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The Portrayal of Female Athletes on the Covers of
The New Yorker 1925-2016

By
Olena Shchur

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
In
Sociology
General Emphasis

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The Portrayal of Female Athletes on the Covers of *The New Yorker* 1925-2016

Olena Shchur

This thesis has been examined and approved by the following members of the student's committee.

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ABSTRACT

The Portrayal of Female Athletes on the Covers of

The New Yorker 1925-2016

Olena Shchur

M.A. in Sociology

Minnesota State University, Mankato, Minnesota

2022

For decades sport has been a predominantly masculine area. And even though sport participation amongst women has undoubtedly progressed over time, female athletes still receive unequal mass media coverage. Thus, the question about the perception of women as athletes in media remains open. This thesis examines the patterns of female athletes' portrayal on the front covers of *The New Yorker* magazine starting from the very beginning of *The New Yorker's* publishing history in 1925 through December 2016. For this purpose I conducted a content analysis of covers of *The New Yorker*. I found that, despite some improvements, the messages that *The New Yorker* conveys about women in sports continue to reinforce traditional gender norms. Conservative trends and lack of coverage of female athletes has been observed resulting in feminine features and sex appeal being more evident in portrayals than women's athletic skills. This study is designed to add to existing scholarship on gender and sport in media as well as expand the limited scholarly work on *The New Yorker* magazine.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sport is an undeniable part of culture and an essential part of social life. According to one study, the average American spends between one and sixteen hours per week watching sport events or following sport news (Braverman 2011). Sport is not just a hobby for individuals, but one of the means for constructing a social identity of a nation. Sport reflects and promotes cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors such as teamwork, determination, success, and overachievement (Mannion 2015). Professional athletes are frequently viewed as role models who influence and reflect our values of hard work, competition, and integrity (Jones and Jackson 1999).

The relationship between sport and media is a powerful one--TV shows, newspapers, radio stations, magazines, and other means of mass communication cover sport events and the lives of athletes in great volume. It is crucial that we examine how media frames coverage of sports and, in particular, athletes, given the importance placed on sports in U.S. culture. Scholars have concluded that the media not only reports what happens in reality but also “constructs news through frames” which reinforce dominant ideologies (Kane 1996: 98). I argue that sports coverage is one way that the media reinforce traditional gender ideologies and perpetuates gendered double standards.

A century ago, sport was predominantly considered to be a male arena (Rayburn 2015), until the introduction of Title IX in 1972 when women were given more opportunities to pursue athletics. Title IX is a federal law that prohibits sex discrimination including athletic programs that receive federal programs. How have things changed since society became more open to the idea of women in sports? How does coverage of women

in sports look like? Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) discovered that even when women athletes receive coverage, they are often depicted as objects and stereotypes. Other studies found that men's sports get more attention than women's sports (Daehnke 2009; Rintala and Birrell 1984) and that media coverage of men athletes tends to emphasize strength, while coverage of women athletes' focuses on attractiveness (Withycombe 2011).

After the passage of Title IX, the number of women participating in sport undoubtedly increased; however, the question about the perception of women as athletes remains open. Buysse and Borcharding (2008) drew two conclusions that may shape these perceptions: 1) women athletes receive much less coverage than men athletes, and 2) women in sports are portrayed in ways that overemphasize their femininity and de-emphasize their athletic abilities. In this thesis, I research these gender and race representations, as well as sexualized portrayal of women athletes.

This research examines the covers of *The New Yorker* magazine, focusing on four main areas: (1) the number of women athletes portrayed in sport; (2) the representation of femininity on the covers; and (3) the change of portrayal of women in sport after Title IX.

The first issue of *The New Yorker* debuted in 1925 and has maintained a strong readership ever since. A unique feature of *The New Yorker* is artwork images depicting different aspects of social life throughout the magazine. Specifically, I analyze the front covers as they are first thing that people notice about the magazine. As Colson-Smith (2005: 62) notes, "A magazine cover is of utmost importance to a publication because the intent of a magazine's cover is to project a strong message about itself to its audience."

Rowe (1998: 353) agrees: “When images are constructed and printed they are framed in ideological ways. Who is shown, who is not, and how they are shown present an important message to the consumer.” Thus, in order to understand the message *The New Yorker* sends to its audience about gender and race in sport, I conducted a content analysis to draw conclusions based on the images presented.

The analysis includes covers featuring women in sports starting from the very beginning of *The New Yorker*’s publishing history in 1925 through December 2016 that will allow me to observe the historic evolution of how *The New Yorker* portrays women in athletics. This study provides insight into how women are portrayed in the media, complementing existing scholarship on gender and sport in media. I also expand the limited scholarly work on *The New Yorker* magazine.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

For years, the representation of female athletes in the mass media has been a focus of many research studies. A majority of the literature concentrates not only on the amount of coverage women in sports receive, but also on the gendered messages those portrayals convey (Daehnke 2009). Unfortunately, most of the research supports the argument that mass media depicts women in sport from standpoints that reinforce stereotypical beliefs. In this literature review, I will outline findings from scholarly research on the intersection of media and sports. I will then discuss how the introduction of Title IX has changed the media coverage of female athletes and will introduce the topic of athletes of color in sports. Finally, using the existing scholarly data, I will outline how media emphasizes feminine and sexualized features of female athletes rather than their athletic skills and abilities.

Intersection of Sport and Media

Media is a powerful tool which plays a crucial role in shaping attitudes, reinforcing ideas, and creating a system of values and beliefs (Schultz 2005). According to Palmeri (2005) media has ability to portray things in a specific way to perpetuate certain ideas or values. This process is recognized as media framing; “a way for media professionals to skew ideas so the public interprets one idea as being more important or more acceptable than another” (Palmeri 2005:13). In other words, Palmeri recognizes framing as a more subjective and selective depiction of news—a manipulative technique that can be used to address specific audiences. We learn about the world and events through the lenses of mass

media coverage, making media a key agent of socialization. Media coverage of sport is no exception to this rule (Mayeda 2011).

Athletes are often seen as role models for young people (Gerbner 1976). Gerbner's (1976) cultivation theory hypothesis asserts that individuals' exposure to imagery that is transmitted through mass media will embed and shape their views of reality. Hall (1980) explicitly describes how the communication process between media and the consumer works. The sender—in this case *The New Yorker*—uses specific symbols and language to encode the message, which is transmitted to the audience through the means of mass communication. The audience interprets (decodes) by giving meaning to symbols and that is how media messages can be transformed into beliefs. Although the reader can decode the message differently, it still has a powerful influence on how media affects one's beliefs. Examining how and what ideas the media promote about sport, specifically about women athletes, is important because how women are portrayed in sports is likely to influence people's perceptions of women's athletic abilities. Additionally, people may mimic the lifestyle and values of their favorite athletes (Mannion 2015). How might portrayals of women athletes as sexual objects influence the young women who look up to them?

Social scientists (Daehnke 2009; Kane 1996; Mayeda 2011) have examined how women athletes are framed by media resources. Researchers have found that women athletes were underrepresented in media coverage and commonly portrayed in sports traditionally defined as “feminine such as skating, gymnastics, and swimming – in other words, individual, aesthetically pleasing activities” (Wenner 1998: 182). Media coverage

is disproportionately focused on men's sports (Daehnke 2009). Moreover, Daehnke (2009) found that when women athletes were covered, they were mostly portrayed in ways that emphasize femininity rather than athletic abilities.

Women's progress in the field of sport represents a road for equality, proper self-esteem, development of proper body image, and at the same time is a challenge to male dominance. "Despite the prolific advancement of women sports and female athletes, the portrayal of these athletes in the media has been subjected to objectification and invisibility compared to male athletes or men's sports" (Trolan 2013: 215). As a result, the lack of women's coverage or misrepresentation in sports, media may promote stereotypical gender roles. This brings the threat that women in sport will face more issues with equal media attention, and equal career opportunities.

Title IX and Media Coverage of Women Athletes

Athleticism was historically associated with masculinity and strength as it has been considered predominantly men's arena (Rayburn 2015). "The role of women was limited mainly to reproduction, care for home and family" (Lavrinc and Topič 2006: 9). Reinforcing this norm of family for women, media coverage in sports "reflected the ideology of dominance and cultural idea of gender" (Lavrinc and Topič 2006: 10).

The 20th century saw some dramatic changes in the perception of women as athletes. As the feminist movement burgeoned in the 1970s, women fought to be heard and to

participate in different spheres of social life, including those that predominantly belonged to men. Sport was no different. For several reasons, a proper representation of women in sports is vital. As Messner (1988: 198) notes in his research, “women’s movement into sport represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies, and self-definition, and as such it represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination.”

With the introduction of Title IX in 1972, the number of athletic activities for women increased drastically (Knight and Guiliano 2001). Title IX is the legislative bill that was able to ban discrimination based on sex in federally funded programs. Title IX gave women a chance to get more scholarships and increased the amount of women’s sports teams in schools.

Since Title IX the equal sports opportunities, including facilities, programs, and media representation became available for women athletes. In 1995 “over two million females participated in sports on a nationwide basis compared to only 300,000 before Title IX” (Kane 1996: 111).

One significant event that changed the perception of women in the world of sport was the memorable 1973 tennis match between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs. This was not only a game—it was billed by the media as a “Battle of Sexes.” Billie Jean King was a woman tennis athlete and Wimbledon champion who defeated a man—and who was also a Wimbledon champion—in a long, tough tennis match. According to Schwartz, “she has prominently affected the way 50 percent of society thinks and feels about itself in the

vast area of physical exercise” (Schwartz 2012: 2). Later, King established the Women's Sports Foundation, an organization oriented towards promoting athletic opportunities for women.

However, changes in media coverage were not so dramatic. Numerous researchers have found that women are either underrepresented in the media (Nicely 2007) or represented in ways that emphasize physical appearance instead of athletic skills (Colson-Smith 2005), underrepresentation of certain ethnicities in sports coverage (Withycombe 2011), and stereotypes regarding feminine traits (Carty 2005). Rayburn (2015) surveyed sixty-three female student-athletes who played volleyball, softball, basketball, tennis, and golf to examine how Title IX has shaped the current generation. A little more than fifty percent of women respondents believed that Title IX was effective, but when asked in general about the gender equity in sports, most expressed doubt that it exists. As the results show, “About one fourth indicated that gender equality in sports would never exist even with the introduction of Title IX. Especially within media coverage” (Rayburn 2015: 32). Although women have access to the world of sport now, the athletes Rayburn surveyed feel that the media still portrays female athletes in stereotypical ways such as: “(1) being too manly, (2) not feminine enough in appearance (including the ways they act or dress), and (3) being perceived as lesbians” (Rayburn 2015: 32).

Another good example of biased media portrayal of women athletes can be seen within the media coverage of the 1996 Olympic Games. Higgs, Weiller, and Martin (2003) found that reporters paid more attention to physical attractiveness of women athletes rather than their physical abilities. Moreover, when focusing on athletes, commentators mostly

associated women with specific types of sport, which were initially viewed as feminine, such as gymnastics or swimming. A similar pattern was found twenty years later during the coverage of the 2016 Olympic Games. Journalist Taryn Hillin compiled a list of twenty-three instances of sexist media coverage in the Games. For example, *The Chicago Tribune* refers to Bronze Medalist Corey Cordell-Unrein as “the wife of NFL player Mitch Unrein” while Gold Medalist Katie Ledecky was described as the “Female Michael Phelps” (Hillin 2016). The only thing that Twitter publisher Don Zambucas outlined about the victory of Mexican gymnast Alexa Moreno, Hillin (2016) argues, is a discussion about her weight while NBC commentator Jim Watson referred to USA gymnastics team as to “silly girls who might as well be standing at the mall.” Lastly, Hillin (2016) notes that when the boyfriend of Chinese Olympic diver He Zi proposed to her during the medal award ceremony, BBC called this event the even “bigger prize” than her actual win at Olympic Games.

As the world’s biggest sporting event, researching the media representation of women athletes in The Olympic Games is important. Athletes who are honored to participate in them serve as an example of success and determination for the everyday person. The portrayal of women-participants is one of the ways to show how far women have come in their sport achievements. It is vital for Olympic coverage to be trustworthy and objectively report the achievements and losses of women athletes (Jones, Murrell, and Jackson 1999).

To summarize, Title IX addressed problems of gender inequality in sport and, without a doubt, opened a lot of doors for young women athletes. At the same time, there

is evidence that “strongly support[s] the male athlete while underrepresenting and trivializing the female athlete” (Driscoll 2009: 2). This leaves a lot of unanswered questions for researchers. Even though Title IX in some way eased the entrance of women into sports, the representation of women athletes is still unbalanced.

Sport, Femininity, and Sexualization

Analyses of prominent sports coverage on *ESPN*, *Fox Sports*, *Bleacher Report* (Mannion 2015) and *Sports Illustrated* (Fink and Kensicki 2002; Martin and McDonald 2012) found that these sports media outlets “photographed [women] in such a way to focus solely on sexual attributes” (Fink and Kensicki 2002:325) and portrayed women in ways that emphasize their physical appearance instead of their athleticism. As Mannion (2015:72) notes, “A lot of images portray women mostly naked in various passive positions while [men] were portrayed in action.” Two examples from Mannion’s study capture the sexualized nature of media portrayals of women athletes: (1) “Miesha Tate, a professional mixed martial arts fighter wears only pink hand wraps and covering her breasts; and (2) Hilary Knight, a professional hockey player wears nothing but hockey skates” (Mannion 2015: 78). A front cover of *Sports Illustrated* from July 2005 provides more evidence of the sexualized way sports media portray women. Although their coverage of Olympic softball player Jennie Finch shows her wearing a visor and holding a bat, she is featured wearing revealing clothing and positioned in a sexy, non-athletic pose. Martin and

McDonald (2012) specifically point out that instead of portraying Finch in action, she is depicted in a passive sexualized manner with emphasis on her seductive appearance.

These examples point to a key theory used for this thesis: framing (Goffman 1974). It is important to examine how the use of frames could emphasize specific characteristics, such as women's sexuality. The problem with framing is that the audience may not be aware of the framing techniques, which may shape people's perception of reality, in this case, the perception of female athletes (Nicely 2007).

In addition to sexualizing women athletes, media often emphasize the gracefulness of athletes as well as their tenderness. Jones, Murrell, and Jackson (1999) argue that women athletes are often portrayed as graceful and beautiful when competing, however their specific athletic skills like strength, power, endurance are deemphasized in the coverage. They also argue that women are portrayed in ways that suggest they participate in sports for mere pleasure rather than for the purpose of competition (Jones, Murrell, and Jackson 1999).

There are countless examples of athletes who are portrayed in the same manner. Martin and McDonald (2012) argue that showing women in ways that focus more on their femininity reinforces gender stereotypes and become a sufficient obstacle for establishing gender equality in the world of sport. Sexual poses attract more (male) readership for magazines; however, at the same time, they may diminish the view of women as professional athletes. While there are some examples of women athletes portrayed in a professional athletic manner they are mostly portrayed in sexualized, non-athletic ways.

Women often must fight those stereotypes and stand against them in order to prove they are as strong and athletic and have no less endurance than men athletes (Mayeda 2011). Mayeda (2011) offers several conclusions about the way women athletes are portrayed within the media: 1) women athletes are not as good or as strong as male athletes; 2) women are less tough; 3) sports associated with women are not as profitable.

