



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES

FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

HENRIE, Karine

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE - AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Human Kinetics – spec.: Women's Studies)

GRADE - DEGREE

Department of Human Kinetics

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT - FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

TITRE DE LA THÈSE - TITLE OF THE THESIS

Naked Waneek Horn-Miller:
Incredible Performances Call for Reinterpretation

G. Rail

DIRECTEUR DE LA THÈSE - THESIS SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS DE LA THÈSE - THESIS EXAMINERS

C. Dallaire

L. Shade

J.-M. De Koninck, Ph.D.

LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES
SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES

SIGNATURE

DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE
AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

NAKED WANEK HORN-MILLER:
INCREDIBLE PERFORMANCES CALL FOR REINTERPRETATION

by
KARINE JACYNTHE HENRIE
B.Sc., University of Ottawa, 1999

THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master's of Arts in Human Kinetics

University of Ottawa

© Karine Jacynthe Henrie, Ottawa, Canada, 2003



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-612-90077-0

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-612-90077-0

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this dissertation.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de ce manuscrit.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the dissertation.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

REMERCIEMENTS

En premier lieu, je tiens à remercier « ma prof » Geneviève Rail pour ses nombreux conseils, suggestions et corrections. Je tiens spécialement à remercier les membres de mon comité Leslie Shade et Christine Dallaire pour leur unique contribution à mon travail.

A big thanks to Waneek Horn-Miller without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Waneek, I can only begin to understand your experiences but my only hope is that there are at least some aspects of this thesis that you feel have been worthwhile of your time. I would also like to thank Penny Werthner who initiated the original contact with Waneek.

Un gros merci à tous mes amis et amies, qui soucieux et soucieuses de mon succès, se sont chargés du rôle de « polices » en s'assurant que tout « allait bien » et en me questionnant (trop souvent à mon goût) sur la fin de mon travail. Merci André pour ton amitié et tes mots d'encouragement! Merci Hélène de me distraire avec tes histoires et péripéties! Merci à toutes les filles de Flakermügen pour leur superbe esprit d'équipe, leur folies (individuelles) et leur enthousiasme pour nos parties du vendredi! Merci Magda pour m'avoir fait profiter du beau temps à plusieurs reprises, que ça soit pour skier ou pour jaser! Merci Marcela pour ton humour, ton support et ton partenariat au gym (and for teaching me the meaning of the word vain...)! Merci Nadine pour tes nombreuses soirées « Survivor » qui m'ont fait sortir de mon appartement! Merci Nadine pour me rappeler que certaines choses sont plus importantes que d'être à l'heure! Merci Véro B. pour nos discussions téléphoniques, nos randonnées de vélos et de skis! Merci Véro M. pour ton support et ton encouragement mais surtout pour nos petites folies de billiard, de M&M et de montagne de tasses de Tim Hortons! Carol, je te l'ai dit à plusieurs reprises et je te le redis encore une fois : sans toi, qui sais si ce document serait finalement terminé. Je te remercie pour tes mots d'encouragement, pour ton soutien, pour ta patience dans

mes moments de panique, pour tes nombreuses lectures de mes brouillons mais surtout pour avoir cru en moi et en mes habiletés quand je n'y croyais plus moi-même.

À mon « Team Sociology », Don, Josianne, Kyoung-Yim, et Tammy, ce fut un plaisir de travailler à vos côtés, du lab ou de chez moi! Ne lâchez pas, c'est bientôt votre tour!

Dominique et Christine, vous êtes deux personnes que j'admire beaucoup. Durant mes crises existentielles, vous avez su me redonner le goût de la recherche et de l'écriture. J'ai beaucoup appris mais j'ai surtout grandi grâce à votre présence. Merci!

Tia et Bailey, les deux chats les plus beaux, sages et musclés, pour m'avoir aidé à taper certaines parties de ma thèse, pour avoir mis de l'ordre et du désordre dans mes papiers et pour m'avoir rappelé que deux boules d'amour m'attendaient sur le sofa peu importe l'heure de la journée.

À ma famille, bien inquiète de ne pas me voir terminer, je vous dit : « Voilà! C'est fini! » Pour toutes les fois où je ne suis pas venue vous visiter, où je n'ai pas téléphoné je me reprends (maladroitement) en vous faisant cadeau de cette thèse : à mes deux grands-mères, à mon grand-père, à mes tantes, à mes oncles, à mes cousins et à mes cousines.

À mes parents, Monique et Michel, je vous dit le plus sincère des mercis. Peu importe ce dont j'avais besoin, vous étiez là : des conseils, des mots d'encouragement, de l'écoute, des sous... Je ne pourrai jamais vous remercier suffisamment. À ma seule « bigoudine », Gen, merci d'avoir su me donner l'espace dont j'avais besoin pour travailler : l'ordinateur, le salon, la table de cuisine, le bain... Merci de m'avoir laissé décorer l'appartement en utilisant livres et papiers comme tapis et comme nappe mais surtout pour avoir été là pour moi quand j'avais besoin de toi.

Cette thèse est donc dédiée à chacun et chacune d'entres vous...

)
— — — — —

ABSTRACT

At the eve of the Summer Olympics in 2000, images of women athletes in the media were numerous. Where people might have expected action shots of these athletes, the burst of coverage was dedicated to women athletes who had decided to pose naked. In Canada, Waneek Horn-Miller, assistant captain of the Canadian women's water polo team, posed naked for the cover of Time magazine. Was the cover promoting Horn-Miller's sexuality, sensuality and femininity more than her athletic skills and abilities? How was the media constructing Horn-Miller's experience of posing naked? How was she, herself, constructing her experience? What identities was she performing on the cover? A semiotic analysis of the Time cover as well as a qualitative analysis of 10 newspaper articles and an interview conducted with Horn-Miller suggested that, rather than supporting and promoting dominant discourses of femininity, gender and race, the picture offered a challenge to those discourses and forced the viewers to think of the naked body of Horn-Miller in terms of new language and new vocabulary. Furthermore, my poststructural interpretation revealed that, while the media have strategically constructed their texts to assign Horn-Miller with a singular, fixed and unified "feminine-looking-woman-athlete" subjectivity mainly influenced by the dominant femininity discourse, Horn-Miller's speech highlighted how she performed fluid, fragmented and contradictory identities that were influenced by the adoption of various subject positions in different discourses, notably the femininity, sport and Native discourses.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
REMERCIEMENTS.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	iii
PART ONE: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	2
The Beginnings	3
First Considerations	4
Theoretical Considerations	10
Methodological Considerations	10
II THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	12
Setting the Stage	14
Feminist Poststructuralism as the Guiding Theoretical Framework.....	15
Feminism and Poststructuralism.....	16
Producing Meaning.....	18
Signs as a Source of Meaning.....	20
Subjectivity	22
Discourse, Power and Resistance.....	25
Conclusion	30
III METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	31
Introduction.....	32

My Approach	34
The Conversation	35
Print Media Articles	38
The Analysis	38
Semiotic and Qualitative Analysis	40

PART TWO: RESEARCH FINDINGS

IV	FORCING REINTERPRATION: WANEK HORN-MILLER POSES NAKED FOR THE COVER OF <u>TIME</u> MAGAZINE.....	49
	Striking A Pose	56
	Transgressing Gender Codes	61
	Disrupting the Beautiful and Challenging Identity Construction.....	65
	Challenging or Maintaining the Status Quo.....	69
	Concluding Comments.....	72
	References.....	75
V	WANEK HORN-MILLER: A STORY OF INCREDIBLE PERFORMANCES.....	80
	Performing Identities.....	86
	Speaking Media: Performing the Feminine	89
	Speaking Horn-Miller: Multiple Performances	93
	(Re)Constructing the Nation	98
	Performing the Essential	102
	Concluding Remarks.....	106
	References.....	108

PART THREE: CONCLUSION

VI	CONCLUDING COMMENTS.....	115
	You Have to Know What You're Doing and Why You're Doing It	117
	You Need to Know What Happens When People Make Certain Choices.....	117
	You Have to Know What Are the Strengths and Weaknesses Played Out Over Time	120

PART FOUR: REFERENCES AND APPENDICES

REFERENCES	124
------------------	-----

APPENDICES

A	Research Ethics Board's Approval	138
B	Conversation Guide	140
C	Horn-Miller's Consent Form	142
D	List for Identification of Signs in <u>Time</u> Cover.....	145

**PART ONE: THEORETICAL
AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Beginnings

I was sitting at my desk in the corner of the open area of the office. Earlier that morning, we had been discussing the first ever women's soccer World Cup Championships. Aside from the exciting dénouement of the final game—the United States' shootout win—what seemed to have captured people's attention was Brandi Chastain's jersey-stripping, bra-showing, arms-in-the-air picture that made the cover of every newspaper. Personally, I thought it was a great picture, a great moment! Firstly, it's a soccer tradition (men do it all the time) and secondly she had just scored the winning goal. Why was this bothering people? Because it was such a spontaneous act? Because she had great abs and they all envied her? Because they thought it was a stunt to promote the Nike sports bra? Frankly, her gesture did not bother me nor was it the source of deep questioning. Indeed, for a while, it made for a fabulous desktop picture! What did boggle my mind though is the trend that started shortly after: women athletes who pose naked. Chastain posed for *Gear* magazine with nothing on but her soccer cleats and a tightly hugged soccer ball to conceal her chest. Now, that was much more of an interesting topic to discuss at work! After that, followed the Matildas, an Australia soccer team, the Nordic Nudes, the Canadian cross-country ski team and Waneek Horn-Miller on the cover of the Canadian edition of Time magazine.

I specifically remember when I first saw the Horn-Miller picture. I was in a grocery store walking to the check out counter with the shortest line when a copy of Time magazine caught my eye. I stopped and picked it up to have a closer look and thought: "Well, another one has done it." I remember liking the picture. Sure, she was very attractive but there was more. She looked different from women in other pictures I had seen. She looked so serious, so focused, so determined and so proud. Still, she was naked and I was unsure how I felt about that. Couldn't she have been wearing a bathing suit?

Here I am, almost three years later, looking and reflecting on the same magazine cover. How do I feel about it now? What do I think about it now? The following pages explain just that. Enjoy the read!

First Considerations

We hear the phrase, “Don’t judge a book by its cover,” but how often do we actually apply this principle to something else than a book? People, it seems, are classified in ready-made categories depending on their gender, their race, their religion, their sexual orientation, etc. What happens to those ready-made categories when their characteristics contradict each other? What happens when the characteristics intersect with each other?

To reflect upon these questions, I chose to structure my thesis around the picture of Waneek Horn-Miller, an interview I conducted with her, and related newspaper articles. I wanted to understand why she had chosen to pose naked on the cover of Time magazine and what messages she wanted to send to people. I wanted to analyze the signs present in her picture that could influence one’s reading; how could the picture be interpreted and how did she, herself, interpret the picture. I wanted to know the subjectivities the media assigned her and the subjectivities she chose for herself.

Understanding how a particular media image can be read is important since, more often than not, bodily images are considered to be the “real” representation of one’s inner self (Turner, 1984). Much like Bartky (1998) has argued, it is important to understand the cultural messages that are inscribed upon the body, more specifically upon women’s bodies. She says: “We women cannot begin the re-vision of our own bodies until we learn to read cultural messages we inscribe upon them daily and until we come to see that even when the mastery of the disciplines of femininity produces a triumphant result, we are still only women” (p. 44).

Reading cultural messages, or at least attempting to read cultural messages, is an activity that has been predominant in sport, especially in relation to women athletes. The

representation of women in the mass media has been the subject of many studies. From television coverage (e.g., Eastman & Billings, 1999; Tuggle & Owen, 1999) to newspaper (e.g., Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999) and magazine coverage (e.g., Bowman & Daniels, 1995; Pirinen, 1997), it seems that a number of media have been examined by scholars.

To effect change, one must first understand what one is facing, what is the context in which one must work. Therefore, to understand the situation of women athletes in the press, I turned to the sport literature. I was particularly interested by the studies conducted on the representation of women athletes in the media. I wanted to understand what images of women athletes the press favored. I wanted to understand whether the pictures the media chose to print were promoting specific discourses and subject positions.

My research led me to the conclusion that, prior to 1990, the media coverage of women athletes was very poor. Studies concluded that women athletes were greatly under-represented in the media and on the rare occasion that they were featured, they were presented in a passive, non-athletic pose (Boutilier & Sangiovanni, 1983; Bowman & Daniels, 1995; Rintala & Birrell, 1984; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Snow, 1995; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). Women athletes were basically invisible and this sent the message that sport was not for women.

Post 1990, the pictures featuring women athletes increased slightly. While this was a positive finding on a quantitative level, the results were not as encouraging on a qualitative level. Women athletes were still being infantilized, trivialized and sexualized (Creedon, 1994; Fasting, 1999; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994), which worked, researchers have argued, to perpetuate male superiority and female inferiority (Birrell & Cole, 1990; Duncan, 1990; Greendorfer, 1990; Kane & Parks, 1992).

At best, images of women athletes seemed to convey ambivalent messages (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Kane & Parks, 1992). For instance, women athletes could be portrayed in a way that was contradictory to their role

as an athlete or the picture and the text worked to send mixed messages to the readers. Therefore, while images of women athletes were becoming more frequent, it seemed that the media were intent on constructing appropriate subjectivities for the athletes and for their readers. For instance, Pirinen (1997) reported that Finish magazines, with their choice of pictures and words, emphasized the “feminine-looking female body” and the “heterosexual family woman,” while putting down the “masculine-looking female body” and the lesbian athlete. Also, Jones, Murrell and Jackson (1999) found that when women participated in traditionally labeled “male sports” such as hockey and basketball, the media tended to focus on non-performance related aspects such as the athletes’ appearance. Wright and Clarke (1999) found similar results concerning athletes playing in the Women’s Rugby Union in Australia: the focus was on the athletes’ appearance and sexuality. Still, even more recently, Mason (2000) conducted a study on several Canadian newspapers where he found that, quantitatively speaking, pictures of women athletes and men athletes were almost equal but qualitatively speaking, there were ambivalent messages concerning the women athletes. He reported that notions of power were mitigated with notions of weakness and femininity, that the images of women athletes were sexualized, and that some articles and some pictures were hinting that certain sports were not appropriate for women. The pictures and the construction of the texts in the aforementioned studies of women athletes were thus used to promote dominant discourses concerning femininity and sexuality, and to restrict the adoption of certain subject positions.

It certainly would seem that what Kane and Greendorfer wrote in 1994 concerning the emphasis on women athletes’ sexuality still applies today. They suggested that:

the presence of women athletes in the media appears to represent fundamental social change—that sportswomen have gained widespread social acceptance—in reality, these ‘feminized’ images represent a modernized attempt to reinforce traditional stereotypical images of

femininity and female sexuality. . . . These feminized and sexualized portrayals are simply new variations on very old themes: media images as a product or tool of patriarchal oppression of women—and their bodies—through institutionalized socially constructed system of gender roles and values. (pp. 28-29)

The media, it would appear, can construct stories that promote dominant discourses and dominant subject positions concerning women athletes (Kane & Dish, 1993; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner, 1988). For example, Florence Griffith Joyner, an Olympian who won three gold medals at the 1988 Olympic Games, was featured on the cover of Sports Illustrated and Time magazines upon her return from the Games. Duncan (1990) reports that “[It was] no coincidence that Joyner’s rapier-like intricately painted fingernails [were] often visibly represented in [these] photographs . . . Griffith Joyner’s nails are an external adornment that shouts femininity—and otherness” (p. 28). Therefore, the picture that we see is not one of a dominant, powerful and successful athlete (at least not only) but one of a woman, a traditionally feminine woman. As a result, this picture is not threatening. By orienting the attention to Griffith Joyner’s fingernails, it diverts the attention from her muscular build and redirects it towards her traditionally feminine traits. It would seem then, that the media carefully select the pictures used to represent women athletes to ensure that the “right” message is sent, that dominant discourses and dominant subject positions are promoted while other threatening ones are discouraged. As such, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) state that:

visual production techniques, language, terminology and commentary applied to women’s sport are selectively imposed by the media to provide a highly stereotypical feminized view—one that tends to sexualize, commodify, trivialize and devalue (through marginalization) women’s sporting accomplishments. (p. 36)

The images that the media construct set limits not only to interpretations and meanings but also to the exercise of agency. While the choices available to women are restricted, they are still available. There is always the possibility of rejecting the dominant discourses and the dominant subject positions. There is always the possibility to resist.

While an extensive body of literature exists on the representation of women in the media, very few studies have looked at how these images are perceived or interpreted by readers or viewers. Indeed, rarely have sport audiences been interviewed to understand how they interpret those “feminized and sexualized” images of women athletes. Studies in contexts other than sport such as television news, dramas and soap operas showed that audiences did not necessarily internalize dominant messages (Ang, 1985; Bobo, 1988; Gross, 1989; Hobson, 1982; Press, 1991). In sport, while some studies have looked at how women interpret the messages in men’s sport (Duncan & Brummet, 1993; Star, 1992), no study had looked at how women interpret messages associated with women’s sport or women athletes on television. Addressing this need, Bruce (1998) interviewed women basketball fans to understand how they interpreted the messages promoted during women’s basketball games. Her study highlighted how women could opt for three different subject positions or adopt three different readings concerning the text. She explains:

Preferred readings accepted the dominant ideological position encoded in the text. Negotiated readings accepted some parts of the preferred message and rejected others. Oppositional readings rejected the preferred meaning outright. (p. 375)

In Bruce’s (1998) study, the women basketball fans could identify the preferred meanings intended by the text but rejected them; they rejected dominant discourses or the adoption of dominant subject positions. They exercised agency and opted for an alternative to dominant discourse and positions.

While the literature on sport was beneficial to understand the context informing women athletes' portrayal in the media, no study interpreted the image based on the athlete's own words or the athlete's own perspective. Does that mean the athletes do not exercise any agency when it comes to their representation in the media?

Building on the current literature in sport, I wanted to investigate a current sport phenomenon: women athletes who pose naked. I chose to focus on Canadian water polo player Waneek Horn-Miller. I wanted to know what meanings were embedded in her Time magazine picture. I wanted to understand how this picture could be interpreted. I did not just want to analyze the picture but I also wanted to know what Horn-Miller herself thought about the picture. Did she have a say in the photo shoot? Was she trying to send specific messages to the readers? Also, I was not only interested in how the press, with their articles concerning her picture, constructed her identity but I also wanted to find out how Horn-Miller herself understood her identity. How was she performing on the cover? How did the media understand and construct her performances on the cover? What subjectivities were being performed and circulated? The answers to these questions are at the core of the present thesis.

Diving into the Horn-Miller "case" was my first attempt at understanding the phenomenon of women athletes who pose naked and also my first plunge at understanding language, experience, meaning and identity from a new perspective. To study the case of Horn-Miller, I chose feminist poststructuralism as my theoretical framework and a combination of semiotics and qualitative analysis as my methodology. This project is certainly more of a theoretical project than an action-oriented project but isn't theory the first step towards action? According to Kuhn (1985), "[t]heory and practice inform one another. At one level, analyzing and deconstructing dominant representations may be regarded as a strategic practice. It produces understanding, and understanding is necessary to action" (p. 8). Hopefully, my understanding of Horn-

Miller's picture and experience will add to the current literature in sport and will someday inform action.

Theoretical Considerations

I analyzed Horn-Miller's case using feminist poststructuralism because I found this theoretical framework's understanding of language, experience, meaning and identity very exciting and also very promising. I opted for this theoretical framework because it acknowledges how meaning and interpretations are temporary and can be challenged. It suggests that meaning does not pre-exist language but that language gives meaning and that changes come about in language. I also opted for this theoretical framework because it understands experience to be the result of interpretation. While poststructuralism rejects the unified self-determined subject of the Western discourse, it recognizes the potential of people to act, to think, to resist and to effect change through the exercise of agency. This leads to an understanding of subjectivities as fluid, contradictory and shifting. Subjectivities can be understood then, as constituted within discourse and open to change. Discourses thus offer ways to give meaning as well as subject positions from which to speak. Subject positions and discourses are numerous and vary in terms of power, accessibility and pleasures. While there are dominant discourses, one must remember that there is always room for resistance and challenge. Discourses are culturally and historically specific, can be rearticulated endlessly but can also be temporarily stabilized. All these concepts proved very fruitful in my interpretative work.

Methodological Considerations

Since I was preoccupied with the construction of meaning, experience and identity, my thesis is based on different types of materials. In December 2001, I had a lengthy conversation with Waneek Horn-Miller. I chose this method of data collection in order to capture the construction of Horn-Miller's experience. In this sense, I did not understand the interview to be the key to unlocking the true meaning of Horn-Miller's experience but rather the path that lead me to understand how her experience was

constituted through discourse. Added to this conversation were Horn-Miller's Time cover and 10 media articles discussing her picture. These articles were located using two databases: Repère and Canadian NewsDisc. To organize my analysis, Horn-Miller's interview was inputted into QSR Nudist Vivo and the media articles were kept on paper. My analysis was structured following the steps outlined by Kvale (1996) where I first condensed the data and then proceeded to interpret it. To interpret the texts, I chose to use semiotics and qualitative analysis. The combination of these two methods of analysis allowed me to locate and understand meaning production.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

What Are Big Girls Made Of?

The construction of a woman:
 a woman is not made of flesh
 of bone and sinew
 belly and breasts, elbows and liver and toe.
 She is manufactured like a sports sedan.
 She is retooled, refitted and redesigned
 every decade.

Cecile had been seduction itself in college.
 She wriggled through bars like a satin eel,
 her hips and ass promising, her mouth pursed
 in the dark red lipstick of desire.

She visited in '68 still wearing skirts
 tight to the knees, dark red lipstick,
 while I danced through Manhattan in mini skirt,
 lipstick pale as apricot milk,
 hair loose as a horse's mane. Oh dear,
 I thought in my superiority of the moment,
 whatever has happened to Cecile?
 She was out of fashion, out of the game,
 disqualified, disdained, dis-
 membered from the club of desire.

Look at pictures in French fashion
 magazines of the 18th century:
 century of the ultimate lady
 fantasy wrought of silk and corseting.
 Paniers bring her hips out three feet
 each way, while the waist is pinched
 and the belly flattened under wood.
 The breasts are stuffed up and out
 offered like apples in a bowl.
 The tiny foot is encased in a slipper
 never meant for walking.
 On top is a grandiose headache:
 hair like a museum piece, daily
 ornamented with ribbons, vases,
 gottoes, mountains, frigates in full
 sail, balloons, baboons, the fancy
 of a hairdresser turned loose.
 The hats were rococo wedding cakes
 that would dim the Las Vegas strip.
 Here is a woman forced into shape

rigid exoskeleton torturing flesh:
 a woman made of pain.

How superior we are now: see the modern woman
 thin as blade of scissors.

She runs on a treadmill every morning,
 fits herself into machines of weights
 and pulleys to heave and grunt,
 an image in her mind she can never
 approximate, a body of rosy
 glass that never wrinkles,
 never grows, never fades. She
 sits at the table closing her eyes to food
 hungry, always hungry:
 a woman made of pain.

