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**“Women Play Sports (Just not as Well)”:
Canadian Newspapers’ Coverage of Men’s and Women’s Sports
at the 1999 Pan-American Games**

**by
Frederick Daniel Mason
B.P.E. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1996
B.A. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1999**

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ABSTRACT

This study examined English language Canadian newspapers' coverage of the 1999 Pan-American Games that were held in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Using a methodology that borrowed from the Ricoeurian approach to hermeneutics, a comparison between the coverage of men's and women's sports in five newspapers was made. The study focused on emergent themes in the coverage of men's and women's sports, as well as the identification of descriptors used for men and women athletes. A structural analysis of the text was also made, which included a comparison on the percentage of articles, the percentage of headlines, the percentage of photographs, and the estimated size of articles and photographs. Photographs were also considered a part of the text, and were analyzed in terms of both content and context. Structural results are that women received almost equitable coverage, especially when considered in light of participation rates at the Games. Themes and descriptors of both men and women focused on such things as physicality, emotionality, personality issues, and family life. However, there were differences within the categories of themes that created an image of women athletes who were less experienced and successful in sport, and more emotional than men. Male athletes, by comparison, were presented as more violent, more experienced, and able to be successful in other masculine roles. There was evidence of practices such as ambivalence, infantilization and sexualization towards the women athletes. In conclusion, the study indicate that while women are getting more coverage than ever before, many media practices that marginalize women in sport and set sport off as a male preserve still occur, only they have become more subtle.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Public information on sport is generally obtained through the mass media. Sport is a major part of the news coverage of all types of media, including print, television and radio. Sports programs tend to be the ones that get the largest television viewing audiences (Hargreaves, 1994), and studies show that 30% of newspaper buyers select the sports section as the main reason why they buy them (Sage, 1998).

This becomes problematic in view of the mass media's role in the promotion of dominant viewpoints and in the maintenance of the status quo. The media tends to promote the positions of certain groups at the expense of other, usually less dominant ones. This is done through practices such as gate-keeping (deciding what is newsworthy), agenda-setting (screening out non-dominant viewpoints and events), and in selection of the ways that issues get framed (Fletcher & Gottlieb Taris, 1990). Such practices are quite evident in the coverage of women's sports. Studies of various types of media have shown that the main focus in the sports media is on men's sports, with coverage of women's sport being minimal. Quantitative analyses from around the world show that women receive as little as 0.5% of the general sports coverage (Hargreaves, 1994). This holds true across the various types of media, including television, newspapers and radio.

The study of men's and women's sports coverage commenced in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Blackwood, 1983; Boutillier & San Giovanni, 1983; Miller, 1975). These early studies were mainly quantitative in nature, and showed a great under-representation of women's sports in the media, under-representation meaning rate of coverage that were

far lower than the participation rate of women in sport. Numerical under-representation has continued until quite recently, as demonstrated by studies such as those done by Stoddart (1994) and Pringle and Gordon (1995).

Qualitative differences in sports reporting on men's and women's sports have also been found. Theberge (1985) has noted that women's sport is often associated with devaluating prose and references to sexist stereotypes. Aside from blatant stereotyping, women's sport is treated differently in other ways. For instance, women athletes are infantilized since they are often called "girls," and they are sexualized when they are made the objects of male sexual desire (Birrell & Theberge, 1994). Women athletes are also marked as an "Other" (Messner, 1988), and their participation in sport is often depicted as "tragic" to the rest of their social lives (Birrell & Theberge, 1994).

Studies of the Canadian media coverage of women's sports have generally shown the same trends that are seen elsewhere. The few studies of Canadian newspaper content that have been done have found that there is a general under-representation of women's sports, and that a number of qualitative differences exist when compared to men's sports (Snow, 1995; Crossman, Hyslop & Guthrie, 1994; Theberge, 1991).

Recent studies of Olympic coverage have shown that quantitatively, at least for this event, the coverage of women's events has increased, coming close to numerical equity (Hall, 1992; Toohey, 1997). However, confirming the trends noted in earlier studies, (Hilliard, 1984; Rintala & Birrell, 1984), other studies show that many of the qualitative differences remain (e.g., Duncan, 1990; Lee, 1992).

