

Viewpoint

The Super Bowl and War: Change in the Theatre for the Masculine Myth

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What received the most media coverage from Super Bowl XXXVIII? It was singer Janet Jackson's 'wardrobe malfunction' during the half-time show staged by MTV. According to a report in *Advertising Age*, Janet's breast earned 1,153 mentions in the press, while the ads received only 596 mentions (Atkinson, 2004, p. 49).

While the exposure of Jackson's right breast during the half-time show was humorous fodder for some, it was indecency for others. Television network executives and National Football League officials were called to testify before the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee and the U.S. House Telecommunications Subcommittee. During his testimony, FCC Chairman Michael Powell indicated that his organisation had received 200,000 complaints about the incident (Super Bowl an FCC Wake Up Call, 2004).¹

In Football Breasts Are Out But Erections Are In

In contrast to the reaction to Janet Jackson's bare breast, no FCC commissioner or member of Congress blinked an eye when the nearly ninety million prime time viewers, the most since 1998, heard commercials touting a drug that cures 'erectile dysfunction' (ED) and warning men to see a doctor if an 'erection lasts more than four hours'.

For the first time in history, Super Bowl XXXVIII featured three ads about impotence. E.I. Lilly and Company reportedly paid \$2.3 million for a thirty second Cialis Super Bowl commercial.² The ad features a man and woman outdoors in side-by-side, clawfoot bathtubs holding hands while they watch a sunset. The camera angle shows their naked backs, implying that they are naked in the tubs. A narrator says, 'Cialis is here. Are you ready?'

Cialis³ was not the only ED ad at the 2004 Super Bowl either. Levitra, marketed by Bayer and GlaxoSmithKline, entered the fray with two \$2.3 million thirty second ads. In the ad, Levitra spokesman, former National Football League head coach Mike Ditka, makes fun of baseball for being a less macho sport than football.⁴ Ditka says he 'took the Levitra challenge and it worked for him', but he does not indicate what the challenge is. In the Levitra second ad, Ditka throws a football through a tire swing and says, 'Take the

Levitra challenge'. ED is never explicitly mentioned in the Levitra ads because Glaxo representatives said 'they did not feel it appropriate to discuss erectile dysfunction before a massive family audience' (Berkrot, 2004).

ED ads first aired on U.S. television in 1999 with spokesperson former U.S. Senator Bob Dole. Dole, who had become impotent because of prostate cancer, appeared in ads for Pfizer's product, Viagra. On its website today, Viagra (www.viagra.com) boasts that it is a sponsor of Major League Baseball, while Levitra's website (www.levitra.com) indicates it is a sponsor of the National Football League. Cialis, the most recent ED product launched, indicates it is an official partner of the Professional Golf Association, according to its website (www.cialis.com).

The Super Bowl of Advertising

Next to Christmas and the Fourth of July, Super Bowl Sunday is arguably the most important social ritual on the American family calendar. It is the number one commercially-promoted holiday, ranking ahead of Halloween and New Year's Eve in terms of party theme merchandise (Greenwood, 1997). One sportswriter has dubbed the Super Bowl as America's High Holy Day (Adams, 1997). For this generation of American women and men, the hyper-mediated ritual of Super Bowl Sunday is, perhaps, their most significant shared cultural event. According to a spokesperson for Miller Brewing Company, 'The NFL is by far the No. 1 sports property among 21-to-28-year-olds', the target audience for Miller Lite (Arndorfer, 1997, p. 26).

During the rest of the year, professional football also influences all aspects of contemporary American culture, the choice of heroes, education, clothing and even language. Sales of NFL merchandise generates revenues of \$3 billion annually (Lefton, 1997). Super Bowl Sunday also has become THE showcase for blockbuster television commercials because of its huge viewing audience. Advertisers spent \$1.3 million for a 30-second spot during Super Bowl XXXII (Pollack and Arndorfer, 1997) compared with the \$2.3 million price tag for 30 seconds during Super Bowl XXXVIII.