A cat or dog approaches another,
 they sniff noses. They sniff asses.
 They bristle or lick. They fall
 In love as often as we do,
 as passionately. But they fall
 in love or lust with furry flesh,
 not hoop skirts or push up bras
 rib removal or liposuction.
 It is not for male or female dogs
 that poodles are clipped
 to topiary hedges.

If only we could like each other raw.
 If only we could love ourselves
 like healthy babies burbling in our arms.
 If only we were not programmed and
 reprogrammed
 to need what is sold to us.
 Why should we want to live inside ads?
 Why should we want to scourge our softness
 to straight lines like a Mondrian painting?
 Why should we punish each other with scorn
 as if to have a large ass
 Were worse than being greedy or mean?

When will women not be compelled
 to view their bodies as science projects,
 gardens to be weeded,
 dogs to be trained?
 When will a woman cease
 to be made of pain?

— Marge Piercy

Setting the Stage

The first time I read Marge Piercy's poem, I loved it. I enjoyed the descriptions and I loved the message. As I moved along with my thesis it also provided for an application of the concepts featured in feminist poststructuralism. With her poem, Piercy has illustrated how fashion, what is "in" and what it means to be "feminine," is historically and culturally specific. She has demonstrated that "femininity" is not an essence and that its meaning is not fixed but rather open to change and to redefinition. Piercy recounts that in France, during the 18th century, what was considered attractive in a woman were big hips, a small waist, a flat belly, big breasts and big hair. In the modern western time, much like Cecile who did not conform to the newly set beauty standards of 1968, the 18th century woman is *passé*. The image women must now strive to achieve is one of thinness and slight muscular definition: a woman who runs and weight trains; a woman who is conscious of the food she must and must not eat. The poem highlights how meaning is constructed and reconstructed.

"Look at pictures in French magazines," "image in her mind she can never approximate," "programmed and reprogrammed," Piercy exemplifies where women get their ideas about "femininity": in the popular press, the institutional site *par excellence* of discursive authority. The poem highlights the fact that discourses pertaining to femininity offer subject positions, each with varying degrees of power and pleasure. On the one hand, while pain might come from following ridiculous trends, desire and acceptance will probably ensue. On the other hand, rejecting the current trends comes at a high social price: marginalization and/or rejection. Take Cecile, for example, who refused to reprogram herself to the new fashion standards. She was left "out of the game, disqualified, disdained, dismembered from the club of desire."

Marge Piercy's poem provided me with a concrete example of how a poststructuralist would understand the world. The poem highlighted the importance of understanding the workings of language, the construction and reconstruction of meaning, the circulation of discourses and of subject positions, the power and pleasures (or lack of) embedded in subject positions and the promise of agency. The following section elaborates on these constructs to provide a complete understanding of feminist poststructuralism.

Feminist Poststructuralism as the Guiding Theoretical Framework

Feminist poststructuralist theory, as outlined by Weedon (1997), draws on different theories and concepts ranging from feminist theory, psychoanalysis, Foucauldian concepts such as power, discourse and resistance to notions of language and subjectivity. The purpose of this section is to demystify the underlying notions and concepts necessary to an understanding of feminist poststructuralist theory.

Poststructuralism does not have one fixed definition. It is rather a "collage," a combination of various theoretical positions drawing from the work of many critical thinkers such as Derrida (1973, 1976), Lacan (1977), Kristeva (1974, 1981, 1986), Althusser (1971) and Foucault (1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1986). The following sections describe the potential of the union between poststructuralism and feminism as well as the key concepts important to frame the phenomenon of women athletes who pose nude. Even though this "Cartesian" attempt at underpinning the important concepts of poststructuralism or the "attempt to pin down an essence" goes against poststructuralist principles (Gavey, 1989, p. 460), it remains, at least for the sake of this thesis, a valuable exercise.

Feminism and Poststructuralism

[F]eminist theory within the sociology of sport has as its main purpose to theorize about gender relations within our patriarchal society as they are evidenced by, played out in, and reproduced through sport and other body practices. (Birrell, 2000, p. 61).

Birrell (2000) contends that sport is a gendered activity since it encourages and supports boys and men more adamantly than girls and women and it promotes “masculine” skills and values (Bryson, 1983) which, in turn, frame sport as a “male preserve” (Dunning, 1986; Sheard and Dunning, 1973; Theberge, 1985). The sport system can be understood as patriarchal since it highlights the unequal power relations between women and men athletes where men have the upper hand, where women’s interests are subordinated to men’s interests, and where a male standard sets the norm (Weedon, 1997). Women’s sport is often considered as “other” compared to men’s sport.

To address the patriarchal construction of sport, many feminists have put the world of sport at the center of their theoretical and political project. According to Birrell (2000), feminist theories have evolved through three stages. The first stage, the atheoretical stage, was preoccupied with documenting women’s situation in sport, the inequalities and the opportunities (or lack of). Two influential books mark this period: Women in Sport: From Myth to Reality by Carole Oglessby (1978) and Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of Sport by Ann Hall (1978). These books paved the way for the next stage, the move toward theory.

According to Birrell (2000), the 1980s were influenced by a liberal feminist approach that led to critical approaches by the end of the decade, that is, to critical feminist cultural studies. Liberal feminists in sport fought for equal access, equal

opportunities, equal pay, etc. Some important liberal feminist legislative gains included Title IX and the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States. While the work of liberal feminists is important, it does not however offer any critiques of the organization of sport nor of the dominant discourses being promoted. Radical feminists fulfilled that need. Radical feminists called for “a fundamental societal transformation” and argued for the athletic system to “be dismantled and reconstructed from the standpoint of women” (Birrell, 2000, p. 65). While their contributions on a practical and theoretical level are impressive, liberal and radical feminists have been criticized for their narrow conception of oppression: the focus on gender and the exclusion of other categories of oppression such as age, race, sexuality, and nationality. According to Birrell (2000), race and ethnicity remain largely “an underdeveloped focus in sport studies” (p. 66).

Finally, the third stage (the current stage) is characterized by a move away from modernist conceptions. It is influenced by postmodern thought (Rail, 1998, 2002). This theoretical move is concerned with power and gender relations: how they are produced, resisted and transformed. The world of sport and the media have been identified as powerful means to reproduce gender relations (Ducan, 1990, 1994; Birrell & Theberge, 1994). Poststructuralist theory and the work of Michel Foucault offer an exciting framework to understand power, social meanings and the sporting body (see for example, Bordo, 1989; Cole & Hribar, 1999; Pronger, 1990, 1995; Rail, 1998, 2002; Rail & Harvey, 1995). Poststructuralist positions have proven useful in sport to critique gender relations (see for example, Birrell & Cole, 1990; Birrell & McDonald, 1993; Cole & Denny, 1995; King, 1993). To examine the phenomenon of women athletes who pose naked, I believe feminist poststructuralism best equips me with the concepts needed to understand and analyze this new trend in sport.

Producing Meaning

Do words have one “true” and specific meaning? What is the relationship between words and meaning? From my readings, I understand that words do not have one universal meaning (Barker & Galasiński, 2001; Weedon, 1997), they do not have one “true” meaning but rather the meaning of words is slippery and unstable. The meaning of words is open to change. Consider the words “queer” or “beauty” for example. The term queer once referred to a pathological sexuality; it was used to degrade and insult but later, the term was re-appropriated by the gay community and re-inscribed with positive meanings (Butler, 1993). The word beauty, as highlighted in Piercy’s poem, also did not have the same meaning over time. While the meaning of words is open to change, it is possible to stabilize a word’s meaning, temporarily, for social or political purposes. While some researchers argue that ideologies and hegemonic practices work to fix meaning (Hall, 1995; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), I will ascribe to Foucault’s notion of discourse to highlight the struggle over the closure of meaning.

I understand discourses to be specific ways of talking about a specific topic that offer boundaries as to what can and cannot be said concerning that topic. Discourses offer ways to understand a phenomenon, ways to give it meaning. In that sense, different discourses offer different and possibly contradictory meanings. Because of that, a struggle over the meaning of a word or an event can arise when attempts are made to stabilize the meaning. For example, if one remembers the debate about the “cause” of homosexuality, one will possibly remember two discourses: one suggesting the biological source (i.e., a gene was responsible for homosexuality) and one suggesting socialization or culture (i.e., one “learns” to be homosexual). Those are two competing discourses that attempt to fix

the “cause” of homosexuality. If one understands discourses as competing ways of giving meaning, one must also understand language in the same way (Weedon, 1997).

It is important to remember that meaning does not pre-exist language but that meaning is constituted or constructed within language. Language cannot be understood as a mirror that reflects the world but must be understood as a set of tools that enables subjects to achieve their goals (Barker & Galasiński, 2001; Rorty, 1980). Much like a person will use a saw, a hammer or a paintbrush, depending on the purpose, a person will use different words for different purposes. For example, if a person sees two men walking down the street holding hands, that person can describe the situation very differently depending on her goal. If her goal is one that is supportive, she can describe the two men as exhibiting their love for each other and their commitment; she will use words that have a positive meaning such as love, partnership, and commitment. If her purpose is to condone this behavior, the person will probably use words like inappropriate, disgusting, and revolting. Therefore, if the same situation can be attributed different meanings, that situation did not have meaning in itself; rather the meaning was constructed with the use of language. As such, meanings or definitions are not fixed; rather, they are open to change and are historically and culturally specific. If meaning is stabilized, it is only temporarily.

In sum, what is important to remember concerning language and meaning is that language gives meaning; meaning does not pre-exist language. It is also important to acknowledge that change comes about in language and that language is reflective of various discourses that offer different versions of events. Therefore, meanings or interpretations are not stable; they are temporary and can be challenged.

Signs as a Source of Meaning

Signs such as sounds or images can also produce meaning. They too can be analyzed to uncover what they mean to people and how they are interpreted. For this reason, texts are not only written or oral but can consist of images, advertisements, and so on. (Berger, 1998). Indeed Barker and Galasiński (2001) state that “[w]hile everyday usage of the word ‘text’ refers to writing . . . text is any phenomenon that generates meaning through signifying practices” (p. 5). The cover of Time magazine can then be considered as a text.

Ferdinand de Saussure (1966) is considered one of the founding intellectuals of the study of signs or semiotics. To de Saussure, language was a system comprised of a chain of signs where each sign was made up of a signifier (sound or an image) and a signified (concept or meaning). The signifier does not have a meaning in itself. Rather the meaning of a signifier is established through a relation with another signifier. He writes: “concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system” (1966, p. 117). Therefore, signs acquire meaning by comparing and contrasting them with other signs. One often understands a sign by expressing what it is not, compared to another sign.

Earlier, I have argued that meaning does not pre-exist language. The same understanding applies here to signs. A signifier does not have one “true” signified. Berger (1998) explains that the relationship between a signifier and a signified is “*arbitrary, unmotivated, unnatural*” (italics in original, p. 8). Therefore, people learn the codes necessary to interpret signifiers. For example teenagers learning how to drive learn that red means stop. Individuals learn the rules or the codes necessary to properly interpret a signifier through their family, school, church, the military, the media, and so on.

Much like the meaning of words is open to change, the meaning of signs is also open to change. Jacques Derrida (1973, 1976) elaborated on the relationship between the signifier and the signified with the concept of “*différance*.” He believed that signifiers found their meaning in their relationship with each other, in their difference but did not believe that the signified should be fixed once and for all. He suggested that the meaning of signifiers was constantly “deferred,” that is was open to change and to redefinition. According to him, the meaning of signs was culturally and historically specific.

Signs are important because they are used to communicate. One does not need words to communicate: frowned eyebrows can communicate anger, red roses can communicate love, pride paraphernalia can communicate homosexuality, and so on. Berger (1998) explains that “people are ‘speaking’ all the time, even when they aren’t saying anything verbally. Hairstyles, eyeglasses, clothes, facial expressions, postures, gestures, and many other things communicate or ‘speak’ (that is, signify continually) to those who are sensitive to such things and who are mindful of signs and signifiers” (pp. 12-13). Therefore, even without words attached to it, an image can speak but its interpretations can be numerous. Different people can interpret the meaning of a certain hairstyle, for example, very differently. Therefore, the meaning of signs or the link between the signifier and the signified should not be understood as stable.

In sum then, a sign is the combination of a signifier and of a signified. Concerning the various signs, it is important to remember that their meaning is open to change and to redefinition. Consequently, a sign can be understood or interpreted in more than one way.

Subjectivity

Weedon (1997) defines subjectivity as “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her

relation to the world” (p. 32). That people interpret the world they live in and learn to give it meaning by ascribing to particular discourses requires an understanding of subjectivity that is different from that of the Western liberal discourse of the self-determined individual. That is, individuals are not free to be whatever they want to be. Their choices are dependent on the discourses that are available at a certain time, in a certain space. If, as I have argued previously, language is used to construct the world and not to reflect it, then subjectivity is also constructed. If discourses offer ways to understand the world, they also offer ways to understand ourselves: “to speak is to assume a subject position within discourse and to become *subjected* to the power and regulation of the discourse” (emphasis in original, Weedon, 1997, p. 116). In this sense, subjectivity is not an “essence” at the heart of the individual which is fixed, unique and coherent. Rather, I understand subjectivity to be slippery, precarious, contradictory and in process (Weedon, 1997). As such, a person can have shifting or contradictory identities, depending on the situation, the time and the space (Barker & Galasiński, 2001). Consider a catholic gay priest. To identify as a catholic priest and also as a gay man would be to have two conflicting identities. Consider a woman who identified herself as a straight woman when she was 25 years old but later on identified herself as a lesbian. The changing of identity or the shifting of identity is possible when one accepts that subjectivity and identity are constructed through discourses and can be reconstituted with the emergence of new discourses or with the adoption of new subject positions. Weedon (1997) explains that:

A poststructuralist position on subjectivity and consciousness relativizes the individual’s sense of herself by making it an effect of discourse which

is open to continuous redefinition and which is constantly slipping. (p. 102)

While poststructuralism rejects the unique, fixed and coherent self of the humanist discourse, poststructuralists still acknowledge that people have a role to play in defining their subjectivity; they have the capacity to act. What makes subjectivity fluid, open to change and fragmented is the individual's agency. Weedon (1997) states that:

Although the subject in poststructuralism is socially constructed in discursive practices, she none the less exists as a thinking, feeling subject and social agent, capable of resistance and innovations produced out of the clash between contradictory subject positions and practices. She is also a subject able to reflect upon the discursive relations which constitute her and the society in which she lives, and able to choose from the options available. (p. 121)

Not to be confused with an inner self that is self-determined or with a notion of control (Butler, 1997), agency is about making choices. Individuals choose how they wish to act not because of their "true" nature, but by ascribing to a discourse. It is important to acknowledge that this choice is limited by the discourses in circulation at a specific time, in a specific culture. Barker and Galasiński (2001) explain:

Agency is the socially constructed capacity to act, nobody is free in the sense of undetermined (in which event one could not 'be' at all). Nevertheless, agency is a culturally intelligible way of understanding ourselves and we clearly have the existential experience of facing and making choices. We do act even though those choices and acts are determined by biological and cultural forces, particularly language. (p. 46)

If people's subjectivity is an effect of language and discourses, how can one understand the meaning of someone's experience? Can one trust someone's account of her experience? Experience must be understood as having no inherent meaning in itself. People give meaning to their experience, again, through their affiliation with one or more discourses. This does not mean that someone's experience must be rejected as invalid but it points towards the importance of recognizing that someone's experience depends on how she interprets her world. As such Weedon, (1997) states that:

As we acquire language, we learn to give voice—meaning—to our experience and to understand it according to particular ways of thinking, particular discourses, which pre-date our entry into language. These ways of thinking constitute our consciousness, and the positions with which we identify structure our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity. (p. 32)

Such an understanding of subjectivity and experience clarifies why different people who experience the same event will give it different meaning. Such an understanding also clarifies why women might be accomplices in their own oppression. The discourses they adhere to or the subject positions they choose to speak from can make women collaborators in their oppression and promote the status quo. Such is the case when a woman recruits components of a dominant discourse to understand her experience or to shape her actions. When a woman athlete adheres to traditional notions of femininity and promotes a sexualized image, there may be paradoxical consequences: her look might clench media coverage and sponsorships but at the same time she might be recognized or admired for her good looks rather than her athletic skills.

While people have options to choose from, these choices are limited. Some choices may be restricted to a certain class or a certain gender. Still, agency allows for

change and action. With new language and discourses that offer new subject positions, the possibility of re-articulating ourselves is endless (Barker & Galasiński, 2001). The plasticity of language and the reformulation of discourses are not only profitable for individual subjectivity but also for social change. It is important to remember that there is always room for resistance and change (Weedon, 1997).

In sum then, I realize that subjectivities are constructed. They are constituted within discourses and are open to change. They are fluid, contradictory and shifting and the possibility to re-invent ourselves is endless. Consequently, one must understand experience to be the result of interpretation. Experience does not have a meaning in itself; rather people give meaning to their lives, and their experience by taking up a subject position in a discourse. While poststructuralism rejects the unified self-determined subject of the Western discourse, it recognizes the potential of people to act, think, resist and effect change through the exercise of agency.

Discourse, Power and Resistance

As I have argued in the previous two sections, people get their ideas about their world and construct their subjectivity or their identity by taking up subject positions in various discourses. The concept of discourse was developed by Michel Foucault to understand the specific ways knowledge is organized. Discourses offer ways of thinking and ways of giving meaning. In that sense, bodies, experience and subjectivity are constituted within discourses; they do not have meaning in themselves outside of discourse (Weedon, 1997).

There are multiple discourses: some support dominant beliefs or values while others offer modes of resistance and challenge. While discourses offer ways of giving meaning and construct subjectivities, they must also be understood as producing power

and structuring power relations. In Foucault's (1981) words, "[d]iscourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (p. 101). As such, some discourses can offer the person recruiting it more power than if they had chosen a subject position in a different discourse. The dominant discourses usually benefit from an institutional base such as law, medicine or education and have more social influence than discourses that do not benefit from such support. The dominant discourses also offer preferred subject positions which also benefit from more power. Consider the institution of marriage for instance. The dominant discourse promotes the union between men and women and is supported by law and Christian faith. The preferred subject positions are that of the heterosexual man and heterosexual woman. Nevertheless there is always a discursive space to challenge dominant discourses and create new subject positions. The dominant discourse suggesting the exclusivity of marriage to heterosexual couples has allowed the birth of a reverse discourse seeking that homosexual couples have the same right. Reverse discourses such as this one challenge the meaning of marriage and the universality of the dominant discourse. According to Foucault (1981) the reverse discourse allows the subject to speak in her behalf. He explains:

There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and 'psychic hermaphroditism' made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'; but also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturalness' be acknowledged, often in the

same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified. (p. 101)

The reverse discourse offers a challenge to the dominant discourse by suggesting new meanings and new subject positions. The power relation that structures discourse does not only exist in opposite discourse such as the dominant and reverse discourses, rather there can be multiple and competing discourses. These discourses, with their conflicting views of the world, work to construct varying power relations. Foucault did not believe power was a construct only the state or large institutions possessed, rather he suggested that power relations were everywhere. For him, power underlined relationships between different subjects in a discourse and also between subjects across discourses. This link between subjects, discourses and power guided Foucault to define power as a relation; a relation between control, compliance and lack of control not only between subjects but also between discourses (Weedon, 1997). In his own terms, Foucault (1981) defined power as:

The multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (p. 92)

The power that is present in various degrees in discourses and in subject positions, works to classify them in a hierarchical manner. This hierarchical positioning of discourses and of subject positions affects the exercise of agency. Some discourses and some subject positions are more readily available. With an institutional support, some discourses benefit from an increased degree of circulation (through the media for example) but still, as new discourses are being circulated, new subject positions become available and so does the possibility to remodel subjectivities.

While multiple discourses may be in circulation, dominant discourses are more frequently recruited because people come to think they are the authors of the thoughts promoted by the discourse. Therefore, more people might opt for the dominant discourse to construct meaning based on a false sense of recognition explains Weedon (1997). For example, one will rarely hear someone say: "According to the subject position I have chosen in the discourse of femininity, I adhere to the notions that women wear make-up and enjoy it, like to be sexually pleasing to men, and ultimately want to marry them." What we hear instead is someone who says: "I enjoy wearing make-up, I like to be sexually pleasing to men and I want to get married some day." Indeed, people come to think they are the authors of discourses rather than their effect. Weedon (1997) concurs:

Liberal humanism, which is still the dominant discourse in Western societies, assumes the unitary nature of the subject and conscious subjectivity. It insists on establishing the appearance of unity from moments of subjectivity which are often contradictory. To be inconsistent in our society is to be unstable. Yet the appearance of the unitary subject, based as it is on primary structures of misrecognition of the self as

authorial source of meaning, is precarious, easily disrupted and open to change. (p. 109)

It is when people do not fully identify with a particular discourse that a space is created for resistance. If the dominant discourse does not satisfy her, she might reject the subject position it offers and search for another subject position in another discourse or adopt a strategy of accommodation until a better one becomes available. As such, people do not only accept or reject a subject position or a discourse, they might also accommodate to it. They might accommodate because of the lack of a better position or because, for the time being, this position allows them to reach their goals. In this sense, much like someone uses language to achieve certain goals, one can also use discourses and subject positions to achieve her goals or purposes. For example, women athletes can adhere to “traditional” beliefs or values concerning femininity, they can accommodate to them or they can challenge them. Adhering to those beliefs may get them a lot of media coverage and attention while rejecting them may mean considerably less coverage or none at all. So, if an athlete’s goal is to get a lot of media coverage, she might choose to accept those norms or at least accommodate to them for the time being. Subject positions must be understood in terms of power but also in terms of the benefits that can be gained, such as media coverage and recognition. Therefore, as an individual, you make choices that enable you to live your life as best you can. It might be about choosing a discourse that best meets your needs for a specific situation, to realize that a subject position has “pros” and “cons” but is best suited to achieve your goal at that time.

To summarize then, I understand that discourses are the site of subjective construction. They offer ways to give meaning as well as subject positions from which to speak from. Subject positions and discourses are numerous and both vary in terms of

power, accessibility and pleasures. While there are dominant discourses, one must remember that there is always room for resistance and challenge. Discourses are culturally and historically specific, they can be rearticulated endlessly but they can also be temporarily stabilized.

Conclusion

I have chosen feminist poststructuralism as my theoretical framework because I believe it can best address feminist concerns and feminist needs. It can do so on the merit that it recognizes the importance of understanding: (a) language not as a reflection of the world but as a tool used to construct the world; (b) subjective experience by recognizing how, when and where one acquires that experience (i.e., taking into account history and social change); (c) the multiplicity of discourses, subject positions and subjectivities; (d) how and where one can offer resistance; and (e) the power embedded in discourses and subject positions. Interpreting the texts in my research from a feminist poststructural stance not only leads me to an understanding of how meaning, experience and subjectivity are constructed but also to how agency is exercised.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

When I started sketching out a plan for my thesis, I intended to interview Waneek Horn-Miller, the athlete who posed naked on the cover of Time magazine, as well as her water polo teammates. Not only was this exciting because I would be speaking to National athletes but I would also hear their thoughts and opinions about the cover picture first hand. My thesis proposal had been accepted by my committee, my ethics proposal had also been accepted by the Ethics Committee (see appendix A) so I was ready to go! I had some preliminary contacts made but my plan was to make all the appropriate contacts in October 2001, proceed to the interviewing in November and transcribe as I go, but mostly during December. My plan was airtight, I would be ready to analyze by January 2002 and start writing soon after. What I had failed to acknowledge at that point is that plans are rarely as solid as they look and that a plan B is sometimes a necessity. Indeed, my plan A did not unfold as I had hoped.