While there have been many studies of daily sports media coverage, and of the Olympics, few have been done on more regional events, such as the Commonwealth

Games or the Pan-American Games. Furthermore, a great number of studies have focused on American media, but few have focused on the content of the Canadian sports media.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of the present study is to examine the Canadian newspaper coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games and to provide answers to three main questions: (a) What is the overall portrayal of male and female athletes in the Canadian newsprint media coverage of the Pan-American Games? (b) In the Canadian newsprint media, are men's and women's sports covered differently? (c) Is women's sport marginalized, trivialized and framed ambivalently in Canada, as it is elsewhere in the world?

Theoretical Framework

The present study is conducted from a feminist cultural studies framework. Feminist cultural studies has arisen from an intersection of socialist-feminist theory, British cultural studies, and the work of Michel Foucault (Cole, 1993). The emphasis in feminist cultural studies is to understand how social and cultural norms, symbols and values are reproduced and communicated, and to locate cultural practices in their social-historical specificity (Cole, 1993). Some of the main concepts in this framework are ideology, power, hegemony, sex/gender, culture and patriarchy. These concepts will be used to discuss the results of the present study in an attempt to build an understanding of

Canadian newsprint media coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games.

Methodology

Using a methodology that borrows from a Ricoeurian hermeneutical approach, all photographs and articles related to the Pan Am Games were collected from five Canadian newspapers, between July 23, 1999 and August 9, 1999. The "text" of these photographs and articles was submitted to a hermeneutical analysis, which permitted the identification of recurrent themes about male and female athletes. A comparative analysis was done on the men's and women's texts, and an interpretation of the meanings that came out of the respective texts was made. A complementary quantitative analysis was also conducted, and numerical measures were recorded for three categories: men's sport, women's sport, and mixed/both sports. The measures taken included the number of articles, the number of headlines, the number of photographs, and the size of the article or photograph. These measures provided an overall "context" within which an understanding of the text could take place.

Significance of the Study

The present study adds to the general knowledge on men's and women's sport coverage by the media. As noted by other researchers, if inequalities occur in the media portrayal of men's and women's sport, the recording of them can be important for several

reasons. First, as suggested by Duncan (1990), Messner (1988) and others, quantitative and qualitative differences in the coverage of men's and women's sports reproduce the dominant ideology concerning what is sport, and which sports are gender-appropriate. Certain portrayals of female athletes could negatively impact on women's participation in sport or close off some sporting opportunities for women. Second, Marovelli and Crawford (1987), as well as Snow (1995), related local sports coverage to the identification of school-aged athletes with particular sporting role models. The media coverage may impact on the role models that young boys and girls choose and could thus impact on their participation in, and perspectives about sport. Finally, and on a more practical level, Alexander (1994a, 1994b) has proposed that less coverage of women's sports means less profile, and hence less sponsorship and administrative funding for women in sport.

The present study is also significant in increasing the knowledge of Canadian sports media coverage—the majority of studies have been on United States or Australian media coverage. Up until now, relatively few studies have been done on the content of any types of Canadian sports media. As well, this present study addressed a need for analyses of large regional sporting events other than the Olympics. Many studies have been conducted on regular media coverage and on the coverage of the Olympic Games, but few have focused on regional events like the Pan-American Games.

Finally, the study has theoretical and methodological significance, in that it uses a qualitative methodology that borrows from Ricoeurian hermeneutics, and a feminist cultural studies framework.

Limitations

The present study is limited to Canadian English-language newspapers. Extrapolation of results to other forms of media or to media in other countries cannot be made, nor can inferences about French-language newspapers be made.

The study is also limited to the coverage of the Pan-Am Games. Caution must be exercised when extrapolating results to other international sporting events. For example, the prestige associated with the Olympics is generally higher, and the size of the event much greater. These conditions may have an impact such that extrapolations from one type of event to the other should only be made with caution.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Through news and sports coverage, the mass media have manifest and latent functions. Some of the manifest functions are related to providing information and entertainment, allowing for social interaction between people, and providing arousal and escape from everyday concerns (Birrell & Loy, 1979; Eitzen & Sage, 1989). The media's latent functions include enabling social integration and reproducing particular ideologies and stereotypes (Eitzen & Sage, 1989). This last function has been the subject of much study in the sociology of sport. Researchers have been most interested in understanding how ideologies and stereotypes about men and women are inscribed, reflected or reinforced by the sports media.

Content analytical studies from around the world have consistently shown differences in the amount and type of coverage that is given to men's and women's sport by the mass media. Quantitative and qualitative differences have been found in all forms of mass media: television, radio, books, magazines, and newspapers.