The review of the existing literature on the subject undoubtedly guided the direction of my research. Previous scholarly work concentrated on a few main domains, which are critical for the analysis of media portrayals of female athletes. Using accrued knowledge, I compare the portrayal of female athletes with male counterparts, as depicted on the covers of *The New Yorker*. The extant literature helped identify and narrow areas of focus, including: (1) the type of coverage women in sports receive; (2) race inequality in sports; and (3) how the introduction of Title IX has changed the ways media portrays the female athletes.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

This study examines the depiction of women athletes in *The New Yorker* magazine. *The New Yorker* is one of the most prominent magazines in the world. Its total circulation is 1,231,715. However, little academic research has been done to examine the way it portrays social life. The goal of this study is to examine how women athletes are portrayed on *The New Yorker's* front covers. I aim to understand the gendered social messages conveyed throughout the history of *The New Yorker* magazine. The following questions drive my analysis: (1) Are women athletes disproportionately represented on the covers of *The New Yorker* compared to men athletes?; (2) What portrayals of women in athletics does *The New Yorker* offer?; (3) How did the portrayal of women in sports change on the covers of *The New Yorker* after the introduction of Title IX? In addition to answering these questions, this study also contributes to a broader conversation focused on how women are portrayed in media.

Sample

The New Yorker is a weekly magazine that has published on average forty-seven issues each year since 1925. At the time of this writing, there are more than 4,000 published magazines spanning nearly a century. The time frame chosen for this study is from 1925 to December 2016. In order to conduct a content analysis of a manageable sample, I used purposive sampling to select only those covers that feature sport settings (e.g., pools, stadiums, gyms), sport-related items (e.g., golf clubs, balls, sports equipment); and/or

sports attire (e.g., jerseys, sneakers); as well as people who are athletes. That made a total of 104 images for an initial sample, which I used to determine two items: the percentage of covers depicting sports and the most depicted types of sports. Some of those images were excluded from further analysis due to blurred images or excessive number of people, making it impossible to code for the specifics examined in this research. Images of four or more people were also excluded from the sample; if the image included more than one person but less than four, each individual was included in analysis. See Figure 1 for a sample of an image depicting sport that was not included and Figure 2 for an image that was ideal for the purpose of this research. Images with characters whose gender was impossible to define I included in the sample as useful comparisons of gender-neutral representation of athletes to the representation of athletes whose gender is more obvious. The final sample count is eighty-three images.

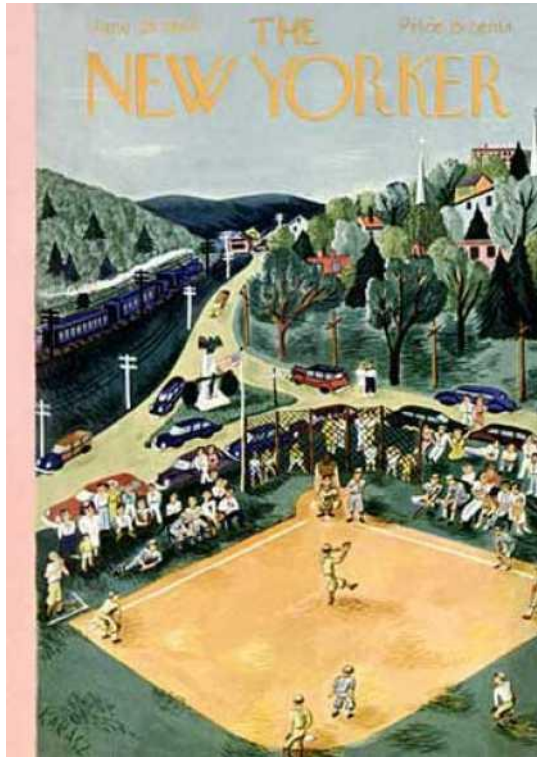


Figure 1: Image not included in the sample



Figure 2: Image included in the sample

Method

Content analysis is a commonly used method in sociology, psychology, communication studies, and other disciplines, especially for examining images. Berelson (1952: 44) defines content analysis as a “research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the content of communication.” Content analyses have also

been previously utilized to examine traditional media content in sport research (e.g., Birrell 1984; Fink and Kensicki 2002; Martin and McDonald 2012; and Rintala 1984).

I developed a codebook to examine certain aspects of how women in sports are portrayed by magazine artists (see Appendix A). I also used open coding to note any other significant details which were not included in the coding categories. If the cover portrayed up to four people, every character was examined despite the gender. Each identifiable person was coded for gender, “active”/ “non-active” poses, individual/ team sports, appearance, etc. Positions that were coded as “active” portray athletes being directly engaged in sport activity, such as running, swimming, jumping, etc., while positions, such as standing in passive pose and/or not actually being involved in playing sport were coded as “non-active”. See Figure 3 and 4 below as examples of what was coded as “active”/ “non-active” poses.

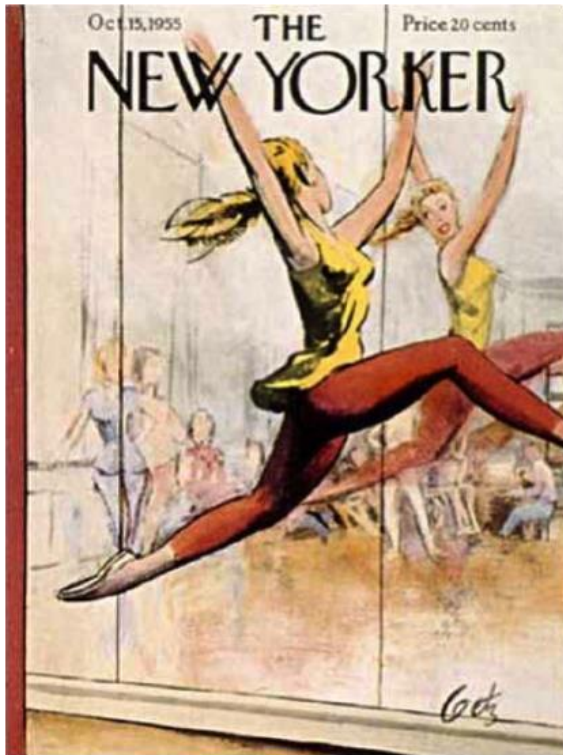


Figure 3: Active pose

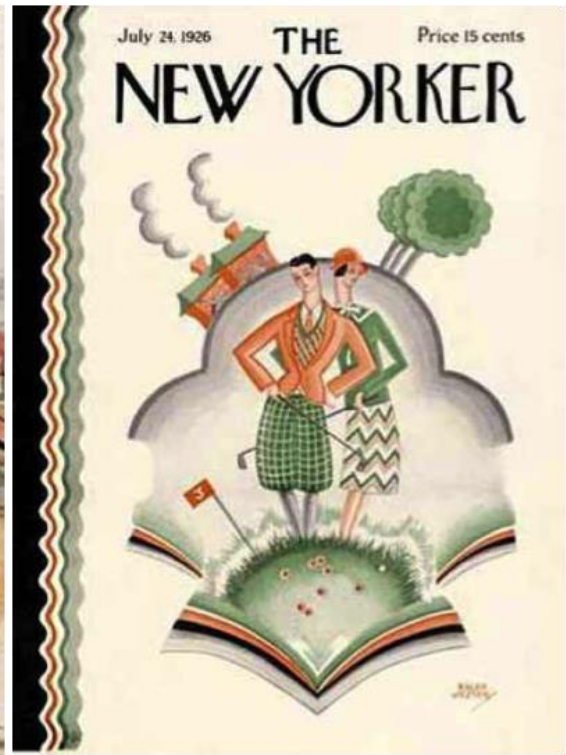


Figure 4: Non-active pose

I included in the coding book some of the coding questions from Wade's (2008) study, which focused on content analysis of black women athletes in sports magazines. Those questions include: (1) How many women athletes are portrayed in each categories: individual sport or team sport?; (2) Are women athletes more commonly portrayed actively participating in sport (e.g., swinging a bat) or posing passively? I incorporated those topics into my research as it provided the possibility to analyze women's portrayal from different aspects and contribute to the research of the representation on women in sport.

Analysis

For the purpose of the study, my coding procedure was conducted using the specific operational categories I developed (e.g. gender, position of athlete, type of sport, etc.). The total number of characters in each subcategory was calculated and numbers were converted to percentages which helped to compare the differences and similarities between portrayals of men and women as well as draw conclusions accordingly to the research questions. I recorded data in the codebook and converted it to a percentage; only 11.5% of depicted athletes are women of color.

I was able to answer my research questions with the help of visual tables and graphs to better illustrate my key findings. All coding categories are explained in the Appendix A. After I calculated the numbers, I organized the data into tables which provide the opportunity to compare differences between how women and men are portrayed, and draw conclusions accordingly. All images, tables, and explanation of the coding procedure can be found in the Appendix A, B, and C.

Limitations of the Study

While this study offers a historical view of how women athletes are portrayed in media, it does have a few limitations. First, coding can be a subjective procedure—what a researcher might view as a valid operational definition, the viewers may perceive differently (Elingsson, Brysiewicz 2017; Lacy 2015; McNamara 2005). Second, the study does not focus on how men athletes are portrayed which could provide important observations about gender and sport in media. Finally, the analysis was limited only to

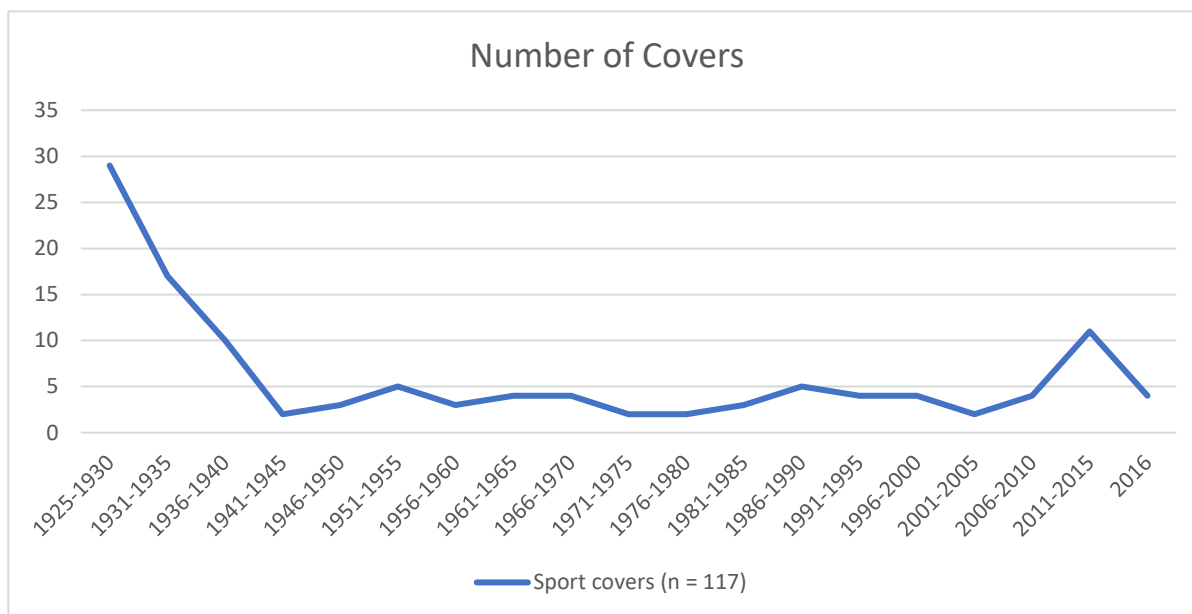
front covers of *The New Yorker*, while the magazine features much more images inside of the issues. To avoid some of these limitations, content analysis of images has to be combined with other methods, as it can outline *what* was shown, but not *why*. Another limitation of this study is the inability to research the intersection of race and gender, since *The New Yorker* does not have enough representation of female athletes of color and not enough data is available. These limitations aside, the analysis presented here does provide additional insight into how women are portrayed in sport in media, by focusing on an under-analyzed publication: *The New Yorker* magazine.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This thesis provides additional research on the topic of the coverage of female athletes in the media. The content analysis of the front covers of *The New Yorker* magazine examines quantity and messages that the magazine reiterates to society about women's participation in sport by illustrating how women athletes are portrayed. This chapter will provide the results and analysis of the percentage of the coverage granted to female athletes, the ways the coverage is depicted, inclusion of women of color, and main features that the magazine emphasizes in female athletes. This chapter is structured around the following research questions: (1) *Are Female Athletes Disproportionately Represented on the Covers of The New Yorker Compared to Male Athletes?* (2) *What Portrayals of Women in Athletics does The New Yorker Offer?* (3) *How did the Portrayal of Women in Sport Change on the Covers of The New Yorker after the Introduction of Title IX?*

Research Question One: Are Female Athletes Disproportionately Represented on the Covers of The New Yorker Compared to Male Athletes?

Sports are one of the most featured topics on the covers of *The New Yorker*. Almost every year, *The New Yorker* dedicated at least one of the magazine's front covers towards the portrayal of athletes. Within *The New Yorker* 1925-2016 there were 117 covers featuring sport setting. The following table shows the general trend in sports coverage (n = 117 covers).

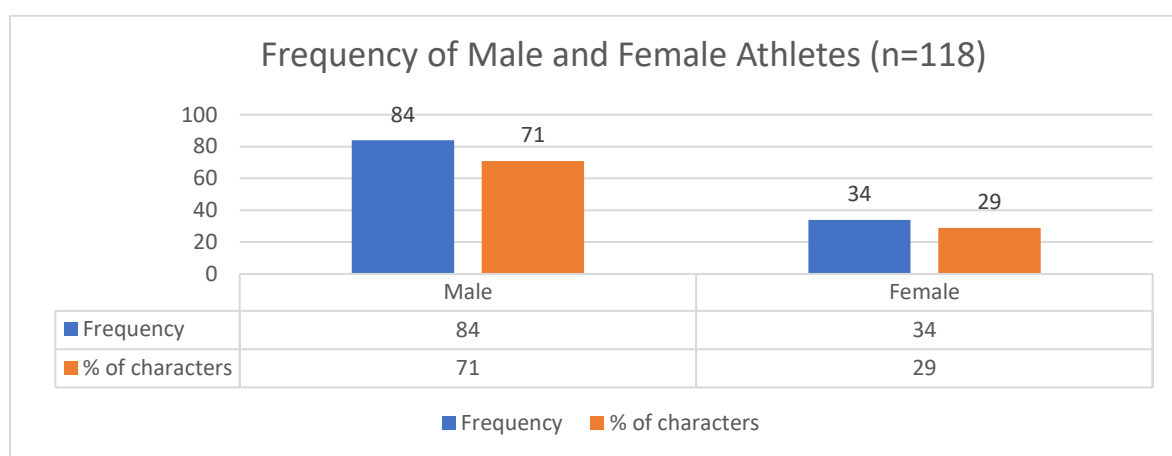


Graph 1. Covers featuring sport in during *The New Yorker* existence

As shown on the graph, the biggest number of covers featuring athletes was from 1925-1930 with a total of twenty-nine sports covers. Starting in 1931, there is a gradual decrease in sport portrayal in general as the majority of covers portrayed abstract objects or nature. This decline in number of covers dedicated to sport suggests a change in the role of *The New Yorker*. During 1925, a large number of organizations dealing with sport were using newspapers and magazine to promote athleticism and a healthy lifestyle (Krane, et al. 2004). However, in the beginning of 1930s, a significant change happened in the direction of *The New Yorker* – more and more covers were portraying other spheres of social life, such as work and family. However, it still can be concluded that sport has never completely disappeared from the covers. Recent years of *The New Yorker* show that the magazine is reviving the former interest in sport events.