My initial contact with Waneek was fairly quick. I spoke to her early in October where she reiterated her agreement to participate in my study. I was ecstatic! I soon realized that this feeling would be very short lived! During this telephone conversation, she mentioned that she was going to be out of the country for a few weeks but that I should send her an email to schedule the interview (it would be easier to reach her that way, she explained). Early November was the unofficial and approximate time to meet. I remember thinking to myself that getting in touch with people was not that difficult. Little did I know! The next two and a half months were filled with sparkles of hope mostly covered up by clouds of disappointment and discouragement.

Soon after I spoke with Waneek, I heard through the grapevine that the women's water polo team could soon be facing a crisis, which the press confirmed soon after. Upon

the team's return from the Sydney Olympics several players had expressed their discontent with the coaching staff to Water Polo Canada, pressuring the association not to renew their contracts. Nevertheless, the coaches' contracts were renewed which prompted eight players to take a stance: they quit the team and as a result lost their level A carding and the privileges that went along with this status. Those actions apparently prompted Water Polo Canada to form an Ethics Committee whose role was to look into the players' allegations and to investigate the coaches' behavior. This meant that each player from the women's national team had to appear in front of this committee and had to be available for numerous interviews and meetings.

This made getting in contact with the rest of the team as well as with Waneek very difficult. To get in touch with other players, I wrote and spoke with Heather Kaulbach, C.E.O. of Water Polo Canada. I introduced myself and explained the objectives of my research. She thought it was an interesting research project but could not give me the players' phone numbers or email addresses but would gladly forward an email message to them. She warned me that, because of the investigation, the time I chose to interview the players was less than ideal and that getting in touch with players and getting an agreement from them would be a difficult venture. Nevertheless, I sent her an email message explaining my research and my research objectives to send to the team. She replied confirming she had indeed forwarded my message. From this attempt, I received no replies from the players so I identified other people I could reach to ask for their help.

I got in touch with David Hart, assistant coach to the national team and also coach of the Ottawa Titans water polo club as well as Joe Sabo, manager of the national team. They both explained that because of the pending investigation and withdrawal of players from the team, this would be a hard time for me to reach the players and that they could

not help me get in touch with the players. I also got the same response from other people who were very nice and wished me the best but could not intervene under the circumstances: Josée Grand'Maître, Paul-David Bernard and Marie-Claude Asselin.

Not only was it impossible to reach other players on the team, but it was now impossible to reach Waneek. I sent her emails (as per her request), I phoned and left messages on her voice mail as well as with family members. It was the middle of November and I did not even know if the interview with Waneek was still a possibility. Then out of the blue, her boyfriend called to let me know that things were crazy with Waneek because of the situation with the team and that she had been out of town on speaking engagements but that she would call as soon as she was back, in approximately one week, to set up a meeting. I finally spoke with Waneek again at the end of November at which point we scheduled an interview time. I had Waneek secured but the rest of the team was impossible to reach. At that point, I decided that it was time to re-orient my thesis before I dropped everything and changed paths (an option I seriously considered at various points during my thesis process). After a few discussions, I decided that the materials for my research would consist of the interview with Waneek, the Time cover and some related newspaper articles.

My approach

Broadly speaking, my methodological approach follows the general goals of phenomenology as my research does not attempt to uncover hidden truths or universal meaning but rather aims to understand how people construct meaning. Phenomenological research is preoccupied by effectively communicating people's ways of seeing and understanding events and experience. Accordingly, McPhail (1995) states that "phenomenology and interpretive research call researchers to study human life in ways

that will create understandings about the processes individuals engage in as they construct meanings” (p. 163). My preoccupation with experience and meaning stemmed from a feminist poststructural approach (Weedon, 1997) rather than a feminist standpoint approach (DeVault, 1990). Indeed, poststructuralism steers clear of the standpoint approach that values an individualistic perspective searching for the “true” meaning of women’s experience because such an understanding would rely on a notion of language as transparent.

As outlined in the previous chapter, my understandings of language, meaning and experience are grounded in poststructural thoughts where language constructs rather than reflects the world; where meaning does not pre-exist language and; where experiences do not have meaning in themselves; they are given meaning through language. Commenting on the relationship between language and experience, Weedon (1997) explains that:

Experience has no inherent essential meaning. It may be given meaning in language through a range of discursive systems of meaning which are often contradictory and constitute conflicting versions of social reality, which in turn serve conflicting interests. (p. 33)

Such an understanding of the relationship between language and experience then called for material collection and analysis tools that would be sensitive to such matters, that would enable me to understand how Horn-Miller constructed her world and where she obtained the information to interpret her experiences.

The Conversation

I chose to conduct a semi-structured, informal conversation with Waneek Horn-Miller (see Appendix B). I chose this method because according to Savoie-Zajc (1997) the interview allows the researcher to understand how the participant constructs her

world. Kvale (1996), for instance, uses the metaphor of the traveler who meets different people and then comes back to share what she has learned during her voyage to understand the process of the interview. As such, knowledge is considered as a construction, as the product of the conversation between the traveler and her informant. Then, instead of being understood as a tool to liberate hidden truths, the conversation is used to capture the construction of a participant's world. Such an understanding of the conversation proved a good fit with my research goals. It allowed me to understand the way Horn-Miller described her experience, her reasons for posing naked. I did not perceive the interview to be the key to unlocking the true meaning of Horn-Miller's experience but rather the path that lead me to understand how her experience was constituted through discourse. On that note, Graham (1984) explains that "the use of semi-structured interviews has become the principal means by which feminists have sought to achieve the active involvement of their respondents in the construction of data about their lives" (p. 112).

I met with Horn-Miller on December 9th, 2001, in Ottawa. We had breakfast at Biggs at the corner of King Edward and Rideau, and had our conversation in the restaurant. I got to the restaurant a bit earlier to setup and waited for her to arrive. Shortly after, Waneek arrived with her boyfriend and we all chatted a little bit before we moved on to business. I reiterated the purpose of my research and the purpose of our meeting. I went over the consent form (see Appendix C) with her, highlighting several concerns. For instance, I made sure she realized the interview would not be anonymous, that she could refuse to answer or end the conversation at any time, that I would send her the transcribed version of the conversation, that she could make changes to the transcript before I used it for my research, and that I would only use the content of this conversation for research

purposes. She did not have any questions or concerns so we both signed two copies of the consent form, one for her and one for me. A few minutes later, I turned the tape recorder on and we started constructing!

I wondered if her boyfriend's presence would change the dynamic of the interview but he did not stay very long and Waneek did not seem to be holding anything back when she answered my questions. Her answers were long and very detailed, rarely requiring that I probe her for more information. She seemed very comfortable and at ease when talking. She patiently answered all my questions for almost 90 minutes and added some extra comments "off the record" after the interview. These comments were not recorded and were not used for analysis.

We chatted for a few minutes and then we parted. The interview left me feeling empowered. Waneek was a very eloquent speaker as well as a very confident and proud person. I realized that I enjoyed the interview and felt "empowered" mostly because Waneek was proud of herself as a person but also proud of her cultural heritage. She told her story with emotion and involvement. She made decisions and assumed them. She took responsibility for her actions and she dealt as best she could with criticism. I considered it a privilege to have met such a person.

The next few days were devoted to the transcription. I transcribed the interview integrally, that is, with all the pauses and the slang words. I sent this transcript to Waneek but received no answer from her for a month. I could not get a hold of her either by phone or by email. Thinking that if she had had reservations about parts of the transcript, she would have phoned or written to me, I decided that modifications would not be made to the transcript. As the spoken and written language vary, excerpts included in the two articles presented here were "polished" to conform to the written format.

Print Media Articles

The inclusion of media articles was a decision I made to further understand how the Horn-Miller picture and her decision to pose naked had been framed by the media and more specifically to highlight and understand the dominant discourses the media were utilizing to understand Horn-Miller's decision. To locate articles that were published concerning Horn-Miller's Time cover, I searched in two databases: Repère and Canadian NewsDisc. I chose Repère to focus on the articles that would have been written in French and Canadian NewsDisc for the English articles published across Canada. I searched using only Waneek Horn-Miller as a key word since I specifically wanted articles that talked about her and did not want to further limit the search. I preferred to have a large sample of articles than one that was too narrow. Together, both data bases found approximately 100 articles which I read for content. I eliminated articles that repeated themselves (i.e., same article but in a different newspaper), and articles that represented a summary of a water polo match. I decided to keep not only the articles that dealt specifically with Horn-Miller posing naked but also a few articles discussing other achievements, her community involvement, and her role in the OKA crisis. I believed these articles would allow me to have an idea of the larger context. I gathered a total of 10 articles that I used for analytical purposes, including the article accompanying the photo in Time magazine.

The Analysis

Sykes' (1998) doctoral thesis as well as Kvale's (1996) book InterViews offered crucial insights and direction to sketch out my analysis. An initial consideration when a research is cast from phenomenological principles is to respect how people speak of their experiences and to respect the themes that emerge from a conversation instead of having

pre-set categories for coding purposes (McPhail, 1995). Therefore, I read the conversation transcript several times to become familiar with the content and to identify the emerging themes.

To structure my analysis, I followed the steps provided by Kvale (1996). First, I organized my materials: the transcript of the conversation was inputted into QSR Nudist Vivo and the media articles were photocopied to constitute a set of texts. Second, I worked on clarifying the information I was working with. This meant eliminating the materials I would not need. For this, I used a condensation analysis where the conversation text was condensed into themes. After several readings of the transcript, I identified themes such as “culture” and “gender” which were identified as “nodes” into Nvivo, nodes within which conversation excerpts were coded. For the articles I had on paper, I used a color-coding method where I highlighted in blue, for example, the text that was related to culture, and green, what was related to gender.

While the purpose of condensation is to identify passages that answer your research questions and code them into themes, the purpose of interpretation requires the researcher to go one step further: to discuss meaning that is not apparent in the text, to interpret the data according to a specific framework. Thus, it is in this phase that:

[The] interpreter goes beyond what is directly said to work out structures and relations of meaning not immediately apparent in a text. This requires a certain distance from what is said, which is achieved by a methodological or theoretical stance, recontextualizing what is said in a specific conceptual context. (Kvale, 1996, p. 201)

The stage of interpretation was much informed by feminist poststructuralism. This means that I paid attention to what the themes highlighted in terms of discourses, subject

positions, power, and pleasure. Structuring my analysis in terms of condensation and interpretation allowed, in the first instance, to identify the text's intended meaning and, in a second instance, to understand the meaning the texts had for us today. To explain it in Kvale's (1996) words, condensation allowed me to "understand" the texts (this concerns questions the text insists upon) while interpretation allowed me to "overstand" the texts (this concerns questions the text does not pose). The following section will thus highlight the analytical tools used to understand and overstand the social production of meaning.

Semiotic and Qualitative Analysis

Ultimately, like a good poststructuralist researcher, I wanted my analysis to lead me to an understanding of the different discourses that were at play with the Horn-Miller picture, the subject positions these discourses offered, the power or powerlessness embedded in those positions as well as the subject positions Horn-Miller took up in various discourses. In order to get to that stage in my analysis, I required semiotic and qualitative analysis to locate and understand meaning production.

Semiotic analysis, plainly stated, is broadly interested in signs but more specifically, in what signs communicate (Berger, 1998). The origins of semiology can be traced to Ferdinand de Saussure (1966) who explained the possibility of semiology to understand meaning production by viewing the sign in a dual manner: the signifier (i.e., the image or the sound) and the signified (i.e., the concept). He states:

I propose to retain the word sign [*signe*] to designate the whole and to replace concept and sound-image respectively by signified [*signifié*] and signifier [*signifiant*]; the last two terms have the advantage of indicating the opposition that separates them from each other and from the whole of which they are parts. (p. 67)

The relationship between the signifier and the signified is one that is considered “*arbitrary, unmotivated, unnatural*” (emphasis in original, Berger, 1998, p. 8). In this sense, it is not the content of the signified that grants meaning but rather the oppositional relationship between different signifiers. To that effect de Saussure (1966) states that: “concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with other terms of the system” (p. 117). Meaning, then, is established arbitrarily by comparing concepts and establishing what they are not.

Moreover, just like the meaning of language, the connection between the signifier and the signified is not fixed once and for all; it is open to change, it is deferred (Derrida, 1973; 1976). A sign can then change its signification: it may have one meaning today and another in a few years. Just like language, people learn the rules or the codes that govern signs and their meaning. People do not need to verbally speak to communicate ideas or thoughts. If one wears a wedding band, other people might assume that this person is married and therefore, unavailable. Berger (1998) states that: “hairstyles, eyeglasses, clothes, facial expressions, posture, gestures, and many other things communicate or ‘speak’ (that is, signify continually) to those who are sensitive to such things and who are mindful of signs and signifiers” (p. 13). To be sensitive and mindful of signs is what semiotic teaches. Through semiotics, people learn the rules and codes that govern the interpretation or the understanding of various signs.

To understand what a sign means, it is important to grasp that signs have denotation as well as connotations. Berger (1998) explains that denotation concerns “the literal or explicit meaning of words or other phenomena” (p. 14), while connotation concerns “the cultural meanings that become attached to words (and other forms of communication)” (p. 13). Consider a red rose, for instance. The red rose denotes a flower

but its connotation can be that of passion and love. Grasping signs' connotations leads to a broader understanding of the discourses used and the subject positions offered.

To discover or uncover connotations in texts, Berger (1998) provides a list of signs to look for and a checklist for the neophyte semiotician. Some of his suggestions require paying attention to metaphors and metonymy. With the metaphor, meaning is suggested with an analogy between two terms. Often, metaphors appear in the form of a simile where "is" and "like" are used to highlight the comparison. Consider the following passage as an example of the use of simile and their connotations:

"Nevertheless, do you recall the Robert Burns poem?"

Yod recited it with a perfect imitation of her inflection.

[O, my luve is like a red, red rose

that's newly sprung in June.

O, my luve is like the melodie

That's sweetly play'd in tune.]

"Now, what did he mean?"

"He meant that the woman was beautiful, like this flower, and that she smelled of perfume, perhaps."

"How do you know the rose is beautiful?"

"My base tells me it's so regarded by humans: that flowers are beautiful, although it seems, too, that humans often disagree about who or what is beautiful and that every era has different opinions. Beauty isn't a concept I find useful. I don't understand what it means, except as elegance in design."

"There's more implied in the poem. Do you know how long roses last?"

“No.” Yode cocked its head and waited.

“Flowers are mostly creatures of a moment. That rose is already beginning to wilt. If you put its stem in water, it will last a couple of days.”

“Therefore a flower comparison implies short duration.”

“Correct.”

(Piercy, 1991, p. 91)

The passage highlights how metaphors and similes are used to evoke meaning and how the association between a sign and a certain meaning is constructed, fragile and open to change. Metonymy similarly suggests an association between one thing and another like my earlier example where red can be associated with passion. According to Monaco (1977):

A metonymy is a figure of speech in which an associated detail or notion is used to invoke an idea or represent an object. Etymologically, the word means “substitute meaning” (from the Greek *meta*, involving transfer, and *onoma*, name). Thus, in literature we can speak of the king (and the idea of kingship) as the “crown.” (p. 135)

Therefore, in my analysis, I was attentive to these techniques as well as other ones described in Berger’s (1998) book. For example, he provides a list of camera shots (signifiers) and their meaning (signified) (p. 30):

Signifier (Shot)	Definition	Signified (meaning)
Close-up	Face only	Intimacy
Medium shot	Most of body	Personal relationship

Full shot	Full body of person	Social relationship
Pan down	Camera looks down	Power, authority
Pan up	Camera looks up	Smallness, weakness

Later on, he suggests common signs to look for in a visual text as well as in spoken or written texts (pp. 150-151). Berger's (1998) lists include but are not restricted to the following:

Visual signs

Hair color	Hairstyle	Eye color
Facial structure	Body type	Age
Gender	Race	Facial expression
Body language	Makeup	Clothes
Style of eyeglasses	Earrings and other body adornments	Setting
Relationship implied	Spatiality	Occupations
Activities going on	Background	Lighting
Sound effects, music	Typefaces in text	Design
Color		

Verbal signs

Words used	Questions asked	Metaphors and similes
Associations (metonymy)	Negations made	Affirmations offered
Arguments and appeals	Slogans	Headlines

made		
Paradoxes generated	Tone	Style

The lists and examples provided in Berger's (1998) book, Media Analysis Techniques, were invaluable to identify and analyze the important signs of the Time cover. This led me to understand these signs' role and function in promoting or contesting dominant discourses. Therefore, as a starting point to analyze the picture, I combined the lists provided by Berger (1998) and prepared a sheet where in one column, I listed all the signs he provided (grouping similar signs under a general theme), and where in a second column, I wrote down what was present in the Time cover (see Appendix D). This provided me with an initial list of all the signs included in the cover picture, an "understanding" of the picture. Looking at these signs as a poststructuralist, I worked on "overstanding" them, that is, I made connections between some signs, I identified their connotations, and I highlighted paradoxes and contradictions. This led me to understand the various discourses that were at play in the image.

While this exercise might seem contrary to a poststructural understanding of the picture many Time magazine readers will recruit a dominant discourse to interpret and understand the picture. Consequently, by positioning themselves within a dominant discourse those readers will understand the relationship between the signifier and the signified to be quite stable. Nevertheless, I recognize that this relationship is unstable, and that the link between the signifier and the signified can be destabilized when one recruits an alternative discourse.

Aside from semiotics, I also used techniques taken from discourse analysis. As a method, discourse analysis offers different tools to identify themes, contradictions, actors

involved, etc., which can lead to the identification of discourses and subject positions. These tools and techniques highlight the ways in which people talk about a subject, what is permissible to say and what is not. Therefore, in addition to the signs identified previously, I read the texts with a concern for the following techniques used in written and oral speech and described by Barker and Galasiński (2001):

- passivization and nominalization, that is, a sentence structure that makes it unclear who does things, who is responsible;
- modality, that is, someone's attitude towards what she is saying (e.g., when people discuss whether they *should*, *ought* or *must* do something);
- cohesion, that is, the link or the connections between statements made with the use of reference words such as "we" or conjunctions such as "but," "and," "because"; and
- theme and rheme, that is, the message in a text (theme) and what is said concerning it (rheme).

These are only a few of the techniques used in discourse analysis but they were valuable to me in order to identify the themes in the texts, what was being said about the theme, how connections between statements were made, and who was held accountable or responsible for actions, statements or opinions. In the end, these techniques were useful to identify the discourses, the connections or contradictions in or among discourses, the subject positions offered and taken, as well as the paradoxes amongst different subject positions. The next two chapters are the result of this analysis.

Chapter IV uses a combination of a semiotic analysis as well as a qualitative analysis to, on the one hand, analyze the Time cover and, on the other hand, the conversation with Horn-Miller. Semiotics is used to understand what signs have or have not been used in the picture and how they construct meaning. Horn-Miller's conversation

excerpts intervene to highlight the role that she played in the construction of meaning concerning her picture.

Chapter V uses a variety of tools and techniques borrowed from discourse analysis to understand how the media constructed Horn-Miller's identity; what subjectivities they granted her and offered to their readers. Excerpts from Horn-Miller's conversation are used to support or contrast the subjectivities highlighted in the media. The article highlights the strategic constructions of identity by the media and the strategic identity performances by Horn-Miller.

PART TWO:
RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHAPTER IV

FORCING REINTERPRETATION: WANEK HORN-MILLER POSES NAKED

FOR THE COVER OF TIME MAGAZINE

**Forcing Reinterpretation: Waneek Horn-Miller Poses Naked
for the Cover of Time Magazine**

Karine Henrie

Geneviève Rail

University of Ottawa

Article submitted on June 2003 for publication in

The Journal of Sport and Social Issues

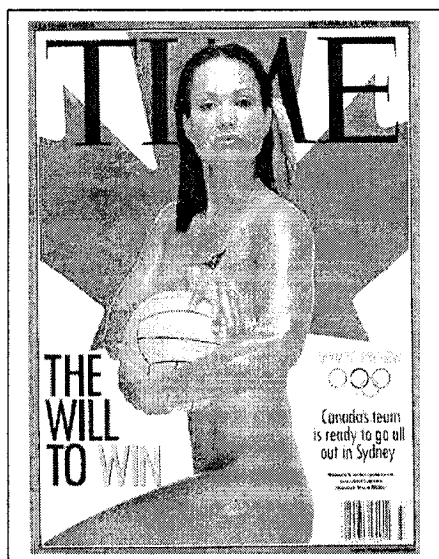
ABSTRACT

In 2000, shortly prior to the Sydney Olympics, Native Waneek Horn-Miller, assistant captain of the Canadian women's water polo team, was featured naked on the Canadian edition of Time magazine. Did the picture promote Horn-Miller's sexuality, sensuality and femininity more than her athletic skills and abilities? Does the cover challenge binary notions of gender and ethnicity and, common readings of the naked body of women? Are readings of Horn-Miller as an exotic Other available to viewers? A semiotic analysis of the Time cover as well as a qualitative analysis of an interview conducted with Horn-Miller reveal that her nudity was not gratuitous. Indeed, our poststructural analysis suggests that, rather than supporting and promoting dominant discourses of femininity, gender and race, the picture of naked Horn-Miller offers a challenge to those discourses and encourages the readers to think of the athlete's "performance" in terms of new language and new vocabulary.

RÉSUMÉ

À l'aube des Jeux olympiques de 2000 à Sydney, Waneek Horn-Miller faisait la une de l'édition canadienne du magazine Time. Sauf un ballon et une plume à la tête, symbole de son identité autochtone, l'assistante-capitaine de l'équipe canadienne de water-polo était nue. Cette photo du magazine encourage-t-elle une lecture évoquant la sexualité, la sensualité ou la féminité de Horn-Miller? Les lectrices peuvent-elles au contraire y voir un corps sportif puissant et habile? Cette page couverture complique-t-elle les notions binaires de genre et d'ethnicité (blanc/autre)? L'image encourage-t-elle une lecture qui ferait de Horn-Miller un objet ethnique et « exotique? » L'analyse sémiotique de la page couverture du Time ainsi que l'analyse qualitative d'une entrevue avec Horn-Miller révèlent que sa nudité n'est pas gratuite. Notre lecture post-structurale suggère plutôt que cette image de Horn-Miller nue encourage l'élaboration d'un vocabulaire et d'un langage nouveaux pour traiter du corps nu, notamment celui de la femme athlète. Nous présentons donc une lecture qui remet en question et perturbe plusieurs discours dominants dont ceux de la féminité, de la sexualité, du genre et de l'ethnicité.

Forcing Reinterpretation: Waneek Horn-Miller Poses Naked for the Cover of Time Magazine



In 2000, Waneek Horn-Miller made water polo history. While water polo made its inaugural appearance as an official Olympic sport in Sydney, Horn-Miller was the co-captain of the first Canadian Olympic team. She was the only Native athlete on the entire Canadian Olympic team. Whether it was for these reasons or others—like her good looks—she was asked to pose for the cover of the usual Olympic preview

issue of Time magazine's Canadian edition. Time had a specific request however. They wanted her on the cover, but they wanted her naked. After discussing it with family and friends, she agreed. Her picture was on the cover of the September 2000 issue.