This review traces the differences in coverage of men's and women's sports that have been found in various types of media. Commencing with studies of television coverage, it then moves through studies of magazine coverage, and studies of newspaper coverage, which is the form of media analyzed in the present study. The review also moves from studies of general daily sport coverage to those that focus on large international multi-sport events. The studies are described in some detail, as the present

study is grounded in hermeneutics, and required such detail for the development of a solid “pre-understanding.”

General Sports Coverage

Television Studies

Studies of television coverage of sports show several quantitative and qualitative differences between the coverage of men’s and women’s sports. In 1992, Stoddart (1994) conducted a study on television and newspaper coverage in Australia for the Sports Commission. For the study of television, he looked at sports coverage for two weeks on four Australian television networks, with particular emphasis on “sports magazine” programs. He found that women’s sport was greatly underrepresented, receiving only 1.2% of the total coverage (“under-representation” was defined as receiving coverage that was less than the participation rates in sport. “Mixed” reports (those that mention both men’s and women’s sports) accounted for 26% of the coverage, while men’s sports received 72.8%. A very similar study by Ferkins (1992) in New Zealand showed slightly better results, with women’s sports receiving 20.5% of the coverage, mixed reports 11.7%, and men’s sports 67.8%. In both cases, women’s sports was greatly underrepresented.

Tuggle (1997) looked at episodes of two sports news/highlight shows (ESPN’s SportsCenter and CNN’s Sports Tonight) for four weeks, to see how many stories there were about women’s sports. He found that 94.6% of the stories were on men’s sports, with only 4.9% of them on women’s sports. Stories on men’s sports were significantly

longer, being almost twice as long on average as those about women. As well, in the women's sports that were reported, there was a large focus on individual sports. Of the 65 stories on women's sports, only 3 were about team sports; golf and tennis together accounted for 95% of all women's sports coverage.

Messner, Duncan and Wachs (1996) conducted a study of U.S. television coverage of men's and women's NCAA basketball in 1993, with particular focus on the "Final Four," the national college basketball championships in the United States. Men's basketball received far more television coverage than women's, with 370 regular season games and 68 playoff games being shown between cable and network TV for men and only 29 regular season and 14 playoff games for women. The majority of the women's games were tape-delayed and shown late-night, reducing the size of the potential audience. During a 6-week sample of network nightly news broadcasts during the first three rounds of the tournament, 94% of sports coverage was devoted to men's sports, 5% to women's sports, and 1% to gender neutral topics. Messner and his colleagues also found that the few interviews that were conducted with female basketball players during news or sports coverage were often condescending; reference was often made to the athlete's femininity, and men's sport was held up as a comparative standard. In the same study, Messner, Duncan and Wachs also conducted a qualitative analysis of the coverage of the Final Four games for men and women. It was found that men's basketball had better pre- and post-game shows, in terms of cinematic clarity and emotional, narrative and intellectual development. During women's half-time reports, there was a constant shift from the analysis of the current women's game, to the discussion and pre-game "hype" of an upcoming men's game. The opposite did not occur in men's games. There

were also great differences in the commentary on the men's and women's games. The women's games were "gender-marked"; for example, the championship game was referred to as "the women's national final," while the men's was simply referred to as "the national championship." As well, verbal attributions of personal success and failure were different; for example, women generally had failures directly related to them, whereas men's failures were often attributed to the superior skill of an opponent.

A similar study was conducted by Messner, Duncan and Jensen (1993) on the television coverage of the 1989 men's and women's Final Four tournaments and the 1989 U.S. Open tennis tournament. In that study, the authors found that although there was no overtly sexist commentary, there was gender marking as well as a "hierarchy of naming" by gender. Again, many references were made to the "women's" events, but few to "men's" events. The hierarchy of naming refers to practices of calling women "girls," showing a tendency to infantilize them linguistically, or practices of referring to them as "ladies" (a feminization of women through highlighting their feminine traits). This is in opposition to the men, who were simply referred to as men. In addition, there was an ambivalent framing of women athletes. In this, the athletic accomplishments of the women were subtly associated with descriptors of vulnerability or weakness. Messner and his colleagues (1993) argued that ambivalent framing and feminization are a symbolic denial of power for women.