The Super Bowl is particularly effective for products that need to generate widespread awareness (Kanner, 2003). One study of revenues generated by movies advertised during the Super Bowl found they earned more box office revenue than movies not advertised during this event. The study examined mean first weekend revenues, mean first week revenues and mean total of U.S. box office revenues (Yelkur, Tomkovick & Traczyk, 2004).

The Super Bowl 'has become so ingrained in U.S. culture that nearly all the top 10 most-watched television programs in American broadcasting history are Super Bowl broadcasts' (Tomkovick, Yelkur & Christians, 2001, p. 90). No Super Bowl since 1990 has finished with less than a rating of 40, which is forty per cent of all TV households. Because nearly half of the U.S. population watches it each year, the Super Bowl has become 'the most watched, most

anticipated, most expensive, and most influential arena in the world for television advertising' (Kanner, 2003). Estimates indicate that CBS took in \$140 million from ads during Super Bowl XXXVIII.

Prior to Super Bowl XXXVIII, Viagra had the lion's share of the ED market in large part because it was the first product available in this area. Levitra also had good market share, thanks to their television commercials using spokesperson Mike Ditka. But at the 2004 Super Bowl, Cialis was the big winner. According to data collected from physicians after Super Bowl XXXVIII, 'in the week following the Super Bowl, 34 percent of new patients requested Cialis compared with 21 percent for Levitra'.⁵ (Berkrot, 13 Feb., 2004). In the week before the Super Bowl, 'Levitra had 25 percent, Cialis 23 percent and Viagra 52'. Overall, total requests for impotence drugs were up more than forty per cent from the week before the Super Bowl, according to ImpactRX, a firm that measures the effectiveness of drug promotions by collecting data from 1,700 physicians who do a high-volume of prescriptions (Berkrot, 2004). Another study showed an incredible 1,868 percent increase of hits to the Cialis website following the Super Bowl (Howard, 11 Feb., 2004).⁶

In contrast, Janet Jackson's bare breast and pierced-nipple caused more negative uproar and garnered more Super Bowl clips than the first-ever Super Bowl ads for ED. Who would suspect that a slightly naked female at a football game would be more controversial than an ad for impotence during the Super Bowl? The answer may be that war and football, that is, masculinity, is experiencing a change unlike any in the past. Estimates suggest that fifteen to thirty million American men suffer from 'erectile dysfunction' and that age is the cause for only an estimated 25 per cent of this number of the cases.

Impotence and Football?

Football has long been seen as the embodiment of American macho, male strength and power, while impotence is the antithesis of macho (Brannon, 1976). Why then would advertisers use sports venues and sports stars to market a product associated with the dysfunction of traditional masculine identity and a lack of power or 'maleness?' To answer this, it is important to first examine what football has historically represented in American culture.

More broadly, football, contemporary America's most popular spectator sport, provides a guide for how struggles for honour, fairness, property and economic gain should be played out. Family bonds between a team and a son who plays football are strong. Community bonds between a hometown team and a rival community are powerful. In less than a century, football has become an integral part of the American social fabric and economic system.

Football also showcases America's racist, classist and sexist realities. In 1996, only three NFL head coaches and no owners were black although nearly seventy per cent of players were (Shapiro, 1997). Stadium luxury loges, which are purchased by corporations and used as business entertainment deductions,

are not taxed by the state or federal government and increasingly separate the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.'

Scholars have long argued that, aside from boxing, American football is sport's most visible demonstration of power and strength. Don Sabo and Joe Panepinto (1990, p. 115) argue that 'Football's historical prominence in American sport media and folk culture has sustained a hegemonic model of masculinity that prioritises competitiveness, asceticism, success (winning), aggression, violence, superiority to women, and respect for and compliance with male authority'. Communication scholar Michael Real (1975, p. 18) adds: 'If one wanted to create from scratch a sport that reflected the sexual, racial, and organizational priorities of America social structure, it is doubtful that one could improve on football'.

