more versatile women's game was soaring in popularity -- particularly in the United States -- with the emergence of Venus and Serena Williams, whose combination of power and athleticism sparked interest in an untapped black fan base" (Fialkov, 2006, p. 1).

Sponsorship

The WNBA has enjoyed long-standing partnerships with both major national and international brands including American Express, Proctor & Gamble, Adidas, Nike, Reebok, Nickelodeon, Gatorade and Anheuser Busch (Friedman, 2003; Janofi, 2005; Isaacson, 2006). The LPGA also has had great success in attracting sponsors and financial support, which is typically an obstacle in female professional sports. Its current sponsors include Bank of America, Michelob Ultra, Choice Hotels, Rolex, MasterCard, State Farm Insurance, Smuckers, and Titleist among others (Ladies' Professional Golf Association, 2007). As more and more attention is being paid to the LPGA, advertisers are beginning to recognize its value in marketing to women (Schulz, 2007).

As for tennis, an 8% rise in attendance has facilitated its growth, making it possible for women's tennis to lure new partnerships with global sponsors like Sony Ericsson, with whom they signed a six-year title-sponsorship worth \$88 million in 2005 (Applebaum, 2005). Said Dee Dutta, head of marketing for Sony Ericsson, "There are sports that are bigger on a global scale, such as soccer, but women's tennis captured the passion, excitement and glamour that we were looking for" (Applebaum, 2005). This sponsorship ensured long-term growth for the sport of tennis and proved to be the most lucrative deal signed in the history of all women's sports (Applebaum, 2005).

Like golf, tennis has its stars and household names that frequent the media. The latest and greatest stars have no trouble finding sponsors or endorsements. Maria Sharipova, one of those

stars, has deals with Colgate-Palmolive, Nike, Prince, Microsoft, Honda, Pepsi, Motorola, Canon, NEC, Parlux Fragrances and TAG Heuer, which adds up to almost \$22 million a year in endorsements, making her the world's highest paid female athlete in 2004 (Applebaum, 2005; Thomaselli, 2005). Moreover, tennis has often been praised for its equality in terms of gender. Said Billie Jean King, tennis legend and longtime women's Olympic tennis coach, "Whenever we get to 50-50, we will be in the right place. It's a no-brainer, really. People always say, well, the women are not as good. That's true, but we are very young in our history. Men have had opportunities for so many more years. This is just the start of ours" (Alexander & Clarke, 2000).

Spectatorship

Furthermore, women are watching more sports overall (Howard-Cooper, 2006). According to Carol Albert, the vice president of advertising, marketing development and integration for the NBA, during the 2006 playoffs, the NBA noticed a drastic 33% increase in TV ratings among females 18-49 (Howard-Cooper, 2006). TNT, a cable network that covers NBA games, reported a combined jump of 42% for regular season and postseason broadcasts since the 2000-01 season (Howard-Cooper, 2006). NBA Finals ratings among women 18 to 49, a critical demographic for advertisers, climbed 41% from 2003 to 2006 (Howard-Cooper, 2006). The NBA is now undertaking a push with female-specific marketing and female-specific products, predicting women could represent \$100 million in sales for them this year (Howard-Cooper, 2006). According to a 2005 ESPN poll, women make up a larger portion of the NBA fan base than any other professional league (Howard-Cooper, 2006).

The WNBA also possesses an envied national TV presence (Isaacson, 2006). Its ratings are currently on the rise, and it still beats the NHL and soccer on cable (Isaacson, 2006). The league's current TV deal with ESPN and ABC expires in 2008, but according to League Commissioner David Stern, Disney, which owns ABC and ESPN, has shown increased interest

in the league, and he is expecting a bigger television deal to be reached some time before the expiration of the current contract (Smith, 2007). Stern also claims that the focus on television and marketing has caused a peak in sponsorship interest. "Sponsors are taking meetings now that we couldn't get before, because of the increased focus on marketing to women" said Stern (Smith, 2007).

However, despite its TV growth, the WNBA is experiencing its fair share of obstacles. The league is losing money and several teams have seen an overall decline in game attendance, with the average of 9,228 fans per game in 2002 dropping to an average of 8,174 in 2005 (Isaacson, 2006). Despite these problems, players, coaches and the commissioner continue to remain positive (Isaacson, 2006).

According to the LPGA, its television audience has increased 26% over the past four years, attendance has risen 18%, and the average tournament purse has increased by 16% to nearly \$1.5 million (Chozick, 2006). With the presence of new up-and-coming prodigies like Michele Wie and Paula Creamer, more and more fans are watching (Tramel, 2006). According to Luellen, it is the LPGA's bonafide stars that "have helped gain respect for women athletes...they are the picture of what you would want female stars to be -- competitive and strong, but feminine" (Tramel, 2006). However, many worry that with all of this focus on the young players, the LPGA may be overdoing it on the sex-appeal factor (Chozick, 2006). Donna Lopiano, chief executive officer at the Women's Sports Foundation, a nonprofit founded by tennis star Billie Jean King to advance women in sports, warns that there's a "fine line between sex object and athlete" and these young stars need to be careful not to cross that line (Chozick, 2006).

Women's tennis has also proved successful in the realm of TV ratings. The NBC television ratings for the women's finals of Wimbledon have outranked that of the men since

2002 (Fialkov, 2006). These ratings could be attributed to the presence of high-profile stars like Serena and Venus Williams and Maria Sharapova (Fialkov, 2006).

The most famous women's sporting event to date has been the 1999 World Cup, claiming 40 million viewers and surpassing the men's World Cup in TV ratings (Starr, 1999). The United States' victory over China "hailed as not just a triumph for women's soccer, but a triumph for women" (Gavora, 2002). ABC News even proclaimed Mia Hamm and other members of the team "heiresses of the women's movement" (Gavora, 2002, p. 11).

However, the victory could not be discussed without also addressing politics. The team became symbolic of the triumph of the Title IX law, being called "daughters of Title IX" by *Time Magazine* (Gavora, 2002, p.11). In addition to coupling the win to Title IX, the media immediately sexualized the story, emphasizing image of player Brandi Chastain pulling off her shirt in celebration, revealing her black sports bra (Gavora, 2002). The focus of the news stories and editorials was not the athletic strengths of the team; instead, they focused on the feminine aspects of the players, glorifying Chastain's "cloth symbol of Title IX's success" (Gavora, 2002, p. 13).

Financial Inequity

While many women's sports continue to enjoy unprecedented growth and expansion, this has not necessarily translated into large financial growth for female athletes' salaries. Despite the LPGA's growth over the years, professional golf today "represents true inequity" (Costa, 2003, p. 157). There is a vast chasm between prize money allotted for men and women's professional golf. Between 1996 and 2000, the annual prize money for women's pro golf rose from \$26.5 million to \$38.5 million, while in that same time period, PGA prize money rose from \$69.1 million to \$167 million (Costa, 2003). With Tiger's Wood's entrance into the world of golf in 2000, the difference has since widened even more (Costa, 2003).

Despite inequities, more than ever, female golfers are being monetarily rewarded for being good at what they do, with Annika Sorenstam cashing in checks in excess of \$2.5 million in 2006 (Tramel, 2006). In 1995, the leading money winner of the tour earned a mere \$666,533 and in 1975, only \$76,374 (Tramel, 2006). According to Melissa Luellen, ex-pro, "We have just scratched the surface of what you are going to see money-wise. As long as the leadership is solid, there will be continued growth opportunities for the tour" (Tramel, 2006, p.1).

Capitalizing on Female Growth in the Sports Industry

The large growth in female interest in sports has been coupled with an increase in the popularity of sports apparel among women. In the United States, women's participation/involvement in sports is an estimated \$60 billion business, \$18 billion of which is footwear alone. Women have been outspending men when it comes to sports and athletic apparel since 1991 (Betancourt, 2003). In 2003, women spent more than \$15.7 billion on sports apparel, compared with the \$13.2 billion spent by men (Guynn, 2004). The NBA and WNBA have moved forward with design, production and sales of clothes and accessories for women, including bathing suits, pajamas and jewelry (Howard-Cooper, 2006). Said Lisa Piken, senior director of the NBA global merchandising group, "It's one of those things where we never really marketed to women before. There has been a ton of women fans and tons of interest. If you create merchandise for them, they will buy it" (Howard-Cooper, 2006, p. 1).

Sporting equipment companies are capitalizing on female growth as well. Until now, female tennis players have had to play with racquets that were unisex but with smaller grips or lighter weight (Fleetwood, 2006). In the last two years, Wilson Sporting Goods, Head and Fischer, all major tennis brands, have released lines of racquets designed specifically for women (Fleetwood, 2006).

Tennis is not the only sport with female-focused equipment available; in fact, it is actually behind many other sports that have created equipment for the female physique (Fleetwood, 2006). In 1996, Adidas released soccer cleats designed to fit a female's feet. In addition to creating racquets, Head is among a number of companies that offer skis for women (Fleetwood, 2006). Bicycle manufacturers are increasingly engineering female-tailored bikes, and there are weight benches contoured for the female body (SGB, 2005). However, golf brands including Callaway and TaylorMade, have made clubs and other equipment designed for women for a long time (Fleetwood, 2006). According to Lisa Johnson and Andrea Learned, authors of *Don't Think Pink*, "Reaching women consumers is not a trend. It's a lucrative future, for anyone who grabs it. Slightly tweaked male-oriented products or marketing efforts will no longer do" (SGB, 2005).

Paralleling the growth in female-designed sporting equipment and the belief in the female sporting market, there have been several attempts in the last decade to create sports magazines specifically targeted to female athletes. Unfortunately, most of these magazines have folded due to the publishers' confusion over what a female athlete actually wants to read (Keller, 2002). Perhaps the most well known women's sports magazine, *Sports Illustrated Women*, closed after only two years of existence (Keller, 2002). Failed publications claim that it is very difficult to gain readership for a female-oriented sports magazine because most women stop paying attention to sports after they graduate from their respective educational institutions (Keller, 2002). When *SI Women* closed, critics claimed that they failed because they tried to please too many types of readers (Keller, 2002).

In addition to the existence, (or lack thereof), of women's athlete-focused magazines, there are also many more popular fitness and lifestyle magazines currently on the market. The three fitness magazines that have the highest circulation are *Shape*, *Fitness*, and *Self*, respectively (Standard Rate & Data Service, 2007). These magazines do not provide any coverage of

women's sporting events. Instead, they provide headlines such as "Celebrities Work Their Abs" and "Wine Country Cycling" (Lynn et al., 2004). Feminists have long criticized magazines like this for their emphasis on being self-conscious and achieving the socially constructed "ideal" body image (Lynn et al., 2004).

Despite obstacles that female sports magazines have faced, more and more advertisers and marketers are coming to the realization that women's sports could prove to be a lucrative business. Many companies are targeting female athletes participating in team sports such as basketball, softball and lacrosse, appealing to today's team players via grassroots efforts, collegiate sponsorships and innovative gear (SGB, 2005).

In the case of women's golf, marketers are sponsoring a wide range of up and-coming females who are trying to make names and brands for themselves (Fitzgerald, 2007). "To grow, we need to introduce female golfers to a much broader media audience," says Carolyn Bivens, the commissioner of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (Fitzgerald, 2007). Marketers are recognizing the importance of putting these females into mainstream entertainment including talk shows, general magazines, fashion magazines and catalogs (Fitzgerald, 2007). In addition to just TV, the LPGA is trying to reach out to a younger audience by making its events available via Internet, cell phone and iPod as well (Chozick, 2006).

In reviewing the history of females in sport and the sports industry, it becomes clear that females play a large role in the success and advancement of sport. While many men's sports have reached parity, women's sports continue to grow and provide opportunity for brands and advertisers alike. Females have come a long way in their efforts to reach equality with men in the world of sport. It seems that marketers and advertisers have recognized this lucrative opportunity, but does their advertising portray female athletes as equal to their male counterparts or do they still display them as inferior physically and emotionally? This study will specifically

examine pairs of print advertising for sports products in order to begin to uncover running themes and differences in how advertisers target women and men. The theories of capitalist hegemony, commodity feminism and social learning theory will be utilized in order to shed light on gender difference in media and in sport.

Capitalist Hegemony

In order to address the often-complicated issue of capitalist hegemony, we must first delineate a simple definition of the term *hegemony* and briefly explore its history. The word “hegemony” comes from the Greek word *hegemon*, meaning leader, guide, or ruler (Barker, 2004, p. 164). Its general definition “refers to the rule or influence of one country over others,” but can also refer to how a group of elements are organized (Barker, 2004, p. 164). According to Femia (1981), “treatment and use of hegemony is generally marred by conceptual vagueness; it has become one of those fashionable catchwords which is often invoked but seldom properly defined or submitted to close scrutiny” (p. 23). The idea was developed by Italian theorist, Antonio Gramsci, amidst the time of Marxist ideals; Gramsci held that hegemony was necessary to control the ideology of the masses (Gramsci, 1971). Gramsci held that the “dominant class must establish its own moral, political, and cultural values as conventional norms of practical behavior” (Gramsci, 1971; Femia, 1981, p. 3). Therefore, men maintain their status as the dominant class through gaining societal consent rather than physical force. Society sees gender roles as commonsense.

Drawing on Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, many researchers have explored how the media can be used as an ideological tool that manipulates the masses (Morley, 1992; Cruz & Lewis, 1994; Gramsci, 1971). The media can be used as a way of cultivating the ideas, norms and values of an individual in order to create a world view that will meet the needs of the dominant or ruling class (Gramsci, 1971; Moores, 1993). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) expanded

on Gramsci's beliefs and argued that connections among groups in a society are constructed and maintained, not naturally present. They held that relationships among groups are a conceptual and socially constructed occurrence (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Bocoock, 1986). In other words, the relationship between males and females in a society is not just a natural occurrence; instead, agents such as the media create and reinforce our conception of a male and female's role in society; hegemony is how our patriarchal society is maintained. Some American scholars have built upon this concept and coined the term "capitalist hegemony" to describe how hegemony applies to American society.

Scholars spanning a myriad of fields have all agreed that sexual difference, known as a facet of capitalist hegemony, is heavily present in the media and advertising in the United States (Lynn et al., 2002; Artz & Murphy, 2000; Goldman, et al., 1991). These same scholars have recognized the manipulation of gender roles that occurs in American media and advertising (Artz & Murphy, 2000). Capitalist hegemony serves to preserve the gender gaps in the United States and creates universally accepted images of what gender relations and roles should be. Using a metaphor of the original ideas of hegemony, women in the United States are the subordinate class, while men are the dominant class. Tuchman summed it up when she said that women and girls have been "symbolically annihilated," meaning that they have been rendered powerless, by media images of what is considered the ideal American life (Tuchman, 1978). Instead, as Goldman's research shows, women are forced into thinking that "femininity" is equal to "feminism." The media force women to crave femininity, or attractiveness and availability to men, and this keeps them from seeking real power in feminism (Goldman et al., 1991).

In addition to examining Gramsci's theory of hegemony and the process of framing, most image or language based gender studies also pull from different facets of feminism (Goffman, 1979; Goldman, 1991; Lynn et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). Feminism seeks to achieve female

equality with men on all levels. It is through both framing and the use of commodity feminism that hegemony is reinforced.

Feminism

The term “feminism” has become a common part of everyday discourse that most people assume to simply mean “equality” (Beasley, 1999). However, the idea of feminism is multi-faceted, entailing a wide variety of approaches. To state an exact definition of feminism is near impossible, as each individual will define it differently (Beasley, 1999). There are boundaries, however, of what feminists can agree on; for example, all feminists would agree that traditional social and political thought is inadequate (Beasley, 1999). There is also an agreement on how social and political thought is inadequate. The strategy of how to go about changing traditional thought, however, is where the lines get fuzzy (Beasley, 1999). Overall, feminist theories “aim to understand the origins and continuing nature of women’s nearly universal devaluation in society,” while the Feminist movement seeks to reverse this occurrence and to reconstruct society in a way that would make men and women equals (Steeves, 1987, p. 96). Initially, feminism sought to achieve political and economic equality but has since moved to achieve social equality with men.