In 1994, a similar study fleshed this out a bit further by adding 6 weeks of news broadcast coverage (see Duncan, Messner, Williams, Jensen & Wilson, 1994). For this, 6 weeks of nightly news coverage on a Los Angeles television station were analyzed. Of 42 broadcasts, 21 contained no reporting of women's sports whatsoever. Women received

5% of the total time devoted to sports coverage, with 3% going to gender neutral topics. Men tended to get both visual and verbal coverage, while women generally only got verbal. And although women athletes were generally absent, women in non-athletic roles were generously sprinkled throughout the broadcasts. These were often sexualized “comic-relief” moments, focusing on attractive female spectators. The authors concluded that the absence of women athletes and the presence of sexualized non-athletes reflected a serious sexist bias against sportswomen.

Blinde, Greendorfer and Shanker (1991) conducted a study on a sample of television broadcasts of men’s and women’s NCAA basketball games in the 1988-89 and 1989-90 seasons and found many differences in the commentary. For both men’s and women’s games, athletes were compared to a socially constructed standard, which was always male (male athletes, teams or performances). This marked a condition of “Otherness” for women. Again there was gender marking, with women’s basketball being referred to specifically as “women’s” basketball, while this did not happen in the men’s games. References to the women as “girls” or “ladies” was noted, again an infantilization and feminization of the athletes that did not occur for the men. A final difference was in the commentary on the athleticism of the individuals involved. Men’s athleticism was often focused upon, while non-sport activities and accomplishments were stressed for women. This trivialized the athletic accomplishments of women. As well, men’s athleticism was seen as natural, but when women’s athleticism came to the fore, it was often taken as a surprise by the commentators.

Halbert and Latimer (1994) did an analysis of the language used by commentators during the televised “Battle of the Champions,” the 1992 tennis match between

professional players Jimmy Connors and Martina Navratilova. The researchers found clear differences in naming practices, adjective and adverb use, amount and type of praise and criticism, and in the character flaws attributed to the players. Navratilova was gender marked eleven times to Connors' two times, with references such as her being a top "woman" tennis player. There were frequent references to Navratilova as a "lady" or a "girl," without similar terms being used for Connors. As well, Connors received 70 praises to Navratilova's 29, but only 16 criticisms to her 41. The commentators were much more likely to infer character flaws to Navratilova than to Connors; this was consistent throughout the match, even early on when the score was tied and the play was about equal.

Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) completed a hermeneutical textual study of the transcripts of three different televised sport events, guided by the question of whether there was a symbolic denial of power to women. Their sample consisted of transcripts from the coverage of the 1986 men's and women's NCAA basketball championship games, the 1985 Stubbies Pro International Surfing Championship, and the 1986 New York City Marathon. In the coverage of these events, they found a general ambivalence about women's sports evidenced by the ignorance of the women's basketball players' physical skills, and the paucity of coverage given to the women marathoners. There were also instances of conflicting messages, such as when the women surfers were said to be "capable, strong, talented athletes who were participating in an exciting sport" (p. 14), yet were shown in passive, overly feminized video shots that blatantly objectified their bodies (i.e., sunbathing pictures). Finally, it was noted that there were many instances of overtly sexist commentary in the coverage of the surfers and marathoners.

Studies on Magazines

Similar trends to the television coverage of men's and women's sports have been found in many studies of magazines. While many have been conducted on sport-specific magazines, a few have focused on sport coverage in more general publications.

General magazines. Hilliard (1984), in one of the earlier qualitative works on sport texts, looked at articles on leading tennis players June 1979 to 1983. The articles came from a large variety of magazines, sport-specific and general, including *Sport*, *Sports Illustrated*, *World Tennis*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Reader's Digest*, and *the New Yorker*. Quantitatively, men received more coverage and more prominent coverage. In articles that described tournaments where the two sexes competed, the men tended to come first, and men's tennis outnumbered women's 12 to 5 in articles that covered single sex tournaments. Hilliard noted two types of comments that frequently trivialized the women, those that evaluated them in terms of beauty standards and those that referred to the dominance of teenagers in women's tennis. The latter sorts of comments tended to suggest that the competitors should not be taken seriously until they had "grown up." The main portion of Hilliard's work was devoted to finding recurrent themes that emerged in the character portraits of the women and men tennis players. The themes that were noted characterized the women and men quite differently. For women, the themes that came out were: (a) they often made an "early splash," but then failed to develop their full potential; (b) they were dependent on significant others in their lives; (c) they often had emotional difficulties, including anxiety and depression; (d) they were unhappy, even with athletic accomplishment; and (e) there was a conflict between their roles as athletes and as