Football, Macho and Violence

A subject search of the Newspaper Abstracts database from 1989-1997 using the keywords football and violence brings up 574 entries. The literature reveals three categories of violence: player against player violence, fan violence and violence against women. In addition, the locker room has emerged as a site where sexual aggression and violence against women is valorised.

A case in point is a 1992 study of northeastern Virginia emergency room admissions over a two-year period. It reported that the number of women admitted to emergency rooms increased significantly after the Washington Redskins won football games, but not after they lost (White, Katz & Scarborough, 1992). The researcher presented their work at an academic conference and published their work in an academic journal. The paper and journal article concluded with a call for further research because the sample size was small and focused on only one team. The study gained national attention shortly before the 1993 Super Bowl, when the journal publisher sent out a news release about the author's findings to fifteen U.S. newspapers (Katz & White, 1993). Ultimately, the news release resulted in a flood of calls from reporters who were trying to get a new angle on the Super Bowl story. According to the researchers, their conclusion that assaults on women correlate with the outcome of professional football games was sensationalised and distorted in the media (Katz & White, 1993).

Pressure mounted by media and women's watchdog groups, fuelled by the publicity surrounding the research study, resulted in NBC airing a thirty second public service announcement several times during the Super Bowl XXVII (Dallas vs. Buffalo) warning women about the dangers of battering (Katz & White, 1993). Hundreds of women called the 800 number mentioned in the advertisement. As evidence of the politically charged nature of the issue, the story after the Super Bowl was not about domestic violence, but rather about how feminists distorted the study to further their political aims. Conservative media talk show personality Rush Limbaugh used the incident to

attack the 'feminazis' (Katz & White, 1993, p. 60). Limbaugh, however, failed to mention the fact that both the NFL and NCAA have acknowledged concern about such violence. Both have developed programs to address domestic violence (The NFL Addresses Domestic Violence, 1997). Since 1992, the NFL's Family Assistance Program has certified 150 professionals (psychologists, social workers, marriage counsellors), three to five in each NFL city. Before the season begins, the league sends letters to each player's home describing the program and providing a toll-free number to call for help.

Football and War

Numerous historians and scholars have argued that war is a site where men have traditionally proven their manhood. Scholars have determined that U.S. football's popularity grew during periods when concerns over the perpetuation and validation of traditional masculinity were widespread (Oriard, 1993; Jansen & Sabo, 1994). Molly Merryman (1998, p. 166) suggests that achieving manhood is a 'culturally prescribed construction in which men are willing to risk danger, dismemberment, and death to prove their masculinity. Combat is not the only dangerous and frequently deadly proving ground for men – other arenas include the running of bulls in Spain, football and boxing'. Merryman's thesis is supported by an analysis of American history. The two most notable periods of football growth occurred between the 1890s and the 1920s, the heyday of the women's suffrage movement, and the late 1960s to 2000, paralleling the women's rights movement or the second wave feminism.

In the mid-1860s, a generation of American males returned home demoralised after the divisive and bloody Civil War between states. 'At first no one wanted to talk about the conflict, but gradually . . . a transformation in sentiment toward the war occurred' (cited in Telander, 1989, p. 193). By the 1880s, the nation's leaders began to glorify the Civil War and its heroes and simultaneously to praise football in the same spirit as the war.⁷

In the early 1900s, the initial suggestion of a relationship between the values of football and war in proving manhood came from a group of male U.S. college presidents from Harvard, Princeton and Yale (Weeks, 1988).⁸ U.S. victories in World War I and II celebrated the dominance of American males. American men returned home from foreign war theatres to parades and accolades. The most popular front page photographs of the returning victors showed men in uniform embracing, dancing and kissing young women in the streets of Manhattan and throughout the U.S.