Waneek Horn-Miller was seen as one more Canadian woman athlete who had exposed her body in the media: the national cross-country team as well as various provincial and local teams had posed naked in an effort to raise funds for their sport. Taken together, these pictures caused much concern in the sporting world (see Lawrence, 2000; Starkman, 1999). Were the pictures negative for women athletes' image? Did the pictures promote the athletes' sexuality, sensuality and stereotypical femininity more than their athletic skills and abilities?

Studies in sport tend to conclude that women athletes receive little positive media coverage (e.g., Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Fasting, 1999; Hilliard, 1994; Halbert &

Latimer, 1994; Kane & Parks, 1992; Leath & Lumpkin, 1992; Mason, 2000; Pirinen, 1997; Rail & Lefebvre, 2002; Yeates, 1992). Researchers report that women athletes are infantilized, trivialized and sexualized in both print and electronic media (Creedon, 1994; Fasting, 1999; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). Specifically, women are infantilized when they are referred to as “girls” and are called by their first name only; women are trivialized when their athleticism is undermined and is depicted as not important or not important compared to men’s sport; and women are sexualized when they are constructed as objects of sexual desire or when media focus on their physical appearance rather than their athletic abilities. A recent study on the representation of men and women in Canadian newspapers still reports similar findings. Mason (2000) found ambivalent messages concerning women athletes in that “the power and performance of women is instantly mitigated with notions of weakness or [traditional] femininity” (p. 144). Concerning the pictures, Mason suggested that women athletes were sexualized and that women athletes’ photographs were not as prominent as men athletes’ photographs. Kane and Greendorfer (1994) suggest that while images of women athletes are becoming more frequent, the emphasis is most often placed on their sexuality. They state:

these “feminized” images represent a modernized attempt to reinforce traditional stereotypical images of femininity and female sexuality. . . . These feminized and sexualized portrayals are simply new variations on very old themes: media images as a product or tool of patriarchal oppression of women—and their bodies—through an institutionalized socially constructed system of gender roles and values. (pp. 28-29)

It can be concluded that images of women athletes are now more frequent in the press although not as frequent as that of their male counterpart. There is also some evidence regarding the type of sexualized images that are now circulating although there remains questions as to how these images are read or can be read. For instance, what signifiers lead someone to read an image as sexual or erotic? Our goal with this paper is to analyze the Horn-Miller Time cover. More specifically, we first identify signs that usually encourage a sensual or sexual reading of media images and discuss whether those signs are present in the Horn-Miller picture. Second, we offer a reading of the cover that seeks to challenge binary notions of gender and ethnicity as well as common meanings attached to the naked body of women. Third, we discuss how Horn-Miller's performance of a Native identity can work to suppress the challenges posed by her picture.

Using semiotics, we understood that: (a) a sign is the combination of a signifier (image) and a signified (concept); (b) the connection between the signifier and the signified is "*arbitrary, unmotivated, unnatural*" (Berger, 1998, italics in original, p.8); and (c) the link between the signifier and the signified may be quite stable within a given historical and cultural space, however that link is open to change since it is historically and culturally specific rather than universal.

Our analysis did not solely focus on the Time cover. Karine Henrie had an in-depth conversation with Waneek Horn-Miller. Analysis of the conversation transcript was two-fold. First our aim was to "understand" the conversation using Kvale's (1996) condensation analysis and second to "overstand" it using interpretative analysis. We interpreted the conversation using the theoretical stance of feminist poststructuralism where language is understood to construct rather than reflect the world; where meaning does not pre-exist language; and where experiences do not have meaning in themselves

but are rather given meaning through language. Like Weedon (1997), then, we worked with an understanding that “experience has no inherent essential meaning. It may be given meaning in language through a range of discursive systems of meaning which are often contradictory and constitute conflicting versions of social reality, which in turn serve conflicting interests” (p. 33).

Striking A Pose

The curtain came crashing down . . . A few moments later, it lifted and a woman with a dark ponytail cascading over her shoulders was slithering like a python around a large, red neon hoop, to the accompaniment of eerie harp music. Her pale body was boated in swirling rainbow spotlights: long legs, finely muscled arms and shoulders, full tight breasts, a narrow waist tapering into firm, boyish buttocks. The pulsing lights were making dizzy hallucinogenic patterns across her flesh as she wound in and out around the hoop and slowly splayed her perfect naked limbs in shifting geometric patterns across its disk. Jude watched, transfixed. This performance was probably politically reprehensible, but it was the most erotic thing she’d ever seen. (Alther, 1995, pp. 316-317)

How do people come to read bodily movements, images or pictures as erotic or sensual or sexual? In the above excerpt, Jude is easily cast as a character that has seen “the most erotic thing ever” because Lisa Alther, in her novel Five Minutes in Heaven, used specific words that lead one to imagine a situation suffused with sensuality and eroticism. Since meaning does not pre-exist language, Alther uses language strategically to produce certain meanings and to steer the reader towards a specific understanding of Jude’s experience. The erotic reading is made possible because Alther includes signs that

are now and here usually interpreted as erotic, sensual and sexual: the dark ponytail, the slithering python, the full tight breasts, the boyish buttocks, and so on. Finally, Jude's experience only acquires meaning once Alther positions her as a lesbian spectator: traditional erotic signs are re-contextualized and can be seen as arousing and highly pleasurable. Understood according to the terms of an alternative discourse, the dance is presented as liberating and empowering. The dancer appears to be in charge of her sexuality and to give an erotic and sensual "performance" enjoyed by another woman.

Had Alther constructed her piece by appropriating a dominant discourse, the erotic, sensual and sexual performance could have been read as repulsive and disgusting. The dancer could have been robbed of her subjectivity, and presented as an object performing solely for the benefit of men and the reproduction of unequal power relations. A signifier, then, may be connected to a different signified, and this depends on which discourse one recruits to read the signs presented.

While the connection between signified and signifier may change, within a dominant discourse this connection may appear quite stable. Indeed people who construct images may assume or present the link between signified and signifier as stable. As such, studies have identified signs which, in 20th century Western culture, have come to be read as sexual and sensual. These signs are constructed through techniques such as body positioning, facial expressions, and camera angles. Body positioning works to direct the attention of the viewer to a model's body. It is achieved through particular head cants, crawling positions and body twisting (Davis, 1997; Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990). For example, the model is looking down, her upper body is facing one way while her lower body is facing another or her limbs are thrown in different directions much like Alther's dancer. A crawling position, such as the python imagery, reinforces a link

between women and nature, which suggests “natural freedom . . . due to immersion in nature” (Davis, 1997, p. 27) and unrestrained sexuality. While these techniques direct the viewer’s gaze on the model’s body, they also work to present the body in a curvaceous way, a signifier of sexuality (Davis, 1997).

Looking at the Horn-Miller picture, the reader does not find the aforementioned signifiers. There is no body twisting, crawling or head cant. Horn-Miller’s head is facing straight ahead, she is standing, and her body is facing slightly to the right (a body position that facilitates the concealment of her breasts and crotch). The techniques used to direct the viewer’s gaze toward her body (as opposed to her face) are lacking and so are the signifiers usually embedded with a meaning of sexuality and sensuality. The picture cannot readily be interpreted as sexual. Horn-Miller, herself, states quite matter of factly that: “By no means is this a sexual picture!”

What about facial expressions? Research suggests that two facial expressions are commonly embedded with sexual meaning (Davis, 1997) and reminisce of soft-core pornography (Duncan & Messner, 1998): the come-on look and the autoerotic look. Davis explains that models create the come-on look by “slightly parting their lips, looking at the camera with narrowed eyes, and tilting their heads to the side (and perhaps downward) so that they glance at the camera in a slightly angled way” (p. 29). An autoerotic look is achieved when the model fully throws her head back, slightly opens her mouth and closes or narrows her eyes (Coward, 1985; Davis, 1997; Kuhn, 1985).

In the case of Horn-Miller, nothing in her facial expression can be read as “sexual.” Her head is straight, her eyes are wide open and her mouth is closed. The reader is not faced with an expression that normally suggests sexuality or sensuality but rather with one that intimate determination and seriousness. Horn-Miller herself confirms the

intention: “[The photographer] wanted me to smile once in a while and I said: ‘No! This is a serious picture.’”

In terms of the camera angles, MacNeill (1988) explains that “aerial and upwardly tilting camera angles help create sexual images rather than images of physical activity” (p. 199). Camera techniques also help create sexual images by focusing on the model’s crotch or breasts—erogenous zones associated with sexuality (Davis, 1997). When the reader looks at the Time cover, she is not presented with a shot from above or below but with a direct angle. The focus is not directed towards erogenous zones (breasts and crotch being concealed), rather the direct angle according to MacNeill “accentuates the physical rather than the sexual” (p. 200).

Ultimately, when the media present athletes using various techniques that usually promote a sexual reading, they do so in an attempt to highlight their traditional femininity. The techniques used to foster a sexual reading are also used to foster readings of weakness (Berger, 1998). For example, Duncan and Messner (1998) suggest that the “come-on” look presents the woman athlete as vulnerable and submissive. Male athletes are never portrayed in such a way. Focusing on female body parts such as breasts directs the reader to a reading of sexuality but also steers the reader away from a reading of athletic skills and abilities. Ignoring muscle definition and portraying a woman athlete lying down or with her head canted or with her eyes narrowed or groggy looking (Davis, 1997; MacNeill, 1988) encourages readings of weakness and un-athleticism. Picturing the athlete as a child also promotes such readings (Davis, 1997). A ponytail, a pigtail, a pouting expression and the lack of body hair are signifiers of childhood. Featuring women in traditionally “gender appropriate” sporting activities (i.e., figure skating, synchronized

swimming, etc.) further supports traditional notions of gender (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994) and of sport as a male preserve (Messner, 1988).

While the reader may notice the lack of body hair and the thigh/buttock of Horn-Miller, is it sufficient for a reading of sensuality, traditional femininity, childhood or weakness? Much like Horn-Miller stated in the interview, the reader can see that she is “a healthy, strong, older woman” and that she is “not 15 and 100 pounds, [she’s] 26.” Her body can hardly be read as weak or submissive. As mentioned earlier, her body positioning and facial expression do not allow for such a reading. Her muscular body also does not allow for a reading of weakness. The viewer sees Horn-Miller’s muscular arms and shoulders as well as part of her abdominal muscles, all signifiers of strength and power, as opposed to submission. Horn-Miller seemed, herself, quite conscious of this. She asked, rhetorically: “You know, if you look at this picture, do I, in any shape or form, look submissive or dominated [in] any way?”

Most of the signifiers embedded with meanings of sexuality, sensuality, difference and weakness are absent from the Time picture. The reader is presented with a strong and determined woman who plays water polo. The sport, in itself, is quite significant since water polo is a contact sport renown for its toughness. While the neophyte may associate the sport to women in bathing suits, live spectators usually witness a fast moving ball game involving women with huge shoulders and funny hats. In the end, one of the only signifiers that can be associated with sexuality in the picture is Horn-Miller’s nakedness, an issue we discuss later on. Also, within a dominant discourse, a certain type of beauty seems more readily associated with sexuality. Therefore, because some people might think that Horn-Miller has several attributes that within a dominant White Western discourse are considered beautiful, the link with sexuality might be more easily drawn.

That being said, we would like to insist that we are not critiquing the use of sensuality or eroticism by women athletes but rather the fact that the erotic and the sensual tend to be read uniquely according to the terms of dominant discourses (neo-conservative, liberal feminist, etc.).

Transgressing Gender Codes

A few weeks ago, I was out with a couple of friends. We went dancing to a gay bar. One of my friends was a gay bar virgin. Even though she was a bit uncomfortable with the idea, she still decided to join us. While we were in the bar waiting for the pool table to become available, she said to me: “It’s a bit scary, that girl over there looks like a boy!” The woman to whom my friend was referring had very short hair, she was not wearing make-up and her clothing consisted of a pair of jeans and a T-shirt over which she wore a jeans blouse. She certainly did not look “scary.” Some would probably have said that she looked very ordinary. So I said to my friend: “What do you mean scary?” Again she said, “Well, she really looks like a boy” with a nervous/uncomfortable laughter. At that point, JLO (a.k.a. Jennifer Lopez) blasted out of the speakers, dragging us onto the dance floor, putting an abrupt end to our conversation. Later on though, I realized that what was “scary” for my friend was the fact that this woman was hard to read: she was not neatly packaged to fit into either the “masculine” or the “feminine” category. What was scary to my friend was the fact that the boy-looking “girl” was transgressing the dominant codes of feminine identity.

—Karine Henrie

Looking at the Horn-Miller cover, can the reader conclude that it is transgressing dominant codes of femininity? While the reader may not have difficulty in assigning Horn-Miller a sex/gender, her imposing stature can certainly offer a challenge to traditional notions of femininity. At 26 years old, Horn-Miller stands a firm 5'8" but weighs in at 150 pounds; not your typical model. The photograph also excludes the usual signs of traditional femininity. Horn-Miller is wearing light make-up but there is no added jewelry, special hair arrangement or painted fingernails. When the reader first sees the picture, she notices her muscled arms, shoulders, and abdomen. Horn-Miller looks strong, fierce and intense. Much like Rail and Lefebvre (2002) have argued concerning the body of Olympic rower Silken Laumann, we can postulate that Horn-Miller's body questions traditional notions of femininity and masculinity and that, in that sense, it is menacing. As Holmlund has explained:

[Images] of muscular women . . . are disconcerting, even threatening. They disrupt the equation of men with strength and women with weakness that underpins gender roles and power relations, and that has by now come to seem familiar and comforting (though perhaps in differing ways) to both men and women. . . . The images of the more muscular women inflame male anxiety because they threaten the abolition of visible difference. (1994, pp. 302-304)

Is the Horn-Miller cover a disconcerting or threatening image? Horn-Miller certainly believes it is. She says, quite seriously: "I think most guys are terrified, really!" Perhaps the men of whom she speaks are scared because Horn-Miller breaks with conventionality and portrays a strong woman. A woman who is proud of her body. A

woman who is not ashamed. Horn-Miller confirms this when she says: “I’m proud of this picture. I’m proud of my body... I’m comfortable with myself.”

A woman who is proud of her body and comfortable with herself can be a rare occurrence and it can certainly pose a challenge to femininity and beauty norms. According to Bartky (2002), women “have been persuaded that [their] faces and bodies are defective” (p. 248). Because of this, they submit their bodies to various disciplines: diets, exercise (aerobic exercise to make the body slim and firm), and even surgery (liposuction or breast augmentation). Women submit to these disciplines, explains Bartky, because their bodies are constructed as flawed bodies. Specifically, she suggests that:

A host of discourses and social practices construct the female body as a flawed body that needs to be made over. . . . The media images of perfect female beauty that bombard us daily leave no doubt in the minds of most women that we fail to measure up; we submit to these disciplines against the background of a pervasive sense of bodily deficiency, perhaps even of shame. (p. 248)

There is no doubt that Horn-Miller has submitted her body to bodily disciplines. But rather than disciplining her body to meet the requirements of patriarchal notions of femininity, she has disciplined her body to meet the requirements of water polo. The regime of a water polo athlete includes weight training, running and swimming along with proper nutrition and rest. Horn-Miller subjected herself to these technologies not because her body was deficient or because she wanted to comply with traditional norms of femininity but rather to achieve a high level of performance. Had Horn-Miller wanted to comply with patriarchal norms of femininity, her crooked nose—broken a few times by

opponents in the pool—would have been realigned and her hair might have been dyed a lighter color. Instead, she chose to discipline her body with the technology of high performance sport in order to develop her strength and her endurance, challenging once again notions of traditional femininity. As Balsamo (1996) mentions:

To be both female and strong implicitly violates traditional codes of feminine identity. Thus women who use . . . technology to sculpt their bodies are doubly transgressive; first, because femininity and nature are so closely aligned, any attempt to reconstruct the body is transgressive against the “natural” identity of the female body. Second, when female athletes use technology to achieve physical muscularity—a male body prerogative—they transgress the “natural” order of gender identity. (p. 43)

A possible reading of Horn-Miller’s picture on the Time cover would suggest that with its emphasis on toughness, strength, seriousness and determination, this picture challenges traditional notions of femininity and transgresses gender codes. Can such a subversive reading be erased because Horn-Miller posed naked?

Perhaps her nakedness is troubling because of the difficulty to disassociate nakedness with exploitation, submission and objectification. However, as we have argued earlier, Horn-Miller cannot readily be interpreted as an object. Rather than seeing the picture of an objectified woman, the reader sees a naked woman presenting herself as a woman, as an athlete, and also as a Native. Mostly in European art are women transformed into objects, “nudes” for the spectator. In Native art, women are rather portrayed as equals to men, as active subjects without connotations of submission (Berger, 1973). Indeed, in the interview, Horn-Miller speaks of the transformations that

resulted from colonization: where the naked body had once been embraced, it now needed to be hidden, out of shame. She recalls the following:

Someone said to [my sister]: “How could she do that, she shamed Mohawk women.” And she looks at her and goes: “How is she shaming us, she’s at the Olympics!” She completely defended me. The woman goes: “Ah, but she’s nude.” What is wrong with that? What is wrong with your body? That’s what I say when I speak to communities. Native people, we’re so shy of our body but if you look at our history we were never like that. There are paintings of women topless in the fields. It was just really natural. I think we had a good relationship. Then everything changed. Christianity came in, severe Christianity in residential schools and things like that, and it made you very shy. It was like “Shame,” “Hide your body,” “Don’t do that!” Sex became shameful and everything became shameful.

The Time cover encourages the viewer to think of the naked body in terms of a new language, a new vocabulary that suggest new meanings that are more aligned with Native tradition than European tradition. Much like a recent exhibition by artist Charmaine Wheatley (for more details see Duff, 2002; Glowacka, 2002; Hollenberg, 2002; Wark, 2002), the Horn-Miller cover offers “a challenge for cultural critics to explore a new vocabulary for . . . the unclothed female body” (Duff, 2002, p. 5). Horn-Miller’s body encourages the use of a new language to discuss femininity and nakedness.

Disrupting the Beautiful and Challenging Identity Construction

This piece . . . is reflective of the way I saw women portrayed through the one-way mirror of the mass media, and the celluloid image of the “Hollywood blonde” that was (and still is) spoon-fed to America by its favorite medium, film. It allowed me to dress up and act out, if you will, my own rendition of ‘Barbie’ that functions as a reversal of the way Hollywood producers dressed up white women to portray Indian women in their films.

— Susan Stewart

Susan Stewart is a Crow artist who has used the technique of inversion to highlight hierarchical binary notions of identity, notably, “Native” versus “White.” According to Barbara Babcock (1978), inversion is “an act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alterNative to commonly held cultural codes, values, and norms” (p. 14). While Horn-Miller might not have had this specific notion of inversion in mind, her goal with the picture was to change stereotypical beliefs about Native women. She explains how such notions influenced her decision to pose for Time magazine:

I spoke with one of my mom’s oldest friend, a big radical from way back . . . because I wanted to know what he thought. He thought that this was a great opportunity for me to showcase not only my sport but also Native women in a strong and dominating manner. One of the interesting things my mother said to me when I was thinking about this was that when she was younger, my mom was a Native activist, and still is, and she modeled and everything. She was really stereotyped. She said the images or the stereotypes of Native women at the time were submissive and

sexually submissive, you know these pretty little things, dominated, your role in life is to graduate from high school, get married and raise a family and be a wife. She said she had a hard time fighting against that. . . . She said: “Waneek, this will give you an opportunity to show a different side of Native women.” Because if you go to the average reserve, Native women are not push-overs, particularly Mohawks. So, she said: “In that picture, you have to show that you are proud, you’re strong, you know what you want and you are not about to get pushed over. . . .” So, that’s what I tried to do in the picture. . . . This may change what people think and expand their minds of what Native women are or athletic Native women.

Again, the cover encourages the reader to speak about Horn-Miller with a new vocabulary, to assign it new meanings, to break with the stereotypes that are associated with Native women: away with the understanding of Native women as submissive, push-overs, dominated and in with the understanding of proud, independent, and assertive Native women. Not only does her picture offer new subjectivities, but since “beauty . . . [is] always encoded as white” (hooks, 2000, p. 481), Horn-Miller presents a refreshing alternative to cultural codes, values and norms.

Horn-Miller may have been chosen for the cover specifically because she embodied notions of beauty associated with White women. At first glance, Horn-Miller can indeed be read as a White woman. In that regard, we agree with Smith (1980) who has argued that to strip one of her clothes is often to strip her of her culture. Upon closer look, however, we can see that Horn-Miller resisted being robbed of her culture: she agreed to pose naked but the photographer had to deal with her several tattoos that are, as

Horn-Miller explains, “Native art and Native design.” In addition, Horn-Miller added a feather in her hair as a symbol of her Native identity. She noted that: “The feather was my idea and [the photographer] knew I had a lot of tattoos so that was going to be part of the picture.” Including Native signifiers not only countered the erasure of her culture but also allowed her to exercise agency and influence the readers’ interpretation of her picture. Horn-Miller offers a challenge to the viewer attempting to read the picture; a challenge because she breaks with the stereotype of the Native woman.

Additional questions are worth asking however. Does the cover problematize hierarchical and binary notions of race? Does it encourage the discussion of “in-between” identities (Hill, 2000)? Does it work to securely keep Horn-Miller within the bounds of her Native identity? While the cultural signifiers direct the readers to identify her as a Native woman, the maple leaf background encourages a reading of hybridity, that of “Native Canadian” woman. Since Native people in Canada have fought (and are still fighting) to be recognized as an independent nation, a reading of hybridity might appear to be a contradiction in terms. Nevertheless, we contend that a reading of hybridity still poses a threat to the dominant discourse in that it forces viewers to find a place in-between the categories of “Native” and “Canadian.” According to Minh-ha (1990), it is problematic to accept a binary notion of identity that confines someone to the margins since the “center” identity hopes “the division between margin and center . . . be preserved, and as clearly demarcated as possible, if the two positions are to remain intact in their power relations” (p. 330). By problematizing ethnicity, the cover can in fact work to blur the boundary between Native and Canadian, work to open up the binary that has long dictated Native identity and reproduce power relations.

Of course, whether one is appropriating a dominant discourse or an alternative discourse, the picture can be interpreted quite differently. Within a dominant discourse, it might be argued that Horn-Miller has been appropriated for nationalist purposes and that she has been successfully assimilated. Within an alternative discourse however, it might be agreed with Minh-ha that the notion of hybridity challenges power relations. For a more complete discussion on the notions of hybridity and nation, see Henrie and Rail (2003).

Challenging or Maintaining the Status Quo?