women. It was often suggested that these roles were incompatible. For men, the themes that emerged were: (a) they were determined to succeed; (b) they tended to be independent and self-reliant; (c) marriage and interpersonal relationships were compatible with or beneficial to their athletic careers; and (d) that they were true to themselves on and off the court. This last theme seemed to be almost an apologetic for undesirable behaviors that were often exhibited by stars such as Jimmy Connors and John McEnroe. Male flaws that were noted tended to exaggerate masculine traits, such as being aggressive and loud on the court, while female character flaws tended to exaggerate feminine traits such as emotionality. Hilliard concluded that all of the above tends to make sport seem like a male domain and suggest traditional gender roles are more appropriate for women than being an athlete.

Pirinen (1997a) completed a textual analysis of articles on women athletes in Finnish women's magazines, collecting 82 articles from five different magazines in the Olympic years 1952, 1964, 1972, 1984, and 1992. The study was conducted specifically with a view to looking at how disempowering and empowering positions were created in relation to hierarchical relationships. Pirinen found hierarchical relationships not only between men and women, but among women as well (based on things such as race). An empowering position was created by a representation that emerged of "the successful athlete." This described the successful athlete as one who was determined and worked hard. The author noted that this put men and women athletes on par, but tended to conceal inequities between men and women (such as in opportunities to train and compete), and among women. In these women's magazines, Pirinen (1997a) found that there was as a focus on the athletes' physical appearance, much as had been found in

other studies. She found that the magazine highlighted and privileged the “feminine looking female body,” mainly through the setting up of an opposition with the “masculine looking female body/aggressive monster.” She remarked that this legitimizes hierarchical relationships, and emphasizes male/female difference. She also commented that “the sexual ideology that was embodied in these representations trivialized female athletes by objectifying their bodies” (p. 296). The women’s magazines tended to focus on conventional and stereotypical descriptions of women’s private lives, and the “sexual beings” in the athletes were made almost invisible. Additionally, a hierarchy was set up within women’s sport between heterosexual women and homosexual women through emphasis on heterosexuality and interpersonal relationships.

Chananie (1999) conducted a pilot study on coverage of men’s and women’s hockey in the U.S. in general magazines, over a two year period. Amongst other things, she found that descriptors of the action were very different. For men, the textual descriptions was much harsher and violent, connoting warlike images of domination and physical control, while for women, the word choices did not evoke this “war analogy.”

In a study on female youth culture, McRobbie (1991) described how the attitudes that British adolescent girls had towards physical activity and sport corresponded to images of femininity that were created in weekly youth-oriented magazines such as *Just Seventeen* and *Jackie*, two of the more popular ones in England. These magazines tended to link diet and exercise to an idealized image of the female body that is beautified and sexualized, in the pursuit of fashion and relationships. As summarized succinctly by Hargreaves (1994), “Sports that are associated with adventure, sweat or muscularity are not part of the feminine culture of *Jackie* or *Just Seventeen*; in these weeklies exercise is

associated with keep-fit and aerobics, presented as part of a 'caring for the body' package aimed to make girls attractive to boys" (p. 158). Constructions of sport, exercise and the female body such as these presented by McRobbie (1991) and Hargreaves (1994) reinforce patriarchal relationships and relate to the whole media complex that creates an image of sport as a male preserve.

Studies on *Sports Illustrated* magazine. Recent history has seen the development of several specialized sport magazines, which exclusively cover sport. There have been a few analyses of magazine coverage of sport in more general publications, but the majority of content analyses that have been done have focused on these sorts of magazines. A number of these studies center on the magazine *Sports Illustrated*, which is the most widely read and popular of these specialty magazines in North America (Kane, 1988).

Reid and Soley (1979) conducted a quantitative analysis of feature articles in *Sports Illustrated* in Olympic years from 1956 to 1976. They chose to study Olympic years on the assumption that coverage of women's sports would be greater then, and they looked at the feature articles in the first issue of each month. Over the 1956-1976 time frame, even though women's participation in sport had greatly increased, there were no significant changes in the number of articles or the number of pages devoted to women's sport. The percentage of articles on women's sport ranged from a low of 3.2% (1964) to a high of 6.9% (1976). This showed a great under-representation of women in sport in the pages of *Sports Illustrated*.