By the early 1960s, American males again faced anxiety about their masculinity and turned to football (Jeffers, 1989). President John F. Kennedy (1962, p. 12) underscored the anxiety in a *Sports Illustrated* article titled, 'The Vigor We Need' in which he argued that American men needed to remember their frontier heritage and to help 'maintain the peace of the world and our security as a nation' on Asian shores.

The Super Bowl tradition began in the Vietnam War era, perhaps America's most gut-wrenching war. While American citizens were protesting the U.S. government's decision to wage a war in Asia for motives that were never clear, the National Football League created a championship game against the American Football League. In 1967, the first inter-league championship was played in the half-filled Los Angeles Coliseum.

Two years later NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle came up with the name Super Bowl and 'Broadway' Joe Namath, quarterback for the underdog New York Jets in Super Bowl III, attracted the publicity needed for the game to divert American media attention temporarily from the war. When the Jets won 16-7, Americans had a hero who had turned attention away from the Vietnam War, and Super Bowl III cemented its place in the American psyche.

Perhaps, the increased popularity of American football in the latter twentieth century can be explained in terms of a need to express manliness in the absence of a popular war. As Michael Messner (1994, p. 70) explains: 'The development of capitalism after World War II saw a continued erosion of traditional means of self-expression and identity . . . along with women's continued movement into public life, [which] undermined and weakened the [male's] already shaky breadwinner role as a major basis for power in the family'. An alternative view expressed by social critic Camille Paglia (1997, p. A22) states: 'As the Pentagon has become infested with gender-equity propaganda . . . only football retains the old heroic values of excellence, fortitude and valour'. Paglia (1997, p. A22) also believes that football is 'one of the best tools for showing women how to advance in the hostile workplace'.

Scholars have argued that in a democracy that values equality of the sexes, only football and war remain as contemporary monuments to the male myth of superiority over women. As sociologists Janet Katz and Garland White (1993, p. 62) explain:

No other sport approaches the lionization of the male myth more than football. Its war-like focus on the conquering of land area through physical aggression, the massive size of the combatants, which is exaggerated by the padded protective equipment, and the actual physical assaults that occupy most of the activity of the participants all clearly exude the aggressive character of the traditional male. Football is indeed the cultural and media shrine to masculinity.

If football is America's 'cultural . . . shrine to masculinity', then we must question what has changed in American culture so that impotence ads placed among the Budweiser and Frito Lay ads in the Super Bowl do not result in protests from fans? One explanation may be that the role of women in America has changed significantly over the past 30 years.

Women and Football

Until the late 1970s, feminist scholarship virtually ignored sport because many feminists either did not take sport seriously or considered sport an inappropriate site for their energy because of its inherent sexism. Janice Kaplan (1979, p. X) suggests: 'The issue of who gets to play kickball with whom never seem[ed] to be quite worthy of political upheaval'. Over the past thirty years, however, feminists have taken sports very seriously.

The most significant change on the playing field for women is now more than three decades old. Title IX to the Education Amendment Act of 1972 gave women 'equal opportunity' to participate in sports in the U.S. educational system. Since the passage of Title IX, the number of female sports participants at U.S. colleges and universities has grown to 42 per cent, which is still short of equity, but nevertheless significant (Burk, 1995). Title IX also has resulted in several women playing on boys' high school football teams because no comparable sport was available for them, and four women played in college contests in the last few years.⁹

The first was Beth Balsey (Freeman, 1986), who, in 1985, paved the way for women to play U.S. high school football when she won a court fight for the right to try out for the team in Annadale, New Jersey (Carlson, 1992). In 1995-1996, the number of women participating on high school football teams was about 791, a significant increase from the 295 women in 1993-1994 and from 109 in 1989 (Adams, 1997, p. A4). Women also have established their own professional football leagues. At the time of writing, five leagues are active: Lady Tackle Football League on the Central Coast of California entering its fourth season¹⁰; Women's Football League¹¹; Independent Women's Football League¹²; Women's Professional Football League¹³; and the National Women's Football Association (NWFA)¹⁴. As the role of women in sports has changed, so has the role of women in the military.