While portraying a Native woman on the cover of a well-known Canadian publication can disrupt dominant notions of Canadianness, paradoxically it could also work to reproduce them. The feather, the tattoos, the dark skin, and the dark hair can foster readings of an exotic Other. According to Davis (1997), darker skin signifies “unrestrained sexuality” which is why many white models tan their skin in order to enhance their “sexyness” (Lurie, 1981; Urry, 1990). Also, according to Berger (1998), long hair connotes youth and sexual abandonment while dark hair signifies warmth, heat, and sexual passion. Furthermore, in the Western imagination, ethnicities other than White have been embedded with notions of nature and sexuality. To have access to an exotic Other signifies an escape from civilization, a plunge into a more natural and “free” world (Berger, 1998). Therefore, having a naked Native woman on the cover could work on its own to establish readings of sexuality. Images of racially and ethnically diverse people can present Otherness as a new pleasure to be consumed instead of presenting a challenge to white supremacy, racism, and domination:

The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways

of doing and feeling. Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture. (hooks, 1992, p. 21)

Could Horn-Miller have been featured on the cover to “spice things up?” Is she on the cover of Time magazine because she is different? Perhaps, like many other models, Horn-Miller was an appealing choice because she was different but at the same time familiar and similar? hooks (1992) has already argued that the reason Naomi Campbell was so popular with the media was because “she embodies an aesthetic that suggests black women, while appealingly ‘different,’ must resemble white women to be considered really beautiful” (p. 73). We could argue similarly in the case of Horn-Miller. Horn-Miller acknowledged that she was chosen to be on the cover because she was “different”:

Karine: Why, then, do you think they picked you to be on the cover?

Waneek: I was told that it was because they wanted something different.

Karine: Something different because you’re Native?

Waneek: Native, my sport, my background and probably the way I look too... So, all those things made me different.

We suggest here that if Horn-Miller was chosen because she was different, it is certainly feasible that she was read as such, that she was read as an exotic Other. Even though the picture offers many positions from which to resist the reading of sexuality, even Horn-Miller believes it is still a likely possibility:

I understand that there are a lot of connotations added to this picture . . . but there’s nothing I can do about it. . . . These guys that are going to be like “Haaaa . . .,” are going to be the guys that like muscular

women. I can't control what guys are going to do [when looking at the picture]... They are going to do that to a picture of [Heritage Minister] Sheila Copps, if a guy likes the Sheila Copps style, they're going to do it. Or if a guy likes a woman in suit or uniform, they're going to [use] a picture of a police officer...

While a reading of sensuality is possible, we would like to suggest that other readings are more likely. For instance, Horn-Miller, as an agent of social change, accepted some suggestions during the photo shoot but also refused others. She imposed changes in order for the picture to represent a strong assertive athletic Native woman. While her wish was to promote her sport (water polo), as well as her team and teammates, her goal was also to serve as a role model for other Native people. She explained this in the following way:

I have a responsibility to my team but also I knew that I had a responsibility to my community, to Native people. They need to see someone like me achieving, proud of who they are and vocal and overtly proud about it. They need to see that, and I knew that this was an opportunity for me to show them that.

While Horn-Miller acknowledges that she was chosen to be on the cover because she was "different," accepting to do the cover meant that Native people all across Canada would know that she was going to the Olympic Games. While readings of sensuality are possible with the Time cover, it was much more important for Horn-Miller "to be seen, to not be erased or rendered invisible" (hooks, 2000, p. 477). For Horn-Miller, that goal was achieved as she recalls a speaking engagement shortly after the Olympic Games. With

much emotion in her voice, Horn-Miller put into words what it meant to some people from the Native community to know that she was an athlete at the 2000 Olympic Games:

I just came back from Saskatoon and I was speaking to 1200 kids, high school students. I spoke for 15 minutes about the Olympics and everything and they were like... [pause] You could have heard a pin drop. They were so... [pause] Then a girl came up to me. She was 13 and she was almost crying saying: "You're my absolute idol! I watched you play and I admire you so much and you make me so proud." She was almost crying. I'm like: "It's O.K., relax." You don't realize that you do that and the big reason why they were able to see and know that I was at the Olympics was because of [the Time cover].

Concluding Comments

When looking at the Horn-Miller cover, a multiplicity of readings are available. People can recruit elements of the dominant discourse and read the picture as one that promotes traditional notions of femininity, gender and race, but they can also appropriate alternative discourses to read the picture. Horn-Miller's muscular body as well as her serious and determined body language can challenge traditional notions of femininity and transgress dominant gender codes. The feather, the Native tattoos and the maple leaf background can disrupt binary notions of identity and work to blur the boundary between Native and Canadian. Much like Horn-Miller resisted attempts of cultural appropriation, a discursive space may be created to resist readings of objectification, submission and exploitation.

To think of the Horn-Miller cover as a challenge to dominant discourses, it becomes imperative to "[break] down the reflexive automatism" (Prewitt, 1989, p. 138)

to link pictures of naked women with sexuality, sensuality, objectification, exploitation and submission. The Horn-Miller cover allows for new subject positions for the reader, encourages the destabilization of the signifier-signified connection, and the emergence of new meanings associated to the naked female body.

Much like Horn-Miller noted in the conversation, it is impossible to know how people will read or interpret her picture. Fern Haber (1996) supports this view when she says that where readings or interpretations are concerned, “there are no assurances. We shall have to watch out for attempts to take the significance of our images away from us, to make our protests complicitous with those very things we are trying to change. Power is always lurking on the other side of resistance” (p. 153). Indeed, the Canadian flag (seen in the background of the picture) could mean that many Canadians were supporting Native Horn-Miller and her team but it could also mean squashing the hopes of Native sovereignty by promoting Native assimilation in Canada.

It is possible that a disruptive or challenging image loses its subversiveness when recuperated by the media. Whether or not this is actually the case with the Horn-Miller picture, it still remains that “new images at least [open] up the field of possible redescriptions” (Fern Haber, 1996, p. 151). If pornography can be re-appropriated by women and if the term queer can be re-appropriated by the gay community, then the naked body of a woman can also be re-appropriated and re-inscribed with a “new and affirmative set of meanings” (Butler, 1993, p. 223). In the end, we believe Horn-Miller would be satisfied with a re-appropriation of the female body to mean something new and subversive. She would applaud Fern Haber and her description of the “Superwoman”:

The muscled Superwoman makes her body resistant to readings of timidity, weakness, and inferiority by creating her body as her own

interpretation. Her reshaped body forces the revelation that the idea that women are by nature destined to be weak and delicate is an invention—an invention that doesn't suit her purposes. The Superwoman is not constrained by gender roles; she eschews the idea of an essence, a nature to which she must conform. She denies the existence of a naturally proper way of feminine bodily comportment, just as she denies the existence of a set of natural feminine virtues and duties, or a naturally determined ideal of beauty. In fact, she might argue, both the idea of femininity and masculinity, and their binary opposition are inventions, are ideas invented by the dominant ideological forces to suit the purposes of phallogentric desire. The Superwoman re-creates her image, and in doing so, forces cultural reinterpretations. (1996, p. 145)

References

- Alther, L. (1995). Five minutes in heaven. New York: Plume.
- Anderson, K. (2001, January). The other side of Jenny. Sports Illustrated for Women, pp. 118-121.
- Babcock, B.A. (1978). Introduction. In B.A. Babcock (Ed.), The reversible world: Symbolic inversion in art and society (pp. 13-36). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Balsamo, A. (1996). Technologies of the gendered body: Reading cyborg women. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Bartky, S. (2002). Suffering to be beautiful. In C. L. Mui & J. S. Murphy (Eds.), Gender struggles: Practical approaches to contemporary feminism (pp. 241-256). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.
- Berger, A.A. (1998). Media analysis techniques. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Berger, J. (1973). Ways of seeing. New York, NY: The Viking Press.
- Butler, J. (1993). Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex." New York, NY: Routledge.
- Coward, R. (1985). Female desires: How they are sought, bought and packaged. New York, NY: Grove.
- Creedon, P.J. (1994). Women, media and sport. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Davis, L.R. (1997). The swimsuit issue and sport: Hegemonic masculinity in Sports Illustrated. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Duff, T. (2002). Charmaine: The spectacle of the body revisited. Arts Atlantic, 70, 4-5.
- Duncan, M.C. (1990). Sports photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 22-43.

- Duncan, M.C., & Messner, M.A. (1998). The media image of sport and gender. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), MediaSport (pp. 170-185). London & New York: Routledge.
- Duncan, M.C., & Sayaovong, A. (1990). Photographic images and gender in *Sports Illustrated for Kids*. Play and Culture, 3, 91-116.
- Fasting, K. (1999). Women, sports and the media. Olympic Review, 26(26), 43-45.
- Fern Haber, H. (1996). Foucault pumped: Body politics and the muscled woman. In S. J. Hekman (Ed.), Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault (pp. 137-156). Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Garber, I.M. (1992). Vested interests: Cross-dressing and cultural anxiety. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Glowacka, D. (2002). A view from the crack. Arts Atlantis, 70, 6-7.
- Halbert, C., & Latimer, M. (1994). 'Battling' gendered language: An analysis of the language used by sports commentators in a televised coed tennis competition. Sociology of Sport Journal, 11, 298-308.
- Henrie, K., & Rail, G. (2003). Waneek Horn-Miller: A story of incredible performances. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Hill, R.W. (2000). Drag racing: Dressing up (and messing up) white in contemporary first nations art. Fuse, 23(4), 18-27.
- Hilliard, D.C. (1994). Televised sport and the (anti) sociological imagination. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 18, 88-99.
- Hollenberg, S. (2002). Tenders. Arts Atlantic, 70, 8-9.
- Holmlund, C.A. (1994). Visible difference and flex appeal: The body, sex, sexuality, and race in the *Pumping Iron* films. In S. Birrell & C.L. Cole (Eds.), Women, sport and culture (pp. 299-314). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

- hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: Race and representation. New York, NY: Routledge.
- hooks, b. (2000). Good girls look the other way. In D. Cornell (Ed.), Feminism and pornography (pp. 477-486). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kane, M.J., & Greendorfer, S.L. (1994). The media's role in accommodating and resisting stereotyped images of women in sport. In P.J. Creedon (Ed.), Women, media and sport (pp. 28-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kane, M.J., & Parks, J.B. (1992). The social construction of gender difference and hierarchy in sport journalism—Few new twists on very old themes. Women's Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 1(1), 49-83.
- Kuhn, A. (1985). The power of the image: Essays on representation and sexuality. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lawrence, T. (2000). The public and private body of a female athlete. Network News, 11(2), 1.
- Leath, V.M., & Lumpkin, A. (1992). An analysis of sportswomen on the covers and in the feature articles of *Women's Sports and Fitness Magazine*. Journal of Sport and Social Issue, 16(2), 121-126.
- Lurie, A. (1981). The language of clothes. New York, NY: Random House.
- MacNeill, M. (1988). Active women, media representations, and ideology. In J. Harvey & H. Cantelon (Eds.), Not just a game: Essays in Canadian sport sociology (pp.195-211) Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

- Mason, F.D. (2000). "Women play sports (just not as well)": Canadian newspaper's coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American games. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Messner, M. (1988). Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain. Sport Sociology Journal, 5(3), 197-211.
- Minh-ha, T.T. (1990). Cotton and iron. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-ha, & C. West (Eds.), Out there: Marginalization and contemporary culture. New York, NY: New Museum of Contemporary Art.
- Pirinen, R.M. (1997). The construction of women's positions in sport: A textual analysis of articles on female athletes in Finnish women's magazines. Sociology of Sport Journal, 14, 290-301.
- Prewitt, T.J. (1989). Like a virgin: The semiotics of illusion in erotic performance. The American Journal of Semiotics, 6(4), 137-152.
- Rail, G., & Lefebvre, M. (2002). Sculling cyborg: Scientific discourses, media representations and the effacement of Silken Laumann's subversive potential. Recherche sémiotique—Semiotic Inquiry, 22(1-2), 3-18.
- Shogan, D. (1999). The making of high-performance athletes: Discipline, diversity, and ethics. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, H.W. (1980). Does shedding one's clothes imply shedding one's culture? A cross-cultural test of nudism claims. International Review of Modern Sociology, 10, 255-268.
- Starkman, R. (1999, December 18). Top women athletes take clothes off to get more exposure for their sports. Toronto Star, pp. C1, C5.

Stewart, S. (1994). Self-portrait of the artist posing as an object of curiosity [On-line].

Available: <http://www.conexus.si.edu/humor/exhibit/34.htm>

Urry, J. (1990). The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies. Newbury

Park, CA: Sage.

Wark, J. (2002). Girls, girls, girls and boys, boys, boys. Arts Atlantis, 70, 10-11.

Yeates, H. (1992). Women, the media and football violence. Social Alternatives, 11(1),

17-20.

CHAPTER V**WANEK HORN-MILLER: A STORY OF INCREDIBLE PERFORMANCES**

Waneek Horn-Miller: A Story of Incredible Performances

Karine Henrie

Geneviève Rail

University of Ottawa

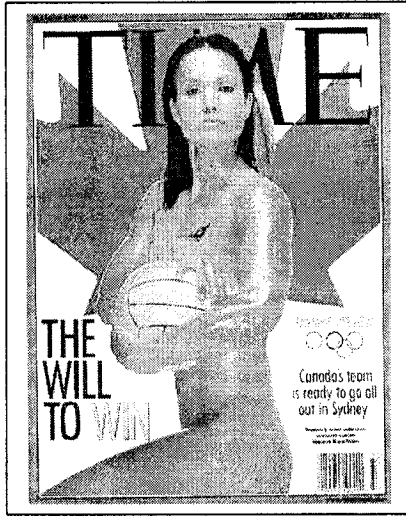
Article submitted on June 2003 for publication in

The Sociology of Sport Journal

ABSTRACT

At the eve of the Summer Olympics in 2000, images of women athletes in the media were numerous. Where people might have expected action shots of these athletes, the burst of coverage was dedicated to women athletes who had decided to pose naked. Waneek Horn-Miller, assistant captain of the Canadian women's water polo team, was one of them: she accepted to strip for the cover of the Canadian edition of Time magazine. How can one interpret Horn-Miller's experience of posing naked? How does she, herself, interpret that experience? What subjectivities do the media assign to her and what identities does she claim for herself? What is the meaning of those identities? With Native Horn-Miller on the cover of Time magazine, are the media (re)constructing the nation? Using a qualitative analysis and poststructuralism to interpret newspaper articles and a conversation Karine Henrie had with Horn-Miller, we were able to highlight how a woman athlete's identity is produced and reproduced. Indeed, the media have strategically constructed their texts to assign Horn-Miller with a singular, fixed and unified "feminine-looking-woman-athlete" subjectivity, mainly influenced by the dominant femininity discourse meanwhile, Horn-Miller's speech highlights how she performed fluid, fragmented and contradictory identities that were influenced by the adoption of various subject positions in different discourses, notably the femininity, sport and Native discourses.

Waneek Horn-Miller: A Story of Incredible Performances



Setting: Sydney, Australia - Summer

Olympic games

Time: September 2000

Characters: Waneek Horn-Miller, Canadian media

Plot: Women's water polo joins the Olympic family. For the women on the Canadian national water polo team, this means

everything: their long time dream becomes reality in Sydney. With the Olympics fast approaching, the Canadian team members seem ready and at the top of their game. Despite the waves they are causing in the pool, the water is very calm everywhere else. No one in Canada knows much about this medal contending team. One would think that the addition of water polo to the Olympic program and the Canadian team's Olympic berth and great performances leading up to the Olympics would be sufficient to increase its popularity. Unfortunately it is not. A cover picture on the Canadian edition of Time magazine, however, clinches it for the Canadian women's team. That picture definitely has everyone talking. On the cover, only one athlete is portrayed, Waneek Horn-Miller. We see a woman standing, looking straight ahead, serious, focused. She is holding a ball with both hands showing muscular definition in her arms. Her eyebrows are neatly trimmed, her hair is perfectly in place, her make-up is

light and subtle, her clothes... are missing. That woman athlete is posing naked.

It would appear that the media can construct stories concerning women athletes that promote a dominant discourse (Kane & Dish, 1993; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner, 1988). At the eve of the Summer Olympics in 2000, images of women athletes in the media were numerous. Where people might have expected action shots the burst of coverage was dedicated to women athletes who had decided to pose naked, sometimes to gather funds for their Olympic journey, sometimes to raise their own profile, that of their team or sport. Much like earlier findings on women athletes' representation in the media (Boutilier & Sangiovanni, 1983; Bowman & Daniels, 1995; Rintala & Birrell, 1984; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Snow, 1995), a survey of these pictures is easily concluded by the fact that athletes are mostly presented in passive, non-athletic poses. Also, it seems that, similarly to previous research findings on the representation of women athletes in the media (Creedon, 1994; Duncan, 1990; Fasting, 1999; Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Mason, 2000; Wright & Clarke, 1999), these images emphasize beauty and sexuality. Such an emphasis has been found to promote dominant messages concerning femininity and women athletes (Birrell & Cole 1990; Creedon, 1994; Duncan, 1990; Eitzen & Sage, 1989; Greendorfer, 1990; Hargreaves, 1986; Kane & Parks, 1992).

In her study on the representation of women athletes in Finnish magazines, Pirinen (1997) has demonstrated that the media, in addition to reproducing dominant discourses, also promote specific subject positions. For instance, she reported that Finnish magazines emphasize the "feminine-looking female body" and the "heterosexual family woman" while putting down the "masculine-looking female body" and the lesbian athlete. Pirinen

suggested that such an emphasis on the women's appearance and sexuality works to present them as athletes who have largely constructed their identities based on a dominant femininity discourse.

Regarding the pictures of women athletes who posed naked, we suggest that the media constructed their identities in a similar way. Whether the articles (Anderson, 2001; Associate Press; 1999; Starkman, 1999) discussed pictures of Brandi Chastain, Jenny Thompson, the Australian soccer team called "The Matildas" or the Canadian Cross-Country ski team, women athletes were assigned a subjectivity that called upon notions of beauty, sexuality, and traditional femininity rather than notions of strength and power. These women athletes could be read as performing the "feminine-looking-woman-athlete" identity. Does that mean that these women athletes did perform that identity? Can there be alternative readings of such pictures? Can there be alternative or conflicting identities that are simultaneously performed?

We tried to answer the above questions by looking into one of these pictures: the Horn-Miller Time cover. Our analysis is based on one interview conducted by Karine Henrie with Waneek Horn-Miller as well as 10 newspaper or magazine articles discussing the Time cover. We examined these texts following Kvale's (1996) condensation and interpretation analysis. Our interpretation stemmed from the theoretical stance of feminist poststructuralism. Our goal was to identify how the media constructed Horn-Miller's experience of posing naked on the cover of Time magazine by looking at the subjectivities assigned to her by the media. Excerpts from Horn-Miller's conversation transcript are used to underline what subjectivities she claimed for herself and how her identity performances were informed. Horn-Miller's case highlights how a woman athlete's identity can be produced and reproduced.

Performing Identities

“Does it feel almost as if I were human? Am I imitating behavior I can never match? Is Avram right, that the lab is more suited to me than this place with all the facilities humans require? I don’t sleep, can extract energy from almost anything. Am I pretending at something I’ll always fail?”

“Yod, there’s no culture of cyborgs for you to fit into. The only society is human. You have to pass. And we want someplace to meet.”

“How much do I disappoint you?”

“Since I don’t expect you to be human, but rather yourself, why should I be disappointed?” She was not at all sure how truthful she was being. After all, she spoke of the relationship to Gadi and to Malkah as temporary. What would it mean to make more of a commitment to a machine?

— Marge Piercy

In Marge Piercy’s novel, He, She and It, Yod is a man-made creation. He was not born from a woman and is not a biological being; Avram (another of Piercy’s character) created him. The novel highlights people’s difficulty in assigning Yod with an identity as well as his own turmoil towards his own identity. Yod feels wanting. He experiences human emotions such as shyness, self-pity, joy and anger. He does not need sleep or food and does not sweat. Biologically speaking, he cannot father a child. Is he a machine? Is he a man? Is he a cyborg?

According to Butler (1990, 1991, 1993), identity should be understood as discursive and performative: discursive in the sense that it is regulated by the discourses

available at a certain time, and performative because it can be understood as repeated practices or performances that are open to change. As a result then, if one understands identity as a performance, couldn't Yod perform whatever identity he wanted? Couldn't he be whatever he wished? Yod can make choices, he can exercise agency and choose to perform a certain identity but his performances, and by extension his choices, are restricted and limited by discourse and language. In the fictitious world Piercy has created, three discourses could work to inform Yod's construction and his performances: he could perform as a man, as a machine or as a cyborg. Depending on the context, his performances oscillate between those three but most often than not, Yod must strategically perform as a man. He must "pass" as a man. Thus, with the help of yet another character, Shira, Yod learns how to perform as a man. Depending on Yod's performances, the characters speaking Piercy's words label Yod differently.

Therefore, a person, just like Yod, constructs her identity and learns how to act based on the discourses in circulation at a specific time. From what is available, she then makes choices; she exercises agency. Consequently, agency must not be confused with an inner self that is self-determined or with a notion of control (Butler, 1997); it is about making choices. Individuals, like Yod, choose how they wish to act not because of their "true" nature, but by ascribing to a discourse that is in circulation at a specific time, in a specific culture. Barker and Galasiński (2001) explain:

Agency is the socially constructed capacity to act, nobody is free in the sense of undetermined (in which event one could not 'be' at all). Nevertheless, agency is a culturally intelligible way of understanding ourselves and we clearly have the existential experience of facing and

making choices. We do act even though those choices and acts are determined by biological and cultural forces, particularly language. (p. 46)

Indeed, the words one uses, the words left out, the words available, shape the world, shape experiences, and shape interpretations. It is language then, in the form of discourses, that offers ways to understand the world and to understand ourselves. Weedon (1997) suggests that: “to speak is to assume a subject position within discourse and to become *subjected* to the power and regulation of the discourses” (emphasis in original, p. 116).

Therefore, someone’s “sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world” (Weedon, 1997, p. 32)—by definition, someone’s subjectivity—cannot be viewed as an essence at the heart of the individual which is fixed, unique and coherent. Subjectivity must be understood as slippery, precarious, contradictory, and in process (Weedon, 1997). Therefore a person can have shifting or contradictory identities, depending on the situation, the time and the space (Barker & Galasiński, 2001). Weedon (1997) explains:

A poststructuralist position on subjectivity and consciousness relativizes the individual’s sense of herself by making it an effect of discourse which is open to continuous redefinition and which is constantly slipping. (p. 102)

As such, new language and new discourses offer the possibility to re-articulate subjectivities endlessly (Barker & Galasiński, 2001), and different times or different contexts allow for the performance of varying identities. Coming back to Horn-Miller, what subjectivities do the media seem to grant her? What subjectivities does she perform on the cover of Time magazine?

Speaking Media: Performing the Feminine

Waneek Horn-Miller was the assistant captain of the Canadian water polo team. Water polo is an extremely demanding sport, one that requires, among many other skills, strength, power and endurance. A sports writer for The Edmonton Journal describes water polo players in the following way:

The sport requires its participants to possess the scoring finesse of a soccer player, the endurance of a swimmer and a rugby player's strength. What a combination! Oh, just one other thing: it doesn't hurt if you're a bit nasty. Water polo is a rough competitive game not meant for the weak of heart. (2000, p. D8).