Out of 117 covers, thirty-one covers were excluded from the sample due to the blurred nature of the picture or an excessive number of characters. The sample included seventy-five covers with a total of 118 people with identifiable gender and eight covers with eleven people gender-neutral. Images with characters whose gender was impossible to define I included in the sample as useful comparisons of gender-neutral representation of athletes to the representation of athletes whose gender is more obvious.

Graph 2 reports the percentages of males and females on *The New Yorker* covers (portrayed in a sport setting only). After careful examination of images, I found that there were much fewer female athletes depicted than male (thirty-four women compared to eighty-four men). This lack of coverage of female athletes gives the impression that sport is a male-dominant social sphere where women continually receive less coverage despite the increase of women's participation in sport.



Graph 2. Frequency of male and female athletes on the covers of *The New Yorker* 1925-

The majority of *The New Yorker* sport covers featured men (71 %). During the period of 1925-1930, with the highest number of covers portraying sports (n=29), only four covers featured female athletes themselves, another one was featuring both, a man and a woman; and twenty-four covers depicted male athletes only. This discrepancy does not disappear with time and, furthermore, the less covers portraying sport, the more the reader can see the only male athlete on them.

In the process of data analysis, I found eight covers that feature gender-neutral athletes (see Appendix C). It is relevant to briefly review those covers as they might carry useful information regarding the athletes whose gender is more apparent. All of the covers except for the first, portray a masculine body even if the face is hidden. Broad shoulders, strong legs, big waist, and a certain position implies that behind the blurred image there is a male athlete. Interestingly, all of them are in active position and majority are participating in the traditionally male team sports such as car racing, baseball, horse racing, and American football. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that even images that do not transparently portray athletes, still do not benefit women's portrayal, but rather emphasize on the male dominance in the sport world. This type of coverage is reflecting the stereotypical andocentric approach to sport – preoccupied with male athletes and difficult, sometimes hostile, environment for women. Since predominantly sport has been a masculine area, reinforcing the andocentric views through media coverage creates the endless circle of gender stereotypes.

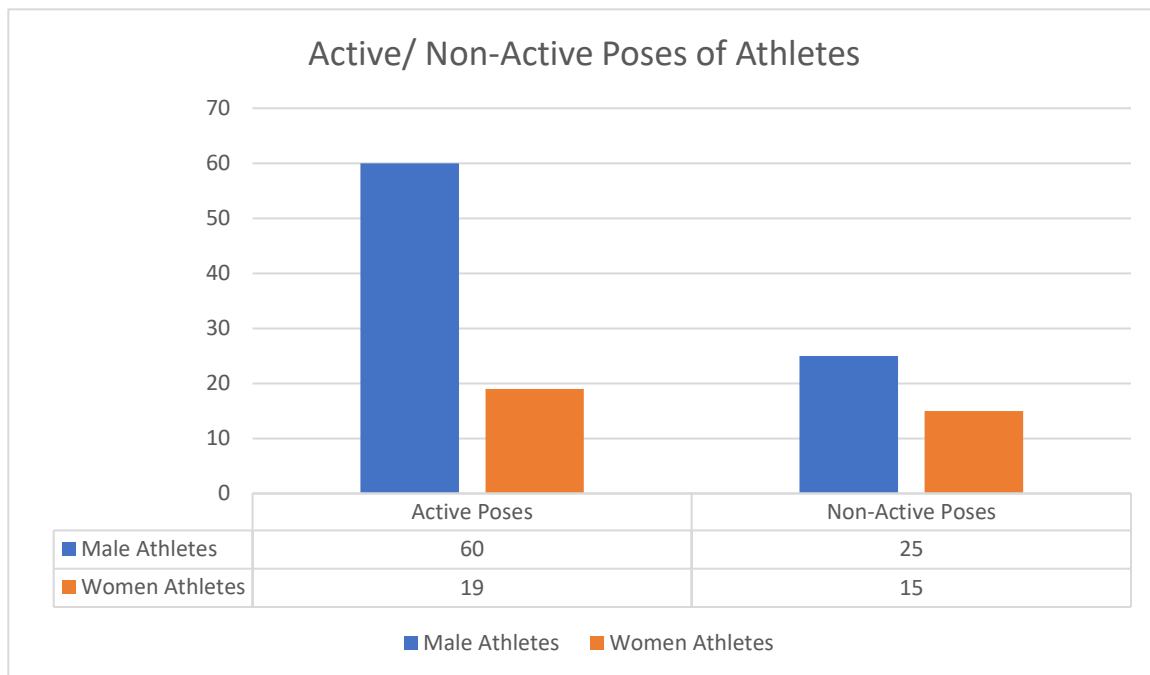
This uneven portrayal of women athletes on the covers of *The New Yorker* plant the seeds of belief that professional sport is not the most appropriate sphere for women.

Female athletes took approximately 29% of the covers, and that trend has not changed over the time. Results demonstrated that sport is depicted as “masculinized” area of social life and little coverage is dedicated to the development of women as athletes. The next sections explain more about how exactly women are portrayed on these covers in sense of race, sexuality and athletic achievements.

Research Question Two: What Portrayals of Women in Athletics does The New Yorker Offer?

Active/ passive poses. This part of research focuses on which positions female athletes are portrayed in the picture (active or passive). An active pose was coded when the athlete was engaged in an athletic activity. A passive position was recorded in cases when the athlete was dressed in athletic apparel but not directly engaged in athletic activity.

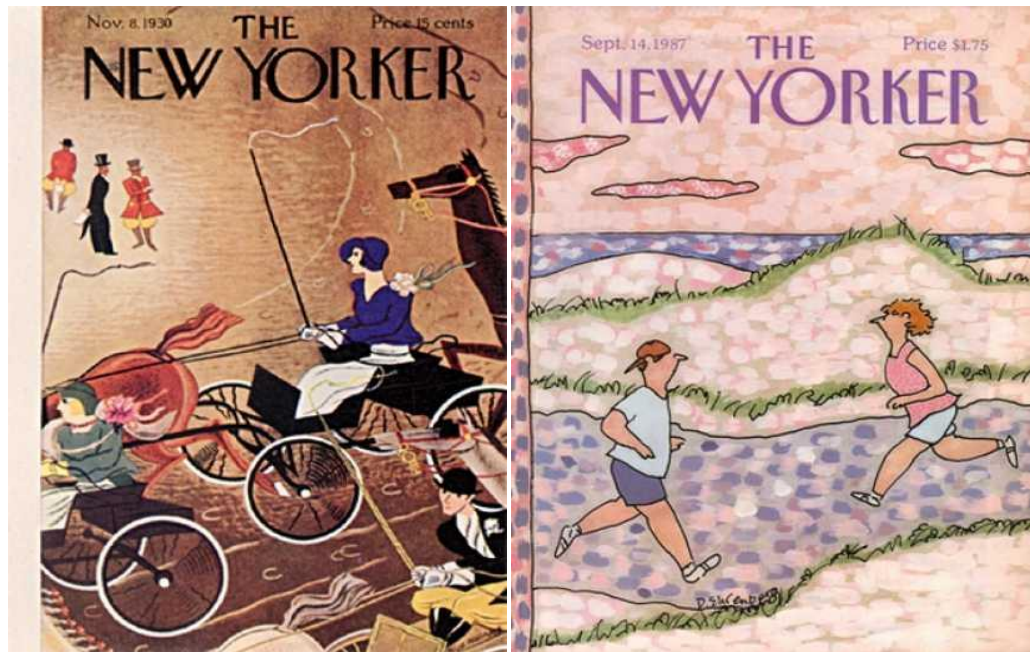
Previous research has shown (Salwen and Wood 1994) that media tends to portray women in more passive poses than active. In *The New Yorker* issues, I expected to find female athletes in active poses also depicted in intense gaming, running, jumping, sweating – all of those actions that emphasize on athleticism rather than on appearance, but the data did not support this hypothesis. However, the results proved the opposite. The pictures were coded and the results obtained through this procedure have been explained in graph 3. For better comparison, I included the analyzed data for both genders, women and men.



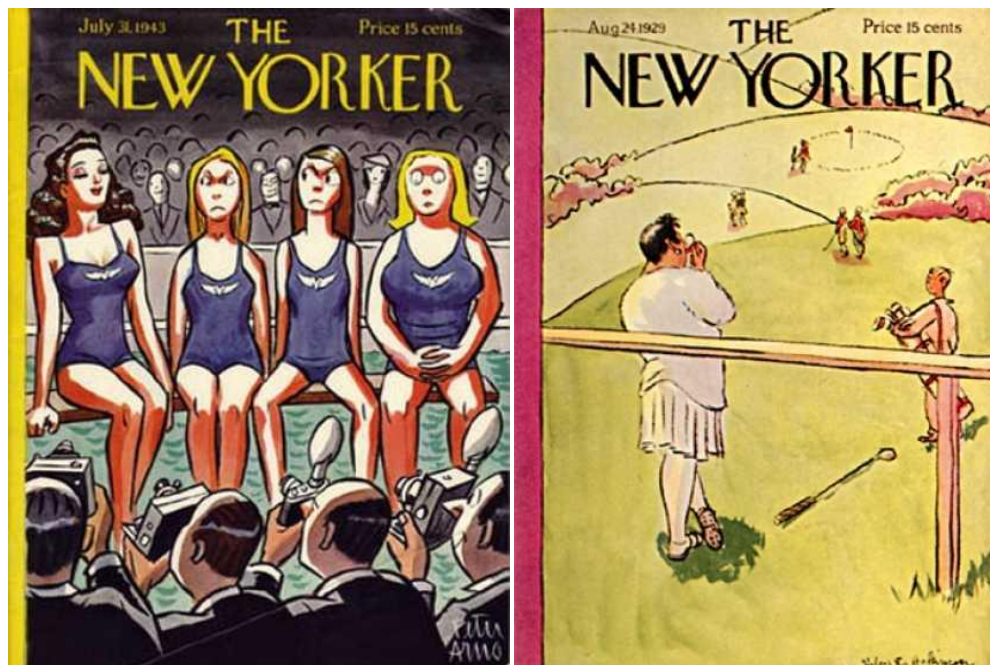
Graph 3. Active/ Non-Active Poses of Female and Male Athletes

The research found that only nineteen of the thirty-four female athletes (56%) were actively portrayed, while 44% of the images featured passive depictions. In the meanwhile, *The New Yorker* depicts 71% of male athletes in an active position and 29% in passive. Given these numbers, women are not portrayed actively to the same extent as men. One possible reason for this discrepancy is that women who are portrayed as active must balance between a feminine appearance and masculine behavior (Choi 2000). However, this balance is sometimes challenging for active women as in order to achieve success in sport, they also have to perceive such qualities as strength, endurance, aggressiveness, what contradicts with the stereotypical image of femininity.

To better illustrate these findings, several covers were chosen as a representation of active/ passive categories.



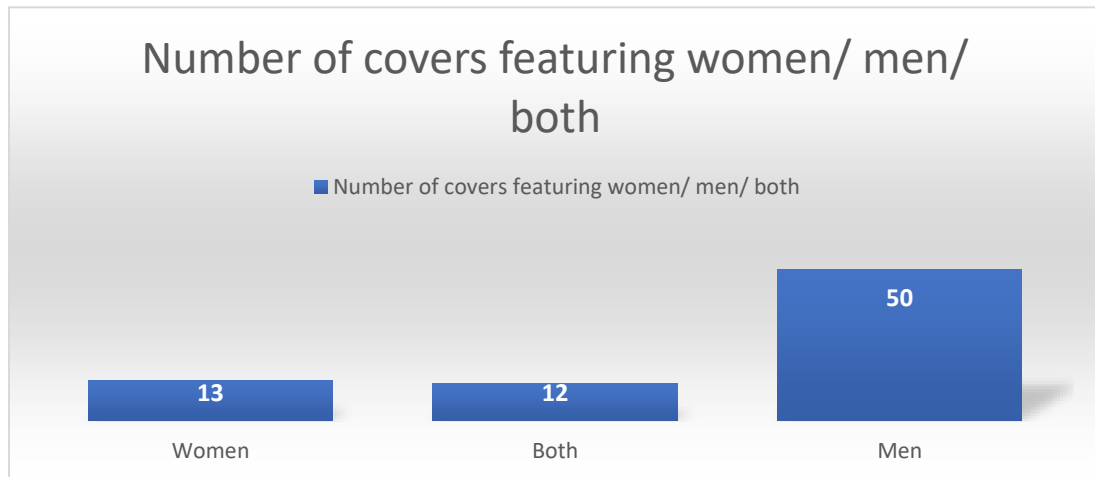
Images 1 and 2 are examples of active poses



Images 3 and 4 are examples of non-active poses

Images 1 and 2 are the examples of active athletes. The first cover portrays two female athletes who are driving the horse-drawn carts and are actively engaged in competition. The other image of active athletes shows a woman and a man jogging on the beach. On the contrary, the images 3 and 4 are examples of non-active poses. Image 3 portrays female swimmers, but they are not involved in any kind of athletic engagement. Instead, they are just posing for the reporters in a passive way. Image 4 features a passive woman golfer. However, she is not portrayed *playing* the game and her golf club is just lying on the ground. It is hard to determine what exactly she holds in her hands, however the viewer receives a clear message that she is clearly distracted or disengaged from the game rather than actively participating in it. This can compromise the whole image of women as athletes and question their ability to concentrate and compete.

Related to the question of active/passive poses is the question about the difference in women's portrayal when they are individually depicted versus when shown with men. Throughout classifying and analyzing the covers from each year, it seems there is a pattern in depicting women when they are partnered with men. The aggregated data helps to vividly see the trend. Out of seventy-five covers chosen for the sample, fifty (66%) portray male athletes only while only thirteen covers (18%) portray only females. Twelve covers (16%) portray both sexes. It is useful to analyze what messages about femininity are contained in the images where both sexes are depicted. Seven of the twelve covers featuring both sexes, portray men as active, while others depict women as passive or diminish their athletic qualities.



Graph 4. Covers featuring women/ men/ both

Clearly, in images where both sexes are featured, men are shown as dominant figures. The male images primarily emphasized skills and performance while female images portrayed them as disinterested in the sport. On the covers twelve and twenty-five (see below) we can see that even when women are portrayed in sport, they are portrayed as more concentrated on their physical appearance or simply distracted from the activity. These messages imply that women are not really focused on sports, even when participating.