Women and War

Women have been in 'official' military uniform since 1901, when the Army Nurse Corps was created (Polak, 2000). Yet, the formal role of American women in war prior to World War II was largely as nurses and other support personnel. During World War II, however, the U.S. government wartime propaganda asked women 'to do the job he left behind'. 'Rosie the Riveter'¹⁵ became the most famous symbol of this generation of women who served in the factories and shipyards around the U.S. during World War II.

When the men came home, women were supposed to leave the workplace and give the returning heroes their jobs back. To ensure that women returned to their homemaker roles, Congress passed the Combat Exclusion Act in 1948, which barred women from combat positions in the Air Force, Marines and Navy. The Army, although not covered by the Act, maintained its own regulatory ban on women in combat roles.

The Combat Exclusion Act stands in stark contrast to women's roles in times of war. While American women have not had a combat involvement in wars fought on foreign soil, they have had a significant role in fighting in wars at home, starting with the American Revolution (Fritz, 1972). Numerous stories of women disguising themselves as men and wearing the uniform of a Revolutionary War soldier have been recovered by historians (Roberts, 2004). During the Civil War, Confederate President Jefferson Davis commissioned Sally Tompkins as a captain of the calvary (Polak, 2000). Records show that sixty women died in various Civil War battles (Polak, 2000). During the Korean War, 120,000 women were in uniform and a total of 7,000 women were deployed in Vietnam (Polak, 2000).

Nearly fifty years after the end of World War II, President Bill Clinton signed an executive order that allowed American women to serve in some combat roles. Today, one in six members of the U.S. military is female, up from one in ten during the first Gulf War (McFeatters, 26 March, 2003). Women are still barred from hand-to-hand combat and some other duties but they serve on combat ships and in fighter planes. According to the Pentagon, the U.S. military is now dependent upon women.

In the early twenty-first century, the position of women in the military differs considerably from their roles in previous wars. While American women have died in wars for more than two hundred years, the numbers were extremely small. The Defense Department records show that 102 American women (most nurses) died in World War I, while around three hundred lost their lives in World War II (McFeatters, 2003).

American women are in the midst of the 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan and Iraq, piloting Apache helicopters, commanding Military Police and earning promotions throughout the military. While the cultural implications of women's participation in combat, formerly a male-only bastion, are yet to be fully examined, a major change since the Vietnam War has been signalled.

A Male Apologetic?

As this analysis argues, something has changed in the past few years. Women are confronting the perpetrators of violent crimes against them whether athletes or soldiers. Women are demonstrating strength and ability in formerly all-male bastions, in the workplace, in the military and on the athletic field. The female 'apologetic' or way that women have negotiated their gender identity to enter traditional male preserves such as football or war by 'emphasizing the feminine appearance and characteristics' (Theberge, 2000, p. 10) seems to have given way to what we might characterise as a 'male apologetic'.

While the concept of a male apologetic in contemporary culture needs further study, the changes described in this paper provide preliminary support for the concept. A male apologetic can be described as the way men negotiate their gender to acknowledge that male victories and domination have not

changed much in over two thousand years. The male apologetic discounts 'macho' and allows men to function in society without fear of denigration for not displaying 'macho'. Perhaps, it is this 'male apologetic' that emboldened advertisers to launch a national campaign about ED during the Super Bowl.¹⁶

The expanded role of women in sports and war, along with willingness of men to deal openly with their frailties and weaknesses may be the first signals that we are entering a new cultural era, where gender differences are less important than understanding how to create a safe and secure world for future generations.