Would it be unusual then, as a reader, to expect media articles to discuss Horn-Miller's body in terms of strength, power and endurance? Would it be extraordinary to assign her a subjectivity that highlights those characteristics? None of the articles analyzed mentioned Horn-Miller's body in terms of her sport skills and abilities but the references to her femininity, sex appeal and sexuality were numerous. Granted that the articles chosen for analysis all discussed the Time cover, it might not seem out of the ordinary that the focus was on Horn-Miller's body. Still, we believe it highlights how the media recruited a dominant discourse to discuss Horn-Miller's picture. Had an alternative discourse been recruited, the emphasis might have been on Horn-Miller's muscles and her serious and determined facial expression instead of her femininity and sex appeal.

Indeed the picture lends itself well to a particular interpretation within the dominant discourse. Instead of presenting Horn-Miller as a strong and powerful athletic woman, we suggest the media constructed her subjectivity by emphasizing her femininity and beauty. For instance, hinting at the beauty of her body, the media quoted Horn-Miller

as saying that her mom told her “You might as well enjoy it. You’re not going to have that body forever” (quoted in the Halifax Daily News, 2000; and quoted in Maki, 2000). In other instances, they cited, team manager Joe Sabo explaining “I can understand why they picked her. She’s gorgeous” (quoted in Laucius, 2000) or Time Canada editor George Russell as saying “the fact that Waneek Horn-Miller is drop dead gorgeous did occur to several of us” (quoted in Smith, 2000). Some also use words that point to her appearance such as “la belle amérindienne” (Pratt, 2000) and “steamy Horn-Miller” (The Gazette, 2000). Therefore, if one positions herself within the dominant discourse, it is possible to look at the Time cover and interpret Horn-Miller as an athlete who performs and reproduces the “feminine-looking-woman-athlete” identity.

We believe the media have strategically constructed their texts to highlight and emphasize Horn-Miller’s beautiful body rather than her athletic body. Is Horn-Miller allowed to speak in those texts? Is she given a voice? Does she accept that “feminine-looking-woman-athlete” subjectivity the media assigned to her?

Horn-Miller’s comments are very limited in the media articles. In fact, only one woman reporter met with her, one on one, to have a more in-depth discussion concerning the Time cover. The structure of Leduc’s (2000) text enables readers to recruit components of an alternative discourse and understand Horn-Miller’s experience of posing naked as one that is aimed at promoting her sport and presenting a different image of Native women rather than one aimed at reproducing notions of traditional femininity. Leduc (2000) quotes her as saying: “Women were participating in water polo for the first time at the Olympic Games and I didn’t want us to go unnoticed. From a personal standpoint, I wanted to show that Native women are not submissive women” [translation].

While this article highlights how her performance on the cover was informed by discourses other than the traditional femininity discourse, the other articles either did not include Horn-Miller's voice at all or included very few of her words. We suggest that, by not including Horn-Miller's voice, the media appear to be more interested in her body than in what she has to say. Furthermore, had those reporters structured their text to include more of Horn-Miller's voice, the readers would have had to recruit parts of an alternative discourse to interpret her experience of posing naked on the cover of Time magazine. When Horn-Miller's voice is barely, or not at all, included in the articles, we contend that it is much easier to interpret her picture within the dominant discourse.

Indeed, to construct their texts, it appears the writers were rather guided by the rules of sport journalism. According to Brookes (2002), like so many other institutions, sport journalism is a gendered activity: texts are constructed differently, depending on whether one is reporting on women or men athletes. In that regard, to speak differently about women and men athletes is to circulate specific ideas about femininity and masculinity. Usually, the media focus on gender-appropriate sports for men and women since they promote values about masculinity and femininity that represent values held by the general population. In that regard, Brookes (2002) suggests that:

A common theme running through research on the representation of gender is that the media will focus on different sports according to an ideological distinction between what are seen as male-appropriate and female-appropriate sports. Male-appropriate sports are those in which the desired qualities—power, strength, etc.—happen to coincide with dominant definitions of masculinity. Male-appropriate sports account for the majority of sports represented in the media. Female-appropriate sports

are those in which the desired qualities—style, grace, etc.—are those stereotypically attributed to femininity. (p. 129)

Water polo, with its emphasis on strength, power and endurance, can be considered a male-appropriate sport. Featuring a woman playing water polo could thus work to challenge the status quo. Therefore, to obliterate the disruptive possibilities of the cover, we contend that the media have reinforced Horn-Miller's "femininity" and sexual appeal. Images of strong and powerful women have the potential to "disrupt the equation of men with strength and women with weakness that underpins gender roles and power relations" (Holmlund, 1994, pp. 302-303) so the media work on constructing the athlete's subjectivity as one that is informed by traditional femininity. To stabilize Horn-Miller's identity in such a way maintains the status quo and works to please the male gaze.

For instance, Fern Haber (1996) explains how the subversive body of women bodybuilders can be recuperated to satisfy male desire and to keep gender roles and power relations intact when one positions himself or herself within the dominant discourse. She writes:

In professional bodybuilding the image of the muscled woman is only successful to the extent to which she allows her image to be used for the purposes of male desire. It is not strength and power that is emphasized, but that the muscled look is sexy, desirable, and 'still feminine. . . .' Male desire speaks, the woman's identity is obliterated, and she is again a sexual body valuable because she is approved by a male gaze . . . (p. 149)

Speaking Horn-Miller: Multiple Performances

The media used the traditional femininity discourse to construct Horn-Miller's identity and she, herself, does not reject that discourse but rather accommodates to it. For instance, during our conversation, she said:

I think that like any other woman, I like to look good. And I don't necessarily have the same body. Like I don't fit in clothes normally . . . like those tiny... I have a small waist but my legs are big so I don't fit in pants, normally. My rib cage is too big, my shoulders are too wide because you end up developing differently. My team and I discuss going shopping and that we can't find anything...

Looking good to Horn-Miller means following certain rules (e.g., fashion) prescribed by the femininity discourse (e.g., see Bartky, 1998, 2002; Bordo, 1989; 1990; 1993), but also challenging others like the "ideal" body size. Indeed, during our conversation, she mentioned her wish that her picture would challenge the notion of the ideal body size:

I think all bodies are beautiful, whether you're tall, short, fat, skinny or whatever . . . You have to be proud of [your body] because it's all you have. The push we have to be something that we're not . . . Like I could never be a thin model. I think it's physiologically impossible. My shoulders are too big, my hips are too big, my rib cage is too big. . . . So, at 26, I'm proud of my body but I know, when I was younger, it took me a while to get to this point where I'm not ashamed and I'm proud. It's all these things that came out with this picture [looks at the Time cover]. All these thoughts and discussion and that sort of thing. It makes you think. It makes you discuss it, particularly in the Native community and that's fine.

While the femininity discourse, to a certain extent, does inform Horn-Miller's constructed identity, the sport discourse (e.g., see Shogan, 1999) also influences her identity performances. The body that Horn-Miller described as "not fitting in clothes normally" has been disciplined by a sport discourse rather than a traditional femininity discourse. Accordingly, during the conversation she said: "You know . . . this body was completely designed to play water polo."

The dominant femininity and sport discourses are not the only ones that inform Horn-Miller's identity performances; the Native discourse also permeates her sense of self. The following conversation excerpt illustrates this:

I see myself as part of a continuum. We're taught to always look at the future with one eye on the past, to always remember your ancestors and think of the people coming. So you see yourself as part of a continuum of your people.

As such, Horn-Miller's identity performances were influenced by the adoption of various subject positions in different discourses where, the Native discourse, it would seem, had the strongest hold on her performances. Indeed it was important for her to perform as a Native woman to challenge negative stereotypes associated to Native women (her eye on the past) and to serve as a role model for other Native youths (her eye on the future). Concerning negative stereotypes, she stated:

One of the interesting things my mother said to me when I was thinking about this was that, when she was younger, my mom was a Native activist, and still is, and she modeled and everything. She was really stereotyped. She said the images or the stereotypes of Native women at the time were submissive and sexually submissive. You know these pretty little things,

dominated, your role in life is to graduate from high school, get married and raise a family and be a wife. She said she had a hard time fighting against that. She was beautiful and people could not handle that she had something to say as well, that she was intelligent. She said: 'Waneek, this will give you an opportunity to show a different side of Native women.' Because if you go to the average reserve, Native women are not push-overs, particularly Mohawks. So, she said: 'In that picture, you have to show that you are proud, you're strong, you know what you want and you are not about to get pushed over and also you're representing your team and what are their goals...' So, anyway, that's what I tried to do in the picture.

Horn-Miller wanted to challenge Native stereotypes but it was also important for her to serve as a role model for younger Native people. With much emotion in her voice, she expressed the following during our conversation:

I knew that I had a responsibility to my community, to Native people and they need to see someone like me achieving, proud of who they are and vocal and overtly proud about it. They need to see that and I knew that this was an opportunity for me to show them that. . . . I just came back from Saskatoon and I was there speaking to 1200 kids, high school students. I spoke for 15 minutes about the Olympics and everything. And they were like . . . You could have heard a pin drop. They were so . . . And then a girl came up to me, she was 13, and she was almost crying saying: 'You're my absolute idol. I watched you play and I admire you so much and you make me so proud.' And she was almost crying. And I'm like: 'It's O.K., relax.'

You don't realize that you do that and the big reason why they were able to see and know that I was at the Olympics was because of this picture (points to the Time cover).

While there can be a plethora of discourses that inform Horn-Miller's constructed identity, the structure of the interview allowed for an understanding of Horn-Miller's identity as informed, to different extents, by the femininity, sport and Native discourses. This leads to an understanding of her identity as plural and fractured or fragmented. Succinctly, using Hall's theory (1992), Barker and Galasinski (2001) explained the notion of the fragmented subject as such:

No single identity can act as an overarching organizing core since identities shift according to how subjects are addressed or represented. Rather, we comprise fractured multiple and contradictory identities which cross-cut or dislocate each other. The apparent 'unity' of identity is better described as the articulation of different and distinct elements that, under alternative historical and cultural circumstances, could be re-articulated in disparate ways. (p. 41)

The notion of the fragmented subject being pulled in different directions acquires meaning when one considers Horn-Miller's narrative as she reflects on the aftermath of the picture. Indeed, when asked in the interview if she would do anything differently, she could not clearly express whether or not she would. If she took up a subject position in the Native discourse, she would not change anything but if she positioned herself in the sport discourse, she would probably do things differently. The clash between these two identities is well highlighted in this excerpt:

Karine: O.K. Just to be clear, you said earlier that your friends and family and everyone was pretty positive about the picture. Was there any negative feedback that you got?

Waneek: No. Nobody ever said anything to me [negative]. I think what was negative, well not negative, but that all the attention was on me [during the Olympics]. And, like, I didn't want it. I didn't ask for it. It just ended up being that way. I think a lot of them [teammates] understand it too. But if I had to do it again, I would do it very differently.

Karine: What do you mean?

Waneek: I'd be like [as if speaking to the press]: 'No, I don't really want to. No thank you!'

Karine: O.K. You mean you'd still do the cover but not the media thing at the Olympics?

Waneek: Well . . . It's hard for me to say because, like I said, for my Native community, it's important for them to see me. But with the team dynamics... There were a lot of things that weren't so great so this was not the difference between us and a gold medal. You know there's a lot of 'could have,' 'should have,' 'would have' but in the future I'll be more selective and more inclusive. Now that I know, now that I've been through it, I learned a lot from it.

In the end, then, if parts of discourses are recruited as the "script to one's performance" (Dallaire, 2002), Horn-Miller was not solely disciplined by a dominant femininity discourse. Unlike the media's construction, her identity performance on the cover of Time magazine was also informed by a sport discourse and a Native discourse.

Therefore, contrary to the liberal-humanist discourse, Horn-Miller's speech works to challenge the notion of identity as a fixed and unified concept. Her narratives rather lead to an understanding of identity as plural, slippery, contradictory and in process (Weedon, 1997). While the media primarily constructed her identity around notions of beauty and femininity, they also referred to her identity in terms of her nationality and culture.

(Re)Constructing the Nation

Sport is considered an ideal means to build upon the notion of nationalism. Indeed, according to Rowe (1995), "sport constitutes a cultural apparatus that can speedily and regularly be mobilized in the symbolic reconstruction of the nation" (p. 136). International sport then becomes the ideal setting to promote a sense of unity, to encourage and build nationalism and to promote particular narratives concerning the nation (Cashman, 1995). With Native Horn-Miller on the cover of Time magazine, are the media constructing specific narratives concerning the Canadian nation? To construct their story, what identity do they grant to Horn-Miller?

Concerning Horn-Miller's nationality, most of the articles analyzed hint at a hybrid identity. According to Young (1995), hybridity refers to "the intricate processes of cultural contact, intrusion, fusion and disjunction" (p. 5). Succinctly, hybridity can be understood as the mixing of two identities. One can perform a hybrid identity if, for one identity category, a person chooses different subject positions in different discourses. Hybridity can thus refer to "the transgression of socially constructed cultural boundaries and the cross-border experience" (Dallaire, 2002, p. 10). Understanding identity in terms of hybridity is very interesting since hybridity can call into question the colonial notion of authenticity that restricts the exercise of agency (Hill, 2000). Furthermore, according to

Minh-ha (1990), hybridity can also work to call into question the binary and hierarchical notion of identity and challenge notions of “center” and “margin” identities.

Indeed, the articles seem to present both Horn-Miller’s Canadian citizenship as well as her Native and Mohawk culture (Laucius, 2000; Leduc, 2000; Graham, 2000; Maki, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Stevens, 2000; The Halifax Daily News, 2000), which could lead readers to understand Horn-Miller’s identity performances in terms of hybridity. For instance, in Time magazine, Stubbs (2000) presents Horn-Miller as a Canadian but also as a Mohawk:

Horn-Miller, 25, assistant captain to Cora Campbell, 26, is the best known of the Canadians, but largely for her prominent role in the crisis at the Kanesatake reserve in Oka, Que., a decade ago. A Mohawk and daughter of activist Kahn-Tineta Horn, she was 14 when she was stabbed with a Canadian soldier’s bayonet during the ugly land-right battle there. (pp. 60-61)

While it is a possibility that some people might understand Native and Canadian as being one identity, we would argue that is not a popular notion or understanding of the Canadian identity. If the term Canadian included “Natives,” there would be no need to add it. Horn-Miller would “simply” be a Canadian rather than a Canadian, a Mohawk, a Native... Horn-Miller herself, seems to think of these identities as distinct but as ones that can all represent her at some time or another. When she discusses the negotiations that went on with the photographer concerning the inclusion of a flag in the picture, it can be assumed that she understands that those flags can all be used to represent her identity but that they are all distinct from one another.

When I got there, [the photographer] had wanted to wrap me in the Canadian flag. And I was like: “Oh, no I’m not going to be wrapped in the Canadian flag.” And he was like: “Why not, aren’t you patriotic, aren’t you proud?” At the time I . . . was being asked all these questions like: “How can you play for a country who stabbed you and did this to your people?” All these political questions being thrown . . . At the time I wanted to stay away from that. I said: “I don’t want to be wrapped in any flag.” Technically I could be wrapped in the Canadian, the American, the Quebec, the Ontario, the Mohawk, the Iroquois Confederacy flag. That’s like six different flags. I didn’t want to be wrapped in anything.

Therefore, it might not be impossible for readers to understand Horn-Miller’s identity as a hybrid one when they see the Canadian flag, the eagle feather and the Native tattoos on the cover of Time magazine or when they read articles that identify her as a Canadian as well as a Native or as well as a Mohawk.

While understanding Horn-Miller’s identity performance in terms of hybridity can be a refreshing construction that challenges binary notions of identity, what is problematic and disconcerting in the case of Horn-Miller is the meaning the media have attached to the Native construct. While, on the one hand, the identity of “Canadian” is constructed by the press to be embedded with will power (e.g., see Time cover), strength, pride and determination (Stevens, 2000; The Halifax Daily News, 2000), the “Native” identity, on the other hand, is granted a different story. Several articles refer to Horn-Miller’s role in the Oka crisis but use diminutive words such as “skirmish” or “clash” that work to downplay the importance, purposes and consequences of this battle. Their language—“she fell to the ground,” “she was bleeding,” “she was crying”—also works to

situate Horn-Miller as a passive subject of these events. For instance, consider the following two excerpts:

It is not the first photo of Horn-Miller that has received attention across Canada. Ten years ago, while holding her younger sister in her arms, she was jabbed by a bayonet on the protest line during the Oka clash between her First Nations Mohawk community and soldiers. She fell to the ground clutching her chest as photographers captured the moment. (Stevens, 2000, p. D19)

Horn-Miller was born in Kahnawake, Que. When she was 14, she was front and centre of the Oka standoff, in which Mohawks squared off against the Canadian army and Quebec's provincial police. She was stabbed in the chest by a soldier's bayonet during one skirmish and was photographed lying on the ground, crying and bleeding while holding her younger sister. That was 10 years ago. Since then, she has attended university and melded her native beliefs with her love of sport. (Maki, 2000)

Mentioning Horn-Miller's involvement in the Oka crisis could have been used more productively had it served to highlight the inequalities Native people have faced (and still face) or to underline their experience of racism. Judging by the media's construction, it would seem that the Native identity stands for conflict and discord. Indeed, in the article that has allowed much room for Horn-Miller's voice, an undertone of skepticism seems to use her words to highlight confrontation, illegal activity and the downfall of the family (Leduc, 2000).

What purpose are the media serving by constructing Horn-Miller's identity in terms of hybridity? Are their goal really to challenge hierarchical binary notions of identity? On the 10th anniversary of the Oka crisis, is the press trying to finally put to rest the tensions that have informed Native and non-Native relationships? Someone who recruits components of an alternative discourse to read Horn-Miller's identity performance can understand it as a performance of hybridity that call into question the notion of boundaries; that problematizes essentialized boundaries (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). However, if one is situated within the dominant discourse, one can interpret Horn-Miller's identity performance in terms of assimilation. Indeed, that reader might not understand her identity performance as the combination of, on the one hand, an unstable Canadian identity with, on the other had, an unstable Native identity that together form a new and yet again unstable identity; that reader could understand Horn-Miller's identity performance as one where the Native identity has been recuperated within the dominant Canadian identity.

Therefore, is Horn-Miller representative of the Canadian nation, of the new and improved, non-racist Canadian nation? Much like Bruce and Hallinan (2001) have argued concerning Cathy Freeman and white Australians, we could argue that Horn-Miller on the cover of Time magazine was a strategic choice; that she was chosen as a "representative of what all Aborigines could achieve if properly motivated" (p. 264). Also, choosing and embracing Horn-Miller as a representative of Canada might work to "comfort white guilt about structural racial inequality" (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001, p. 266).

What are the implications of featuring Native Horn-Miller on the cover of a well-known Canadian magazine and constructing her identity in terms of hybridity? hooks' (1992) essays in Black Looks come to mind and a few questions emerge. For instance, is

the cover an attempt at cultural appropriation or cultural appreciation? Is embracing Horn-Miller an attempt by white Canadians to deny accountability for their racist actions against Native people? With Horn-Miller presented as a Native as well as a Canadian, are the Native people finally offered recognition in the Canadian press? Is this an attempt to reconcile two nations?

Whether featuring Native Horn-Miller on the cover of Time magazine is an attempt at cultural appropriation or cultural appreciation, at least her culture was visible in the picture. Did Horn-Miller have a role to play in the visibility of her culture? How would she define her identity? How would she perform?

Performing the Essential

Horn-Miller plays on a Canadian team, she wears Canadian colors during competition, and readers saw her face and body photographed in front of a huge maple leaf. Has she, herself, constructed her identity as a component of hybridity? Has she “melded” her Native identity with her Canadian identity?

While undressing might have worked to strip her, not only of her clothes but also of her culture (Smith, 1980), she made a choice. Horn-Miller was able to perform as a Native because she exercised agency. For the cover, her tattoos that are Native art and design would, inevitably, be part of the picture and she would wear a feather in her hair to reinforce the visibility of her culture. She says: “The feather was my idea and [the photographer] knew I had a lot of tattoos so that was going to be part of the picture [laugh].” Not only did the feather stand as a symbol of her Native identity but so did the tattoos—some more than others. She explained during the interview:

Yes, I wanted them to show. I mean my tattoos... I always wanted to get something that was really significant to me. My bear claws [around the

wrist]... I'm a bear which is your political affiliation in my culture, and you inherit it from your mother so she was a bear. And that's something I'm very proud of—that I know that and that I have that. This is a killer whale [on her chest]. I got that when I was 18 because I was like: 'Yeah, I'm a killer whale' [laugh]. Somebody called me that once. It's Native art and Native design. I actually did some research on it because I used to work for the newspaper on my reserve. I read that Mohawk people were some of the most tattooed Native people in all of North America. We used to tattoo our faces and our bodies and it was a big part of our culture, tattooing.

Therefore, by requesting that her tattoos and the feather be included in the picture, she was able to perform a Native identity. Does she also perform a Canadian identity? Did she agree to use the maple leaf as the backdrop of the picture to symbolize a hybrid identity?

During our conversation, she never claimed a Canadian identity per say, nor did she reject it. While some people might associate the presence of the Canadian flag in the picture to a notion of hybridity, Horn-Miller does not. When the photographer, for the photo shoot, wanted to wrap her in the Canadian flag, she refused and explained why:

I said: 'I don't want to be wrapped in any flag.' Technically, I could be wrapped in the Canadian, the American, the Quebec, the Ontario, the Mohawk, the Iroquois confederacy flag. That's like six different flags. . . . I didn't want to be wrapped in anything. I remember [the photographer] was mad because he had commissioned this huge flag... So my mom pulled me aside and said: 'Waneek, if they put the flag behind

you it symbolizes that there are a lot of Canadians that stand behind you, and your team, and you are on the Canadian Olympic team...' And I said: 'Yeah, but some people are going to read into this and Native people...' I had a fine line to walk with the Native people as well as non-Native and it was a headache.

Horn-Miller was well aware that people could read her picture differently and assign her different identities. While she agreed to include the Canadian flag as a symbol of a Canadian identity, she never claimed it for herself. When speaking to the press, she might have strategically performed a Canadian identity or a hybrid identity even though her identity seemed essentially constructed and informed by Native discourse. For instance she said:

I think what I chose to do with my team and my culture and my people is add a pride to the pride of the team and bring elements of my culture that were going to help inspire. . . . My community was proud of me and proud of them because they're sort of an extension of me. . . . That's the most important thing for me with this whole experience: that I've made my family, my community, my people proud and gave them something to be proud of. I always say to people that my experience and my achievements are your achievements because as a community you sort of have produced me and I want to share my achievements because it's really important that they feel a pride in themselves in having me [at the Olympics]. . . . [I would like to talk about] how I'm from a long line of strong people. I see myself as part of a continuum. We're taught to always look at the future with one eye on the past, to always remember your ancestors and think of

the people coming. So, you see yourself as part of a continuum of your people and I am the result of someone's decision a long time ago for me to be here and to give me these opportunities that I have and try to do them as best I can and respect that.