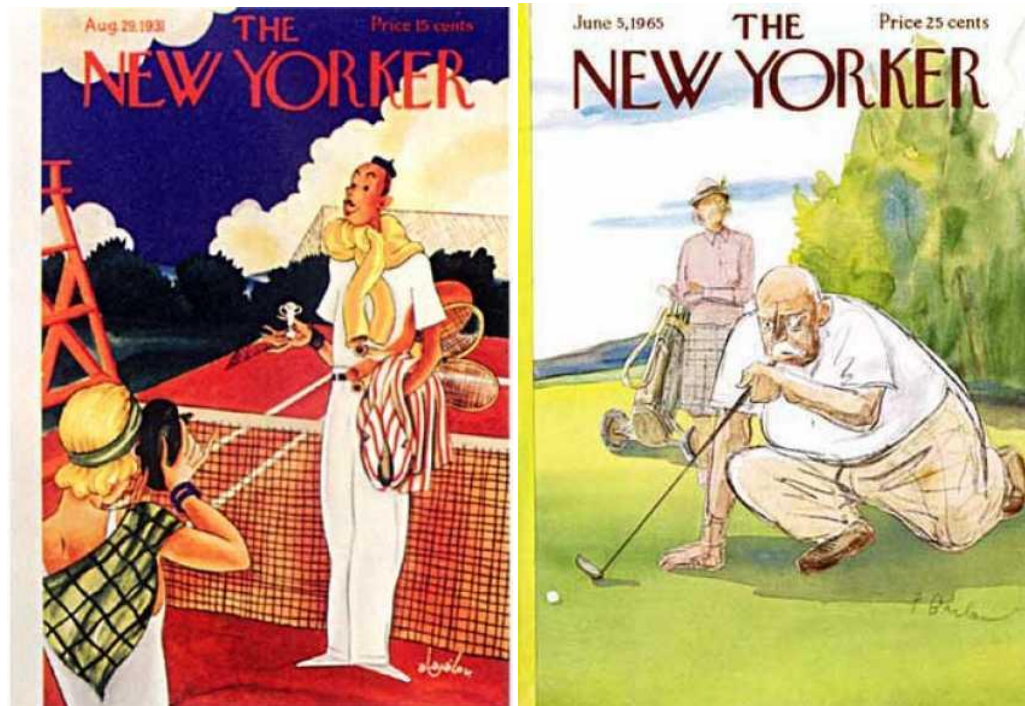


Cover 12.



Cover 25.

Similarly, on covers twenty-one and forty-seven, women are shown in role of helpers for the male athletes. They are holding the equipment or showing appreciation instead of having an active part in the game. Assisting, instead of being actively involved, is another way that media questions and underrates the presence of women on sports arena.



Cover 21.

Cover 47.

Women who are depicted as actively engaged in sport still must present some features that imply on their femininity and emphasize on graciousness. Same goes for the presentation of female athletes when discussing individual/ team type of sport.

Team/ individual sports and type of sport. The other category which I used for analyzing *The New Yorker* is the depiction of team sports versus individual sports. It is believed that team sports are more aggressive and involve more strength than individual sports (Rintala and Birrel 1984). Team sports are believed to require masculine characteristics, such as competitiveness, risk, violence, and danger which are stereotypically considered inappropriate characteristics for women (Koivula 2001).

Instead, women are often expected to participate in individual sports which emphasize on femininity, gracefulness, aesthetic of the female body (e.g., ice skating, gymnastics, etc.).

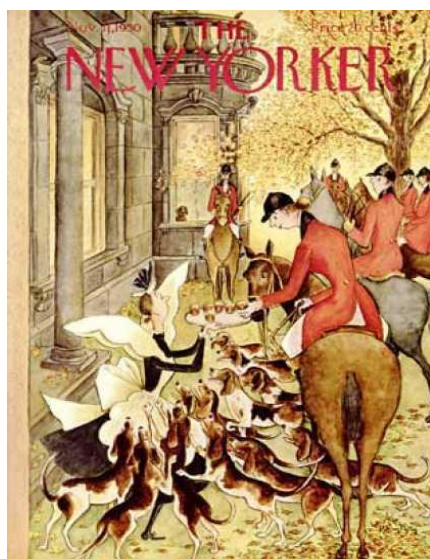
The results obtained in this research support the above-mentioned theory. Most of the covers portrayed women in gender-appropriate sports which emphasize femininity, gracefulness, and tenderness. The results reveal that while both individual and team sports are represented in the magazine, there is a tendency to feature individual sports more often. Nineteen out of twenty-six covers (73%) portrayed female athletes in individual sports.

A thorough analysis shows that women were mostly portrayed in the following sports: golf (five covers), equestrian sports (four covers), gymnastics (four covers), tennis (three covers) and other individual sports where women do not appear aggressive and masculine (e.g., ping pong (Cover 13), working out in the gym (Cover 57), running (Cover 75). And even in those sports women are portrayed mostly as passive objects (e.g. all five golf covers involve the women who are posing, not playing; two out of three tennis covers portray passive female athlete).

The only sport that generally portray active women is equestrian sport. In a lot of instances, it was commonly viewed as feminine sport due to sexualization and sensualization of the woman in horseback. However, in the professional horse-riding sports, male athletes dominate the field (Adelman and Knijnik 2013). *The New Yorker* portrays women who is on a horse in feminine, gentle, and non-aggressive way. For example, on the cover thirty-two (Appendix B), the woman on the horse seem to be

performing a public service or just casually interacting rather than participating in the competition or putting any physical effort into activity.

In historical perspective, in 1920 equestrian sport was primarily a leisure activity for aristocratic women and did not bear the sense of the actual sport accessible by female athletes (Adelman and Knijnik 2013). Another good example is cover nineteen (Appendix B) that depicts the actual race where two women are competing against a man. However, the attire of the women still emphasizes their femininity: dresses, accessories, and hairstyle.

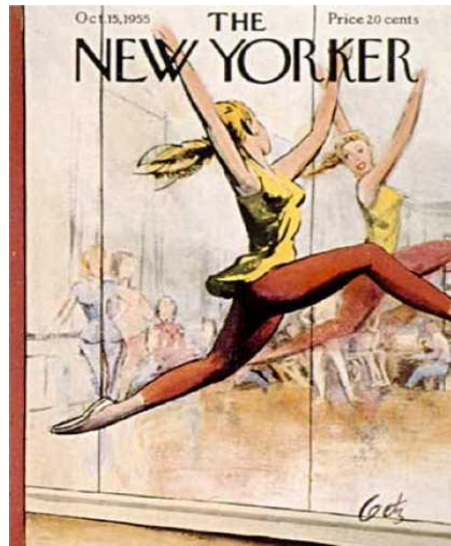


Cover 32.



Cover 19.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, all of the covers featuring gymnastics or dance portray women as active. The images specifically underline women's graciousness, sexuality, and flexibility, such as cover forty-two. For additional examples see images forty-six, and fifty-four in Appendix B. As Choi (2000) pointed out, media tends to portray female athletes in the sports that focus on the ability of women's bodies to perform aesthetic movements.

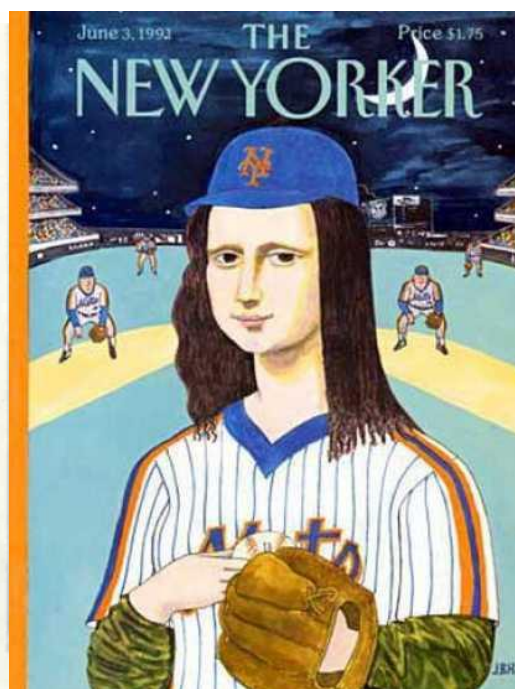


Cover 42.

Analysis also shows that even though a majority of covers portrayed individual sports, team sports were not completely absent. Cover fifty-two (Appendix B) shows a woman playing hockey against a man, however if we take into consideration the setting, the cover was dedicated to the celebration of the Valentine's Day. Therefore, even though it is a primarily a team game, the context of the image would not allow the reader to perceive a woman as a professional hockey player. Instead, she is portrayed as passing her heart to her love interest. Another similar example is the cover fifty-eight (Appendix B) which shows a woman in baseball attire, however we can recognize a famous persona from the Da Vinci works – Mona Lisa, which has always been a symbol of femininity.



Cover 52.

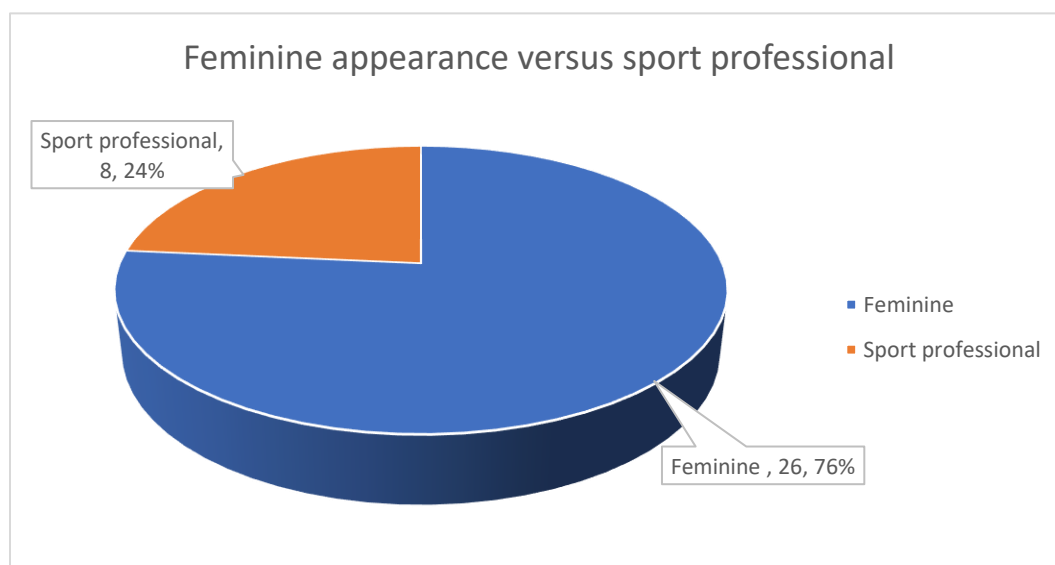


Cover 58.

As a result, portrayal of women in specific types of sports is just another way for the media to stress the “socially acceptable” sports for female athletes. By ignoring the depiction of female athletes in the team sports, *The New Yorker* creates a powerful division between what it means to be a male athlete versus a female one. Another way media uses to diminish the image of woman in sport is to concentrate on the appearance rather than on athletic abilities.

Appearance and apparel. An analysis was also conducted on appearance and apparel of women exposed in sport setting. According to past research, female athletes are more likely to be portrayed in sexualized and overly feminine way (Salwen and Wood 1994). The problematic side of this phenomenon is that the sexualized images of female athletes detract from their athletic qualities by emphasizing on their feminine

characteristics. Graph 5 represents my findings that show only 24% of all depicted female athletes were wearing professional attire versus 76% of women who were wearing clothes not related to sport they were portrayed in (usually clothes emphasizing on their femininity or sexuality), such as a dress or a skirt.



Graph 5. Feminine Appearance versus Sport Professional

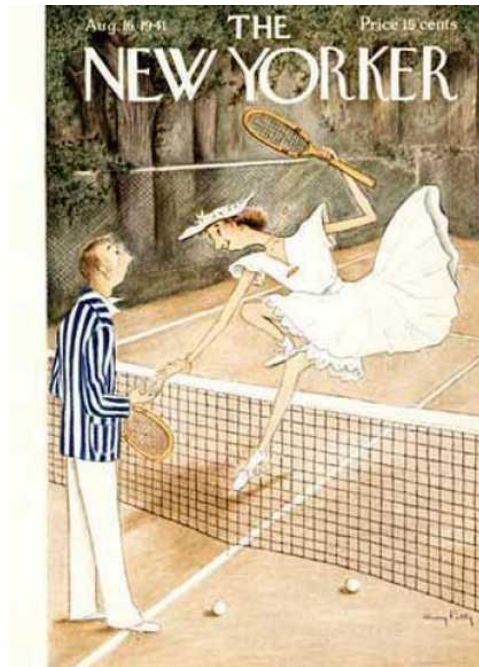
After careful analysis of thirty-four female athletes, I noted women being portrayed with visible body parts, visible hair-do/ make up and dressed in the way that emphasizes more of their femininity than the actual athletic skills. Accessories and the presence of long hair was another way to emphasize the appearance rather than the sport performance itself. This is another example of how *The New Yorker* stereotypically frames the appearance of female athletes.

Nineteen out of the thirty-four (56%) were portrayed with visible body parts (either legs, knees, back, belly). It is essential to keep in mind that due to the nature of the activity some sport outfits are expected to keep certain parts of the body open for the convenience of the athlete. For example, the women running wears shorts and her legs are exposed to the viewer, but it can be expected, as this type of apparel can guarantee a freedom of movement to the athlete (see cover 53 in Appendix B). This type of attire is appropriate for the activity regardless of gender. However, some of the images put the necessity of visible body parts into question. For instance, image with women involved in the ping pong game (Cover thirteen in Appendix B) shows female legs and knees even though they are not required to wear dresses for the purposes of game. For another example, see cover sixty-nine in Appendix B.



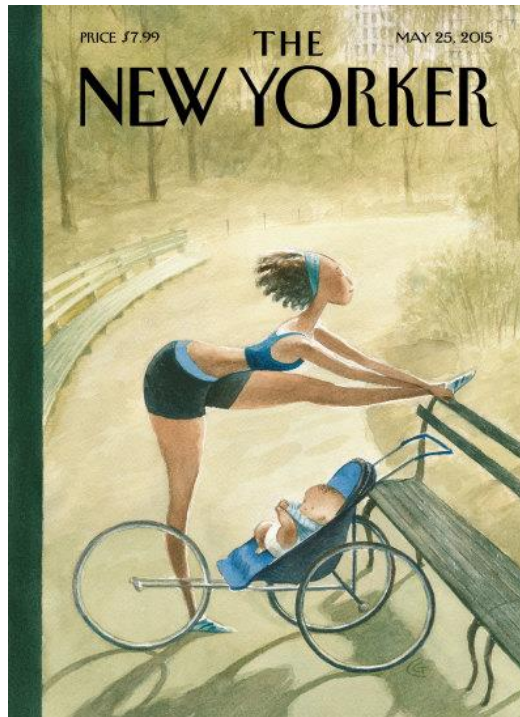
Cover 13.

The tennis player on the cover thirty-five (Appendix B) is wearing a dress (skirt), attire which is generally associated with this sport. The dress flares up during the woman's movement and reveals her upper thighs which happens occasionally during the tennis games. However, the question that we can ask is what is the purpose of this angle of portrayal and depicting this specific timing exactly when her dress goes up?



Cover 35.

The last image seventy-two (Appendix B) depicts a woman stretching in a pose that enhances the sexuality and exposure of the athlete's body. The outfit the woman is wearing can be considered as appropriate for the exercising, although in combination with the pose the emphasis is on the appearance rather than on the athletic ability.



Cover 72.

44% of all female athletes are portrayed in dresses or skirt. In fact, only six images portray women dressed in pants. All others are either swimsuits or shorts or yoga leggings. As it was outlined above, not all of these sports require or benefit the athlete from wearing the dress or skirt. While some of those outfits were the product of the time, or just in general a proper attire for that type of sport (such as wearing dress for tennis or golf), the others are not justified for the same reasons. For example, the woman riding the horse on cover two (Appendix B) is wearing a dress which might be not the most comfortable option for this type of sport. Moreover, cover nineteen (Appendix B) women seem to be in competition and in this case dresses can be not only unnecessary, but can also cause a significant inconvenience. The historical context is important to consider for clothing, yet,

across historical time periods, women have been portrayed as feminine, passive, and with an emphasis on physical appearance, even while engaged in sport.