Several branches of feminism have spawned since its beginnings in the late 1700s, and their views can differ greatly (Beasley, 1999). Marxist and Social feminists “claim all oppression to be a product of social and economic structures” (Barker, 2004, p. 144). While Marxist feminists believe class oppression to be the primary and sole source of inequality, socialist feminists view patriarchy as an equally important contributor (Steeves, 1987). Patriarchy, according to Hargreaves (1982) “implies a fixed state of male oppression over women, rather than a fluid relationship between men and women” (p. 115). Radical Feminism focuses on sexual oppression and men’s manipulation of women’s sexuality while claiming that

unequal power relations within capitalism are derived from patriarchy (Beasley, 1999). However, it is less concerned with explaining this occurrence and more concerned with developing radical alternatives to solve the problem (Steeves, 1987). Very little mass media research has been done using radical feminist theory (Steeves, 1987). Liberal Feminism has had perhaps the most influence on what we know as feminism in the United States (Elshtain, 1981; Jaggar, 1983; Steeves, 1987). Liberal feminists hold that “rational mental development is the highest human ideal and that the state should act to assure equal opportunities for all” (Steeves, 1987, p. 100). Therefore, most liberal feminists focus on creating or changing laws that will promote women’s professional and intellectual growth and equality (Steeves, 1987). Historical liberal feminists fought for rights such as women’s suffrage, property ownership, equal pay, and equal employment. Some liberal feminists believe that gender inequity is just the result of an irrational prejudice that could be solved through rational thinking and discussion, while still others hold that the inequity is a result of imitating individuals of the same sex or of reinforcement history (Steeves, 1987).

Together, these branches of feminism have proposed a myriad of solutions to the gender inequity problem. Marxists believe economic transformation must be a prerequisite for social change, while some socialists believe the media have sole power to create or change culture (Steeves, 1987). Still, others believe women need to create their own media where they can speak freely and create their own language in order to change society (Steeves, 1987). Regardless of one’s proposed solution, it is obvious that the gender inequity problem remains unsolved. Researchers have adopted different forms of feminism in order to explain gender difference in modern media. Goldman (1991) combined the beliefs of several facets of feminism in order to explain gender difference in media images. He called his theory commodity feminism.

Commodity Feminism

Goldman's 1991 study brought the term and concept of *commodity feminism* to light. Goldman uses this term to refer to the media's union of "femininity" and "feminism" as one. Marketers have turned the progressive notion of feminism into a more "hegemonically-friendly" idea (Goldman et al., 1991). The ideals of feminism such as individual freedom, personal power and gender equality have instead been turned into a focus on a female's appearance. Therefore, following the ideals of capitalist hegemony, a female's greatest achievement would be to transform into a perfect, thin, and overly produced, sexy woman – only then will she attain independence and great personal achievement (Goldman et al., 1991). The use of commodity feminism throughout advertising takes important life goals that have taken American ancestors centuries to achieve and turns them into simple, petty, and individualistic lifestyle goals such as flattening one's tummy or looking better in a bikini. Goldman holds that advertising's use of commodity feminism portrays "self-fetishism" as a pathway to self-empowerment (Goldman et al., 1991).

Goldman (1991) compares the media's efforts to bridge the gap between feminism and femininity to a marriage of two ideals. The media manipulate the ideals of feminism into something that sells products: femininity.

The commercial marriage of feminism and femininity plays off a conception of personal freedom located in the visual construction of self-appearance. Body and sexuality emerge as coincidental signs: the body is something you shape, control and dress to validate yourself as an autonomous being capable of will power and discipline; and sexuality appears as something women exercise by choice rather than because of their ascribed gender role. The "properly shaped" female body is taken as evidence of achievement and self-worth (p. 338).

The most important facet of commodity feminism is the existence and reinforcement of sexual difference in advertising, in the media, and in society in general. American society reinforces that women can only gain power by achieving and maintaining their ideal, feminine

body (Lynn, et al., 2004). Some scholars have predicted that the image of the new, sexy and feminine athlete is just the newest form of commodity feminism. The equation used now is strong = feminine/sexy (Lynn et al., 2004). This is extremely evident in cases like that of female athlete, Anna Kournikova. Now an international sex symbol, most people know Kournikova as “that hot tennis star.” However, in actuality, Kournikova is a mediocre tennis player who has won few championships. What she does have is an attractive, ideal body that men and women alike crave. Her body, not her athletic prowess, has allowed her music video cameos and photo spreads in magazines of all kinds. Most women, however, view Kournikova as a star female athlete. Commodity feminism reinforces the idea that attractive female athletes like Anna Kournikova are powerful, strong, and independent because of their attractiveness, not their athletic talent (McCarthy, 2003).

Based on facets of hegemony, framing and commodity feminism, this thesis aims to uncover gender difference in the advertising of two different types of magazines. A content analysis will be conducted in order to determine whether or not the advertising in women’s health and fitness magazines contains more gender difference than that of women’s athlete-focused magazines. In light of the extreme growth the female sports industry has experienced, it is necessary to determine whether or not the images of females within the advertising of these athlete-focused magazines has developed into truly athlete-focused content or if it has simply reinforced gender stereotypes.

Social Learning Theory

The final theory that will serve as background for this study is that of social cognitive theory or social learning. The theory of social learning further contributes to our understanding of gendered stereotypes being perpetuated within the media. The theory aims to predict and explain how we learn to behave socially through use of a three-prong model comprised of a

person's behavior; cognitive, biological and other personal factors; and finally, external consequences of the person's behavior (Bandura, 1994). Social learning theory retains the behaviorist basis of reward and punishment but also extends this to include an emphasis on the roles of other people as "agents of reinforcement" (Howard & Hollander, 1997, p. 45). Social learning theorists hold that as we develop, we "continuously refine [our] conceptions of the sorts of behavior society considers appropriate or inappropriate" (Perry & Bussey, 1984, p. 9; Bandura, 1977; Mischel, 1973). According to the theory, most behaviors are learned by watching others' actions and then combining these observances to decide future behaviors (Bandura, 1994; Bandura, 1977). Children base their judgments on a number of things including punishment and rewards from parents, consequences others receive, and verbal instruction from the people that surround them daily (parents, teachers, peers, etc.) (Perry & Bussey, 1984). People will naturally perform behaviors that bring positive consequences and are compatible with societal expectations (Bandura, 1994). The media plays a largely influential role in establishing these expectations, as it provides endless symbolic images that society will naturally imitate (Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 1994). These symbolic models can include television actors, movie stars, celebrities, and magazine models.

Verbal and visual symbolic modeling in films, television, magazines, and newspapers, allows attitudes, emotional responses, and new styles of conduct to be formed (Bandura, 1977, p. 39). While it is very likely that women learn femininity from symbolic modeling seen in the media, this doesn't mean that these symbols are simply forced on them (Bandura, 1994). Instead, social learning is governed by four subfunctions: attention, behavioral, retention and motivation (Bandura, 1994). Attention processes determine what is selectively perceived and what is interpreted from the symbolic modeling (Bandura, 1994, p. 68). Behavioral processes involve translating and reproducing modeled behaviors (Bandura, 1994). Retention processes

then changes and restructures the information. The final step is motivation, and because people do not perform every behavior they learn, incentives govern whether the behavior is performed (Bandura, 1977).

Social learning theory has been extensively applied to understanding gendered behaviors and how gender differences are formed (Howard & Hollander, 1997). Social learning theory suggests that gender is something to be “constantly modeled and reinforced” (Howard & Hollander, 1997, p. 47). As Lott and Maluso (1993) stated, “the gender socialization process (the transforming of sex into gender) is not confined to the early years but continues throughout life” (p. 99).

To conclude, the media play a large role in disseminating messages that individuals pay attention to, retain and then if the motivation is there, imitate. “Those who lack confidence and self-esteem, who are dependent, and who have been frequently rewarded for imitativeness are especially prone to adopt the behavior of successful models” (Bandura, 1977, p. 89). As part of the mass media, advertising is often blamed for many negative messages in society today.

Using the theories of capitalist hegemony, commodity feminism and social learning as a foundation, this study will examine pairs of print advertisements for sports products in order to begin to uncover running themes and differences in how advertisers target women and men.

Next, we will explore previous research that is relevant to the research topic.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review the literature relevant to the topic of gender difference within sports media. Following a brief overview of the media's relationship with the female sporting industry, this review will discuss relevant literature pertaining to stereotypical portrayals of male and female athletes within news media, gender portrayals within advertising and then finally, gender portrayals in sports advertising specifically. The literature review's purpose is to map the previous research in order to delineate how this study fits within the overall terrain. It also provides a critique of the body of literature on the topic in order to show how this study will contribute to the overall body of knowledge.

Emphasis on sexual difference is believed to be one of the main reasons that women are still seemingly portrayed as inferior to men in the media (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). Sexual difference, sometimes referred to as "gender difference," really goes beyond simple stereotyping because it implies that women are "naturally" inferior to men when it comes to their athletic ability (Lynn et al., 2004). Socially formulated differences, such as female portrayals as sex objects or as less competitive, are presented as being a natural occurrence, just like biological differences (Lynn, Walsdorf & Hardin, 2002). One can easily detect sexual differences when examining how a female is "framed" in an ad containing a woman involved in sports. She is often seen participating in a sport that is non-contact, "pretty" or "feminine," and she is framed as a passive and emotional participant (Duncan, 1990). Kane argues, "Focusing primarily on her gender role rather than her athletic ability and accomplishments, the media will not let the reader/viewer forget old stereotypes and stigmas" (Kane, 1989).

This biased portrayal of female athletes makes women's involvement in sports seem illegitimate. The media's framing of female athletes first deprives them of their power within the

sports industry but furthermore, strips them of their power within society in general (Cohen, 1993). Many scholars hold that this emphasis on sexual difference reinforces and feeds capitalist hegemony in the United States, which further reinforces a patriarchal hierarchy (Lynn, et al., 2004). Advertising is said to play a major role in the reinforcement of capitalist hegemony due to its portrayal of often-stereotypical gender roles as well as its emphasis on consumerism (Lynn, Hardin & Walsdorf, 2004). Advertising has been accused of co-opting progressive social movements in order to sell products, in particular for co-opting feminism (Goldman, Heath, & Smith, 1991). However, most gender-based sport research that focuses on the media's role in reinforcing stereotypes has focused on news media and more specifically, on the Olympics.

Stereotypical Gender Portrayals in the News Media

Title IX Coverage

Despite the exponential growth experienced in all aspects of the female sports industry, sport news media, in general, have been very slow to capitalize on this growth. Most newspapers and sports magazines either completely ignore women or frame them in a way that emphasizes "sexual difference" (Duncan, 1990). Lane (1998) examined how the media framed the controversy of Title IX through analysis of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, from 1971-1975. Lane (1998) held that the passage of Title IX gave the media an opportunity to redefine women's place in the world of athletics and to establish their place in that world as legitimate. However, findings showed that coverage largely favored the concerns of the NCAA and what Title IX would do to men's sports, while largely disregarding women's concerns about discrimination and why Title IX was indeed necessary (Lane, 1998). Lane found that "by focusing on the extremes and trivializing the Title IX movement, the media framed Title IX as deviant and a threat to hegemony;" as a result, important issues that Title IX stood for could be easily dismissed (Lane, 1998, p. 6)..

Huffman, Tuggle and Rosengard (2004) examined campus media and assessed whether Title IX had translated into equal coverage of men and women's sports. Findings answered their question with a resounding no, as they discovered that male athlete and event coverage in college newspapers mirrored that of national media, with 72.7% of their stories pertaining to males (Huffman et al., 2004). This paralleled the amount of male coverage in campus television as well (81.5%). On a more positive note, they did determine that the coverage of female sports that was given was of an equal quality to that of its male counterparts (Huffman et al., 2004).

National and Professional Sports Media

A variety of research has been conducted focusing on major network sport coverage and professional sport commentary. Tuggle's (1997) study of two national sports shows, ESPN's SportsCenter and CNN's Sports Tonight, showed that only 5% of airtime was devoted to women's athletics. Furthermore, in a 2002 replication of this study, Adams and Tuggle discovered that even with the establishment of two women's professional sports leagues, the media coverage in fact decreased since the last study (Adams & Tuggle, 2004).

In a study of televised sports news on three network affiliates and ESPN's SportsCenter, Messner, Duncan and Cooky (2003) examined the quality and quantity of televised coverage of women's sports. Their dominant finding, in agreement with the findings of Adams and Tuggle (2004) dwelled on the lack of change in coverage over the last decade. According to the study, women's sports are still "missing in action" on the news and now possess even less of a presence on SportsCenter (Messner et al., 2003). Findings showed that broadcasters chose to devote a considerable proportion of almost non-existent coverage of women's sports to "humorous feature stories on nonserious women's sports" (Messner et al., 2003). The researchers concluded that instead of leading or promoting women's sports, broadcasters have chosen to simply follow them but only in a cautious manner (Messner et al., 2003).

Based on disparities found in previous studies focusing on how males and females were displayed by on-air commentators, Billings, Angelini and Eastman (2005) examined gender differences in professional golf telecasts. In an examination of 243.5 hours of both PGA and LPGA broadcasts, researchers found two-dozen critical differences in how men and women were portrayed. Differences included the finding that women were more likely than men to be described in terms of why they succeeded or failed, while men were more likely than women to be portrayed as having personality or physical attributes (Billings et al., 2005). Billings et al. (2005) “found such marked differences in the way male and female golfers [were] portrayed on television that one wonders whether sportscasters recognize that PGA and LPGA players are engaged in the very same activity” (Billings, Angelini & Eastman, 2005, p. 169). However, unlike most previous studies that found women were more likely to be depicted as being physically weak, Billings et al. (2005) found that golf broadcasts exemplified a new stereotype of women – those that only achieve because they are lucky, not because they are good at the sport.

Building on the study of media representation of women in sports, Bruce (1998) took a different approach and investigated how women’s basketball fans interpreted the media’s representation of the game, specifically, television’s representation. Bruce conducted in-depth interviews with fans and found that “watching televised basketball was often frustrating for viewers who encountered representations that did not reflect their experiences or desires but, instead, devalued, trivialized, and stereotyped women athletes” (Bruce, 1998). On a positive note, Bruce found that rather than accepting and internalizing these stereotypical messages, as most research has assumed, fans instead actively challenged the television representations and proceeded to create their own positive, interpretations. Bruce also discovered that many viewers’ attempts to enjoy televised women’s basketball were demoralized by poor visual production and commentary (Bruce, 1998).

A small amount of research has focused on gender difference in sport magazines. In recognition of running's "gender-neutral" and "uniquely egalitarian" reputation, Hardin, Dodd and Chance (2005) investigated the magazine *Runner's World* in order to determine if it was exempt from the typical marginalization and exclusion of female athletes (p. 40). Results of a content analysis of editorial photo images in *Runner's World* during 1992, 1993, 1996 and 2001 showed that while it did provide an adequate proportion of women in its photos, notions of sexual difference continued to be reinforced (Hardin, Dodd & Chance, 2005). This was done through emphasis on women being "passive," "less active," and "less likely to compete" (Hardin, Dodd & Chance, 2005, p. 48).

Intercollegiate Sport Media

A growing amount of research has been conducted examining college sports. A large chunk of this research has focused on basketball, perhaps because it is one of the few sports that most universities have for both genders. In an effort to explore "the extent to which mass media coverage of men and women's sports reflect the broader gender ideology of society," Blinde, Greendorfer and Shanker (1991) content analyzed verbal commentary of men and women's college basketball (p. 98). Four main findings emerged: (1) the men's game and performances were used as a standard of comparison for the women's games, (2) the women's game only qualified as "women's basketball," not simply "basketball," (3) non-parallel and sexist language was utilized in describing the female athletes, and (4) expectations of physicality and athleticism vastly differed between the two genders (Blinde, Greendorfer & Shanker, 1991). Their findings simply reinforced that sport is commonly thought to be a male activity and commentators treat women's participation in sport as less legitimate than that of the men (Blinde, Greendorfer & Shanker, 1991).