If the concept of a fluid and shifting identity fosters a more diverse exercise of agency and has the possibility to challenge marginal identities, could Horn-Miller find it useful and productive to perform an essential Native identity, to fix her identity? When efforts are made to construct a story of harmony, peace and understanding that would lead people to believe that racism against Native people does not exist or that Native people have the same opportunity as any one else to achieve in sport, claiming an essential identity might be a way to resist. Indeed, hooks (1992) explains that "[w]hen the dominant culture demands that the Other be offered as sign that progressive political change is taking place, that the American Dream can indeed be inclusive of difference, it invites a resurgence of essentialist cultural nationalism" (p. 26). Further on, she argues that, in order to understand the usefulness of an essential identity, it would be a valuable exercise to interrogate "central" identities and their construction. She writes:

Those progressive white intellectuals who are particularly critical of "essentialist" notions of identity when writing about mass culture, race, and gender have not focused their critiques on white identity and the way essentialism informs representations of whiteness. It is always the non-white, or in some cases the non-heterosexual Other, who is guilty of essentialism. Few white intellectuals call attention to the way in which the contemporary obsession with white consumption of the dark Other has

served as a catalyst for the resurgence of essentialist based racial and ethnic nationalism. (p. 30)

Therefore, we could argue that performing an essential Native identity worked, in this case, to keep Native history and Native experience “intact.” If claiming an “essential” Native identity works to resist appropriation, exploitation or exoticization, can one really criticize such a performance of identity?

Concluding Remarks

While identities are productively understood as fluid, in process, shifting and open to change, they can nonetheless be temporarily stabilized for different purposes. We believe the media constructed their texts in a way that favored a particular interpretation of Horn-Miller’s identity performances. Indeed, the media seem to have stabilized her identity in terms of traditional femininity and in terms of hybridity. On one hand, stabilizing her identity as “feminine” worked to promote dominant notions about women: a woman will, first and foremost, strive to be “feminine” and will please the male gaze. In sport, this works to maintain the status quo. On the other hand, stabilizing Horn-Miller’s identity in terms of hybridity, can work to reconstruct the Canadian nation; to reconstruct it as a nation that is inclusive of difference, that is pro-multiculturalism and that is non-racist but it can also work to challenge the notion of essentialized boundaries. While the media recruit the dominant discourse to understand Horn-Miller’s identity performances, excerpts from Horn-Miller’s conversation transcript present components of an alternative discourse that fosters a different understanding of her identity performances.

Horn-Miller also stabilized her identity. She essentially performed a Native identity on the cover of Time magazine, not to promote a Canadian nation that is inclusive of difference but rather to challenge stereotypical assumptions associated to

Native women. She also performed an essential Native identity to challenge the status quo.

While Horn-Miller might have temporarily stabilized her identity to perform an essential Native identity, her identity can still be understood as fragmented. Indeed, it was clear that Horn-Miller's subjectivity was fluid, shifting and contradictory. She could perform a "feminine" identity, an athlete identity, a Native identity but would not restrict herself to these. She clearly expressed her view during the interview when she said:

Women today, particularly athletes... I think we stick people into one category. If you're an athlete, you're an athlete and that's all. You're almost asexual. People see you dress up and they are like: "Oh! You're not wearing your bathing suit and cap!" Well, duhh! You know I do dress up and stuff. It's really hard for people to see you in more than one category. We're so many things. You know, we're athletes, we're intelligent, we're sexual people, we're whatever. We're all these things and that's what I am. I'm a lot more than just one thing. And I think that's one of the reasons why I did that picture. With Native people... They see me as Native and they associate strict things with that. I'm a Native woman. I'm an athlete. I was a university student. I'm all these things.

If Horn-Miller does not perform a singular identity that is primarily informed by a dominant femininity discourse, can readers recruit an alternative discourse to interpret her picture? Does her picture promote dominant messages concerning femininity and sexuality? Answers to those questions are provided in another article (Henrie & Rail, 2003) where semiotics is used to analyze the Time cover and to highlight subversive messages available to the attentive reader.

References

- Anderson, K. (2001). The other side of Jenny. Sports Illustrated for Women, January, 118-121.
- Associated Press (1999, February 22). Buck-naked Witt has no regrets. The Gazette, p. D2.
- Barker, C., & Galasiński, D. (2001). Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bartky, S. (1998). Foucault, femininity, and the modernization of patriarchal power. In R. Weitz (Ed.), The politics of women's bodies: Sexuality, appearance, and behavior (pp. 25-45). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bartky, S. (2002). Suffering to be beautiful. In C.L. Mui & J.S. Murphy (Eds.), Gender struggles: Practical approaches to contemporary feminism (pp. 241-256). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.
- Birrell, S., & Cole, C. (1990). Double fault: Renee Richards and the construction and naturalization of difference. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 1-21.
- Bordo, S. (1989). The body and the reproduction of femininity: A feminist appropriation of Foucault. In A. Jagger & S. Bordo (Eds.), Gender/body/knowledge: Feminist reconstructions of being and knowing (pp.13-33). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Bordo, S. (1990). Material girl: The effacement of postmodern culture. Michigan Quarterly Review, 29(4), 653-677.
- Bordo, S. (1993). Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture, and the body. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Boutilier, M.A., & SanGiovanni, L. (1983). The sporting woman. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Bowman, A., & Daniels, D. (1995). A shifting gaze? Photographic representation of women athletes. Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme, 15(4), 84-88.
- Brookes, R. (2002). Representing sport. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bruce, T., & Hallinan, C. (2001). Cathy Freeman: The quest for Australian identity. In D.L. Andrews & S.J. Jackson (Eds.), Sport stars: The cultural politics of sporting celebrity (pp. 257-270). London and New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1990). Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity. New York and London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1991). Imitation and gender insubordination. In D. Fuss (Ed.), Inside/out: Lesbian theories, gay theories (pp. 13-31). New York and London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex." New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997). Excitable speech: A politics of the performative. New York and London: Routledge.
- Cashman, R. (1995). Paradise of sport: The rise of organized sport in Australia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia.
- Creedon, P.J. (1994). Women, media and sport. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dallaire, C. (2002). "Not Just Francophone": The Hybridity of Minority Francophone Youths in Canada. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Duncan, M.C. (1990). Sports photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 22-43.

- Eitzen, D., & Sage, G.H. (1989). Sociology of North American sport. Dubuque, IO: W.C. Brown.
- Fasting, K. (1999). Women, sports and the media. Olympic Review, 26(26), 43-45.
- Fern Haber, H. (1996). Foucault pumped: Body politics and the muscled woman. In S. J. Hekman (Ed.), Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault (pp. 137-156). University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Graham, D. (2000, October 2). Getting naked is getting popular. The Montreal Gazette, p. F2.
- Greendorfer, S.L. (1990, August). Media reinforcement of stereotypic ideology of women in sport. Paper presented at the Institute for International Sport Seminar, "The media and international sport: Ethical Issues," University of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI.
- Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held & T. McGrew (Eds.), Modernity and its futures. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hansberry, L. (1972). Les Blancs. In R. Nemiroff (Ed.), Les Blancs: The collected last plays of Lorraine Hansberry. New York: Random House.
- Hargreaves, J. (1986). Sport, power and culture: A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Henrie, K. & Rail, G. (2003). Forcing reinterpretation: Waneek Horn-Miller poses naked for the cover of Time magazine. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Hill, R.W. (2000). Drag racing: Dressing up (and messing up) white in contemporary first nations art. Fuse, 23(4), 18-27.

- Holmlund, C.A. (1994). Visible difference and flex appeal: The body, sex sexuality, and race in the *Pumping Iron* Films. In S. Birrell & C.L. Cole (Eds.), Women, sport and culture (pp. 299-314). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: Race and representation. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, R., Murrell, A.J., & Jackson, J. (1999). Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages: Print media coverage of U.S. women's Olympic gold medal winning teams. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23(2), 183-192.
- Kane, M.J., & Disch, L.J. (1993). Sexual violence and the reproduction of male power in the locker room: A critical analysis of the Lisa Olson "incident." Sociology of Sport Journal, 10(4), 331-352.
- Kane, M.J., & Greendorfer, S.L. (1994). The media's role in accommodating and resisting stereotyped images of women in sport. In P.J. Creedon (Eds.), Women, media and sport (pp. 28-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kane, M.J., & Parks, J.B. (1992). The social construction of gender difference and hierarchy in sport journalism – few new twists on very old themes. Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 1(1), 49-83.
- Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Laucius, J. (2000, September 6). Olympic hopeful bares all—again: More exposure for ex-Ottawan. The Ottawa Citizen, p. A5.
- Leduc, L. (2000). Waneek Horn-Miller: Nue, donc féministe? La Presse [On-line]. Available: www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/archives/publ_p11040759.html

- Maki, A. (2000). Exposure good for water polo, teammate say Horn-Miller's nude photo reflects spirit of women's squad [On-line]. Available:
linwww.caaws.ca/olympics/2000/waterpolo/waterpolo_sep12.htm
- Mason, F.D. (2000). Women play sports (just not as well): Canadian newspapers' coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American games.
 Unpublished master's thesis, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Messner, M. (1988). Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain. Sociology of Sport Journal, 5(3), 197-211.
- Minh-ha, T.T. (1990). Cotton and Iron. In R. Ferguson, et. al. (Eds.), Out there: Marginalization and contemporary culture. New York, NY: New Museum of Contemporary Art.
- No nude is good nudes. (2000, September 8). The Gazette (Montreal), p. B2.
- Piercy, M. (1991). He, she and it. New York: Fawcett Crest.
- Pirinen, R.M. (1997). The construction of women's positions in sport: A textual analysis of articles on female athletes in Finnish women's magazine. Sociology of Sport Journal, 14, 290-301.
- Pratt, A. (2000). Un corps sain, des seins, un esprit sain. La Presse [On-line]. Available:
www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/archives/publ_005103.html
- Rintala, J., & Birrell, S. (1984). Fair treatment for the active female: A content analysis of *Young Athlete* magazine. Sociology of Sport Journal, 1, 231-250.
- Rowe, D. (1995). Popular cultures: Rock music, sport and the politics of pleasure. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Salwen, M.B., & Wood, N. (1994). Depictions of female athletes on *Sport Illustrated* covers, 1957-1989. Journal of Sport Behavior, 17(2), 98-107.

- Shogan, D. (1999). The making of high-performance athletes: Discipline, diversity, and ethics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, H.W. (1980). Does shedding one's clothes imply shedding one's culture? A cross-cultural test of nudism claims. International Review of Modern Sociology, 10, 255-268.
- Smith, A. (Host). (2000, September 3). Naked Goods. Toronto, ON: Canadian Broadcasting Corp.
- Snow, K. (1995). Where are the role models? Exploring the invisibility of female athletes in the media. Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme, 15(4), 22-25.
- Starkman, R. (1999, December 18). Top women athletes take clothes off to get more exposure for their sports. Toronto Star, pp. C1, C5.
- Stevens, N. (2000, September 11). Canadian has no regrets about nude pose. Calgary Herald, p. D19.
- Stubbs, D. (2000, September 11). Their goal is gold. Time (Canadian Edition), pp. 60-61.
- Water polo: Aqua lungs only. (2000, September 2). The Edmonton Journal, p. D8.
- Water polo teammate bares all. (2000, September 12). The Halifax Daily News, p. 54.
- Weedon, C. (1997). Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wright, J., & Clarke, G. (1999). Sport, the media and the construction of compulsory heterosexuality: A case study of women's Rugby Union. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 34(3), 227-243.
- Young, R.J.C. (1995). Colonial desire. Hybridity in theory, culture and race. London and New York: Routledge.

PART THREE:
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Concluding Comments

Many times during this process I wondered why I was doing this. Why had I ever wanted to do a Master's degree? Why did I want to write? Not only was I wondering this but so were other people. I did not really have any answers for them nor did I have any for myself. I wondered if my time would not be better spent doing something else, something more productive, something that would actually make a difference. Why was I writing? Was it important? Not too long ago, I remembered a passage I had read from an interview conducted with Marge Piercy. Here is what Piercy answered to "Why write?":

Because no matter how active you are, you have to know why, you have to know who you are, you have to know what you're doing and why you're doing it. You have to know what you believe in. . . . You need to know what happens [when] people make certain choices. You have to know what really are strengths and weaknesses played out over time. . . . Learning how other people conducted their lives, whether their story is "this is how I went wrong" or their story is "this is how I finally accomplished this"—it's useful [for] us to look at the meaning of other people's lives.

Considering those words, writing is definitely not a trivial activity. Throughout this process, I tested, on numerous accounts, what I was doing and why I was doing it. I quizzed myself to find out what I believed in. I also learned what can happen when someone makes a certain choice and what are the strengths and weaknesses that follow suit. In the end, it was useful for me to look at the meaning of someone else's experience.

You Have to Know What You're Doing and Why You're Doing It

I was interested in the larger phenomenon of women athletes who pose naked. I wanted to know why they had made those choices; what it meant to them to pose naked; what it meant to other people. I had the wonderful opportunity to speak to Waneek Horn-Miller, a water polo player who had posed naked on the cover of Time magazine. I wanted to understand her experience and to do so, I decided to learn more about poststructuralism, more specifically, feminist poststructuralism and semiotics. What was I doing? I was learning to interpret the world, to understand experience, language and subjectivity in a whole new exciting way. I was playing with discourse analysis to understand the impact of the discourses in circulation at a specific time, during a specific period; to understand how people or institutions use those discourses. I was also experimenting with semiotics to grasp the importance of signs and meaning. I was doing this research not only to learn more about women athletes who pose naked but also to gain a new perspective on the world around me. I was reading to understand this new perspective and writing to test my knowledge and understanding of this new outlook. Horn-Miller's case allowed me to apply my new outlook or my theoretical framework and gain a greater understanding of one's choices.

You Need to Know What Happens When People Make Certain Choices

Waneek Horn-Miller, water polo player, decided to pose naked for the cover of Time magazine. Why did she choose to do that? What was she trying to accomplish? What did it mean for her? How could readers interpret her picture? Would the media assign her specific subjectivities?

With my newly acquired taste for poststructuralism, I analyzed several newspaper articles, Horn-Miller's conversation text, and the Time cover. The media analysis

highlighted how Horn-Miller had been assigned with subjectivities that were used to support dominant discourses and construct specific stories. The media, I suggested, fixed Horn-Miller's identity and firstly constructed a story that encouraged readers to understand Horn-Miller was promoting a "feminine" look and secondly, constructed a story encouraging readers to interpret the cover as a sign of reconciliation between Natives and non-Natives. When I analyzed the interview, I noticed that Horn-Miller understood her identity as multiple; she was more than just one thing, she would explain. Her speech also highlighted how her identity was contradictory; depending on what subject position she took up, she was sometimes pulled in different directions. While her identity might have been contradictory, the notion of identity as multiple, allowed for a greater exercise of agency. If one can go on redescribing herself endlessly, how can one ever speak from a specific position?

It is possible to speak from a specific position and to assign meaning by stabilizing, temporarily, one's identity. For instance, the media stabilized Horn-Miller's identity, and constructed a specific story of her experience. In order to speak and challenge the media's construction, Horn-Miller also stabilized her identity. She spoke as a Native and constructed a different story of her experience of posing naked. She assigned the cover new, challenging and disruptive meaning. Consequently, much like Barker and Galasiński (2001) have argued, identities can be understood as "fictions marking a temporary, partial and arbitrary closure of meaning" (p. 43). Therefore, I believe both the media and Horn-Miller strategically stabilized an identity in order to construct a different story of the cover. If one analyzed the cover using semiotics, what story would emerge?

Using semiotics, I was guided towards a reading that challenged the media's construction of the cover. Indeed, the picture did not promote Horn-Miller's sexuality,

sensuality or femininity. The analysis lead me to understand that her nakedness was not gratuitous and rather worked to challenge a number of dominant discourses. Temporarily stabilizing her identity, Horn-Miller had emphasized in the picture, toughness, strength, seriousness and determination which challenged traditional notions of femininity and transgressed gender codes. Her body on the cover of Time magazine, encouraged the creation of new meanings concerning the naked body of a woman as well as the body of a Native woman. Horn-Miller's performance on the cover and her narrative in the interview lead to new and exciting interpretations and worked to create new meanings. Nevertheless, while new readings could be circulated, less disruptive interpretations of the cover were also possible. Indeed, since the media had stabilized Horn-Miller's identity as feminine as well as a hybrid of Canadian and Native, it could encourage viewers to read her naked body as that of an exotic Other and as a new pleasure offered to readers.

Nevertheless, while institutions such as the media can construct stories that promote various dominant discourses, Horn-Miller's story served as an example of how someone can exercise agency, resist dominant interpretations and construct new meanings. Analyzing the case of Horn-Miller and considering the media's role as well as her own, highlighted the constant struggle that exists to fix meaning and that works to close off possible paths of resistance.

I believe the two articles highlighted the link or the interdependence between identity and meaning. Without stabilizing identity, stabilizing meaning is not possible and since meaning is unstable, the possibility to redescribe or rearticulate one's self is endless. The media stabilized Horn-Miller's identity in order to stabilize the meaning of the cover and Horn-Miller did the same to assign a different meaning to the cover, highlighting that

“meaning is the inherently unstable domain of contestation rather than the product of a finished and secure language” (Barker and Galasiński, 2001, p. 43).

You Have to Know What Really Are Strengths and Weaknesses

Played Out Over Time

While it is impossible to control how people or institutions will interpret a picture such as Horn-Miller’s, I believe it is important to offer viewers challenging and disruptive performances and interpretations. This can create new meanings, new discourses and new subject positions, and that, is certainly a strength.

Many people fail to recognize identity as a construction; as a concept that is unstable; as a concept that is dependent on language and discourse, and that failure, is a weakness. Many constructed identities are used to support domination and unequal power relations. It would be vital then, to recognize identities as constructions, whether it be gender or race. According to hooks (1992) while race has been strategically constructed and wrongfully used to support notions of domination, to change anything, people must recognize that a concept such as race is a construction. Indeed, using a play by Hansberry, hooks (1992) explained why, in the particular case of of race, it “explains nothing at all” and “hasn’t a thing to do with it.” She argued that the recognition of racism and the impact it has on the oppressed and the oppressor is the key to a dialogue concerning race or to “an encounter between races that is not based on denial and fantasy” (p. 28). Accordingly, this dialogue must rely on the acknowledgement of race as a construction or as a “device”:

I believe in the recognition of devices as *devices*—but I also believe in the reality of those devices. In one century men choose to hide their conquests under religion, in another under race. So

you and I may recognize the fraudulence of the device in both cases, but the fact remains that a man who has a sword run through him because he will not become a Moslem or a Christian—or who is lynched in Mississippi or Zatembe because he is black—is suffering the utter reality of that device of conquest. And it is pointless to pretend that it doesn't *exist*—merely because it is a lie . . . (italics in original, Hansberry 1972, quoted in hooks, 1992, p. 27)

This project has allowed me to understand the relationship, a poststructuralist sees, between language, meaning, experience and identity, and that, is a strength. I have learned to recognize gender and race as constructions embedded with multiple meanings that can be stabilized to achieve different purposes. Reflecting on identity has most enlightened me. I had always found it difficult to label someone or to label myself. To identify myself as something specific or someone specific seemed tremendously “final” or “official” and so, poststructuralism granted me with the knowledge to think of myself and others differently. Who or what am I? I am a series of descriptions made possible because of language. Indeed Barker and Galasiński (2001) explained that:

We cannot have an identity, rather we are a series of descriptions in language. Indeed, given that ‘are’ implies an objective representation of what it is to be a person, then we must amend our formulation to say that we are ‘usefully described’ as multiple subjects. Given that language does not mirror the world, we can never say what we ‘really are.’ We can only go on making what we consider to be better, more useful, descriptions or ourselves. (p. 42)

My encounter with Waneek Horn-Miller has definitely changed how I understand her experience, her sense of herself but also, my own self, and that is a strength. I reflect on this process and know that I have changed but know nothing about the impact it had on Waneek, and that is a weakness. How did she leave our encounter? Was this a brief one-sided intrusion in the life and experience of the Other? I would take comfort knowing that it was not but I might never know for sure.

My project might not work to eliminate the patriarchal sporting system or change the media's portrayal or interpretation of women athletes' bodies but it can certainly offer new interpretations or new meanings for people trying to resist dominant and restrictive interpretations. It can foster dialogues about race and gender as well as meaning, experience and identity. It was useful for me to look at the meaning of Waneek Horn-Miller's experience and I can only hope that it was useful for Waneek herself, on some level to meet with me, and that it will also be useful for other people, whether athlete, researcher, White or Native.

PART FOUR:
REFERENCES AND APPENDICES

References

- Alther, L. (1995). Five minutes in heaven. New York, NY: Plume.
- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and the ideological state apparatus. Lenin and philosophy and other essays. Trans. Ben Brewster. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Anderson, K. (2001, January). The other side of Jenny. Sports Illustrated for Women, 118-121.
- Ang, I. (1985). Watching Dallas. London: Methuen.
- Associated Press. (1999, February 22). Buck-naked Witt has no regrets. The Gazette, p. D2.
- Babcock, B.A. (1978). Introduction. In B.A. Babcock (Ed.), The reversible world: Symbolic inversion in art and society (pp. 13-36). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Balsamo, A. (1996). Technologies of the gendered body: Reading cyborg women. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Banner, L.W. (1983). American Beauty. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Barker, C. (2000). Cultural studies: Theory and practice. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Barker, C., & Galasiński, D. (2001). Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bartky, S. (1998). Foucault, femininity, and the modernization of patriarchal power. In R. Weitz (Ed.), The politics of women's bodies: Sexuality, appearance, and behavior (pp. 25-45). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bartky, S. (2002). Suffering to be beautiful. In C.L. Mui & J.S. Murphy (Eds.), Gender struggles: Practical approaches to contemporary feminism (pp. 241-256). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.
- Berger, A.A. (1998). Media analysis techniques. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Berger, J. (1973b). Ways of seeing. New York, NY: The Viking Press.
- Birrell, S. (2000). Feminist theories for sport. In J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), Handbook of sports studies (pp. 61-76). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Birrell, S., & Cole, C. (1990). Double fault: Renee Richards and the construction and naturalization of difference. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 1-21.
- Birrell, S., & McDonald, M. (1993). Privileged assault: Representations of violence and the inadequacy of segmented category analysis. Invited paper presented at the National Girls and Women in Sport Symposium, Slippery Rock University, February.
- Birrell, S., & Theberge, N. (1994). Ideological control of women in sport. In D.M. Costa and S. R. Guthrie (Eds.), Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives (pp. 361-376). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Bobo, J. (1988). The color purple: Black women as cultural readers. In E.D. Pribram (Ed.), Female spectators: Looking at film and television (pp. 90-109). New York, NY: Verso.
- Bordo, S. (1989). The body and the reproduction of femininity: A feminist appropriation of Foucault. In A. Jagger & S. Bordo (Eds.), Gender/body/knowledge: Feminist reconstructions of being and knowing (pp.13-33). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Bordo, S. (1990). Material girl: The effacement of postmodern culture. Michigan Quarterly Review, 29(4), 653-677.
- Bordo, S. (1993). Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture, and the body. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Boutilier, M.A. & SanGiovanni, L. (1983). The sporting woman. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Bowman, A., & Daniels, D. (1995). A shifting gaze? Photographic representation of women athletes. Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme, 15(4), 84-88.
- Brookes, R. (2002). Representing sport. New York, NY: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Bruce, T. (1998). Audience frustration and pleasure: Women viewers confront televised women's basketball. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 22(4), 373-397.
- Bruce, T., & Hallinan, C. (2001). Cathy Freeman: The quest for Australian identity. In D.L. Andrews & S.J. Jackson (Eds.), Sport stars: The cultural politics of sporting celebrity (pp. 257-270). London and New York: Routledge.
- Bryson, L. (1983). Sport and the oppression of women. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 19(3), 413-426.
- Butler, J. (1990). Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity. New York and London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1991). Imitation and gender insubordination. In D. Fuss (Ed.), Inside/out: Lesbian theories, gay theories (pp. 13-31). New York and London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex." New York, NY: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997). Excitable speech: A politics of the performative. New York and London: Routledge.