The central argument of this paper is that cultural change among or between the genders is occurring in sports, particularly football. Moreover, sport provides an important venue in which these changes can be observed and recorded. On face value, several ads for ED on the Super Bowl would not seem significant enough to signal cultural change, although some scholars of semiotics and discourse analysis may reach such findings.

One interesting recent study of the NFL, for example, examines mediated discourses on race and homoeroticism associated with the draft (Oates, 2004). The findings of this study underline how race and sexuality have changed within the NFL as a product of the dominance of the Black athlete and the televising of the NFL draft.¹⁷ The argument is twofold: 1). the dominance of the Black athlete has created 'a crisis for White masculinity' and 2). televising the NFL draft can be framed as either a beauty contest or slave market, as well as a challenge to 'heteronormative masculinity'.

Further research is needed to examine other changes in the constructions of masculinity in the military, the workplace and in sports. When the changes occurring in football are placed in the larger cultural context, they point directly toward the emergence of a 'male apologetic' as a response to the changes in the status of women. The cultural changes that this new apologetic will bring about in terms of gender, as well as racial and sexual, differences remain to be seen.

NOTES

1. Paul Tagliabue, commissioner of the NFL, and Mel Karmazin, president of Viacom, Inc., owner of CBS and MTV, also testified.

2. Cialis was launched by Lilly ICOS in the major markets of Europe on 5 February 2003. Cialis is already available in fifty countries, including France, where its long-lasting effects have won it the nickname 'Le weekend' pill. Countries that have Cialis ® (tadalafil): Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Korea, and South Africa (<http://www.buying-cialis-online.com/>).

3. According to the product website, Cialis works in as little as thirty minutes and lasts for up to 36 hours. The yellow pill, which allows men to achieve an erection up to 36 hours after ingestion, is the third anti-impotence drug to win approval from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in the past five years. Sexual therapists, urologists and patients cite the 36-hour time frame as a potential advantage over competing products. Cialis already has won more than twenty per cent of the market in Europe and Australia, where it has been sold for less than ten months (<http://www.buying-cialis-online.com/>).

4. The baseball versus football 'macho' controversy was popularised by comedian George Carlin. In his book, *Braindroppings* (1997, pp. 50-53). Carlin says: 'Baseball and football are the two most popular spectator sports in this country. And as such, it seems they ought to be able to tell us something about ourselves and our values. . . . the objectives of the two games are completely different: In football, the object is for the quarterback, also known as the field general, to be on target with an aerial assault, riddling the defense by hitting his receivers with deadly accuracy in spite of the blitz, even if he has to use the shotgun. With short bullet passes and long bombs, he marches his troops into enemy territory, balancing this aerial assault with a sustained ground attack that punches holes in the forward wall of the enemy's defensive line. In baseball the object is to go home! And to be safe!'

5. Viagra did not advertise during the Super Bowl.

6. The increase was tracked by ComScore Media Metrix (www.comscore.com). ComScore describes its Media Metrix service as an industry-leading Internet audience measurement services that report, with unmatched accuracy, details of online media usage, visitor demographics and online buying power for the home, work and university audiences across local U.S. markets and across the globe. Hits to the Cialis Website have now returned to normal.

7. According to documents on display in the National Football League Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio, the beginnings of American professional football were in western Pennsylvania and Ohio at the end of the Victorian era in the late 1800s and the onset of the Industrial Revolution.

8. This group included the Presidents of Harvard, Yale and Princeton. They were summoned to meet with Theodore Roosevelt, the famed Rough Rider who lost sight in one eye from boxing at Harvard, who became the 26th president of the U.S. in 1901. Roosevelt endorsed college football as a way to build strength and character, but wanted to reduce the number of deaths resulting from football injuries. For more information see the NCAA website (www.ncaa.org/about/history/html).