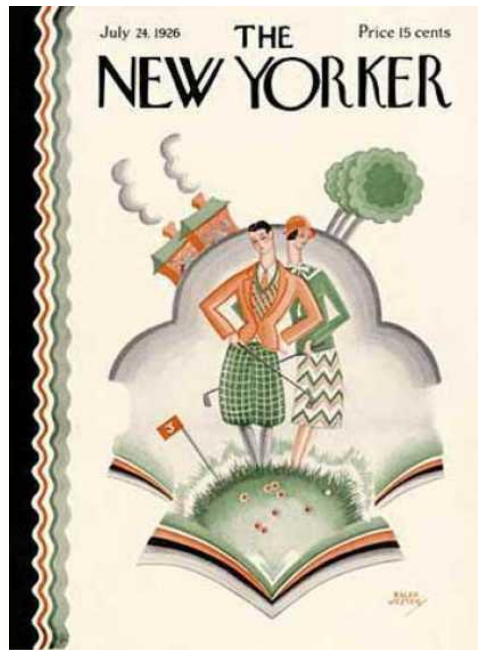


Cover 2.



Cover 19.

Another coding category was for having visible make-up, but only five female athletes were observed to have it. An interesting explanation for this was found while precisely examining the images. 45% of all women on covers that featured sport had either no face or shown small or portrayed from the great distance. 47% of female athletes were coded under category stylish clothing. Examples are covers six and thirteen from Appendix B.



Cover 6.



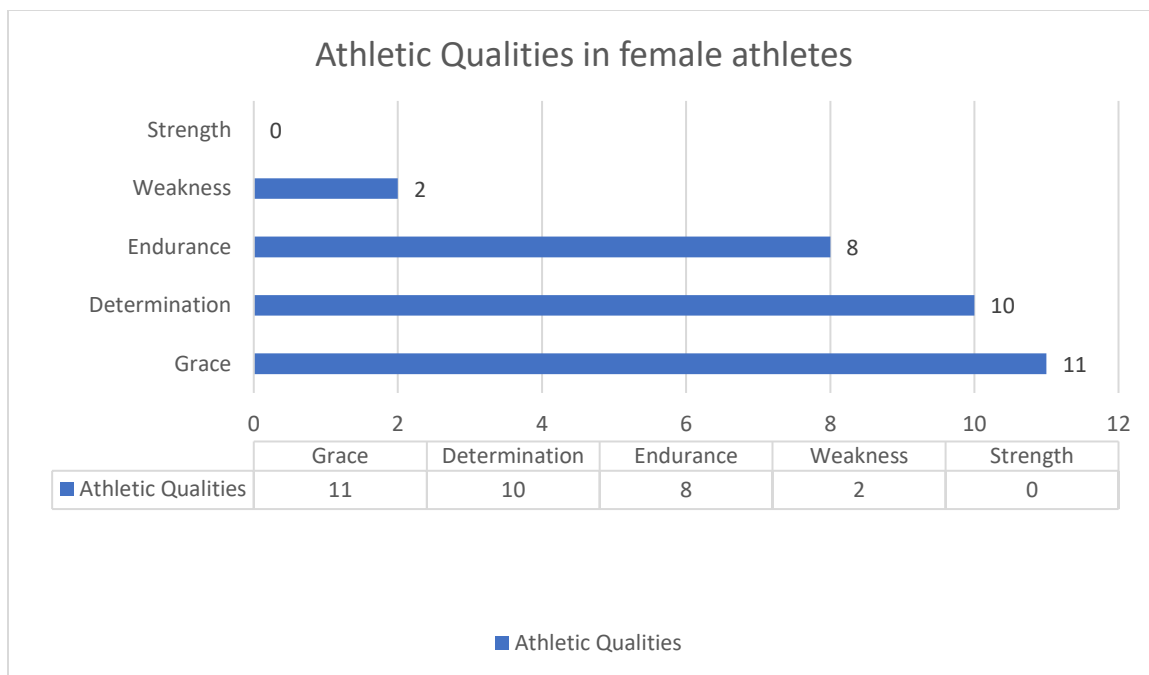
Cover 13.

About 23% of women athletes had visible long hair, which is a common norm of femininity and female sexuality. Approximately 29% of women had their hair stylized, either short cut, medium length or long hair. Approximately 35% of women had accessories matching their apparel (in most cases, hats). In many cases accessory are an additional way to emphasize on women's femininity and beauty.

The results from the study indicate that even though *The New Yorker* does not portray female athletes in an overly sexualized way, they remain somewhat gender stereotypical when portraying women in sport. In my opinion, the portrayal of feminine characteristics in female athletes constructs an obstacle for women to be seen as equal sports professionals.

Athletic qualities. While the previous portion of this research focused on the portrayal of female attractiveness, it is useful to examine what athletic traits among women in sport *The New Yorker* promotes in its coverage. Using the coding categories, I was able to analyze what athletic qualities are featured in the women participating in sports the most. Because images portraying passive athletes give little perspective and insight on the athletic qualities just because of the non-action pose, I mostly used images that depict a female athlete as an active participant.

As illustrated in Graph 6, determination and grace were two of the most commonly depicted athletic qualities. Grace was determined as fluidity of movement, aesthetically pleasing. It has a strong correlation with individual sports, especially with gymnastics, which is considered traditionally female appropriate. None of the images reported female athletes who used their strength or aggressiveness. Those results are consistent with earlier findings in literature, particularly ones related to the gender-appropriate sports (Nicely 2007; Kane 1996; Greenlee 1997).



Graph 6. Athletic qualities in female athletes

The individual sports that *The New Yorker* considers to be traditionally female reflect traditional athletic traits (such as synchronization, ability to stretch, etc.). This can serve as a vivid example of how media frame female athletes to appear in certain way. The traditional media portrayal of female athletic traits varies based on their race and ethnicity, as discussed in the next section of the research.

Research Question Three: How did the Portrayal of Women in Sport Change on the Covers of The New Yorker after the Introduction of Title IX?

Historically, athleticism was associated with masculinity. However, the feminist movement, among many other objectives, sought to expand women's rights in and access

to sport. Since the introduction of Title IX in 1972, women gained access to multiple sports that were previously reserved for male athletes. For the purpose of this research, I analyzed if there were any significant changes in the portrayal of women in sports since Title IX was introduced.

First, it is important to mention that, for *The New Yorker*, it is common to convey important social and political events on its covers. For the year of 1972 when Title IX was introduced, the magazine did not dedicate any of the covers to the landmark legislation at all. Moreover, that year also has no covers that feature sports. Second, after 1972, there was no change in the amount coverage female athletes received compared to male athletes. After 1972 the total number of identifiable athletes on the front covers was forty-two, out of which twelve (28%) were women and thirty (72%) were men. Thus, the pattern of coverage did not change in any significant way after Title IX. Finally, despite concerns about the limited portrayal of female athletes of color, the underrepresentation of athletes of color was not resolved even after the amendments of the Title IX. *The New Yorker* has not represented enough female athletes of color on the covers and not enough data was available to be analyzed.

However, after 1972 some things did change. After 1972 *The New Yorker* portrayed more female athletes in active poses (eight out of thirteen are active) as opposed to the earlier times, when most of the women in sport were passively portrayed. The pictures are less focused on femininity and became more detailed about the professional athletic

qualities. Mostly, the covers included female athletes being directly engaged in the game (e.g. running, not standing).

Interestingly, the type of sport in which female athletes were featured saw some changes as well. For the first time since the first issue of *The New Yorker* in 1925, the editorial board decided to show a female athlete participate in a team sport – baseball (Cover 58 Appendix B) and hockey (Cover 52 Appendix B). However, a precise look on both images still reveal a hidden message on feminine traits of the athletes. The baseball image portrays a well-known character from the Da Vinci masterpiece - Mona Lisa, who is a well-known symbol of femininity. In the second image with the hockey players is dedicated to the Valentine's Day celebration. That is why instead of the regular game with the ball, the woman and a man are playing with a heart instead of the puck.



Cover 52.

Cover 58.

Finally, are two images (Figure 57 and 72 Appendix B) that simultaneously emphasize athletic skills as well as being a mother. While the first image portrays a woman in more athletic way, the image with the woman (possibly black or Latina) with stroller depicts the athlete in a more sexualized way, as she is dressed in more revealing exercise attire, while simultaneously portrayed as a mother. In my opinion, this image presents to a society a new type of an ideal woman – a mother who “has it all.”



To summarize, *The New Yorker* covers did not highlight the changes that were brought into the sport world after Title IX. Title IX undoubtedly increased the number of opportunities for women to become athletes, however it did not contribute to an intensification of women’s portrayal on *The New Yorker*’s images. Unfortunately, a comprehensive study by Kane (1996) presented overwhelming evidence that other media

outlets, such as *Sports Illustrated*, *Runner's World*, and *Young Athlete*, follow the same patterns of female athletes' underrepresentation. Such a stark perpetuation of gender stereotypes might silence the perception of women's achievements in the male-dominant sport arena.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Organized sport has been considered a predominantly masculine domain. In her research, Kane (1996) explains that sport reinforces beliefs that males are physically superior to females because of measurable, visible differences between the sexes, such as height and weight. Unfortunately, often this perception of physical superiority grows into the idea of social superiority as well. Women face the continuing struggle to separate the traditional perception of athleticism and the evolving concepts of female athletes.

The introduction of Title IX in 1972 has played a significant role in advancing women in sport and created a roadway for fair chance at showing their abilities as athletes. Following the enactment of the legislation, women achieved the chances to compete in the sports without facing the discriminative and unfair politics established by the traditional system. Sports became an important and crucial factor in the lives of girls and women.

Despite the progress in providing women with equal opportunities to participate in sport, there continues to be a division in perception of female athlete versus male. Even these days it is not rare to see the demeaning and discouraging ways that media portrays women in sport. And, even though this research specifically concentrates on the analysis of *The New Yorker* magazine, there are numerous studies that confirm the biased portrayal of women as athletes (Colson-Smith 2005; Daehnke 2009; Mannion 2006). Some of the main issues are inadequately small coverage of women in sport, emphasis on feminine features instead of athletic abilities, unrealistic, and oversexualized images. This paves a dangerous path to the future of gender equality in general, as mass media has a powerful impact on social reality.

This study examined trends in the coverage of women in sports as depicted on the covers of *The New Yorker* magazine. Using content analysis, I was able to examine the front covers of the issues beginning from the establishment of the magazine in 1925 to December of 2016. The goal of the study was to determine the gendered messages that appear in *The New Yorker* cover art in regards to women's participation in sport. The discussion was divided into four sections that parallel the key the research questions of this study.

The findings confirmed previous research that female athletes receive less coverage than males (60% for male athletes; 40% for female athletes). The disparity in coverage could potentially lead to the stereotypical vision of female athletes being less important or less capable of participating in sports. Furthermore, women were less likely to be actively portrayed than men. Focusing on the appearances instead of showing the athletic abilities can negatively impact the societal expectation of female athletes. This tendency could potentially create the persuasion, or at least reinforce the stereotype, that women do not belong in sports, which always has been considered as a predominantly masculine field.

This disturbing issue is reinforced by the way female athletes are portrayed with men. They are depicted either in the role of helper and assisting in carrying sporting equipment, or are distracted from the action. These depictions downgrade and question the potential professionalism that women can have in the sport. In fact, the women are portrayed within stereotypical feminine frames, which concentrate more on the pose and appearance than on actual athletic abilities. Most of the covers depict women either in

dresses, with feminine accessories, or with visible body parts. Interestingly, a lot of women were missing faces or were portrayed from a great distance, so only a pose is visible.

Another concern that emerged is the type of sports the women are portrayed playing. Most of the covers depict women participating in stereotypically feminine sports, which emphasize gracefulness, tenderness, and absence of aggression. Usually those sports are individual sports, where women show less competitiveness and contact with other players. Unfortunately, this conservative trend appears through the whole history of the magazine. Since 1925 there are only two covers that portray the female athletes participating in team sports: a cover from 1991, which depicts a Mona Lisa in baseball attire and a cover from 1978 exposing women who participates in the hockey game. This trend reinforces the traditional beliefs and cultural expectations about sports considered “appropriate” for women – the ones that emphasize femininity, gracefulness and are aesthetically pleasing to the viewers.

A closer look at the women on the covers reveals another alarming issue: the limited number of female athletes of color. Throughout years, the magazine featured non-white women only twice: one Asian and one possibly Latina or African American. At the same time, male athletes of color are portrayed much more often, especially in more recent decades. Even though there has been a drastic increase of women of color in athletics, they are still underrepresented in media coverage.

The last part of the discussion concentrated on whether or not the introduction of Title IX impacted the coverage of women in sport. Unfortunately, very little changed. I

observed no significant difference in the number of female athletes on the covers of *The New Yorker* after the passage of Title IX in 1972. Moreover, the portrayal of femininity stayed at the same level over time. The representation of feminine elements is still more evident than the representation of athletic skills. The only noticeable change is the increased number of athletes portrayed in active poses. By excluding the females from the sport scene and by treating them with a stereotypical approach, media denies women in being recognized for their athletic abilities and achievements.

Overall, my research shows the system of female athletes' media coverage can and should be improved. First, the media must become more mindful and see athletes as equals, independent of gender. These days women participate in every single type of sport and media coverage must be respectful of that. Portraying women only as feminized objects will not bring us on the level of equality. It only creates a barrier for women to declare themselves as an accomplished athlete, and poses a requirement for them to fit in the traditional gendered norms. Instead of appearing as strong, powerful, aggressive, female athletes are shown possessing an alternative set of qualities, such as physically attractive, graceful, and sexual. Second, *The New Yorker* should include more athletes of color in the images and protect the diversity within sport. The conveyance of female athletes of various races and ethnicities has been minimal and, if present, often follows stereotypical patterns. The omission of female diversity's coverage in sport devalues them as athletes and increases their invisibility in society. Finally, the increase of coverage will not be effective unless that coverage significantly change *how* women are portrayed. Shifting focus from

femininity and sexualization to the depiction of women as qualified professionals will help to convey a global message about justice and equality of women's rights.

Media has the ability to control and influence the reader's opinions about various areas of social life. The inadequate portrayal of women in the world of athletics damages the public perception of women who are able to compete, pursue their goals, face the struggles, and win. Even when we are able to hear or see the information on female athletes, they are depicted in the ways that perpetuate old-fashioned, non-progressive views on how the women in the society should look and act. The advancement of women in sport has created a great appeal in participation, but the inability of media to catch up with the updated images of female athletes is truly disappointing.

The studies on female athletes' portrayal in mass media has accumulated a great scope of knowledge within the past few decades. Although inclusiveness of women in sport has been improved, there is still a lot to be done. Further research into this subject can help change the sport environment to more equal as well as influence the positive identities of women as accomplished athletes.

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APPENDIX A

*The Content Codebook***Category**

| Gender | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Men</i> | |
| <i>Women</i> | |
| Pose of Athlete | |
| Active | Actively engaged in game or posed actively |
| Passive | May be dressed in athletic gear, but not actively playing; or not dressed in gear related to sport |
| Presence of Sport Equipment | |
| Yes | |
| No | |
| Apparel | |
| Casual | (e.g. jeans, blouse, romper, etc.) |
| Athletic | (e.g. T-shirt, sweatpants, etc.) |
| Official | (e.g. suit, blouse, pants, etc.) |

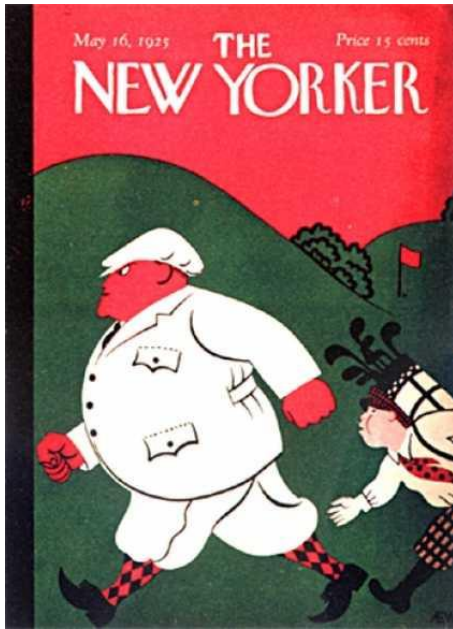
Sexually suggestive

Sexually suggestive:
(e.g. open swimsuit,
lingerie, short dress,
etc.)