- Cashman, R. (1995). Paradise of sport: The rise of organized sport in Australia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia.
- Cole, C., & Denny, H. (1995). Visualizing deviance in post-Reagan America: Magic Johnson, AIDS, and the promiscuous world of professional sport. Critical Sociology, 20, 123-147.
- Cole, C., & Hribar, A. (1999). Celebrity feminism Nike style: Post-Fordism, transcendence and consumer power. Sociology of Sport Journal, 12, 347-369.
- Coward, R. (1985). Female desires: How they are sought, bought and packaged. New York, NY: Grove.
- Creedon, P.J. (1994). Women, media and sport. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dallaire, C. (2002). "Not Just Francophone": The Hybridity of Minority Francophone Youths in Canada. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Davis, L.R. (1997). The swimsuit issue and sport: Hegemonic masculinity in Sports Illustrated. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Derrida, J. (1973). Speech and phenomena. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1976). Of grammatology. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- DeVault, M. (1990). Talking and listening from women's standpoint: Feminist strategies for interviewing and analysis. Social Problems, 37(1), 701-721.
- Duff, T. (2002). Charmaine: The spectacle of the body revisited. Arts Atlantic, 70, 4-5.
- Duncan, M.C. (1990). Sports photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 22-43.
- Duncan, M.C. (1994). Politics of women's body images and practices: Foucault, the panopticon and Shape magazine. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 18, 48-65.

- Duncan, M.C., & Brummet, B. (1993). Liberal and radical sources of female empowerment in sport media. Sociology of Sport Journal, 10, 57-72.
- Duncan, M.C., & Hasbrook, C.A. (1988). Denial of power in televised women's sport. Sociology of Sport Journal, 5, 1-21.
- Duncan, M.C., & Messner, M.A. (1998). The media image of sport and gender. In L.A. Wenner (Ed.), MediaSport (pp. 170-185). London & New York: Routledge.
- Duncan, M.C., & Sayaovong, A. (1990). Photographic images and gender in *Sports Illustrated for Kids*. Play and Culture, 3, 91-116.
- Dunning, E. (1986). Sport as a male preserve: Notes on the social sources of masculinity and its transformation. Theory, Culture and Society, 3, 79-90.
- Eastman, S.T., & Billings, A.C. (1999). Gender parity in the Olympics: Hying women athletes, favoring men athletes. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23(2), 140-170.
- Eitzen, D., & Sage, G.H. (1989). Sociology of North American sport. Dubuque, IO: W.C. Brown.
- Fasting, K. (1999). Women, sports and the media. Olympic Review, 26(26), 43-45.
- Fern Haber, H. (1996). Foucault pumped: Body politics and the muscled woman. In S. J. Hekman (Ed.), Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault (pp. 137-156). University Parks, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1978). I, Pierre Rivière. Harmondsworth: Peregrine.
- Foucault, M. (1979a). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. New York, NY: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1979b). What is an author? Screen, 20(1), 13-33.
- Foucault, M. (1981). The history of sexuality, volume one. An introduction. Harmondsworth: Pelican.

- Foucault, M. (1986). The history of sexuality, volume two. The use of pleasure. Harmondsworth: Viking.
- Gavey, N. (1989). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 13, 459-475.
- Glowacka, D. (2002). A view from the crack. Arts Atlantis, 70, 6-7.
- Graham, D. (2000, October 2). Getting naked is getting popular. The Montreal Gazette, p. F2.
- Graham, H. (1984). Surveying through stories. In C. Bell & H. Roberts (Eds.), Social researching: Politics, problems, practice. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Greendorfer, S.L. (1990, August). Media reinforcement of stereotypic ideology of women in sport. Paper presented at the Institute for International Sport Seminar, "The media and international sport: Ethical Issues," University of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI.
- Gross, L. (1989). Out of the mainstream: Sexual minorities and the mass media. In E. Seiter, H. Borchers, G. Kreutzner & E.-M. Warth (Eds.), Remote control: Television, audiences and cultural power (pp. 130-149). New York: Routledge.
- Halbert, C., & Latimer, M. (1994). 'Battling' gendered language: An analysis of the language used by sports commentators in a televised coed tennis competition. Sociology of Sport Journal, 11, 298-308.
- Hall, M.A. (1978). Sport and gender: A feminist perspective on the sociology of sport. CAHPER Sociology of Sport Monograph Series. Ottawa: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation.
- Hall, S. (1992). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held and T. McGrew (Eds.), Modernity and its futures. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Hall, S. (1995). Fantasy, identity, politics. In E. Carter, J. Donald and J. Squites (Eds.), Cultural remix: Theories of politics and the popular. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hansberry, L. (1972). Les Blancs. In R. Nemiroff (Ed.), Les Blancs: The collected last plays of Lorraine Hansberry. New York, NY: Random House.
- Hargreaves, J. (1986). Sport, power and culture: A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Henrie, K., & Rail, G. (2003). Forcing reinterpretation: Waneek Horn-Miller poses naked for the cover of Time magazine. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Henrie, K., & Rail, G. (2003). Waneek Horn-Miller: A story of incredible performances. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Hill, R.W. (2000). Drag racing: Dressing up (and messing up) white contemporary first nations art. Fuse, 23(4), 18-27.
- Hilliard, D.C. (1994). Televised sport and the (anti) sociological imagination. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 18, 88-99.
- Hobson, D. (1982). Crossroads: The drama of a soap opera. London: Methuen.
- Hollenberg, S. (2002). Tenders. Arts Atlantis, 70, 8-9.
- Holmlund, C.A. (1994). Visible difference and flex appeal: The body, sex, sexuality, and race in the *Pumping Iron* Films. In S. Birrell & C.L. Cole (Eds.), Women, sport and culture (pp. 299-314). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: Race and representation. New York, NY: Routledge.
- hooks, b. (2000). Good girls look the other way. In D. Cornell (Ed.), Feminism and pornography (pp. 477-486). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Jones, R., Murrell, A.J., & Jackson, J. (1999). Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages: Print media coverage of U.S. women's Olympic gold medal winning teams. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23(2), 183-192.
- Kane, M.J., & Greendorfer, S.L. (1994). The media's role in accommodating and resisting stereotyped images of women in sport. In P.J. Creedon (Eds.), Women, media and sport (pp. 28-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kane, M.J., & Parks, J.B. (1992). The social construction of gender difference and hierarchy in sport journalism – few new twists on very old themes. Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 1(1), 49-83.
- King, S. (1993). Politics of the body and the body politic: Magic Johnson and the ideology of AIDS. Sociology of Sport Journal, 10, 270-285.
- Kristeva, J. (1981). Oscillation between power and denial. In E. Marks & I. de Courtivron (Eds.), New french feminism: An antology (pp. 165-167). New York : Schocken Books.
- Kristeva, J. (1981). Women's time. Signs, 7(1), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kristeva, J. (1986). The Kristeva reader. Edited by Toril Moi. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kuhn, A. (1985). The power of the image: Essays on representation and sexuality. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lacan, J. (1977). Écrits. London: Tavistock.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). Hegemony and socialist strategy: Toward a radical democratic politics. London: Verso.

- Laucius, J. (2000, September 6). Olympic hopeful bares all—again: More exposure for ex-Ottawan. The Ottawa Citizen, p. A5.
- Lawrence, T. (2000). The public and private body of a female athlete. Network News, 11(2), 1.
- Leath, V.M., & Lumpkin, A. (1992). An analysis of sportswomen on the covers and in the feature articles of *Women's Sports and Fitness Magazine*. Journal of Sport and Social Issue, 16(2), 121-126.
- Leduc, L. (2000). Waneek Horn-Miller: Nue, donc féministe? La Presse [On-line]. Available: www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/archives/publ_p11040759.html
- Lurie, A (1981). The language of clothes. New York, NY: Random House.
- MacNeill, M. (1988). Active women, media representations, and ideology. In J. Harvey & H. Cantelon (Eds.), Not just a game: Essays in Canadian sport sociology (pp. 195-211). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Maki, A. (2000). Exposure good for water polo, teammate say Horn-Miller's nude photo reflects spirit of women's squad [On-line]. Available: www.caaws.ca/olympics/2000/waterpolo/waterpolo_sep12.htm
- Mason, F.D. (2000). Women play sports (just not as well): Canadian newspapers' coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American games. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- McPhail, J. C. (1995). Phenomenology as philosophy and method: Applications to ways of doing special education. Remedial and Special Education, 16(3), 159-165.
- Messner, M. (1988). Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain. Sociology of Sport Journal, 5(3), 197-211.

- Minh-ha, T.T. (1990). Cotton and iron. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-ha, & C. West (Eds.), Out there: Marginalization and contemporary culture. New York, NY: New Museum of Contemporary Art.
- Monacco, J. (1977). How to read a film. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- No nude is good nudes. (2000, September 8). The Gazette (Montreal), p. B2
- Oglesby, C.A (1978). Women and sport: From myth to reality. Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger.
- Piercy, M. (1991). He, she and it. New York: Fawcett Crest.
- Piercy, M. (1997). What are big girls made of? New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Pirinen, R.M. (1997). The construction of women's positions in sport: A textual analysis of articles on female athletes in Finnish women's magazine. Sociology of Sport Journal, 14, 290-301.
- Pratt, A. (2000). Un corps sain, des seins, un esprit sain. La Presse [On-line]. Available: www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/archives/pub_005103.html
- Press, A.L. (1991). Women watching television: Gender, class and generation in the American television experience. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Prewitt, T.J. (1989). Like a virgin: The semiotics of illusion in erotic performance. The American Journal of Semiotics, 6(4), 137-152.
- Pronger, B. (1990). The arena of masculinity: Sports, homosexuality and the meaning of sex. New York, NY: St Martin's Press.
- Pronger, B. (1995). Rendering the body: The implicit lesson of gross anatomy. Quest, 47, 427-446.
- Rail, G. (Ed.) (1998). Sport and postmodern times. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Rail, G. (2002). Postmodernism and sport studies. In J. Maguire and K. Young (Eds.), Perspectives in the sociology of sport (pp. 179-207). London, England: Elsevier Press.
- Rail, G., & Harvey, J. (1995). Body at work: Michel Foucault and the sociology of sport. Sociology of Sport Journal, 12, 164-179.
- Rail, G., & Lefebvre, M. (2002). Sculling cyborg: Scientific discourses, media representations and the effacement of Silken Laumann's subversive potential. Recherche sémiotique—Semiotic Inquiry, 22(1-2), 3-18.
- Rintala, J., & Birrell, S. (1984). Fair treatment for the active female: A content analysis of Young Athlete magazine. Sociology of Sport Journal, 1, 231-250.
- Rorty, R. (1980). Philosophy and the mirror of nature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowe, D. (1995). Popular cultures: Rock music, sport and the politics of pleasure. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Salwen, M.B., & Wood, N. (1994). Depictions of female athletes on *Sport Illustrated* covers, 1957-1989. Journal of Sport Behavior, 17(2), 98-107.
- Saussure, F. de (1966). A course in general linguistics. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Savoie-Zajc, L. (1997). L'entrevue semi-dirigée. Dans B. Gauthier (Ed.), Recherche sociale (pp. 263-285). Ottawa: Presse de l'Université d'Ottawa.
- Sheard, K. & Dunning, E. (1973). The rugby football club as a type of male preserve: Some sociological notes. International Review of Sport Sociology, 5, 5-24.
- Shogan, D. (1999). The making of high-performance athletes: Discipline, diversity, and ethics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Smith, A. (Host). (2000, September 3). Naked Goods. Toronto, ON: Canadian Broadcasting Corp.
- Smith, H.W. (1980). Does shedding one's clothes imply shedding one's culture? A cross-cultural test of nudism claims. International Review of Modern Sociology, 10, 255-268.
- Snow, K. (1995). Where are the role models? Exploring the invisibility of female athletes in the media. Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme, 15(4), 22-25.
- Star, L. (1992). Undying love, resisting pleasures: Women watch telerugby. In R. DuPlessis (Ed.), Feminist voices: Women's studies texts for Aotearoa, NZ (pp. 124-140). Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford Press.
- Starkman, R. (1999, December 18). Top women athletes take clothes off to get more exposure for their sports. Toronto Star, pp. C1, C5.
- Stevens, N. (2000, September 11). Canadian has no regrets about nude pose. Calgary Herald, p. D19.
- Stubbs, D. (2000, September 11). Their goal is gold. Time (Canadian Edition), 60-61.
- Sykes, H. (1998). Teaching bodies, learning desires: Feminist-poststructural life histories of heterosexual and lesbian physical education teachers in western Canada. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, British Columbia, Canada.
- Theberge, N. (1985). Toward a feminist alternative to sport as a male preserve. Quest, 10, 193-202.
- Tuggle, C.A., & Owen, A. (1999). A descriptive analysis of NBC's coverage of the centennial Olympics: The "game of the woman?" Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23(2), 193-202.

- Turner, B. (1984). The body and society: Explanations in social theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Urquhart, J., & Crossman, J. (1999). The *Globe and Mail* coverage of the winter Olympic games: A cold place for women athletes. Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23(2), 193-202.
- Urry, J. (1990). The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Wark, J. (2002). Girls, girls, girls and boys, boys, boys. Arts Atlantis, 70, 10-11.
- Water polo teammate bares all. (2000, September 12). The Halifax Daily News, p. 54.
- Water polo: Aqua lungs only. (2000, September 2). The Edmonton Journal, p. D8.
- Weedon, C. (1997). Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wright, J., & Clarke, G. (1999). Sport, the media and the construction of compulsory heterosexuality: A case study of women's Rugby Union. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 34(3), 227-243.
- Yeates, H. (1992). Women, the media and football violence. Social Alternatives, 11(1), 17-20.
- Young, R.J.C. (1995). Colonial esire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race. London and New York: Routledge.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS' APPROVAL



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

Cabinet du vice-recteur
à la recherche

Office of the Vice-Rector,
Research

HEALTH SCIENCES AND SCIENCE RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICS APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Health Sciences and Science Research Ethics Board (REB) examined the application for extension of ethics approval for the research project **Women athletes, nudity and the media (File H 09-01-01)** submitted by Mrs. Geneviève Rail of the School of Human Kinetics. This project received initial ethics approval in October 2001 by the REB as meeting appropriate ethical standards set out in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards. The University of Ottawa REB members accordingly gave it an extension of ethics approval. This ethics renewal certification is valid for one year from the date indicated below.

Andrée Bertrand
Protocol officer for ethics in research
For Daniel Lagarec,
Chair, Health Sciences and Science REB

February 26th, 2003

Date

APPENDIX B

CONVERSATION GUIDE

1. Identification

Conversation number:

Name:

Pseudonym:

Number of years that the athlete has been competing:

Number of years on national team:

2. Understanding the context

☐ Explain to me how you came around to posing nude?

- was it offered to you or did you approach someone from the press?

- where was it done?

- what were the terms of your arrangements (money? promotion of the mag?)?

- did you talk it over with other people before you agreed? With whom? What did they suggest?

- when you agreed to pose nude, was it prior to the official appointment to the Olympic team or after?

☐ Why do you think you were the one on the cover? Were there other members of the team that were asked or offered to do it?

☐ Why did you decide to do it? What were the reasons behind your decision?

☐ You posed for Time magazine, would you have done it for Playboy? Why? Or why not?

☐ What are the meaning of your tatoos?

☐ What was the purpose of the feather? Did you suggest it?

☐ How do you think people interpret the tatoos and the feather?

☐ Do you feel you've been used for political purposes or do you feel you've used them or the system to send a political message?

3. Dealing with the aftermath?

☐ How did it make you feel when you first saw your picture on the cover?

☐ What do you think about your picture? Do you like it? What does it represent for you?

☐ Have people talked to you about it? What have they said?

- ☐ How did your teammates react? How did your family react? How did your friends react?
- ☐ Does it matter to you what other people think? Coaches? Teammates? Friends? Family? National Sport Organizations?
- ☐ What do you think about the other similar pictures (e.g. U.S. high jumper Amy Acuff, Australian soccer team, Canadian cross-country ski team)?
- ☐ Do you think these athletes did it for similar reasons as yours?
- ☐ How would you feel if someone stopped you in the street and told you that your picture was great and great for women's sport?
- ☐ How would you feel if someone said that they thought your picture was very demeaning for women athletes and displayed a poor role model for younger girls?
- ☐ What kind of an impact do you think the picture had? Did people recognize you more after it came out? Were you offered new sponsorships? Was it a distraction - did it have an impact on your training? Did it have an impact at the Olympics?
- ☐ Would you do it again, now knowing the outcome?
- ☐ If a magazine like SI for women called you up and wanted to write an article about you. What would be your "dream-like" coverage? What would the article say? What kind of pictures would there be? In short what would be the ideal article?
- ☐ Now, the same thing but for the whole team. What would be the ideal coverage, the ideal article?
- ☐ What would be your ideal coverage of women's sport in general? Right now, are we close or not?

APPENDIX C**WANEK HORN-MILLER'S CONSENT FORM**



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

Faculté des sciences de la santé
École des sciences de l'activité physique

Faculty of Health Sciences
School of Human Kinetics

ATHLETE CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Karine Henrie

Institution, Faculty, Department: School of Human Kinetics
Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Ottawa

Telephone number: (613) 562-5800 ext. 4223

E-mail address: karinehenrie@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Geneviève Rail

Institution, Faculty, Department: School of Human Kinetics
Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Ottawa

Telephone number: (613) 562-5800 ext. 4227

E-mail address: genrail@uottawa.ca

I, Wendy Horn-Milkr, am interested in collaborating in the research conducted by Karine Henrie, graduate student, of the School of Human Kinetics at the University of Ottawa for her M.A. in Human Kinetics with a specialization in Women's Studies. The project is under the supervision of professor Geneviève Rail, Ph.D. The research is a case study of the Canadian Water Polo team and of my picture on the cover of Time magazine in September 2000. The purpose of the research is to gather information concerning women athletes who pose nude. More specifically, the objectives of the research are to find out why women athletes pose nude and how this decision might affect them as athletes, might affect their teammates and the team as a whole.

My participation will consist essentially of attending one interview session with the researcher. This interview session will last approximately 90 minutes and take place at a location and time that I have chosen. During the interview I will be asked to answer open-ended questions concerning: (a) demographic data; (b) reasons why I decided to pose nude; (c) repercussions that the picture(s) had on me, the teammates and the team.

I agree to have my interview tape-recorded. My interview will then be transcribed and I will receive a written copy of it. At that point I have the opportunity to read the transcript of my interview. I can delete passages, add new information and correct mistakes to the transcript if I so desire. Later in the research process I will be invited to read the interpretation of the data made by the researcher.

I understand that the corrected version of my interview transcript will only be used for research purposes by Karine Henrie and Geneviève Rail and that my confidentiality will be respected. Thus, my interview tape as well as my interview transcript will be kept in a locked file folder in the office of Geneviève Rail.



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

Faculté des sciences de la santé
École des sciences de l'activité physique

Faculty of Health Sciences
School of Human Kinetics

I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share with her will remain strictly confidential — only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the transcripts and to the interview tapes. No one else will use my data. I also understand that this does not mean that the research is anonymous. I understand that anonymity cannot be guaranteed. I am one of the few women athletes in Canada that has posed nude and the only one with a team. This would make it very easy for anyone to identify me. Thus, the researcher has my permission to use my real name in her research.

I understand that since this activity deals with personal information it may cause some minor emotional discomfort. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these occurrences. I am not obligated to answer any question that causes me to feel uncomfortable. I will not be penalized for choosing not to answer one or more questions. The interview will be conducted in a friendly, relaxed and informal manner. The researcher will formulate question in a simple and ordinary language and the questions will be reformulated if I do not understand them. I am informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, before or during an interview, refuse to participate and refuse to answer questions without prejudice.

If I agree to participate in the study, the interview will be an opportunity for me to discuss my experience as a woman athlete who posed nude and will lead to a greater understanding of this phenomenon. If I wish, a summary of the results and final document will be sent to me.

Any information requests or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project may be addressed to the Research Ethics Board of the University of Ottawa by speaking to the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, Lise Frigault (phone: 613-562-5800 ext. 1787 and e-mail: lfrigaul@uottawa.ca).

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep.

If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher, Karine Henrie or her supervisor, Geneviève Rail at the above mentioned telephone number or e-mail address.

Researcher: *Karine Henrie*

Date: *Dec. 9, 2001*

Participant: *Danielle An. [Signature]*

Date: *Dec 9/01*

I wish to receive a summary of the findings of this research which will be available in June 2002 at the following address:

APPENDIX D

LIST FOR IDENTIFICATION OF SIGNS IN TIME COVER

Camera shots: close up, medium shot, full shot, pan down, pan up, direct	- <i>direct shot</i> - <i>medium/full shot</i>
Hair: color, style	- <i>dark hair</i> - <i>wet & straight hair</i>
Eye color	- <i>brown</i>
Facial structure	- <i>square jaw</i> - <i>slightly crooked nose</i>
Body type	- <i>athletic</i> - <i>muscular: shoulders, biceps, abs</i>
Age	- <i>+ - 26</i>
Gender	- <i>woman</i>
Race	- <i>Native</i>
Facial expression	- <i>serious, no smile, looking straight ahead</i>
Body language	- <i>clutching a water polo ball</i> - <i>face looking straight; body slightly turned to the right</i>

Makeup	- <i>lipstick, subtle but noticeable</i>
Clothes	- <i>no clothes</i>
Style of eyeglasses	- <i>N/A</i>
Earrings and other body adornments	- <i>no earrings or other jewellery</i> - <i>feather in her hair and 2 native tattoos (that are noticeable)</i>
Setting	- <i>photography studio</i>
Relationship implied	- <i>N/A</i>
Spatiality	- <i>center of the image</i> - <i>takes up a lot of space</i>
Occupations	- <i>athlete</i>
Activities going on	- <i>None</i>
Background	- <i>Big red maple leaf</i> - <i>The rest is white</i>
Lighting	- <i>Clear, bright</i> - <i>No shadows</i>
Typefaces in text	- <i>The Will to Win</i> - <i>Canada's team is ready to go all out in Sydney</i>
Design	- <i>N/A</i>

Color	- <i>Win is written in gold (hoping for a gold medal)</i> - <i>Olympic preview also in gold</i> - <i>Rings in color</i> - <i>Rest is black</i>
Words used	- <i>will</i> - <i>all out</i> - <i>implying that they would do anything to win</i>
Metaphors, similes, metonymy	
Slogans	
Headlines	- <i>The Will to Win</i> - <i>Olympic Preview</i> - <i>Canada's team is ready to go all out in Sydney</i> - <i>Women's water polo team assistant captain Waneek Horn-Miller</i>
Theme and rheme	- <i>Win</i> - <i>Will</i> - <i>All out</i> - <i>Native vs Canadian (nationalism)</i> - <i>Nakedness, fit, muscular, femininity</i>
Others	