A little more than 10 years later, in an examination of broadcast commentary during the 2000 Men's and Women's National Collegiate Athletic Association Final Four tournament games, Billings, Halone and Denham (2002) assessed the frequency and degree to which gender-based evaluations described athletic performance by men and women. A content analysis of 2,367 lines of broadcast commentary revealed significant differences. While men were described primarily in terms of physicality and athleticism, female athletes were evaluated in terms of personality, looks and appearance, and background. Results also revealed that the "men's games generated significantly more lines of broadcast commentary than did the women's games" (Billings et al., 2002). Furthermore, male commentators monopolized most of the airtime, even in the presence of female sportscasters, in both men's and women's games (Billings et al., 2002).

While others have examined text and verbal commentary in college sports, Buysse and Embser-Herbert (2004) examined the existence of gender difference in intercollegiate athletics by analyzing the U.S.-based National Collegiate Athletic Association's media guide cover photographs. Findings revealed that females were less likely to be portrayed as active in a sport and more likely to be portrayed in passive or feminine poses (Buysse and Embser-Herbert, 2004). The results of this study suggest that while one would expect less gender stereotyping from the sports teams themselves, intercollegiate athletic programs reinforce gender stereotypes in ways similar to that of the mass media (Buysse and Embser-Herbert, 2004).

Wann, Schrader, Allison, and McGeorge (1998) extended previous research on gender equity in an examination of media coverage of athletics in the sports sections of three university-sponsored newspapers. Factors examined included the number of male and female authors, number of articles focusing on male and female athletics, number of lines focusing on male and female athletics, and number of photos focusing on male and female athletes (Wann, Schrader,

Allison, and McGeorge, 1998). Findings showed that men's athletics received more coverage than women's athletics and that the proportion of female coverage was less than both the proportion of female students enrolled and female varsity sports offered at the sample institutions (Wann, Schrader, Allison, and McGeorge, 1998). These inequities were even more evident at the two larger universities in the sample (Wann, Schrader, Allison, and McGeorge, 1998).

Olympic Media Coverage

Although several forms of broadcast sport, both intercollegiate and professional, have been examined under the gender lens, no event has been studied and scrutinized for its stereotyping as much as the Olympics (Billings et al., 2005). Higgs and Weiller (1994) conducted a study that examined the amount and content of coverage of male vs. female events on NBC during the 1992 Olympics. Specifically, they examined broadcast time devoted to women's and men's basketball, volleyball, gymnastics, swimming, track and field and other sports (Higgs & Weiller, 1994). Their analysis of each individual sport evaluated "the announcers' use of strength and weakness descriptors to characterize women and men athletes and the nature of the narratives used to describe women and men competitors" (Higgs & Weiller, 1994, p. 234). Findings suggested that while women were given more coverage in reference to individuals sports, that coverage was cut into shorter, heavily edited segments. Higgs and Weiller (1994) discovered that commentators often relied on gender stereotypes, biased reporting, and a focus on personalities when covering women's sports, greatly ignoring women's physical ability. Coverage of men's sports however tended to focus on physical ability (Higgs & Weiller, 1994).

In an effort to discover if improvements were made over the previous four years, Higgs, Weiller and Martin (2003) examined television coverage of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta and considered the amount of coverage time and the quality of coverage in order to compare the coverage with that of the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. Only segments that

featured same-sport activities for men and women were included in the analysis. Variables considered included quantitative measure such as running time, length of segments, number of slow motion replays, and use of onscreen statistics, as well as qualitative measures such as the narrative of the commentators (Higgs et al, 2003). Findings suggested improvements in the way female athletes were presented in the 1996 Olympic Games as compared to the 1992 Olympic Games (Higgs et al., 2003). These improvements included quantitative measures such as length of segments and running time. However, qualitative analysis of commentary revealed continuing disparities in the coverage of women's sports, noting that these disparities are especially evident in those sports that traditionally appeal to the media audience (Higgs et al., 2003).

Eastman and Billings (1999) conducted the first longitudinal study of Olympic announcing, examining the 1994, 1996, and 1998 Games. Results showed that commentators were more likely to discuss women in terms of attractiveness and men in terms of physicality (Eastman & Billings, 1999). Later studies of the 2000 and 2002 games reported that men were more likely to have their success attributed to athletic skill and commitment, while women were more likely to have their failing attributed to lack of experience within the sport (Billing & Eastman, 2002, 2003).

Tuggle and Owen (1999) continued to expand our understanding of women's Olympic coverage in their examination of the Centennial Olympic Games. The study focused on coverage given to women's events and female athletes by NBC during the 2000 Olympic Games (Tuggle & Owen, 1999). Content analysis showed that while women were covered extensively, their coverage concentrated mainly on individual sports (i.e. swimming, diving, and gymnastics) and mostly excluded team events (Tuggle & Owen, 1999). Male team events received a significantly larger amount of coverage than their female counterparts (Tuggle & Owen, 1999).

Female participation in sports that “involved power or hard physical contact between athletes” received almost no coverage at all (Tuggle & Owen, 1999).

In addition to verbal broadcasts, content analysis has also been conducted for print media. Jones, Murrell & Jackson (1999) content analyzed 769 passages of print media “describing gold medal winning contests for four U. S. women’s teams in the 1996 Olympics (basketball, gymnastics, soccer, and softball) and the U.S. women’s hockey team in the 1998 Olympics” (Jones et al., 1999, p. 182). Dimensions considered included task relevance and use of gender stereotypes within the passage (Jones et al., 1999). Findings revealed that female athletes competing in typically male sports were often described through use of comments that “had little to do with sports or the athlete’s performance” (Jones et al., 1999). Print coverage of female athletes in typically female sports focused more on performance but still reinforced female stereotypes.

Kinnick (1998) also researched gender bias in the media during the 1996 Summer Olympics. Kinnick (1998) investigated newspaper coverage of male and female athletes through an examination of profiles of athletes in five leading U.S. newspapers: *USA Today*, *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Atlanta Constitution*. These profiles were then examined for presence of gender bias in both their reporting and photography. Kinnick found evidence of some gender bias; however, for some criteria, such as page layout and article prominence, female athletes actually received similar or even more favorable treatment than the male athletes. No evidence of gender bias was found in reference to the quantity of representation of female athletes, or in the placement and prominence of the selected profiles. This could imply that editors of these newspapers have recognized and sought to capitalize on the growing popularity of women in sport. Kinnick was confident that these findings could

suggest improvement in levels of gender bias found by previous studies of media coverage of female athletes.

On a more global scale, Capranica et al. (2005) examined press coverage of female Olympian athletes in the largest circulating Belgian, French, Italian and Danish daily newspapers during the 2000 Summer Olympics. Variables considered included number of articles, size, page placement, accompanying photographs, and photograph size (Capranica et al., 2005). While only 29.3% of the articles and 38% of photos were of women's sports, this mirrored the proportion of female participants and events (Capranica et al., 2005). No significant gender differences were found in reference to article size, page placement, accompanying photographs, or photograph size (Capranica et al., 2005). Researchers attributed their findings to the International Olympic Committee's actions to promote increased participation of women in sport activities and to publicize their achievements (Capranica et al., 2005). This may indicate that the emphasis of gender difference and lack of women's coverage is not a global occurrence, but instead is mostly evident in the United States.

In recognition of the vast amount of content analysis research done on Olympic coverage and commentary and the lack of quantitative, empirical research, Knight and Giuliano (2001) took the study of gender one step further and also incorporated audience reactions using a 2 x 2 between subjects experimental design. Ninety-two subjects were given a fictitious newspaper profile about an Olympic athlete in which the article focused on either the athlete's attractiveness (like most female coverage) or the athlete's athletic ability (like most male coverage) (Knight & Giuliano, 2001). Participants "neither had favorable impressions of nor liked articles about female and male athletes when attractiveness was the main focus of an article" (Knight & Giuliano, 2001). These findings suggest that the media should be mindful of how male or female athletes are often portrayed in terms of personal or physical attributes rather than their athletic

abilities. Not only is this damaging to the athletes themselves, but if it is turning audiences off, it may be hurting profits as well.

Gender Portrayals in Advertising

It is difficult to deny that the advertising industry has a large effect on our culture. Advertising also has an impact on what is acceptable and unacceptable in terms of gender roles, responsibilities, and behaviors (Plous & Neptune, 1997). Advertisements implicitly and explicitly delineate how advertisers themselves believe society views, accepts, and romanticizes gender (Klassen, Jasper & Schwartz, 1993). It should be no surprise that sexual difference is present in American advertising, as research findings have demonstrated this standard since the 1970s (Belknap & Leonard, 1991).

Gender, Advertising and Frame Analysis

It would impossible to continue the discussion of female portrayal in advertising without addressing the research done by scholar, Erving Goffman. In the mid-1970s, Goffman made an influential contribution to the study of gender by creating a method known as “frame analysis” for coding advertisements when examining the portrayal of gender in ads. His method was largely based on the concept of media framing, an approach long used by communication practitioners to uncover mass communication effects. Goffman held that when it came to advertising, images were the most powerful tool used and should be closely examined (Goffman, 1979). His coding method, frame analysis, is essentially a way of coding how the characters and products are displayed in an ad. Frame analysis helps to unveil how images in an ad are transmitting and reinforcing stereotypes. Goffman examines the subtleties of images in order to reveal how they are reinforcing what society has been taught is acceptable and expected gender behavior (Goffman, 1979). Goffman established several categorical variables to aid in the determination of the presence of sexual difference (Table 2-1).

Table 2-1. Goffman Categorical Variables

Variable	Description
Relative Size	Height or girth of males vs. females in image
Feminine Touch	Use of female fingers or hands to outline, cradle or caress an object; self-touching
Function Ranking	Occupational role shown, etc (i.e. teacher vs. learner)
The Family	How family is portrayed; father's physical position in relation to rest of family; shown with sons vs. daughters
Ritualization of Subordination	Lowering oneself physically, male vs. female elevation; poses; childlike gestures
Licensed Withdrawal	Women removing themselves psychologically from a situation, therefore leaving them dependent on protection from men

Goffman characterized ads as portraying a relationship that mirrored the parent-child relationship: the man is always the parent, while the female is the child (Goffman, 1979).

Reliance on the child-parent complex as a source of display imagery is a means of extending intimate comfortable practices outward from their source to the world, and in the wake of this domestication . . . female subordination follows. *Any* scene, it appears, can be defined as an occasion for the depiction of gender difference, and in any scene a resource can be found for affecting this display (p. 9).

Kang (1997) found that stereotypes continue to persist in modern day advertising through her use of Goffman's frame analysis. She examined advertisements in three top-circulation magazines from the years 1979 to 1991 and found that advertising does not even give gender equality a chance. Most advertising displays either only women or only men. The lack of juxtaposition of males and females suggests that the two cannot coexist equally.

Gender Difference in Print Advertising

While little research has been conducted with regards to sports print advertising, a variety of research has been done on print advertising in general. In an examination of *Playboy*, *Newsweek* and *Ms.*, Klassen et al. (1993) found that women are often portrayed in traditional roles. These stereotypical "traditional roles" refer to women's being depicted as alluring and

decorative, performing traditional housewife roles, dependent on men, or as sex objects (Klassen et al., 1993). Using content analysis, Klassen established that 85% of images in *Playboy* and in *Newsweek* portrayed women in traditional roles, with *Ms.* close behind with 71% (Klassen et al., 1993). Kang confirmed these findings in 1997 when she observed that in American advertising, women are typically portrayed in traditional roles such as the mother figure, or in other home or beauty roles (Kang, 1997). Furthermore, women in magazine advertisements are portrayed as weak, childish, dependent, domestic and subordinate (Kang, 1997; Artz & Munger, 1999).

Plous and Neptune (1997) content analyzed 10 years of fashion advertisements (1985 to 1994) and found an increase in skin display of females occurred during the time period. As can be expected, females also showed a greater amount of body exposure than males (Plous & Neptune, 1997). Results also showed that white women were portrayed in low-status positions more often than African American women. The researchers hypothesized that these findings could suggest that the symbolic “lowering of women” identified by Goffman (1979) applies more to white women than to black women (Plous & Neptune, 1997).

Koernig and Granitz (2006) focused on gender difference with regards to technology through a content analysis of e-commerce magazine ads. Results showed that women were in fact portrayed more equitable than previous research had found. While males were included in e-commerce ads more often than women, the ads that did depict women did so in a way that accurately reflected the current positions of women in e-commerce production. Men and women were also depicted in equal positions of expertise, power, and authority regardless of the readership of the sample (Koernig & Granitz, 2006). This very recent study suggests that the roles females and males are typically portrayed as playing may be converging.

Kolbe and Albanese (1996) conducted one of the few studies focusing solely on the portrayal of men in advertising. The researchers honed in on how men are portrayed in

advertisements from magazines largely targeting men, including *Business Week*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, *Playboy*, *Rolling Stone* and *Sports Illustrated*. Sample advertisements came from every issue of these magazines published during 1993. Results revealed that even in advertising targeting men, the male models used are not average, ordinary guys (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). Instead, they possessed bodies of the traditional male icon – strong and muscular (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). While very few of the male models made any kind of fashion statement, most wore conventional or conservative clothing such as casual wear or business suits, implying an upscale lifestyle (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). Findings suggested that objectification of men does occur, however this was not strongly emphasized in the sample of the study. Aloofness and detachment were frequently conveyed by turned heads and averted eyes (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). Contrary to previous research, competency and physical dominance were not emphasized in the sample advertisements (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). Findings of this study suggest that females are not the only ones that are fed unrealistic images in advertising. Males are also frequently shown images of males with perfect bodies and rich lifestyles, implying that to be real men, they too must look and act like the models of advertising.

While content analysis has been the most popular method used in gender-based media studies, other methods have been used as well. Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley (1976) held that research on media sexism depended too much on nominal variables and set out to formulate a scale of sexism to be used in future qualitative studies. The researchers felt that if they could find a method that told them *how much* sexism was present, not just when, where, and how often, then they could uncover truly meaningful results (Pingree et al., 1976). Pingree et al. (1976) thus created a scale consisting of five levels of sexism (See Figure 2-1).

Pingree et al. (1976) applied this scale to advertisements within issues of *Ms.*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Playboy*. They found that *Ms.* far surpassed the other three in presence of

women as the equals of men, however 56% of the ads found in *Ms.* still presented women on the two most sexist levels of the scale. The researchers theorized that as the media provide society with sexist messages, the audience's images of women are likely to be similar (Pingree et al., 1976). Finally, unlike most gender studies, Pingree et al. also briefly addressed the sexist images of men within advertising. A consciousness scale similar to that measuring the sexism with regard to women was formulated and future research suggested.

Gender and Television Advertising

In a very early study, Silverstein and Silverstein (1974) examined primetime television commercials on ABC, CBS and NBC in order to determine how different genders were portrayed, with a stronger focus on the portrayal of women. They coded for a number of categories including role, occupation, physical appearance, psychological appearance, person needing/giving help, gave advice/given advice, frustration and type of product (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). Findings showed that stereotypical portrayals of women occurred regardless of the nature of the program. The nature of the program did however determine the type of products advertised (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). The use of female announcers was almost non-existent, unless the product being advertised was a household product (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). Women appeared in the home at higher frequencies than men (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). Men were more likely to be shown giving advice, while women were more likely to be given advice (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). Findings also revealed that women were shown as subservient about eight times more often than they were shown as dominant (Silverstein and Silverstein, 1974). These findings exhibit the extremity of gender difference in the media that occurred over 30 years ago. However, many researchers today might say that little has changed, gender difference is simply exemplified in a more indirect way in the media of today.