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Other | Explain |
| Sport | |
| Individual | |
| Team | |
| Type of sport | Specify (e.g. volleyball, golf, soccer, gymnastics, ect.) |
| Athletic skills | |
| Grace | |
| Strength | |
| Endurance | |
| Speed | |
| Other | Specify |
| Other notes | Specify |

APPENDIX B

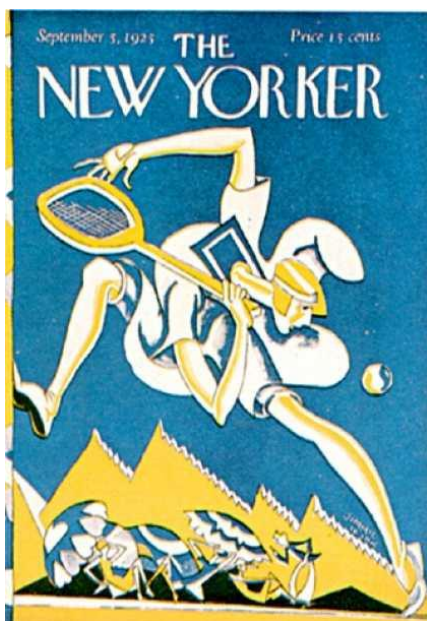
Images included in the sample



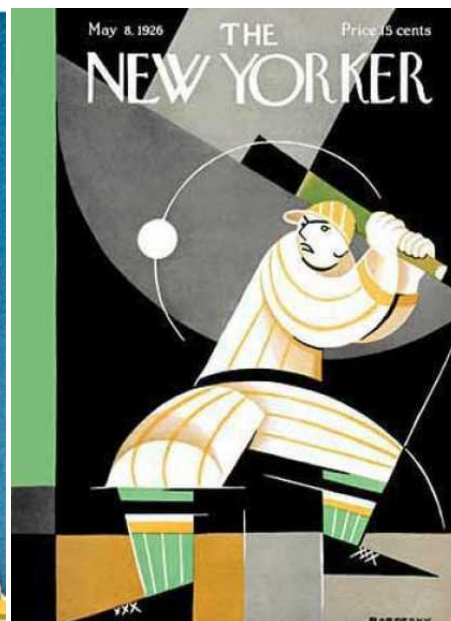
Cover 1. May 16, 1925



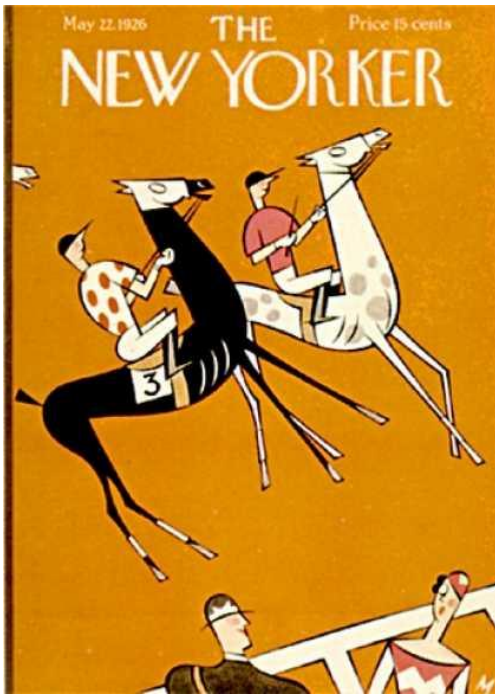
Cover 2. July 25, 1925



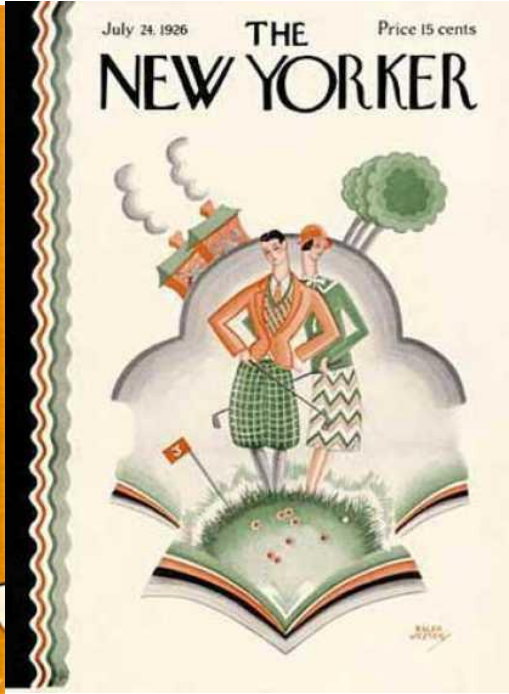
Cover 3. Sept. 5, 1925



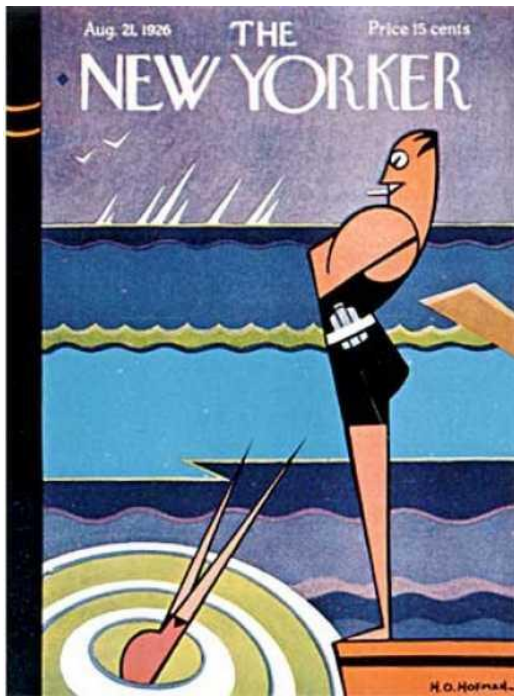
Cover 4. May 8, 1926



Cover 5. May 22, 1926



Cover 6. July 24, 1926



Cover 7. August 21, 1926



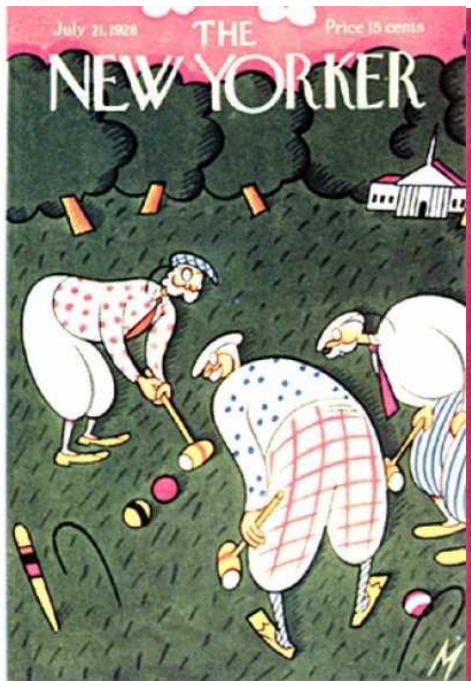
Cover 8. January 15, 1927



Cover 9. June 23, 1928



Cover 10. July 14, 1928



Cover 11. July 21, 1928



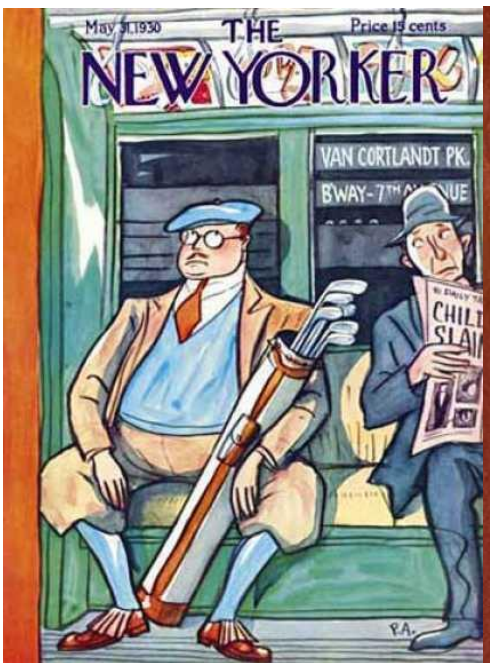
Cover 12. August 24, 1929



Cover 13. March 1, 1930



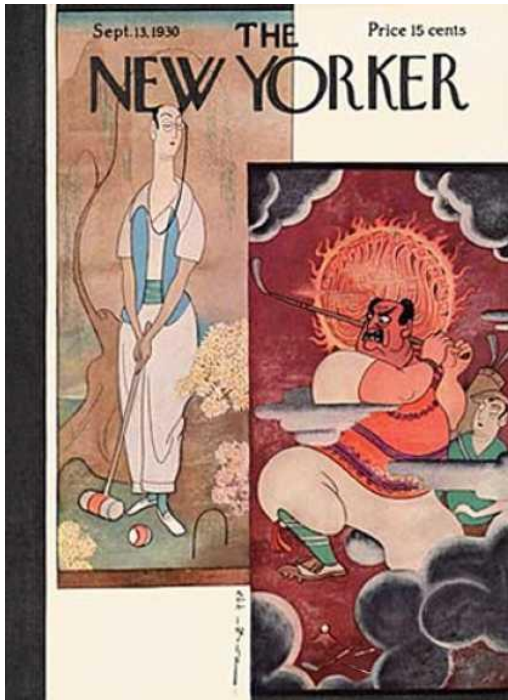
Cover 14. May 17, 1930



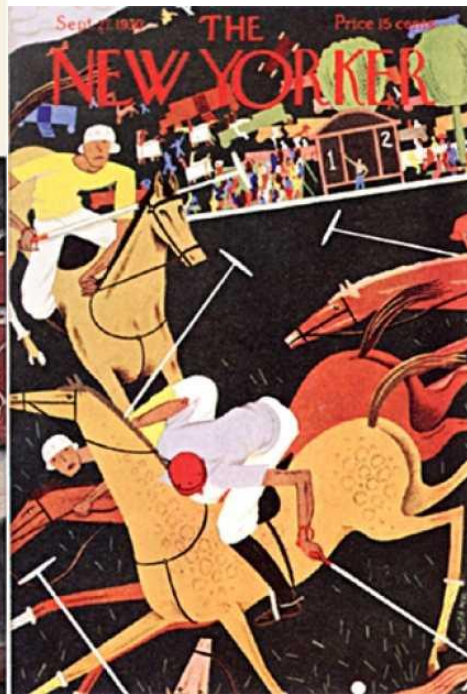
Cover 15. May 31, 1930



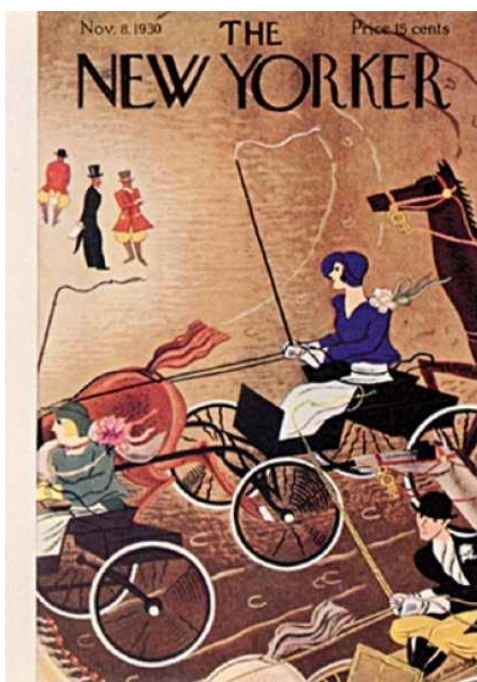
Cover 16. August 9, 1930



Cover 17. September 13, 1930



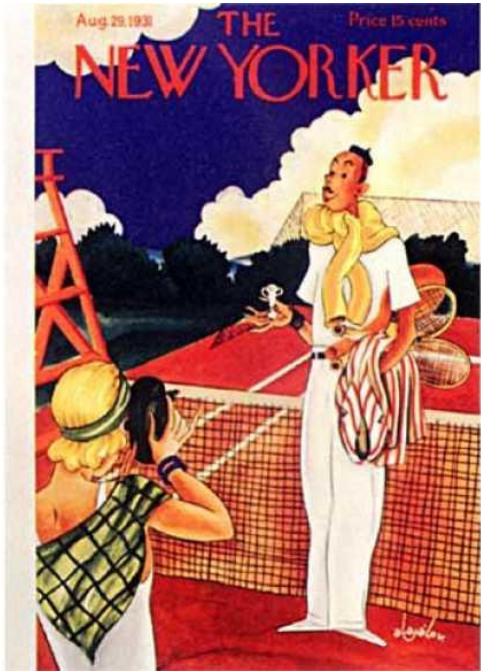
Cover 18. September 27, 1930



Cover 19. November 8, 1930



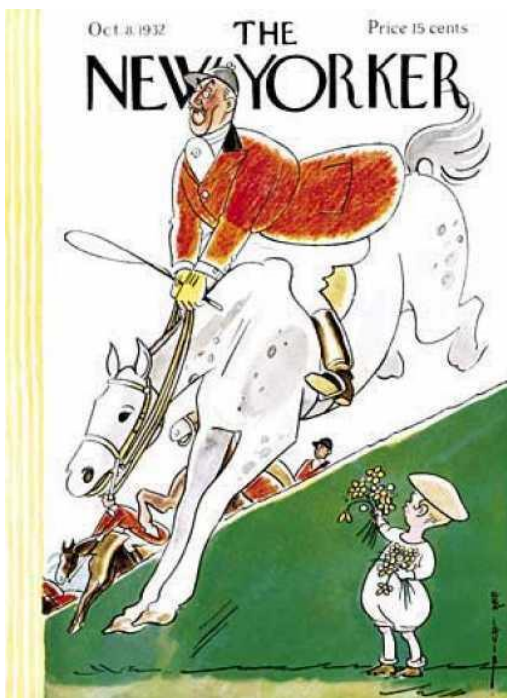
Cover 20. April 10, 1931



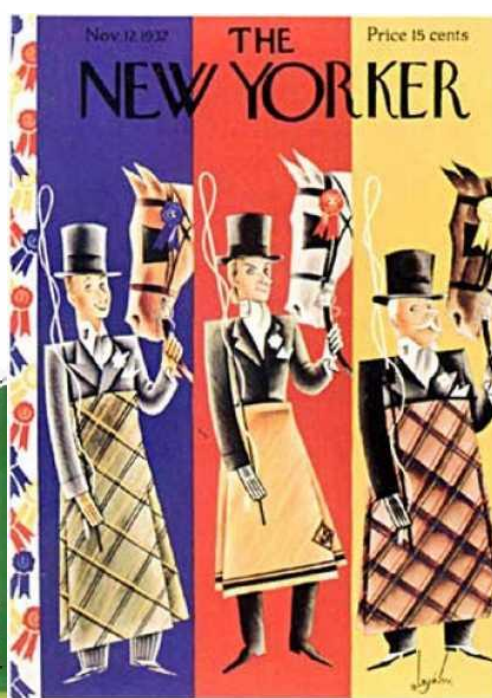