9. The first to play and score in NCAA Division I A was Katie Hnida. She started her football career as a walk on place kicker at the University of Colorado, but transferred to New Mexico State, where she played, but had her first extra point kick blocked in the Las Vegas Bowl against the University of California at Los Angeles. In 2003, she kicked two extra points in a win over Texas State—San Marcos to become the first female to score in a Division I-A game. The first woman to score in NCAA Division I-AA was Ashley Martin who kicked three extra points in three tries for Jacksonville State in Alabama against Cumberland in 2001. The first woman to play and score in the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics in 1977 was Liz Heaston, who was 2 for 4 in PATs, for Willamette University in Oregon.

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10. LTFL teams are: San Luis Titans, San Luis Heat, Five Cities Heat, Santa Maria Blue Devils, North County Cougars and Lompoc Outlaws (www.eteamz.com/ltfl/).

11. WFL teams in the league, headquartered in Nashville, include: Georgia Xtreme, Washington Ranglers, Cape Fear Thunder, Kentucky Force, Memphis Rockers, and Tennessee Heat (www.wfleague.com). The league plays in spring and expects six more expansion teams in 2005.

12. IWFL is a non-profit league with six divisions and 18 teams. The teams are: Tacoma Majestics, Chicago Force, California Quake, Bay State Warriors, Atlanta Xplosion, New Hampshire Freedom, San Francisco Stingrayz, San Diego Sea Catz, New York Sharks, Eugene Edge, Portland Shockwave, Oakland Banshees, Tampa Bay Terminators, Sacramento Sirens, Corvallis Pride, Montreal Blitz, Santa Rosa Scorchers, and Boise Xtreme (. They play in the spring with a national championship in July in Sacramento.

13. WPFL is headquartered in Houston, Texas and plays in the fall. The teams are: Arizona Knighthawks, Arizona Caliente, Austin Rage, Dallas Diamonds, Dayton Rebellion, Florida Stingrays, Houston Energy, Long Beach AfterShock, Los Angeles Amazons, Missouri Prowlers, Minnesota Vixen, Northern Ice, New England Storm, Pacific Blast, San Diego Sunfire, So Cal Scorpions, Syracuse Sting, Tampa Bay Force, and Toledo Reign. They started in 2000 and have had a championship each of the last four years.

14. The NWFA was formed in 2000 with two teams, the Nashville Dream and Atlanta Renegades. This league has 37 teams and seven divisions starting the 2004 season. They are: Connecticut Crush, Maine Freeze, Massachusetts Mutiny, Philadelphia Phoenix, Rochester Raptors, Cleveland Fusion, Columbus Comets, Detroit Demolition, Indiana Thunder, Southwest Michigan Jaguars, Toledo Spitfire, Wisconsin Riveters, Baltimore Burn, D.C. Divas, Erie Illusion, Pittsburgh Passion, Roanoke Revenge, Alabama Renegades, Gulf Coast Hericanes, New Orleans Blaze, Pensacola Power, Shoals Smashers, Evansville Express, Kansas City Krunch, St. Louis Slam, Asheville Assault, Atlanta Leopards, Chattanooga Locomotion, Knoxville Tornadoes, Nashville Dream, Tennessee Venom, Austin Outlaws, Dallas Dragons, Denton Stampede, and Oklahoma City Lightning.

15. On 4 May 2004, the 60th anniversary of the D-Day invasion, the U.S. Congress honored the contributions of women in World War II, who were symbolised by Rosie the Riveter. The Congressional resolution marked the opening of the Rosie the Riveter Museum in Richmond, VA (www.rosietheriveter.org/)

16. The Super Bowl ED ads may have been targeted to the female audience as well. Further study could involve interviews with the creative teams at Healthy Grey Village a part of Grey Global, which developed the Cialis ads, and Quantum Group, part of WPP Group, which developed the Levitra ads (Garfield, 2004, pp. 1, 32-33).

17. According to Oates, ESPN estimates that 25 million viewers watched the 2002 NFL draft, which is almost twice the number of fans for a televised NFL game.

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