In an exploration of gender stereotypes and how they apply to technology, White and Kinnick (2000) examined a sample of 352 primetime television commercials from 1998 in order to determine how women were portrayed using technology. The study revealed that while women were pictured using computers just as frequently as men, they were more likely than men to be portrayed as clerical workers and less likely to be portrayed as business professionals (White & Kinnick, 2000). Surprisingly however, women were statistically more likely than men to be portrayed as having competent computer skills (White & Kinnick, 2000). This mixed bag of results suggests that media portrayals of women in relation to technology are improving, however undertones of gender difference continue to underscore the progress.

Many researchers have noted the common emphasis on body and sexuality have become a standard in television commercials. In an examination of MTV television commercials, Signiorelli et al. (1994) found that 75% of women were portrayed as having fit and attractive bodies, while 75% of men were depicted as having average bodies. As previously discussed, Kolbe and Albanese (1996) uncovered results contradictory to the “average male body” finding here. Furthermore, women in MTV commercials were more likely than men to be portrayed in sexy or skimpy clothing, while men were portrayed in neutral clothing (Signiorelli et al., 1994). In a later study, Signiorelli (1997) found that in commercials aired during shows targeting adolescent girls, 32% of the female models were portrayed as “thin” or “very thin.” Women were also more commonly portrayed wearing undergarments (sleepwear or lingerie) (Signiorelli, 1997).

Gender in Sports Advertising

There have only been a few studies that have specifically examined sports advertising and the ways in which females are posed and displayed. The most relevant study to this paper is the 2004 study done by Lynn, Hardin and Walsdorf. Lynn et al. examined the presentation of

advertising images in four different women's sport and fitness magazines: *SI for Women*, *Real Sports*, *Shape*, and *Women Sports and Fitness*. Strong support for sexual difference was uncovered in the fitness-oriented magazines (*Shape* and *Women Sports and Fitness*), but less gender difference was found in the more athlete-focused magazines (*SI for Women* and *Real Sports*). It was confirmed that gender stereotypes continue to be carried on even in female-oriented sports advertising.

Cuneen and Sidwell (1998) also conducted a sport-related study in which they focused on sexual difference displayed in ad images in *Sports Illustrated for Kids*. Results showed that not only were men shown more often in ads, they were also shown in more prominent roles. When females were depicted, they were shown as non-participants or participants in more individual and aesthetic sports (i.e. ice-skating or gymnastics). Males, however, were shown as participants in team-oriented, strength sports (i.e. football, wrestling). Cuneen and Sidwell's study drew from a central facet of Goffman's research: the fact that sexual difference in advertising contributes to the social learning of what is ideal in terms of one's gender or what actually is.

Lynn, Hardin, Hardin, and Walsdorf (2002) did a follow up study to Cuneen and Sidwell's study, examining *Sports Illustrated for Kids* ads from the 1990s. Their findings confirmed that sexual difference is indeed present. Content analysis revealed that girls and women were greatly underrepresented and pictured as spectators rather than participants (Lynn et al., 2002). The researchers speculated that advertisers targeting children in *SIK* do not understand or choose not to embrace the fact that females prefer to be depicted as participants and not spectators (Lynn et al., 2002).

Cuneen and Clausen (1999) put a slight variation on the studies discussed thus far and continued the exploration of gender stereotyping in advertising through examination of point-of-

purchase ads. Cuneen and Clausen summarized the state of gender advertising with the following conclusions:

- Gender stereotyping is still heavily present in sport advertising.
- If women are portrayed at all in sports advertising, they are participating in leisure or recreational and aesthetic activities.
- For the most part, women are not used in same-sex or team sport displays (i.e. baseball, soccer, basketball).
- If women are displayed as participating in a competitive sport, they are mostly shown alone (in individual activities).
- In sports advertising, men are portrayed far more often than women.

Cuneen and Clausen came to these conclusions by examining ads in terms of gender difference and how these differences are portrayed as natural and “just the way life is,” rather than as socially constructed beliefs.

In the realm of television, Goodman, Duke and Sutherland (2002) conducted a study of television ads aired during the telecast of the 2000 NBC Summer Olympics featuring Olympian athletes. They analyzed the advertisers’ use of gender-based concepts of heroism using traditional hero archetypes: the Innocent, Orphan, Martyr, Wanderer, Warrior, and Magician (Goodman, et al., 2002). Findings showed that men and women were equally portrayed as Warriors, individuals with courage, discipline, and skill (Goodman et al., 2002). Males, however, were portrayed more often as successfully preparing for or doing battle (also referred to as “Conquering Heroes”) and seeking confrontation or one-on-one competition (Goodman et al., 2002). Women were simply celebrated for their athletic skills and achievements independent of reference to competition or defeat of their opponents. Female Olympians were sexualized at times as well, while males were not (Goodman et al., 2002).

Overall, female athletes, continue to be marginalized and even ignored in the visual and auditory dimensions of broadcast coverage, and the textual and photographic dimensions of print coverage. However, most research has focused on traditional media vehicles that target a more general audience. Little attention has been paid to female specific sports media and whether they too reinforce gender stereotypes.

Limitations of Previous Studies

Overall, most research seems to have consisted of content analyses of news media, mainly broadcast news and newspapers. There has been an abundance of research examining gender portrayals in a variety of media, both in the general sense, and more specifically, in reference to the portrayal of the female athlete. Most of this research has focused on media targeting a general audience, while little has focused on media that target specifically female or male audiences.

Furthermore, little research has investigated sports-related print advertising for gender difference. Even more specifically, no research has shed light on gender difference in sports advertising that targets both males and females but with different advertisements. This study aims to fill this gap in the arena of sports advertising research.

Study Contribution to the Field

Sexual difference exists within almost every facet of American culture. Despite huge leaps in progress, women continue to be viewed as subordinates in a patriarchal society. As the above review has exhibited, sexual difference is especially evident in the sporting industry and more specifically, sports media vehicles. However, no previous research investigates gender difference through an examination of advertisements from brands that target males and females in different ways. More research is necessary to discover the similarities and differences in methods used by marketers when targeting males vs. females. In an effort to begin that research,

this study utilizes a qualitative content analysis, while incorporating a feminist perspective, in order to investigate the similarities and differences in the manner in which advertisers target males and females within magazine advertisements for sport-related products.

In light of the advancements females in sport have made, females now play an important role in the advancement of sport, both in an athletic sense and a monetary sense. Marketers' differentiation of ads targeting males and females shows that they have realized the lucrative opportunities of the female sports industry and recognize that females play a large enough role to receive their own version of an ad. However, this also may imply that marketers don't think males and females to be equal in the realm of sport. As previous studies have shown, negative outcomes result when an audience does not identify with the media image/model they see (Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974; Bruce, 1998; Knight & Giuliano, 2001). In order for future researchers to determine whether audiences identify with images and themes sport-product marketers utilize, we must first uncover the similarities and differences in tactics used when targeting women vs. men.

In addition to the uniqueness of the actual topic, this study differs from previous research in its examination of several aspects of the presence of gender difference that have not previously been directly coded for within the realm of sports advertising. These categories include: Attractiveness/Beauty/Looks, Focus on body, Diet/weight loss, Nutrition, Power, Technology/Science/Innovation, Performance, Improvement, Confidence, Achievement, Use of Script Font, Emphasis of Ad Color, Product Specifics, Style, Color of Product, Engineered/Designed, and Emotional. An explanation of the detailed meaning of each of these categories can be found in the following chapter.

Furthermore, this study will attempt to determine if sport-product magazine advertising reflects the extreme advancements of women in sport, or if they simply reinforce the same kinds

of gender stereotyping found in previous studies. I hope that the findings of this study will shed light on how advertisers and marketers treat gender in the context of sport.

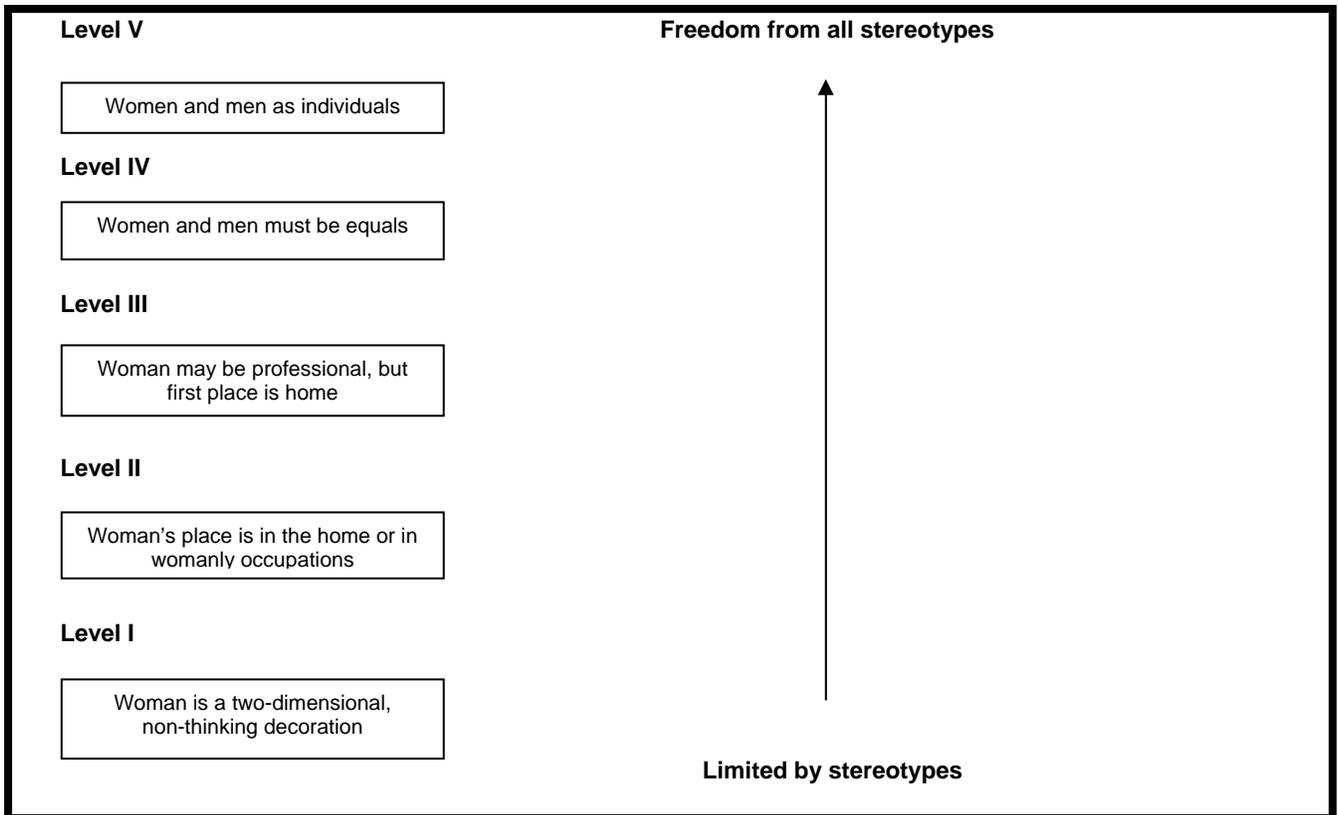


Figure 2-1: A Consciousness Scale for Media Sexism: Women (Pingree et al., 1976)

CHAPTER 3 METHOD

As discussed in previous chapters, this study utilizes a qualitative content analysis, while incorporating a feminist perspective, in order to investigate the following research question: What are the similarities and differences in the manner in which advertisers target males and females within magazine advertisements for sport-related products? This study will examine common themes and divergences conveyed in both visual and textual aspects of recent sport product ads.

Qualitative Content Analysis

This study employs a qualitative content analysis. Quantitative content analysis “translates frequency of occurrence of certain symbols into summary judgments and comparisons of content of the discourse” (Starosta, 1984, p. 185). Qualitative content analysis differs from quantitative because it allows for latent meanings, themes and patterns, emergent categories, and in-depth semiotic analysis of images (Dreher, 1994). According to Babbie (2004), qualitative analysis is the “non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships” (p. 370). Qualitative analysis allows a “reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator, concepts, data collection, and analysis” (Altheide, 1996, p. 16). The aim of qualitative content analysis is to be systematic and analytic but not rigid. Berg (1989) suggested that categories and variables guide the study at first, but others must be allowed and expected to emerge throughout the analysis process. This thinking process allows an orientation toward “*constant discovery* or *constant comparison* of situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances” (Berg, 1989; Altheide, 1996).

Content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, has been criticized by some scholars because of its lack of inclusion of the audience’s reactions and interpretations; however, most

researchers recognize content analysis as a successful way to study advertising messages (Leiss, Kline, & Jhatty, 1986). According to Gerbner (1969), the practice of content analysis is more than just recording how many times certain words or images appear; “the purpose of any analysis is to illuminate or to make possible inferences about something that is not otherwise apparent.”

Semiotics

Inherent to the practice of qualitative content analysis is the use of semiotics. Semiotics can serve as a powerful tool in uncovering the cultural significance of signs and their meanings. Perhaps one of the broadest definitions established, Umberto Eco stated that “semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign” (Eco, 1976, p. 7). In general terms, semiotics refers to the study of what we refer to as signs in everyday speech and also to anything which stands for something else (Chandler, 2005). Signs can take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects. Semiotics is often used in the analysis of texts, although this should not be confused with *textual analysis*. A text can be verbal, non-verbal, or both, but usually refers to a message that has been recorded in some way, be it through writing, audio, or video recording (Chandler, 2005). Overall, a text is considered an assemblage of signs (can be words, images, sounds or gestures) that are “constructed (and interpreted) with reference to the conventions associated with a genre and in a particular medium of communication” (Chandler, 2005, p. 1).

In the scope of this study, semiotic analysis will assist in the discovery of themes and subtleties in the portrayal of both males and females in ads, finding latent meanings in both photographs and text, and drawing conclusions. Unlike quantitative methods that focus only on manifest meaning in signs, semiotics can focus on message systems as a whole (van Zoonen, 1994). Semiotics has many advantages including the ability to reveal subtleties within depictions, due to the immense amount of time spent on the details of each individual

text/picture. The detailed focus on each unit of analysis allows the researcher to come up with as many meanings as possible.

Sample

For the purposes of this study, I used a purposive sampling technique. Neuman (1994) defines purposive sampling as a type of non-probability sampling that is “an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations” (p.198). Purposive sampling allows the researcher’s judgment to come into play, selecting cases with a special purpose in mind (Neuman, 1994). Neuman (1994) holds that purposive sampling is especially useful when “a researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation.” This form of sampling fits best with this study because its “purpose is less to generalize to a larger population than it is to gain a deeper understanding of types” (Neuman, 1994).

The sample of this study was composed of ads for sport-related products from the time period of 2001 to 2007. This time period was chosen in order to keep the sample recent while also allowing the flexibility to find as many applicable ads as possible. Finding pairs of ads that targeted both males and females separately proved rather difficult, therefore the date range was extended more than was originally intended. These dates also coincided with major female sports-related trends such as the birth of the WNBA, the growth in female spectatorship, and increase in women’s sports-related spending.

The sample was established after an extensive search for ads for sports products that had an attainable male and female counterpart. A variety of magazines were searched first, then when a sport product ad was found, the researcher searched for its counterpart in magazines targeting the opposite sex. When a counterpart could not be found in print mediums, the Internet was used. If a counterpart still could not be found, the ad was not used in the study. After an examination of magazine ads from the last seven years and Internet findings, every single ad pair

found was used in the study. A total of 24 ads targeted to females and 24 ads targeted toward males were found and chosen based on the fact that the advertised product had both a female and male counterpart ad. While ads were not necessarily analyzed as pairs, these pairs were chosen because the study focuses only on advertising of brands that target both males and females. For example, Danskin is a female-only sports brand that would not be relevant to this study as there would be no male counterpart to analyze and compare.