Cover 21. August 29, 1931



Cover 22. March 5, 1932



Cover 23. October 8, 1932



Cover 24. November 12, 1932



Cover 25. September 9, 1933



Cover 26. September 22, 1934



Cover 27. August 24, 1935



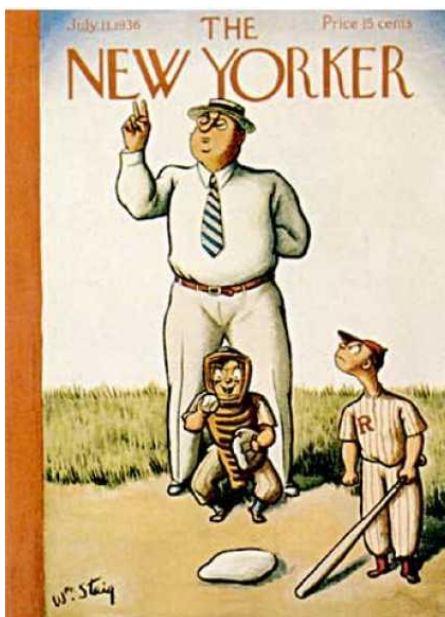
Cover 28. September 7, 1935



Cover 29. March 7, 1936



Cover 30. June 6, 1936



Cover 31. July 11, 1936



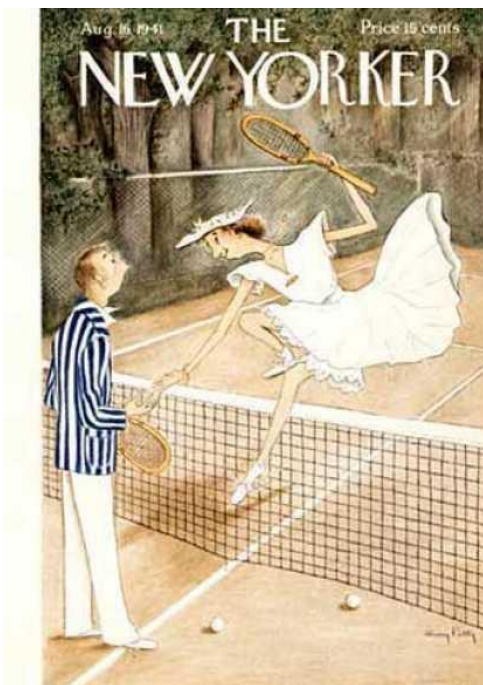
Cover 32. September 4, 1937



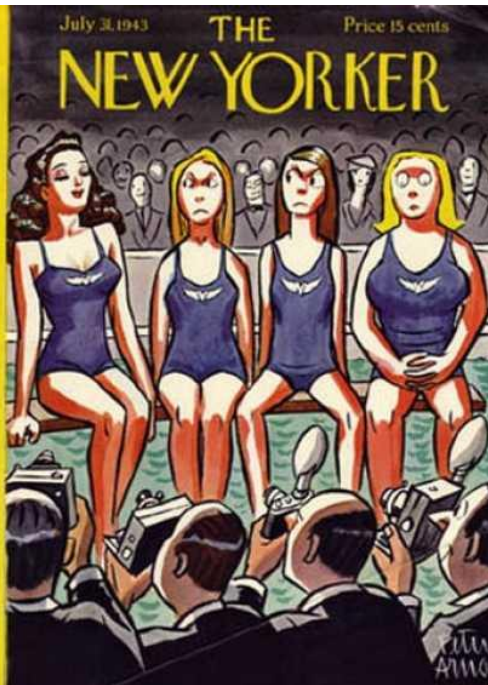
Cover 33. September 15, 1939



Cover 34. January, 1940



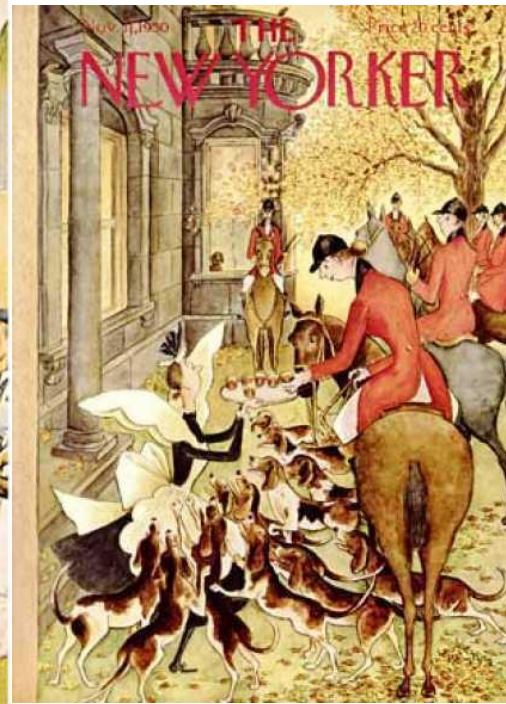
Cover 35. August 16, 1941



Cover 36. July 3, 1943



Cover 37. August 3, 1946



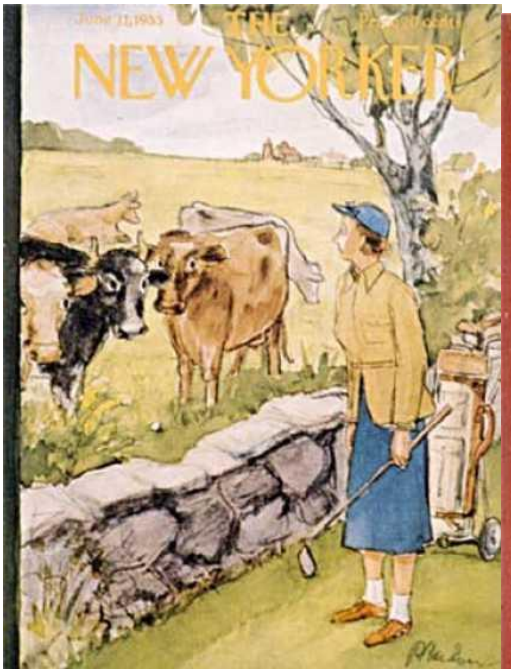
Cover 38. November 1, 1950



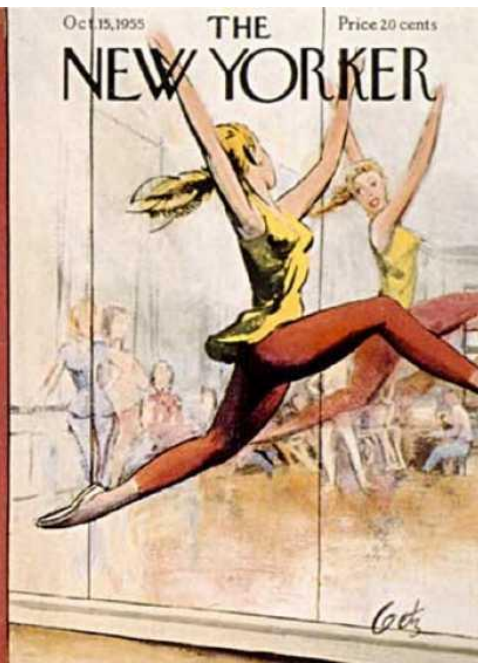
Cover 39. September 6, 1951



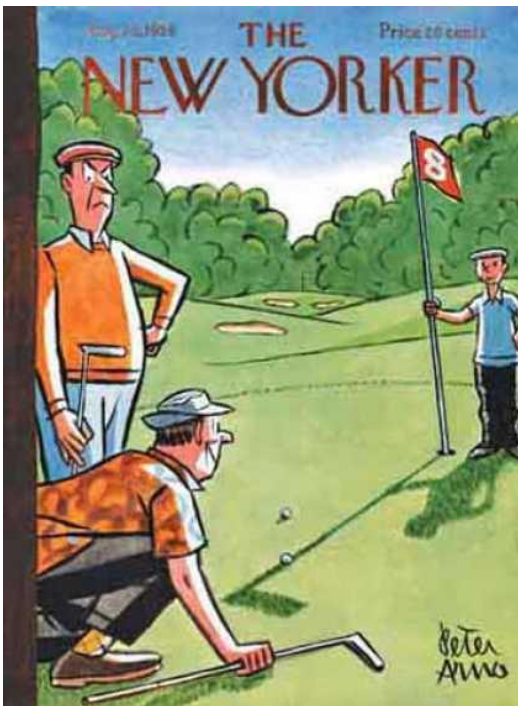
Cover 40. November 17, 1951



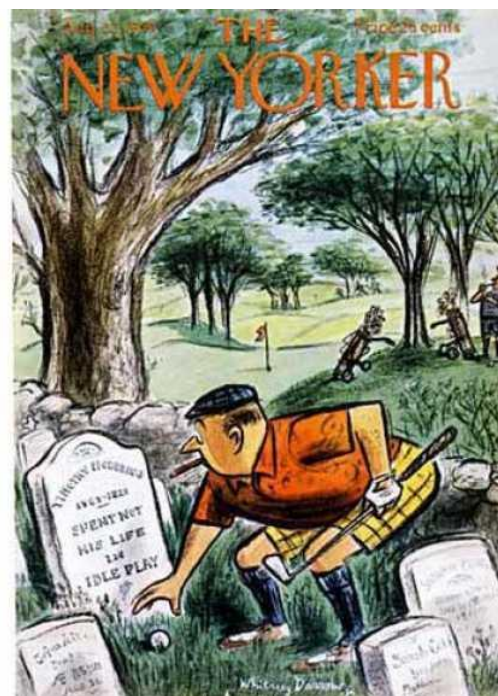
Cover 41. June 21, 1955



Cover 42. October 15, 1955



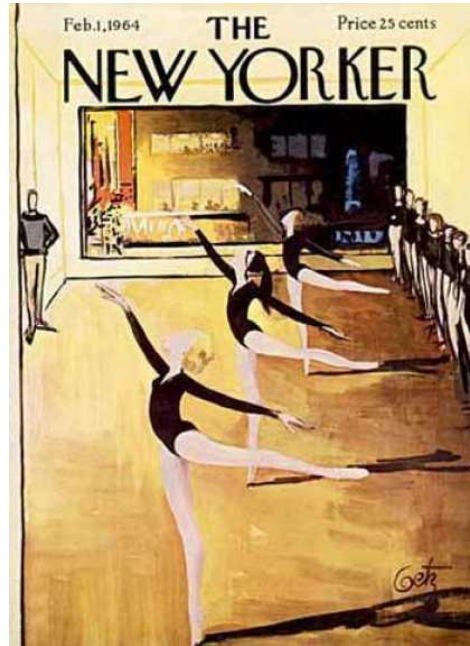
Cover 43. July 23, 1958



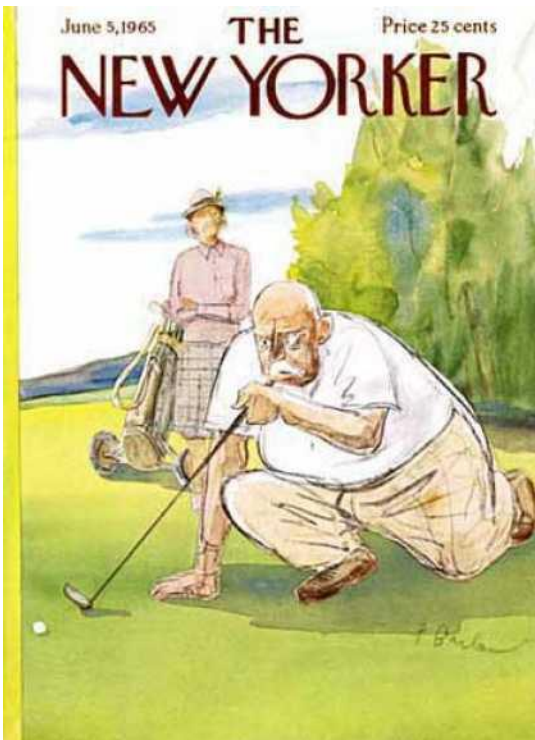
Cover 44. November 17, 1958



Cover 45. October 29, 1960



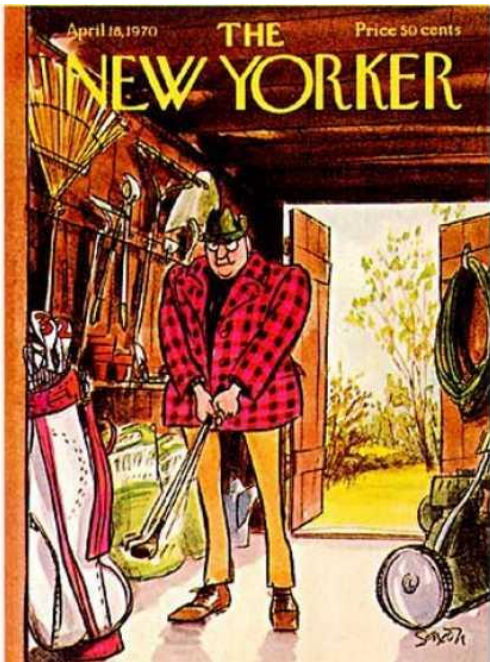
Cover 46. February 1, 1964



Cover 47. June 5, 1965



Cover 48. November 13, 1965



Cover 49. April 16, 1970



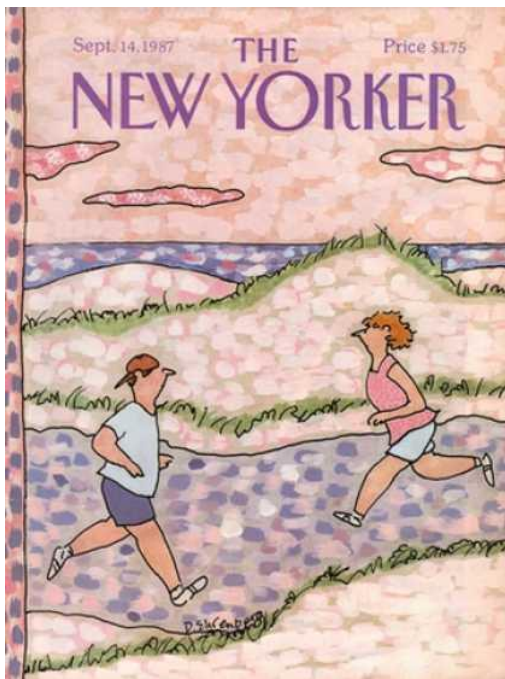
Cover 50. June 19, 1971



Cover 51. May 13, 1974



Cover 52. February 13, 1989



Cover 53. September 14, 1987