Most of the advertisements within the sample came from a range of health, fitness and sporting magazines including *Self*, *Shape*, *Fitness*, *Men's Health*, *ESPN*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Golf*, *Golf for Women*, *Golf Digest*, *Men's Fitness* and *Men's Journal*. The remaining ads came from the Internet, mostly from the brand's Web site. The products advertised ranged from shoes and apparel to workout machines to golf clubs to vitamin supplements. The brands utilized included AdamsGolf, Bionic, Callaway Golf, Amino Vital, TourEdge, Winn, Cleveland Golf, PowerBar, PowerSox, Adidas, Asics, New Balance, Bowflex, Myoplex, Champion, PowerBar Protein Plus, Snickers Marathon Performance Bar, Garmin, Sperry, Etonic, Wilson Golf, Skechers, and Columbia.

Materials (Apparatus)

Materials required for this study include a recording instrument or code sheet (see appendix A) and a codebook (see appendix B). In addition, issues of the magazines from which the ads came were needed in order to obtain as many advertising pairs as possible. Once it seemed that the maximum number of pairs was obtained from the physical issues of the magazines, the Internet was used as a resource for obtaining sport advertisements.

After the ads were obtained, they were analyzed in part using codes established in previous studies examining the portrayal of gender within media. Due to the lack of research done in the area of sport-product print advertising and how it relates to gender, several additional codes were

established by the researcher after a preliminary examination of the sample. The following study examines both photographic and textual elements; therefore, many established codes had to be altered in order to fit the scope of this study.

The first previously established code system used is that of Goffman (1979); however, not all of his six categories of stereotypical depictions of women were used. The categories used in the scope of this study include feminine touch, function ranking, and ritualization of socialization. Feminine touch refers to Goffman's finding that women were photographed more often using their fingers and hands to "trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress it," (1979, p. 29) while men used touch in a more functional manner. In consideration of function ranking, Goffman analyzed the way social weight—power, authority, rank, office, and renown—was expressed in stereotypes through relative size and especially height. Women were usually photographed as shorter than men (not in reference to height, but how they were placed. For example, a man is shown standing while the female is sitting), making them seem subordinate (Goffman, 1979).

In ritualization of socialization, Goffman held that subordination is represented by lowering oneself physically (Goffman, 1979). Holding your head high or having a straight body showed superiority and being unashamed. When the subject of a photograph was lying down, Goffman considered this a display of dependency. A "bashful knee bend" was interpreted as "foregoing of full effort to be prepared" (Goffman, 1979, p. 45). Goffman also considered smiling a conveyance of inferiority.

In cooperation with codes constructed by Goffman, codes for bodily expression will be used as well. Henley (1977) constructed a chart displaying results of many researchers' studies of body language. Henley pointed out that "many nonverbal behaviors that seem meaningless and non-power-related in fact are aspects of sex privilege or reflect societal biases intimately

founded in power differences” (Henley, 1977, p. 188). According to the chart, the following convey dominance: staring, touching, interrupting, crowding another’s space, frowning/looking stern, chin up, hands behind the back, and pointing (Henley, 1977). Characterizations of submission include lowering the eyes, cuddling to touch, yielding/moving away, smiling, tilting the head, and closed positions (Henley, 1977). In addition to these codes of bodily expression, a form of Henley’s “frustration” code was utilized to convey an athlete looking “tired.”

Limited coding systems were also borrowed from previous studies. Motion in Photo has been used by a number of researchers in order to determine if females are portrayed in active vs. non-active roles (Goffman, 1979; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Lynn et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). Past findings have found that men tend to be shown in more active roles, while women are shown in passive roles (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Lynn et al., 2002; Lynn et al., 2004). This is especially important in examining sports advertising as one would expect an athlete to be portrayed in active roles, regardless of gender. Portrayals of female athletes posing or as passive beings reduces their athleticism to a focus on their body, ignoring the athletic feats they are capable of achieving.

Goodman et al. (2000) found that male athletes were more likely to be portrayed as heroes, purposefully choosing competition and challenge. Hardin, et al. (2005) also coded for competition; however, this was coded for in photos only. Therefore, *Competition* and *Challenge* were utilized as categories to be coded.

The categories of *Easy* and *Preparation* were derived from the code “person who needed help/person who provided help,” used by Silverstein and Silverstein (1974). Silverstein and Silverstein held that “the inability to handle the matter be one’s self or to be able to provide help reflects on a person’s abilities, intelligence, competency, maturity and other attributes” (p. 81). When one sex is repeatedly portrayed as either needing or giving help, it can suggest to the

viewer an “endemic dependency or independence of that sex” (Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974, p. 81). Similarly, the code of using an expert was derived from the code “person who gave advice/person who was given advice” also utilized by Silverstein and Silverstein (1974). The need to receive or ability to offer advice indicates intelligence, awareness, and knowledge (Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974).

The code of *Inexperience* was derived from Blinde, Greendorfer and Shanker’s (1991) code, “Different Expectations for Athleticism and Physicality.” Blinde et al. (1991) analyzed commentator comments during sports broadcasts of male and female events. In the examination, they found that the commentators had different expectations for performance by males and females (Blinde et al., 1991). For example, commentators were surprised at certain performances by females, while at the same time these actions were ignored when performed by a male (Blinde et al., 1991). Because these researchers analyzed TV broadcasts, much of their criteria would not apply to a print ad. However, the idea is essentially the same.

Due to the reflexive and circular nature of qualitative content analysis, the researcher was allowed the flexibility of adding other codes that were not previously researched, but became evident in the analysis process. Those codes included Attractiveness/Beauty/Looks, Focus on body, Diet/weight loss, Nutrition, Power, Technology/Science/Innovation, Performance, Improvement, Confidence, Achievement, Use of Script Font, Emphasis of Ad Color, Product Specifics, Style, Color of Product, Engineered/Designed, and Emotional. While some of these areas have obviously been researched, no previously established codes applicable to this study were found.

Procedure

Preliminary themes to be coded were established; however, following an initial analysis, additional codes that had not been previously researched were added (See Appendix A). After

the code sheet and code book were constructed, all 48 (24 targeting females and 24 targeting males) advertisements were qualitatively content analyzed. Common themes, similarities, and differences were recorded and described in detail in order to be able to compare and contrast ways in which marketers of sport products portray males as compared to females. After the analysis was completed, results were reported in general terms, but then ads or ad pairs best exemplifying each finding were chosen for detailed explanation and description.

Dependability of Findings

When conducting qualitative content analysis, it is important to confirm the significance of findings among multiple researchers. In order to ensure the dependability of the findings of this study, the supervising professor of the researcher confirmed major themes and divergences discussed in the following chapter (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

This section presents the qualitative content analysis of 24 pairs of advertisements for sports products based on the codes stated in the methods chapter. Within each section, general patterns are presented and then select advertisements that best exemplify these patterns are analyzed in depth based on codes by Silverstein and Silverstein (1974), Henley (1977), Goffman (1979), Duncan & Sayaovong (1990), Blinde, Greendorfer and Shanker (1991), Cuneen & Sidwell (1998), Lynn et al. (2002, 2004), and Hardin et al. (2005), as well as previously un-researched codes.

The overall findings of this study delineate that while major differences were not found in how men and women are targeted, subtle differences were apparent. To the average consumer, many of the nuances that are to be discussed probably go virtually unnoticed. However, when examined closely, several of these ads show subtle differences that exhibit gender difference and stereotypes. These subtle differences consist mostly of a few lines or even words from the copy or headline, and less frequently, something in the visual aspect of the ad such as color used. While the average person may need to look rather closely to pick up on these differences, this does not mean that long-term damage is not being done.

Aesthetics: Overt Sexuality, Attractiveness, Body and Weight Loss

Overt Sexuality

Overall, the findings of Goffman's (1979) research were largely irrelevant. Stereotypically sexual bodily expression such as bending one's knee and having the mouth open were only found in one ad – the female Skechers ad. The ad depicts a male and female model in a compromisingly sexual position and several of Goffman's established codes are present. The models' bodies are pressed up against one another with the female's leg raised and knee bent.

The male model has grabbed hold of her middle-upper thigh. While the male wears pants and a black sleeveless mesh shirt, the female wears barely-there shorts, a shiny black bikini top, a large silver Skechers charm around her neck and of course, Skechers sneakers. Both bodies look shiny and greased up. Both have their lips parted slightly. The female model has her left hand wrapped around the male's head so that she is grasping his hair. The two bodies are the main image of the ad, with only a cartoonish sky background behind them.

While this ad is atypical of most of the others within the sample, it does portray some of the codes Goffman (1979) established. Besides the obvious use of the female as a sex object, as can be seen in her attire and sexually compromising position, other more subtle messages are being sent as well. Both the parted lips and bent knee are a commonly found sexual image of females in advertising, implying again that women are solely sex objects (Goffman, 1979). However, the male is shown with parted lips as well. Despite stereotypical subtleties portrayed by the female in this ad, she is overall portrayed as having a sexual and physical power over the male. The most obvious element of this ad however, is the amount of skin being shown by the female. While it can be said that women often wear less clothing while exercising, it is clear that this woman is not wearing exercise clothing, but instead, a shiny bikini top with extremely short pinstriped, cuffed, casual looking shorts. The male could have been portrayed as scantily clothed as well, but he is instead wearing long pants. He is however wearing a see-through, mesh shirt, which could imply a sense of sexuality.

Contrary to the blatantly obvious findings of past studies, no other ad in this sample was as sexual in nature as the Skechers ad (Goffman, 1979; Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Klassen et al., 1993; Plous & Neptune, 1997). Several of Goffman's codes did not apply to this sample simply because this Skechers ad was one of two ads out of all 48 to illustrate more than one person together in the ad. The examination of the Skechers ads as a pair serves to emphasize the sexual

nature of the female-targeted ad. The male-targeted ad features images of three different Skechers sneaker style options, with text only addressing style and comfort. The male ad actually could not get any *less* sexual. When examined together, the Skechers pair is actually somewhat atypical, as male ads are typically the ones that appear to be more sexual.

Attractiveness

In analyzing the 24 ad pairs, 25% (6) of the ads targeted to females referenced attractiveness in some way. This could have included references to one's weight, beauty, looks, level of attractiveness or likelihood of attracting the opposite sex. Only 8% (2) of the ads targeted to males referenced attractiveness. One brand exemplifying this finding was that of Amino Vital. The two ads were structured similarly, with identical placement of the headline, text, logo, and picture. The logo and slogan of "For Greater Fitness and Higher Performance" were pictured in the upper left hand corner. Both pictured a model engaged in an athletic activity, with the image of the model taking up most of the ad. The headlines were placed across the middle of the ad in the same standard font. The male headline reads "Less pain, more gain," while the female headline reads "Be your best. Today. And Tomorrow." A paragraph of supportive text was featured at the bottom of the ad in a much smaller font size. Finally, pictures of the variety of products were featured across the bottom of the ad. The exact same products were featured in both ads.

Overall, both the female and male ad exude a sense of strength and power, as the male shows a man lifting weights and the female ad shows a female boxer. While the ad layout and overall message of the ads were very similar, very subtle differences still exhibited gender difference. The female-targeted ad reads "Amino Vital is designed to get the most out of the time and energy you put into staying fit." However, the comparable sentence from the male copy reads "Amino Vital is engineered to help you work out longer, harder, more intensively."

While the language and message in the female ad may imply gaining and building strength, it could also refer to a focus on weight loss and appearance improvement. It is the absence of this language in the male ad that accentuates difference. Overall, the difference here seems to be that the female ad softens the idea of being active, while the male ad packs more punch and is more “in your face” about strength and working out.

Similarly, the male ad states that the result of using Amino Vital is “a lot less soreness, a lot more progress,” while the female ad states that the result is “you’ll look and feel your best, today and tomorrow.” On the one hand, one can see how this copy works with its respective headline to send an overall message; nevertheless it does convey subtle gender difference. Subtle visual differences are apparent as well. While the male is portrayed with his chin up, looking upward in a confident manner, the female is more detached seeming, looking downward so that we barely see her eyes. Goffman found that women were often portrayed as being withdrawn and detached in advertising, emphasizing their passive roles in society (1979).

The media have been known to portray female characters as devoting all or most of their energy to improving their appearances (Wood, 1994, 235). One could say that this ad manages to subtly continue that tradition. While both the male and female in the respective ads are depicted in active situations, the texts of the ads send two subtly different messages. The female stereotypically devotes her time to exercising in order to improve her appearance; the male is depicted exercising in order to improve his strength and power. The supportive copy of the male ad focuses on the physical body as a source of power and intense action. While the female ad focuses on staying fit, there is an absence of language emphasizing strength and intense physical exertion. The absence of such language in the female ad, coupled with mentions of staying fit and burning fat, could imply a focus on exercising solely to improve one’s level of attractiveness.

Research has shown that occasionally, women in media who do not subscribe to the traditional female roles are positively portrayed; however, this is done by “softening and feminizing” them to “make them more consistent with traditional roles of femininity” (Wood, 1994, 237). The Amino Vital ad makes efforts to depart from the typical gender stereotypes through its depiction of the female as a boxer, an atypical activity for females. It could be said that this ad exemplifies Goldman’s (1991) theory of commodity feminism, turning the Amino Vital female’s power and strength into something more feminine.

Focus on Body

While there was no significant difference in the number of ads, female or male, that utilized the image of a human model, there was a significant divergence in the number of ads that used the body of the model as a significant focus. Sixty-seven percent (16) of the female ads utilized the presence of a model. All but one used only a female model. The outlier was the Skechers ad, which featured both a male and female model. Sixty-nine percent (11) of the ads that did use a model, used the body of the model as a primary focus, largely portraying only body parts, not the full body. Meanwhile, of the 24 male-focused ads, 50% (12) used a model, all of which were male, with the exception of one that contained a large picture of a male and a small inset picture containing a female as well. Only 25% (3) of those ads with a model used the model’s body as a main image within the ad. As discussed in an earlier section, the Skechers ads delineate this finding well. In order to avoid repetition, I will examine the Garmin ad pair, which also exemplifies this finding. Garmin is a watch-like device that keeps track of a variety of data while you run.

In the Garmin ads, the female-targeted ad depicts a female body from the lower bust to the upper thigh region, focusing mainly on a bare, shiny and toned midsection. This was one example where only body parts were portrayed, instead of the entire body. The background is

mildly blurred, and the body is clearly the primary focus of the ad. On the other hand, the male-targeted ad depicts a twenty-something male sitting down, dressed in a collared, button-down shirt and jeans. The only skin exposed is on his hands and face. Not only is there a huge difference in the amount of skin shown in each ad, but the male ad also includes the model's head, something the female ad omits. This could send the audience a message: males are to be viewed as complete humans who are valued for their minds rather than their bodies, while females are only worth the attractiveness of their body parts. These results supported previous findings that women are typically represented by body parts rather than their whole bodies (Kilbourne, 1999).

Diet/Weight Loss

In keeping with the seemingly running theme of the use of commodity feminism in advertising, results showed that mentioning of diet and weight loss were also ways in which advertisers feminized the act of sport and exercise. Of the sample of 24 ad pairs, 21% (5) of the female-targeted ads made some mention of diet or weight loss. Contrastingly, only 4% (1) of the male-targeted ads mentioned diet or weight loss. With regards to weight loss, the two previously discussed ads, Amino Vital and Garmin, best exemplify this finding.

In the Amino Vital ads, both the male and female ads focus on muscle – building muscle, muscle energy, and muscle repair. Again, the overall ads definitely convey messages of strength. However, the female ad contains one phrase that is nowhere to be found in the male ad – “Burn fat.” Why is it that only the female could stand to lose some fat? Once again, advertising may be sending the message that being thin is the ultimate goal, even for strong females that depart from the typical image of a feminine woman. These findings seem to imply that male bodies are meant to be used for various physical activities, while female bodies are meant solely for display or attraction.

From a marketing standpoint, focusing on diet and weight loss makes sense, as women tend to typically exercise with weight loss in mind as a main goal. However, the media portray an inaccurate picture of male and female feelings about weight loss and body dissatisfaction. While it is true that most females are concerned with their weight and staying thin and struggle with body dissatisfaction on a daily basis, males also struggle with their body image as well. However, this is reflected in the media at a much lower rate. A 1997 nationwide *Psychology Today* survey showed that 56% of women are dissatisfied with their appearance (Garner, 1997). Reported problem areas for women included their abdomens (71%), body weight (66%), hips (60%), and muscle tone (58%). However, men showed an escalating dissatisfaction with their overall appearance as well, with 43% of men polled claiming to be dissatisfied. Confessed problem areas for men included their abdomens (63%), weight (52%), muscle tone (45%), and chest (38%) (Garner, 1997). A comparison of these findings reveals that women are actually more dissatisfied with their muscle tone than men, yet advertising fails to reflect this.

The Garmin ads differ in that the male ad does actually make some mention of weight loss. It also makes no mention of muscle in any way. While the male ad does not focus nearly as heavily on weight loss, it does use “avoid[ing] love handles at all costs” as one motivation for running with the Garmin Forerunner. That remains the only mention of weight loss in the entire ad however. Contrastingly, the female ad begins with the headline “Shave time, ounces and inches,” stressing that the main reason for using the Garmin Forerunner is to lose weight. The fact that the device also “counts calories” is stressed as one of its main features, a detail omitted in the male ad. Finally, the text is ended with a play-on-words – “Get the skinny on the Garmin Forerunner.” This saying could have easily been replaced with “get more information;” however, the advertisers chose to emphasize the weight loss factor.

The text also compares the Forerunner device to a personal trainer, stressing weight loss, while also implying that females aren't capable of working out without someone teaching them or helping them to train. Furthermore, the copy states that the Forerunner tells you "how far, how fast – even how to get home," possibly implying that women are so intellectually inferior that they even need help remembering how to get home.

Findings also showed that of those female ads that mentioned diet or weight loss, 75% (4) mentioned the product's lack of sugar, fat or calories or its abilities to burn/count calories. In contrast, the male counterparts of those ads tended to mention vitamin, mineral, carbohydrate and protein content. While females do typically require a lower daily caloric intake than males, vitamins, minerals, protein and carbs are still important for their health. These diet components are typically associated with gaining weight, something that is unacceptable to any female that wishes to be accepted in a patriarchal society. On the other hand, marketers are obviously trying to capitalize on the fact that women typically do care more about dieting while males are actually more concerned with gaining weight. Nonetheless, the constant reinforcement of the female need to be thin could have detrimental long-term effects.

In summary, sport product ads targeted to women exhibited both subtle and obvious focuses on beauty, looks, the body, weight loss, and diet. Women could be sent the message that the only goal and purpose of sports and exercise are losing weight and being thin. In contrast, males may be sent the message that exercise helps them to grow healthier, stronger, and more powerful. Some of the ads in this sample reinforce the widely held cultural view that women are simply "decorative objects whose identity hinges on physical appeal" (Wood, 1994, p. 128). There is a double standard in our society as women's attractiveness is central to how she is judged (Wolf, 1991), while men are judged on their abilities, in this case physical abilities. Commodity feminism is at work here, as these female ads merge the independent and powerful

ideals of feminism with femininity and being attractive and available to men (Goldman, 1991). This also exemplified the classic Berger (1972) comment, “men act, women appear.”

Focus on Technology, Science, Performance or Use of Expert

Technology and Science

Studies have suggested that technological competence is a gendered attribute that is attractive and important for males to possess but unnecessary and even unattractive for females (White & Kinnick, 2000). Despite previous findings, the results of this sample showed that the mentioning of either technology or science was similar between the male-and female-targeted ads, with 29% (7) for the female ads and a slightly higher 33% (8) for the male ads.

Despite the similarity in the mentions of technology and science, there was some bias in language used to discuss how a product was made. Male ads overall tended to refer to a product as being “engineered,” whereas female ads tended to say something was “designed.” Seventeen percent (4) of the sample of male-targeted ads utilized the words “engineered” or something similarly manly sounding, such as “crafted” or “built,” while only 4% (1) of females used such language. Similarly, 21% (5) of female ads used the word “designed,” while only 4% (1) of male ads did so. The ads utilize stereotypically male and female language as males are supposed to enjoy and appreciate building things, while females deal more with design as it applies to things like clothing.

To illustrate this finding, I again return to the advertisements for the sports supplement, Amino Vital. The text and format of these two ads look identical and both seem to convey a sense of strength and power. The male ad claims that “Amino Vital is engineered to help you work out longer, harder, more intensively.” The comparable sentence in the female ad, placed in exactly the same position as that of the male ad claims, “Amino Vital is designed to help you get the most out of the time and energy you put into staying fit.” In both of these sentences, the

words “engineered” or “designed” could have been switched and the core message essentially would have stayed the same. However, the advertisers chose to use a more scientific-sounding word choice when addressing male consumers. This ad pair may exhibit the stereotypes of men being equated with science, while women are associated with fashion.

Performance

When it came to the discussion of a product’s performance or how using the product would improve the user’s performance, there was little difference between males and females. Thirty-three percent (8) of the female-targeted ads either directly used the word “performance” or referenced it through descriptions of what that product can do for its user. Forty-two percent (10) of male-targeted ads addressed performance in some way. For the most part, advertisements for golf products addressed performance regardless of gender. For example, both the male and female Callaway Golf ads mention performance in some way. Despite the seemingly equal performance treatment, subtle gender stereotypes were found. Both Callaway Golf ads are for a Callaway driver. The male ad boasts that the driver provides “unprecedented stability” and “ushers in a new era of driver performance,” “throwing out traditional thinking and preconceived notions.” The language utilized in the male ad implies some kind of ground-breaking technology or innovation, which seems to further imply that males are technologically savvy. The copy of the female ad, conversely, provides a very straightforward explanation of product specifics and capabilities, describing the features very plainly with no exaggeration.

Another subtle difference was found in the fact that the female ad touts “performance-driven equipment designed specifically for women.” One possible reading of this could imply that females need custom-made equipment in order to keep up in the game, with men or even with other females. The added “specifically for women” phrase seems to trivialize the apparent capabilities of the product when it comes to performance. On the other hand, marketers may

simply be implying that these clubs are specialized and made specifically with the female body in mind. Furthermore, this could imply that women who play golf have actually been playing with a handicap all this time, using equipment made for males that don't work with their body types. While focus on performance was comparable numerically, the ways in which it were presented often made a difference.

Use of Expert

While there was equality in mention of technology, a stereotypically male topic, there was a large difference in the number of ads that utilized a known expert to get the legitimacy of their product across. Approximately 17% (4) of the male ads utilized a known expert to attest to the performance of a product or were simply shown using the product. About half as many female ads (2) used a known expert.

The ad pair that best illustrates using an expert is that of Wilson Golf. The female ad depicts a pink accented golf bag with a pink umbrella and pink golf towel attached. The head covers of the featured clubs are also pink and black. While the golf bag is in focus on the left side of the ad, the right side features a young, thin, blonde woman dressed in pink and practicing her swing. She is out of focus however. There is no headline, only a paragraph of copy in very small font at the top of the ad and three images of specific types of clubs with a sentence of copy each along the bottom. Each of the three types of clubs are featured within color blocks that are gray, magenta and purple.

The male ad features tour pro Padraig Harrington leaning on his golf bag filled with Wilson branded clubs. He sports a black long-sleeved, collared shirt, a Wilson Staff baseball cap and is smiling. Next to his image reads his quote, placed in a badge-shaped color block -- "It's something I work at until it's too dark to see the pin."

While the female ad depicts a non-expert, non-celebrity, thin, blonde model practicing her swing, the male ad depicts tour pro Padraig Harrington posed with the product, giving his expert advice. These results suggest that advertising sends the message that males are seen as having the ability to relate to an “expert.” The female featured in the ad is the prototypical, pink-clad, feminine beauty of American culture. The ad seems to imply that if you use Wilson golf clubs, you become her. Previous studies have found this to be a common theme in advertising (Williamson, 1979).

Focus on the Challenge and the Win

Male ads scored significantly higher when it came to mentioning challenge, competition, and winning. Men are typically seen as more competitive and aggressive than women. Men are urged to possess qualities of dominance, aggressiveness and strength (Wood, 1994). While women tend to be judged by their appearance and/or relationships, men are typically judged by their activities, accomplishments, and positions (Wood, 1994.). Males learn from childhood that an individual’s status “depends on standing out, being better and often dominating other players” whereas women learn that their economic and social success is determined by their looks (Maltz & Borker, 1982).

Challenge

Thirteen percent (3) of male-targeted ads addressed the challenge of the respective sport in some way. In contrast, absolutely none of the female-targeted ads did so. The ad pair showing the greatest divergence in mention of competition is Cleveland Golf. The male version of the Cleveland Golf ad is all about the love of the challenge. The headline reads “Bring on the square heads, the imitators, the followers. Bring on the game.” In addition, following the explanation of the advantages of the advertised driver, the text of the ad ends with “Bring on the game.” It is clear here that the male sense of competition is being invoked. The female ad, however, ignores

any sense of challenge and focuses on emotions. The headline reads – *You don't know whether to play it or hug it* – reducing women's participation in golf to a less competitive, emotional occurrence. The statement also implies that the golf club is what will save the female's game, not her athletic ability. The ad seems to imply that a piece of equipment will save the female, as if she is a stereotypical “damsel in distress.”

As discussed earlier, women are typically defined by their relationships, while men are more typically defined by their accomplishments (Wood, 1994). The ad pair for sneaker and sport apparel brand, ASICS, also exemplifies how advertising stereotypes men as focusing more on the challenge of sport and accomplishing something, while women focus on more trivial aspects. The theme of the campaign from which these ads come is “My Running Partner is...” and then a different story follows for each ad. In the male ad, the text consists of a man discussing how his running partner is a crew team of four men rowing in the river next to him as he runs. This invokes a sense of challenge, as racing a team of four men would obviously be seen as a challenge for anyone. It also conjures the idea of “one vs. many,” another stereotypical male challenge. In this ad, the challenge for the running man is to attempt to match the “perfect rhythm,” perfect cadence,” and “perfect pace” of the crew team.

The female ad, on the other hand, takes a similarly stereotypical approach and equates a female running to a kind of dating opportunity. The visual of the ad does not seem to convey gender difference as the image of the female running is clearly the main focus of the visual. The subtle differences are found within the headline and supportive copy. The headline reads -- *My running partner and I have never met*. The text goes on – *We run together every day, I'm just not sure he's aware of it. We haven't had any deep conversations or anything, but last week, I made the first move. I gathered up the courage to say “On your left.”* While making “the first move” is a typically male action, seen as aggressive if done by a female, this ad still fails to

substantiate women's athletic ability. The first three pronouns used in the three sentences of copy are "we," "he" and "we." The pronoun "I" is only used in reference to making a move on and speaking to a male. Even in an ad targeted to females, the male is essentially the focus. This ad pair is a perfect example of how women's participation in sport is trivialized in the media. While the male subject of the male-targeted ad focuses on his rhythm and pace, the female in the female-targeted ad is busy focusing on a guy who she sees every day while running.

Competition and Winning

Similar to the "challenge" language, there were also subtle differences in the occurrence of competition or winning language. Thirteen percent (3) of male-targeted ads directly focused on competition or winning compared to no female mentions. This supports previous findings that in advertising, males are typically the only ones shown winning at anything (Goodman et al., 2002). As with the findings of discussion of challenge, focus on competition and winning can be attributed to early socialization and learning of gender roles and appropriate gender qualities (Wood, 1994).

The divergence in competition/winning speak was most evident in the copy of the ads for Sperry Top-Sider boat shoes. The two ads look exactly alike in color, design, and placement, with virtually no gender difference visually; however, a comparison of the subtle messages sent within the text shows some gender difference. The male ad focuses on allowing men to "own the water – every ocean, river, lake and stream." It addresses the competition of man vs. nature by insinuating that when wearing Sperry Top-Sider shoes, men can conquer nature, particularly the water. In addition to the man-vs.-nature message, the ad also addresses man vs. man competition. In a reference to competitive sailing, the supporting text of the ad suggests that wearers of the shoes are "competing for world cups." While men are "own[ing] the water" and "competing for world cups," the women in the female ad are apparently "exploring the seven

seas or just strolling their shores.” When comparing the two ads, one could interpret the female ad as suggesting that females could not possibly be interested in competitive boating but instead enjoy simply traveling or “strolling,” both passive actions. Here again, women’s participation in a sport that men participate in seems to be trivialized as non-competitive or even non-athletic. This finding is reminiscent of the idea that “men act and women appear” (Berger, 1972).

On the other hand, discussion of “exploring” could be read as a female being adventurous, a stereotypically male quality. Also, studies have shown that females do tend to focus less on competition and more on fairness, equality and relationships (Wood, 1994). Based on these findings, marketers’ lack of emphasis on competition makes sense, however at the same time, this does mean that all women want to do is “stroll.”

Improvement vs. Making the Sport Easier to Play

Content analysis showed that while men’s ads tended to focus on the “work” of the sport or improving one’s game or skills, women’s ads tended to focus on making the sport easier for a female to play. Forty-two percent (10) of the male-targeted ads focused on improving one’s game or skills, while only 4% (1) of the female-targeted ads did so. Twenty-one percent (5) of female-targeted ads addressed making the sport easier to play or making being active easier on the body, while only 8% (2) of the male ads did so.

Ads for PowerBar PROTEIN PLUS best exemplified the “improvement” and “easy” findings. The male ad depicts a weight machine on which the poundage of each level is replaced with the labels *Buff*, *Cut*, *Ripped*, *Chiseled* and finally, at the heaviest level, *Idolized*. The entire ad focuses on improving one’s level of muscularity and strength. Research supports this finding, as research on men has found that males are more concerned with gaining weight and looking better (Garner, 1997). Through the use of these PowerBars, the ad insinuates that one can reach the level of being idolized, again invoking a sense of competition as well. On the other hand, the

female ad has a headline that reads – *Do more. With less.* The headline refers to being able to eat less and still have more energy, as well as to the fact that the bar is sugar-free. While the overall visual of the ad conveys little gender difference, subtleties in the text say otherwise. The remaining text of the ad mentions nothing about increasing strength, muscle, or any other improvement. The female ad insinuates that the female can be stronger and have more energy. However, it also suggests that she consume less fuel as seen in the headline, “Do more. With less.” Bordo (1993) has addressed this topic, arguing that the emphasis on women to exercise and lose weight, while simultaneously eating much less or even starving themselves, is extremely unrealistic. In no way does starving yourself lead to being powerful.

In addition to the discrepancy in discussion of improvement, the ads also stereotype typical gender roles. While the male ad displays parts of a weight machine, a typically male activity, the female ad depicts a model jumping rope, a typically female activity. The act of jump roping is also an activity typically associated with a female’s childhood. Therefore, the ad may infantilize the female, implying that she is childish and immature, definitely not on the same level as her male counterpart.

Achievement and Confidence

Similar to the findings of Challenge and Competition, the analysis showed that male-targeted ads made reference to “achievement” in some way (17% or 4 ads) more than twice as many times as female ads (8% or 2 ads). Surprisingly though, the number of mentions of “confidence” in the female ads was double that of the male ads. Eight percent (2) of female ads mentioned having confidence or confidence to be gained from using the product. There was not one male ad that mentioned confidence. Males are typically not thought of as needing a confidence boost, in fact confidence can sometimes be equated with masculinity. Females,

however, are generally thought to be lacking in self-confidence and skill; thus products that improve their skills would further improve their confidence. This can also reflect the common stereotype that females need a male's approval or evaluation in order to know whether she should be confident in herself or not. For example, most females determine their own attractiveness through feedback received from the opposite sex.

A prime example of a male ad using achievement is the Wilson Golf ad that has been previously discussed. While the female counterpart to this ad focuses on friends and fun, the male ad talks about "greatness" and working at achieving something until it's too dark outside to continue. One example of a female ad that mentions confidence is the TourEdge golf ad. The ad claims that the Iron-Wood golf club "gives you the confidence to take on any shot." This is an example of an ad that insinuates that the product is what will give you that confidence.