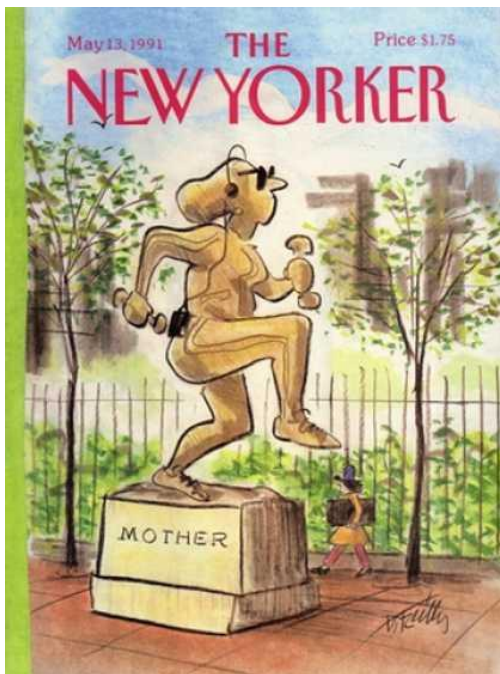
Cover 54. March 28, 1988



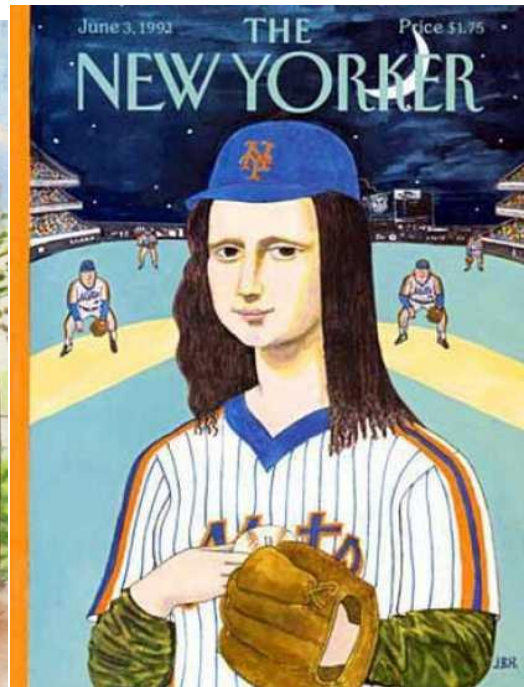
Cover 55. January 9, 1989



Cover 56. June 26, 1989



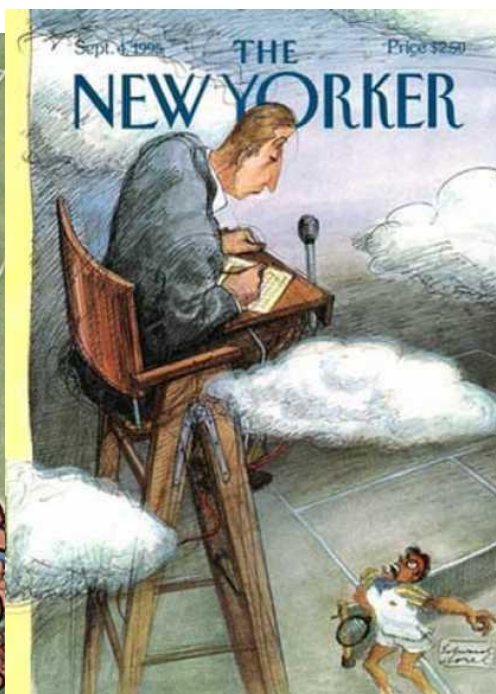
Cover 57. May 13, 1991



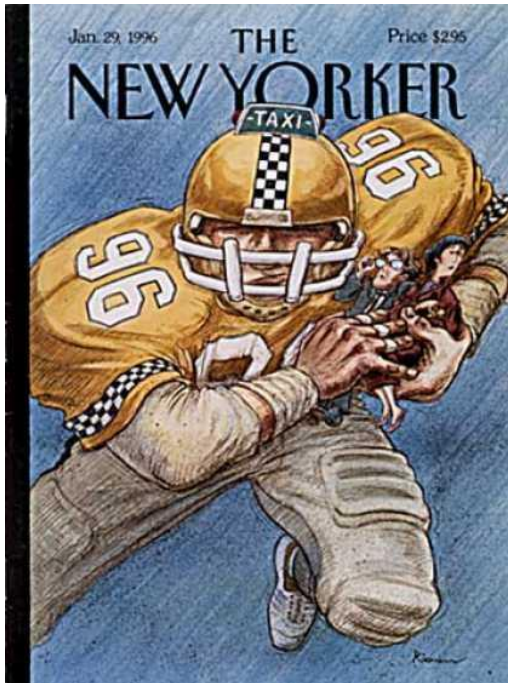
Cover 58. June 3, 1992



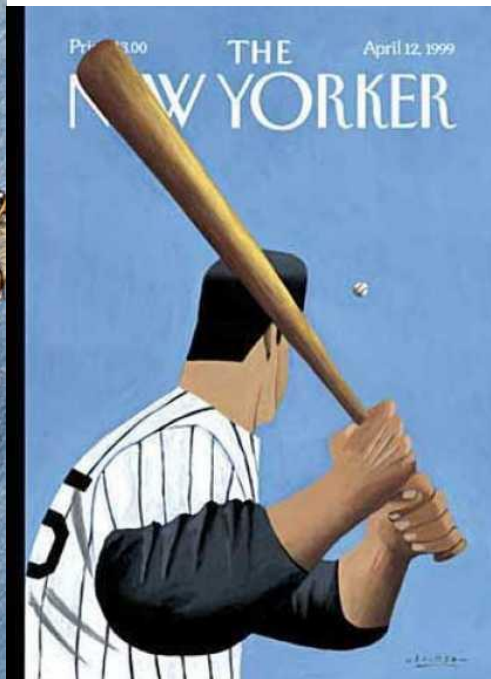
Cover 59. May 18, 1994



Cover 60. September 4, 1995



Cover 61. January 29, 1996



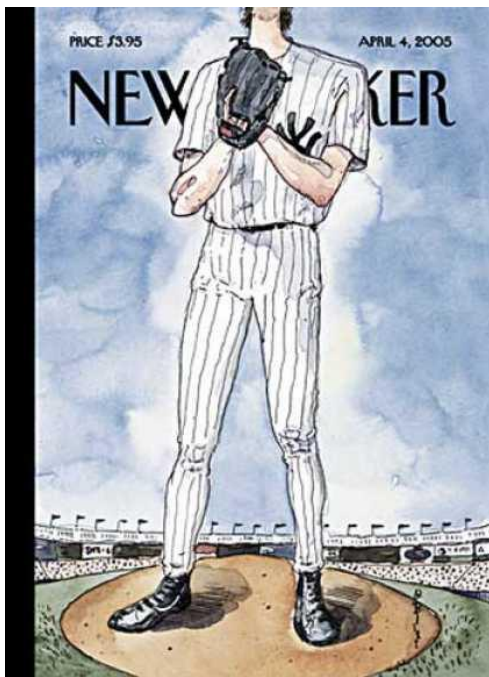
Cover 62. April 12, 1999



Cover 63. April 3, 2000



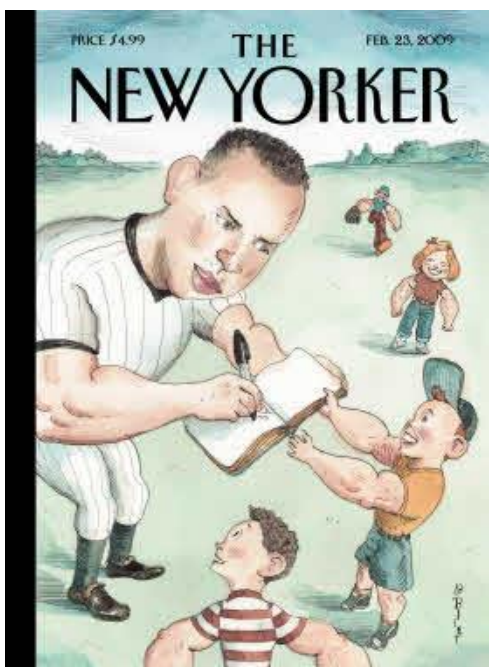
Cover 64. April 10, 2001



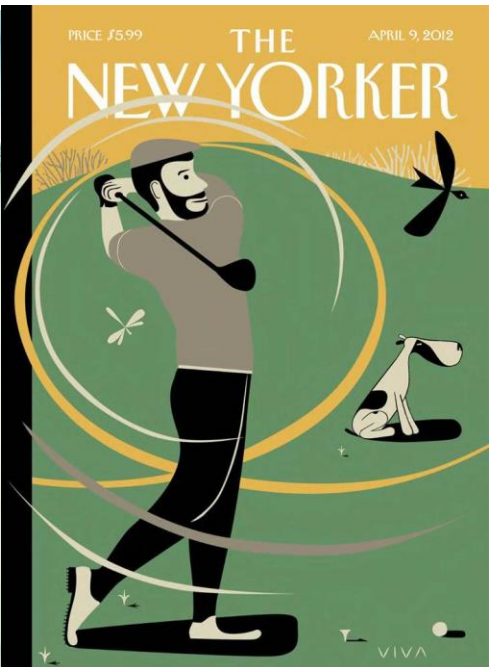
Cover 65. April 4, 2005



Cover 66. April 2, 2007



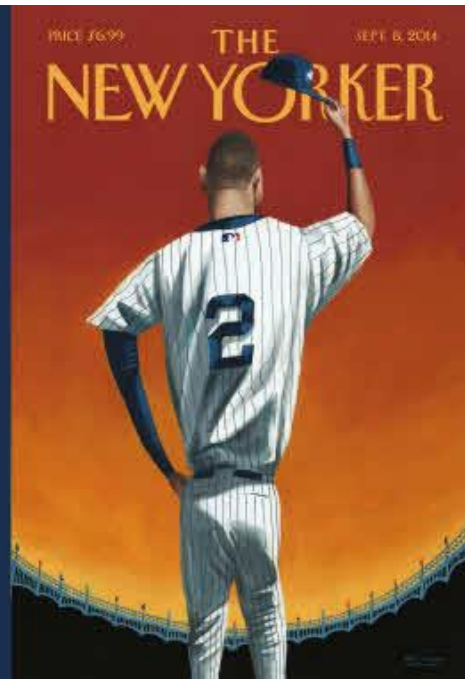
Cover 67. February 23, 2009



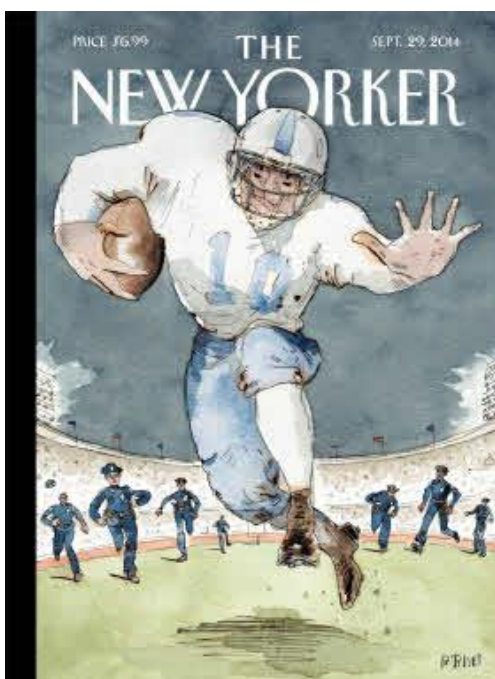
Cover 68. April 9, 2012



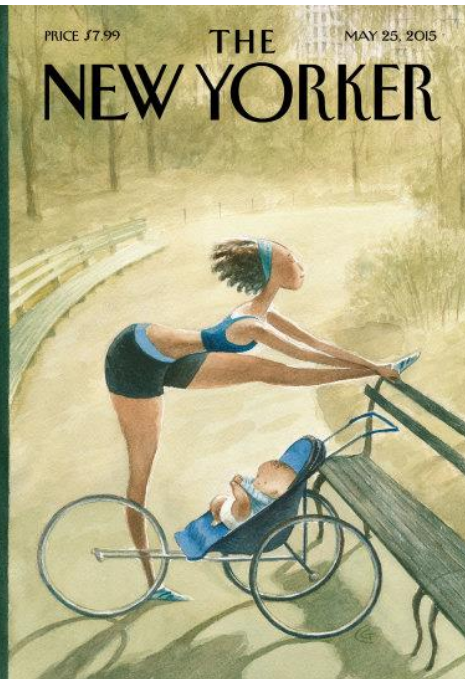
Cover 69. July 29, 2013



Cover 70. September 8, 2014



Cover 71. September 29, 2014



Cover 72. May 25, 2015



Cover 73. September 28, 2015



Cover 74. September 26, 2016



Cover 75. October 17, 2016

APPENDIX C

Gender-neutral covers



Image 1. June 20, 1925

Image 2. April 16, 1929



Image 3. October 26, 1933



Image 4. January 26, 1935

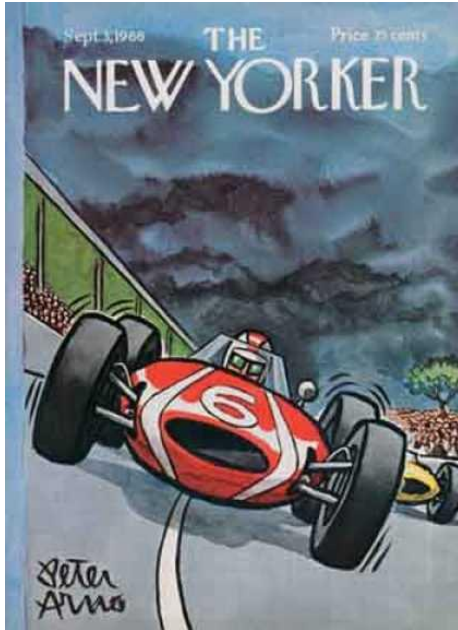


Image 5. September 3, 1966

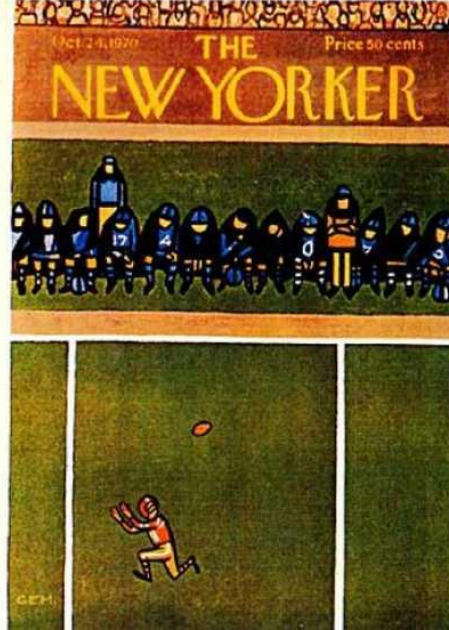


Image 6. October 24, 1970



Image 7. September 6, 2010

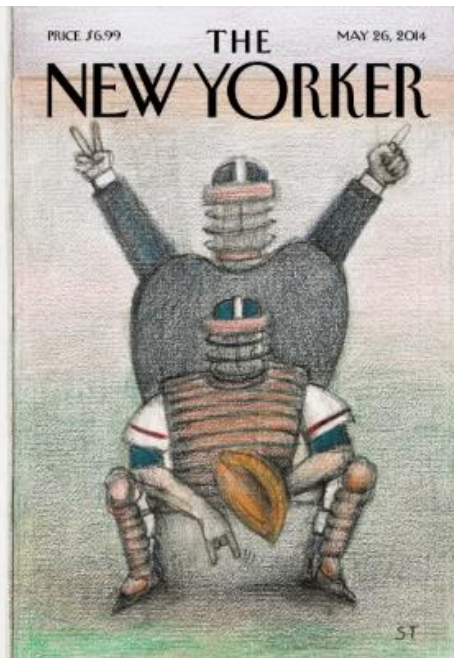


Image 8. May 26, 2014