Style, Design and Color of Product

Style

In the case of reference to style, the male and female ads from this sample were completely equal. In both cases, 13% (3) of the ads mentioned style in either the text or the headline. The ads for Sperry Top-Sider boat shoes exemplify the equality in reference to style. As previously discussed, the Sperry Top-Sider ads look almost identical at first glance as far as color and placement of text/visuals goes. The male ad, however, also includes a second page that displays 12 different shoe style options. Style is the focus of this entire second page. One of the captions below a style option also claims to have a "stylish nautical look." The female ad references style in its copy. It claims that Sperry Top-Sider shoes have "the styling, the colors, the action and that traction to make waves everywhere you go." This also further exemplifies an emphasis on attractiveness, as "making waves" refers to drawing attention to oneself.

One would most likely expect style to be a factor considered mainly by females, as females are stereotyped as caring more about aesthetics and less about substance. However, findings showed that style was just as important to males. This may be an indicator of an increasing male interest in fashion as exemplified in the metro-sexual. It could also be attributed to a growing male concern with relation to looks/body image (Garner, 1997).

Color of Product

Similar to the findings for style, there was an equal ratio of male and female ads that mentioned something about the color of the product, a total of 8% (2) for both. This was surprising as color is typically thought of as a female concern. The Winn tennis grip ads best exemplify this. The female ad features one large image of a single tennis grip that is hot pink with black accents. The headline reads “Advanced Integration. It’s definitely not grip technology as usual.” The supportive text discusses why the grip is different and its features, including its “different colors.” In the lower right hand corner is a picture of two well-known, but unnamed golf pros.

The male-targeted ad features a double-helix image made up of many tennis grips, all in different colors and styles. The headline reads “Winn = Technology² + Style .” The copy discusses the new “revolutionary” grip, the different models, and the pros that use them. The last sentence of copy stresses “striking colors, rich tones and new designs.”

While both of these ads mention the importance of the color of the product to the consumer, the overall ad sends different messages. Whereas the female ad stresses a single, *pink* grip, the male ad displays many color choices, something an ad targeted to females would typically do. However, while emphasizing color, the male ad also uses science (the double helix) and technology to sell the product; the female ad fails to do so. The double helix could be interpreted to mean that males are attracted to scientific claims, while females prefer to focus on

more “girly” aspects such as a product’s pink color. The use of the color pink in the female ad also exemplifies feminine stereotypes. Pink is known to be a feminine color and would never be used in a male-focused ad. Still it is intriguing that the ad targeted to males would stress color, tones, and designs so much more than its female counterpart. Similar to what was discussed in relation to emphasis on style, emphasis on color of product may also reflect a growing male interest in fashion, a stereotypically female interest.

Color and Typeface Use In Ad

Emphasis of Color

There was a divergence in the number of male and female ads that emphasized color within the ad. Emphasis of color was defined as an ad that used color as a main tool or primary focus; in other words the color of the ad or something in the ad was one of the first things to draw the consumers’ eye. Upon viewing the ad, color must be one of the first details of the ad that is noticeable. Thirty-three percent of female ads emphasized color, while 17% (4) of male ads did so. Surprisingly, however, there was no major difference in the overall colors used for either male or female-targeted ads. Both male and female ads utilized the colors purple, red, and blue. One male ad utilized the color green, while no female ad did so. Twice as many female ads utilized the color blue (2 vs. 1), a stereotypically male color. Table 4-1 illustrates the distributions of colors used based on gender.

Table 4-1. Use of Color in Male vs. Female Ads

	Red (%)	Blue (%)	Pink (%)	Purple (%)
Male	2 (8)	1 (4)	0 (0)	1 (4)
Female	2 (8)	2 (8)	3 (12)	1 (4)

One finding that did stand out was the female ads’ use of pink compared to the lack of such within the male-targeted ads. Three female ads (13%) utilized the color pink as a main focus of the ad. In the cases of those three ads that did utilize pink, two did so in connection

with breast cancer awareness or donations. Because the logo for the Susan G. Komen Foundation, the most well-known breast cancer charity, is a light pink ribbon, many brands adjust the colors of their promotional materials when sponsoring an event or simply to advertise their connection with the charity. The month of October is considered “National Breast Cancer Awareness Month;” therefore, use of pink tends to increase in ads released in the months surrounding this time. While the use of pink may be atypical overall to female-targeted sport product ads, this area warrants further investigation outside the scope of this study. Why is it that only female products partner with breast cancer-related charities? Obviously, the percentage of men diagnosed with the disease is almost non-existent, yet breast cancer affects men’s lives through the grief of losing a wife, mother, sister, daughter or female friend. This could possibly signify the portrayal of the female as weak, as male ads fail to point out male-specific diseases, possibly because men are often seen as strong and indestructible. It makes one wonder why male ads don’t form partnerships with foundations supporting research of testicular cancer. Marketers’ use of breast cancer messages only in female ads may also exhibit the stereotype of the female’s tendency to react more emotionally than a male would. By only using these messages in female ads, marketers seem to be implying that women are the only ones that would care enough to donate to breast cancer charities, therefore putting these messages in male ads would be pointless.

Despite similarities in the physical colors used in the ads, there were evident differences in the ways colors were used in the ad. The ad pair that best exemplifies color similarity and also shows differences between the male and female ads is that of Myoplex, a sport supplement and drink . In both Myoplex ads, the color purple is used as a major focus of the ad. The format and visual layout of the ads are almost exactly alike. Both ads feature sports professionals participating in their respective activities (biking for the female tri-athlete and football for the pro

football player); however, it is clear that both models have been graphically altered to look almost cartoonish. In the female ad, the female tri-athlete is featured in purple bike shorts, a purple tank top, purple tinted sunglasses and a purple bike helmet, riding her purple bike through a purple sky as purple lightning bolts come off her body and bike. The overall ad conveys a message of strength as this female looks to be very athletic and powerful.

The male ad conveys a message of strength and power as well. The ad features a professional football player soaring up into a purple sky as if he has a rocket attached to his back while holding a football above his head. Not only are the sky and horizon purple, but the earth he sees below him is purple as well. The male ad differs from its female counterpart, however, in that the amount of purple featured when it comes to the football player's clothing is miniscule. While the female athlete is dressed in purple from head to toe, the male athlete's attire consists of white spandex-looking shorts and shirt, with black gloves and shoes. His shirt and shorts feature very minor purple accents. His shirt sports the small purple logo of Myoplex's parent company, EAS, in the middle of his upper chest.

These ads appear to be identical in format and the messages they are attempting to convey, but take a closer look and the underlying details appear. For example, why is it acceptable for a female to be dressed completely in purple, while a male can only have small accents to his attire? In the case of this ad pair, the color of the packaging of Myoplex is in fact purple. Therefore, it would seem perfectly acceptable for the male to wear purple, as he is representative of the product. Purple is a stereotypically feminine color because it is chosen almost exclusively by women as a favorite color and is strongly disliked by men (Bear, 2007). Traditionally, the color is also associated with royalty, romance and mystery (Bear, 2007). Women who are mysterious are typically seen as sexy and attractive and romance is also an entity that appeals strongly to women.

It seems that commodity feminism is once again at play here (Goldman, 1991). The female tri-athlete is exemplifying her athletic abilities and talents, attempting to show off her independence and strength, non-traditional female qualities. At the same time, marketers seem to be using the outfit she wears to emphasize that no matter how strong she may be, she is feminine as well because she wears a cute purple outfits. Again, by itself the female ad sends an overall message of strength and athletic ability. However, by making everything purple in the female ad but only accenting the male ad, Myoplex marketers seem to be emphasizing certain aspects of femininity in the female ad. The extreme use of purple in the female ad also causes the female subject to almost blend in with the background of the ad, possibly implying that her athletic feats are nothing worth noticing. Through the use of white clothing on the male subject, the male-targeted ad forces the model to stand out from the purple background. This could signify the idea that females are meant to blend into the background and stay out of the spotlight, while male talents should stand out and be the center of attention.

Use of Script Typeface

In a very general examination of the overall typefaces utilized within the ads, results showed that only female ads (13% or 3 ads) used script or cursive typefaces, while absolutely none of the male ads did so. This supported previous consumer research showing that because of its neatness and curvy nature, script fonts are stereotypically thought to be female or “girlie.” Henderson (2005) found that script-like fonts were “considered likable, warm, attractive, interesting, emotional, feminine, and delicate” but not strong or reassuring (p. 22). These types of fonts have significant aesthetic appeal but do not inspire confidence or seriousness. This may imply that the females in ads using script fonts are simply on display for aesthetic purposes as well while also implying that they lack confidence and are not to be taken seriously.

The advertisements for ADAMSGOLF golf clubs best delineate the difference in typefaces between ads targeted at each gender. The female ad features a largely written, script headline that consumes nearly the entire top quarter of the ad. The headline reads – “*We’ll Settle for Perfect.*” In addition to the script headline, the ad also features copy consisting of a quoted endorsement by *Golf Magazine* that uses a hand-written style typeface. The endorsement reads – “*Idea a2 Women’s Set is Named “The Perfect Set of Clubs for Women”.*” While the typeface used here isn’t quite script, it looks as if a female has written it. On the other hand, the male ad features very symmetrical and basic typefaces. Its headline reads – “*#1 ISN’T WHERE INNOVATION ENDS...*” in all capital letters. While the female ad uses script and handwritten fonts that invoke femininity, fun, or playfulness, the male ad uses very square and basic typefaces that invoke a sense of seriousness and formality. The difference in typeface use may imply that female participation in sport is feminine, fun, and playful, while male participation is serious and all business.

The Overly Emotional Female

Analysis revealed that overwhelmingly, females were portrayed more often than men as over-emotional, even being described as being “in love with” inanimate objects. Twenty-one percent (5) of the female-targeted ads described females in this way, while this finding was also non-existent when it came to the male-targeted ads. This finding was evident in the previously discussed female Asics ad where all the female runner is concerned with is a guy she sees while running everyday. However, the ad that best exemplifies this tactic is the Cleveland Golf ad for the CGII W-Series wedge. The stereotype begins with the headline of the ad: You Don’t Know Whether to Play it or Hug It. In this case, “play it” and “hug it” are twice the size of the rest of the headline. The headline and the pink color box that contain it consume the top third of the ad. The middle portion of the ad features a picture of the pink-accented wedge. The supportive copy

explains how the wedge is so easy to use, “you’ll wonder how you ever lived without it.” The copy closes by emphasizing that the wedge “provides unmatched feel and control for shots you can’t help but fall in love with.”

In only one other sport-related male ad (Garmin) is there any mention of emotion, however this never addresses hugging, living without something, or falling in love, especially not in relation to an inanimate object. Kilbourne (1999) addressed this topic, claiming that ads similar to these imply that products are more important than people. Kilbourne (1999) held that advertising had long promised a better relationship via a product, however they have now gone beyond even that, promising a relationship with the product itself, insinuating that if you buy the product, it will love you. As discussed in a previous section, this ad seems to trivialize women’s dedication to the sport while also insulting their emotional intelligence. The ad could be interpreted as playing on the stereotype of the female as a victim or “damsel in distress” who needs to be saved. The wedge can be compared to the female’s knight in shining armor, whom she will fall in love with and then be unable to imagine how she ever lived without him. The emphasis on not being able to live without the product may also mirror the common stereotype of women being defined by men, having no identity of their own. It is understood what the marketer is implying about the product: they are exaggerating how you’ll feel about it in order to explain just how great it is. However, the problem here is that no such tactics are used similarly in any male ad.

The Inexperienced Female Athlete and a Focus on Fun

Within the scope of this study, there were some findings that did not show significant differences but still warrant mentioning. One such finding was mentioning lack of experience or a focus on fun rather than the competition of the sport. While only 8% (2) of female ads

mentioned inexperience or fun, this was 8% (2) more than what was found within the male-targeted sample.

The female ad that exemplified the finding of a focus on playing for fun was that of Wilson Golf which has already been discussed with reference to its male counterpart's use of an expert. The female ad features no headline, only supportive copy. The copy emphasizes "making the game more enjoyable," and then invites the female golfer to "grab a few friends and a few hours for [herself]" to play golf. Nowhere in the ad is there any mention of competition or challenge as there is in the male counterpart; instead, the ad focuses on playing with friends and takes a "just for fun" approach. This could imply that females are incapable of competing at the same level as men. It also seems to imply that women are afraid to take on a challenge and, therefore, must appear to just be playing for fun so as not to embarrass themselves. Furthermore, the focus on friends implies that only females use golf only as a social activity. On the contrary, it is well-known that men use golf as a social activity or "guy time." Men use golf as social time for both personal and business purposes. However, of all golf-related ads within the sample (there were 8 total), not one male ad mentioned this detail. This seems to imply that males focus solely on sport and exercise while females use exercise only as a social activity, not for any sort of competition or improvement of athletic ability.

As previously discussed, women are typically defined by their relationships, while men are more typically defined by their accomplishments (Wood, 1994). However in this case, reality is not being portrayed, as males play golf for the social aspects equally if not more than women. The ad may imply that women cannot be taken seriously, hence the lack of language discussing female athletic abilities.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

This study explored the following research question: What are the similarities and differences in the manner in which advertisers target males and females within magazine advertisements for sport-related products? In the investigation of this research question, theories of capitalist hegemony, commodity feminism, and social learning were examined. In addition to the feminist and social theories employed, past research was also utilized in the investigation.

On the surface, the 48 ads in this sample appear to have made great strides in the portrayal of males and females. It seems that improvements have been made with regards to the roles females play within advertising, for example, almost all ads targeting females that used a model showed the model participating in an athletic activity. It is obvious that marketers have recognized that females have come to play a large role in the sporting industry and are here to stay. Despite this significant step forward, there were a number of ways in which advertisements subtly stereotyped females and males. Overall findings of the study revealed that marketers of sports-related products use subtly different tactics in targeting women than they do men. Underscoring these tactics are subtle and indirect gender stereotypes that reinforce the patriarchal society in which we live.

Results regarding attractiveness showed that three times as many female ads as male ads referenced attractiveness in some way. Female ads were more than twice as likely to use the body of the model as a primary focus and made reference to diet or weight loss five times as often as male ads. These are typical, yet damaging statistics. Goldman's (1991) commodity feminism is clearly at work here. Ads that use attractiveness, focus on body, and mention of diet or weight loss as tools force the feminist ideals of independence and strength that are inherent in the world of sport and turn them into a focus on being the ideal feminine specimen – sexy,

beautiful, and thin. While ads depict women working out, an indication of strength, most imply that the female is only exercising to become thinner, sexier or more attractive.

The discussion of calories, fat and carbs only in female ads implies that women are the only ones who care about their weight or the way that they look. However, this is an unrealistic portrayal of male feelings about weight loss and body image. Research shows that weight is one of the more prevalent thoughts on most women's minds; however, weight and body image are concerns for men as well. As discussed in the previous chapter, a 1997 Psychology Today survey showed that 89% of women wish they could lose weight, an average of 15 pounds (Garner, 1997). It also showed that 43% of men are dissatisfied with their bodies and wish they could improve their abdomens, weight, muscle tone and chests (Garner, 1997). However, in contrast with women who on average wished they could lose weight, 22% of males actually want to gain weight. If these published statistics hold true, why then do marketers not capitalize on men's insecurities as well? It seems that based on this data, marketers would benefit from using more body improvement messages in advertising targeting men.

With regards to nutrition, findings overwhelmingly delineated that marketers think females need to focus on calorie, fat and carbohydrate intake, while men need vitamins, minerals and protein. In order to stay healthy, both sexes need a healthy balance of all of these factors. Here again, the female ads focus in on things that will or won't make you fat, while ads targeting males focus on things that will make you stronger.

From a marketing standpoint, a focus on weight loss in female ads makes sense. It is common knowledge that large numbers of women wish they were thinner and more attractive. Capitalizing on these insecurities is one way for marketers to sell products. This does not make focusing on beauty, weight and attractiveness any less potentially damaging to women. Despite available research, marketers seem unaware of similar weight opportunities for advertising

targeting males. Instead, male ads constantly focus on strength and muscle. This implies that females exercise solely to lose weight, while males exercise solely to build muscle tone and strength. In reality, both genders exercise for a combination of both reasons. Not only does this place focus on body image when it comes to females, it also makes it seem as though their participation in sports has nothing to do with competition, only with being active in order to lose weight. While 56% of women are dissatisfied with their overall appearance, 58% wish they could improve their muscle tone, compared to only 45% of men (Garner, 1997). Clearly, improving muscle tone has become a significant motivation for why females work out, even more so than men, and yet marketers continue to ignore this and instead focus on more passive and feminine reasons for exercising. Based on this past research and the results of this study, we can gather that when it comes to ads targeting males, marketers are basically on target. However, it may benefit marketers to focus more on strength and less on weight loss for ads targeting females. Recently, we have seen an international backlash to ultra-thin models in the media; therefore, we may see this change soon.

The equality in reference to science and technology was unsurprising due to previous research that found men and women to be equally represented in ads pertaining to technology (White & Kinnick, 2000; Koernig & Granitz, 2006). However, the underlying language used in the ads, such as “engineered” or “designed” suggests that marketers believe men to be more competent when it comes to science, technology or engineering. Females are stereotypically linked to the word “designed,” again suggesting that all they care about is looks. Evidence of social learning is exhibited here as we see men associated with engineers, a stereotypically masculine occupation and females with designers, a typically feminine occupation. Engineering is also known to be a field in which its practitioners must possess great knowledge. This perhaps is insinuating that males are more intelligent than females. Indeed we saw in the results that

twice as many male ads used an expert to market their product, implying perhaps that males are more likely to have the ability to relate to an expert. Intelligence was also indirectly addressed in how marketers frequently addressed how a product would make playing a sport “easier,” insinuating that females need outside assistance in order to successfully complete a task.

Emphasis on attractiveness and intelligence are not the only factors marketers consider in their ads. Social learning theory suggests that from childhood, we are taught what behaviors are acceptable for males and females. Men are urged to possess qualities of dominance, aggressiveness and strength, causing them to place more emphasis on competition (Wood, 1994). Females, on the other hand, are judged by appearance and/or relationships, typically taught that having a competitive nature is a male trait (Wood, 1994).

It should be no surprise then that while 13% of ads targeting males focused on something being a challenge, competition and/or winning, no female ad addressed any of the same topics. Similarly, ads targeting males addressed achievement twice as often as those targeting females. Because men are typically judged by their accomplishments, activities and positions (Wood, 1994), something we learn to do from the time we are born, it seems that marketers are correct in targeting this insecurity in male ads. However, the fact that they ignore the sense of competition in female athletics implies that females are of no worth in the arena of sport and that their participation is not to be taken seriously. As we see in several of the ads in this study, ads targeting females portray women worried about what she looks like or attempting to impress a guy, ignoring that women do enjoy the thrill of a challenge and of winning. This tactic makes females’ athletic abilities seem illegitimate and non-threatening, also implying that females are afraid of competition and taking on a challenge. Through the reinforcement of this hegemonically friendly idea, the media imply that males need not be threatened by the athletic abilities of women. As women’s prominence in the world of sport continues to grow, it would

benefit marketers to invest in creating appeals that true female athletes can relate to, because as past research has uncovered, lack of identification with media images causes negative marketing results (Silverstein & Silverstein, 1974; Bruce, 1998; Knight & Giuliano, 2001).

Surprisingly, very little of Goffman's (1979) research was reinforced in the findings of this sample. Feminine touch, subordination, and stereotypical bodily expression such as having a knee bent or the mouth open were only significant in one out of the 24 ads targeting females. While this one ad (Skechers) delineated several of Goffman's (1979) codes, it was very atypical of the rest of the sample. This ad is a perfect example of obvious sexual stereotypes of women in advertising and reinforces findings of many past studies (Goffman, 1979; Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Klassen et al., 1993; Plous & Neptune, 1997). However, overall most of Goffman's codes, especially those that examine relationship to others, did not even apply to ads of the sample as almost all either did not use models or used only a single person. The lack of reinforcement of Goffman's research implies that this sample of advertisements for sport products does not use the typical obvious stereotyping that other types of advertising do. Instead, the stereotyping was much more indirect and subtle, mostly found in textual parts of the ad.

There were also some surprising findings in reference to the style, color or design of the product being advertised. As discussed earlier, style and design are typically thought of as female concerns. On the contrary, results showed that an equal number of male- and female-targeted ads mentioned style either in the headline or supportive text. Similarly, there was an equal proportion of ads targeting each gender that stressed either the color of a product or the variety of color options. Marketers seem to have recognized that fashion and looking good overall is something that both males and females are concerned with.

Finally, marketers seem to have different strategies for targeting each gender with regard to color and typefaces utilized in the ad. Color was used as a focus more often in ads targeting

females; yet, the colors that were used, with the exception of pink, were similar. Stereotypically gendered colors such as blue or purple were utilized in both male and female ads. Yet even in equality, some ads had underlying differences in the ways they used color. It was very obvious that only female ads used the color pink, the most typically feminine color. As previously discussed, further research is necessary to determine whether this was due to charity connections or just stereotypical use of color.

Furthermore, script typefaces were utilized in 13% of the ads targeting females but none of the ads targeting males. This supported previous research that showed script's curvy and neat nature caused it to be thought of as "girlie" or feminine (Henderson, 2005). Henderson (2005) found that script typefaces are thought to be likeable, warm, attractive and emotional. The use of these typefaces is not surprising; it seems to again imply that females in sport should not be taken seriously. While the male ads used conservative, serious fonts, the script fonts used in the female ads invoked a sense of fun and silliness.

Conclusions

There is a double standard in our society as a woman's attractiveness tends to be how she is judged (Wolf, 1991). This standard, inherent to a patriarchal society that seeks to preserve hegemony, is clearly evident in the ads included in this sample. The stereotyping is very subtle however. Most of the stereotyping found within this sample of advertisements was found either in the headline or descriptive copy, and not the visual. Marketers continue to trivialize women's participation in sport and to enforce hegemony and commodity feminism, they're just doing a better job of masking it (Gramsci, 1971; Goldman et al., 1991). One could argue that while improvements have been made in the obvious appearance of gender stereotyping within advertising, subtle stereotyping may prove to be even more dangerous. It is much easier to be critical of an ad that shows a obviously sexual image than it is of an ad that shows a powerful

woman in the visual, but stereotypes in the language chosen within the copy. People don't question the subtle stereotypes and it is unlikely to come under as much fire as the more obvious stereotyping. Virtually unnoticed, the danger lies in how these subtleties are accepted by society and serve to reinforce hegemony.

As female interest and participation in sport continues to grow at a rapid pace, more profit is to be made from sports products. Marketers need to realize the benefits in creating appeals to which athletic females can relate. While targeting strategies may differ between genders, caution must be taken to not stereotype or make light of female participation in sports. The message a marketer sends about the users of its product affects the way consumers view both the product and ultimately themselves. The marginalization of women's athleticism and ability that results from these stereotypical media presentations serve to reinforce hegemony and commodity feminism in the world of sport. Therefore, through the use of stereotypes, advertising may create a barrier to any significant change with respect to notions of the female athlete, her body, and her athletic ability, particularly given society's use of media as a symbolic model of appropriate behavior. Furthermore, these negative stereotypes limit females' ability to be successful in a world that has not come to fully accept their equality with men.

This study contributes to the previously established body of knowledge through its focus on sports advertising and specifically how sports product marketers target men compared to women. While previous studies examined gender difference in both general and sports advertising, none specifically compared male and female-targeted ads for the same product/brand. I hope that this study will initiate a closer look into how marketers and advertisers portray men and women, even in a field where equity is supposedly closer and closer to being reached. While certain aspects of sport advertising seem to have achieved gender equality, a closer look will reveal underlying stereotypes and trivialization.

Suggestions for Future Research

In conducting a content analysis, and more specifically a qualitative analysis, there are always discrepancies among individuals concerning how an image or sentence is to be interpreted. A sign, be it an image or text, may convey one message to one person and something completely different to someone else. These discrepancies may be due to different racial, social, class, cultural or gender backgrounds. As a Caucasian, upper-middle class female, I may have coded some ads or interpreted signs differently than another researcher of a different background would have. Despite efforts to remain objective, these background factors can still affect interpretation.

Furthermore, this study only focused on products that are marketed to both sexes. A study of products that advertise strictly to females or males may produce completely different findings. Further research is needed to determine whether other forms of sports advertising have made similar strides.

As with the method of content analysis in general, this study would be more complete if it incorporated audience perceptions of tactics used in each ad. While we can code for the appearance of certain topics and interpret meaning of text and photos, without consumer research, we don't know whether these appeals are helping or hurting marketers or the athletes these ads portray. Future research should incorporate audience interpretations.

APPENDIX A CODEBOOK

- **Achievement:** Includes any mention of accomplishment, overcoming an obstacle, reaching a goal, etc. Does the text imply that the audience has already accomplished a goal, has *not* accomplished a goal, or will achieve a goal after using the advertised product? Describe.
- **Attractiveness/beauty/looks:** Does the ad's text address one's looks or attractiveness? This can include references to losing weight in order to be more attractive, being "fit," beauty, looking good, looking one's best, etc. This can also be done in indirect ways such as suggestions that the opposite sex will pay more attention to you. Does it suggest that the product will help improve one's level of attractiveness? Describe and explain.
- **Bodily expression:** Bending knee? Arms close to body? Standing erect/tall? Does the model appear tired? In other words, does he/she appear to be so exhausted that he/she won't be able to complete the task at hand, appear to be sweating excessively, making faces that indicate he/she is in pain, or looking faint.
- **Brand:** Record Brand advertising in ad.
- **Challenge:** Does the ad mention anything about taking on a challenge or overcoming a challenge? Does the ad discuss performing a feat that seems impossible? Describe.
- **Color of product:** Does the ad discuss or stress the color of the product or the variety of color choices available? Describe.
- **Competition/winning:** Does the ad mention or imply a sense of competition? This can include directly mentioning competition or winning something or it could also indirectly address being better than others at something. Any mention of being the best at something should be mentioned. Describe.
- **Confidence:** Does the headline or text of the ad make any mention of confidence – improving one's confidence, having confidence, the product giving you confidence, etc. Describe.
- **Diet/weight loss:** Does the headline or subtext of the ad address diet or weight loss in any way? This can include mention of becoming thinner, caloric value, any mention of pounds or weight, fat-free, etc. If so, explain and describe.
- **Easy:** Does the ad address how the product will make life, playing the sport, etc. any easier for the user? If so, does it insinuate that the user could not successfully perform without the product? Describe.

- Emotional: Does the ad address emotion in an unfitting or unnecessary way? For example, does the ad refer to being emotional toward an inanimate object would not typically warrant emotion. Does the ad make either gender seem over-emotional?
- Emphasis of ad color: Does color used in the ad appear to be a main focus? Is the ad all one color, or do any photographs use a color filter? Please describe and explain. Also record the colors emphasized, if any.
- Engineered/designed: In describing how the product looks or is made, does the ad use language such as *engineered*, *crafted*, *built*, *designed*, etc.? Describe.
- Facial expression: Describe facial expression of model. Eyes averted? Mouth open? Smiling or laughing? Chin down? Head tilted?
- Feminine touch: If model is female, does the female use fingers or hands to trace outline of product, or is female “just barely touching” an object or self-touching?
- Focus on body: Does the ad use a model’s body as the main focus of the ad? Is the focus on the display of the entire body or just certain parts of the body? If just body part(s), which one(s)? Describe the image of the body or body parts.
- Improvement: Does the ad address improving one’s game, confidence or overall health, etc.? Look for discussion of how the product can improve the user in some way. Describe.
- Inexperience: Does the ad say anything about being inexperienced with something? This would mostly occur with reference to being inexperienced with a sport, or new to the sport, etc. Does the ad address playing the sport “just for fun,” implying that the subject of the ad is too inexperienced to be considered as a serious competitor? Describe.
- Model present: Record whether a model is used within the ad. Non-human or animated figures will not be included. Include how many models are in the ad. Also record whether the model is male or female.
- Motion in photo: Does subject appear obviously posed in the photo; motionless; or appear only from the neck up (face only)? Is the model in the ad active or do they look like they are about to take action (sports, walking, running, etc.)? Or are they simply posing with or without the product?
- Nutrition: Does any part of the ad mention nutrition? This can include mentioning or alluding to calorie values, vitamins, minerals, protein, fat, carbohydrates, etc. Explain and describe.
- Performance: Any discussion or mention of how the product performs or how it can positively change user performance. Describe.

- Power: This refers to any mention of a person being powerful or having power over others. Also look for mention of a product giving someone the power to do something. It can often be referred to in an indirect way. Look for mentions of strength, ownership or superiority as well. Describe and explain.
- Preparation: Does the ad discuss preparation in any way? This can include being prepared for an athletic activity or any other occurrence in life. Does it mention how the product will help the user to be more prepared? Does it mention the user *not* being prepared? Describe.
- Product specifics: Does the ad do into specifics concerning the product? This can include listing features, ingredients, special technology the product uses, etc. Describe.
- Product: Record specific product being advertised.
- Relationship with others (if multiple models present): What relationship does the main model seem to have with other in the ad? Name their occupational roles in the ad if applicable (secretary, boss, doctor, nurse, etc.). Is one model positioned lower physically than another? Is there a sense of dominance from one model and submissiveness from another, how so? Is model portrayed in child-like manner or as a professional subordinate?
- Show product: Does the ad physically display the product being advertised?
- Source of ad: If magazine, list magazine title, year, month. If ad is from the Internet, please cite address.
- Style: Does the ad mention anything about the style of the product, being in style, different style options of the product, etc.? Describe.
- Targeted to: Please circle whether the ad targets males or females.
- Technology/science/innovation: Includes any mention of technology, science, innovation, scientific evidence, mechanics, biomechanics, computer technology, etc. This is often found in the explanation of the product's ingredients or unique selling point. Many sports products will have some kind of process or technology that makes their product different. Describe and explain findings.
- Use of expert: Does the ad use an expert or celebrity endorser? If so, please name and explain why they are famous if the ad says so.
- Use of script font: Does the ad use any form of script or cursive font in either the headline or supporting text?

APPENDIX B
CODESHEET

Source of Ad: _____

Brand: _____

Product: _____

Targeted to: Male Female

Show Product: Yes No

Model present: Yes No

 Male Female

Feminine touch: (Please describe)

Relationship with others (if multiple models present): (Please describe)

Motion in photo: (Please describe)

Facial expression: (Please describe)

Bodily expression: (Please describe)

Attractiveness/beauty/looks: (Please describe)

Focus on body: (Please describe)

Diet/weight loss: (Please describe)

Nutrition: (Please describe)

Power: (Please describe)

Technology/science/innovation: (Please describe)

Performance: (Please describe)

Improvement: (Please describe)

Confidence: (Please describe)

Easy: (Please describe)

Preparation: (Please describe)

Achievement: (Please describe)

Inexperience: (Please describe)

Use of script font: (Please describe)

Emphasis of Ad Color: (Please describe)

Product specifics: (Please describe)

Competition/winning: (Please describe)

Challenge: (Please describe)

Use of expert: (Please describe)

Style: (Please describe)

Color of product: (Please describe)

Engineered/Designed: (Please describe)

Emotional: (Please describe)

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lauren Heaphy graduated from the University of Florida with a Master of Advertising degree in August 2007. She received her Bachelor of Science in advertising from the University of Florida in December 2005. She participated in the Combined Degree program at the University of Florida, partially completing her master's degree while still an undergrad. Her research interests include product placement and the portrayal of gender in advertising.