Boutillier and San Giovanni (1983) conducted an often cited analysis of the *Sports Illustrated* Silver Anniversary issue (August 13, 1979), which was a photo essay of the

previous 25 years in sport history. They found a large under-representation of women athletes: of 119 photographs, 12 were of women only (no males); there were no photographs of women for 14 of the 25 years; the range of sports that depicted men was almost twice as large as the range for women (15 vs. 8); and in more than half of the photographs (58%), the sportswomen were in inactive poses that highlighted personality more than athletic achievement.

Salwen and Wood (1994) looked at men and women appearing on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* for three periods, 1957-1959, 1967-1979, and 1987-1989. Each cover was coded for up to four identifiable people. It was found that women appeared on the cover 14.3% of the time in the 1950s period, 4.0% in the 1960-70s period, and 6.6% of the time in the 1980s period. Female athletes (as opposed to others like coaches, referees or spouses of athletes) made up 12.7%, 1.3% and 5.1% respectively of the covers. Athletes who appeared were further coded into whether they were active or not. For athletes in active poses, 89.7% were men and 10.3% were women in the 1950s; while the portions were respectively 99.0% and 0.3% in the 60s-70s, and 97.6% and 2.4% in the 1980s.

Lumpkin and Williams (1991) performed an analysis of feature articles in *Sports Illustrated* from 1954 to 1987. Amongst other variables, they looked at gender and the role of the person featured, along with the number of lines and pictures, and their descriptive characteristics. They found that 90.8% of all articles were devoted to male athletes and their achievements, and that the articles were longer for men than women (an average of 66 lines to 55 respectively). Females in "sex-appropriate sports" (i.e., tennis, golf and swimming) were featured most. In terms of the descriptors used, Lumpkin and

Williams (1991) found that women were characterized in blatantly sexist terms, with many references being made to their physical attractiveness and sex appeal, something which generally did not happen with men.

In a similar study, Kane (1988) did a historical analysis of feature articles in *Sports Illustrated* for the 1967-1987 period, specifically trying to place the coverage of women's sports in relation to the developments resulting from Title IX in the United States. She found no difference in the number of feature articles on women's sports before (1964-71), during (1972-79) or after (1980-87) Title IX. The highest percentage of feature articles on women was after Title IX, but it was still only 35.2%. Kane did find, however, a significant difference over time in the articles devoted to female non-athletes versus female athletes. This changed from 42.8% of articles on women being about non-athletes in the pre-Title IX period, to only 17.8% in the post-Title IX period. This development could be questioned in the light of the magazine becoming more sport specialized over time though, a process well described by Davis (1997). Kane also reported that while the coverage of female athletes increased, "there was no significant change in the proportion of attention paid to sex-appropriate versus sex-inappropriate sports" (p. 95). Women participating in "non feminine" sports like rugby or soccer received very little coverage in the feature articles.

Kane and Parks (1992) conducted a qualitative, hermeneutical study of feature articles in *Sports Illustrated* on the 1989 French Open, U.S. Open and Wimbledon Tennis Championships. They found interesting differences in the themes that emerged in a number of categories. In the "Physical/Athletic Ability and Skill" category, they found that when athletes of either gender were performing well, it was ascribed to strength,

power or assertiveness, but for poorer performances, weaknesses and other shortcomings were more often associated with the women. In the “Character/Instinctual Fortitude” category, an ambivalence was found towards the female tennis players, whereby, like the males, they were described as having mental toughness, but this was often undermined and softened by describing the women as “vulnerable, cute and manipulating” (p. 67). No differences were noted in comparisons on “Mental Ability/Skill,” which contradicts other findings such as those of Duncan and Hasbrook (1988). In “Off Court Comparisons - Emotional State of Mind/Personality,” it was noted that there was more of a focus on the women’s emotions, with a bad boy/good girl opposition being set up. The most obvious differences were noticed in “Physical Appearance/Description,” which was related to traditional definitions and stereotypes of femininity and masculinity. Much of the description of females involved off-court fashion and sexualization. In the final category, “Personal Life,” again the descriptors tended to reinforce gender differentiation, whereby the personal lives of the women were often described as hurting their performance, whereas for men, they were seen as neutral or positive.

Bowman and Daniels (1995) qualitatively looked at the representations of women athletes in photographs of *Sports Illustrated* in pre-Olympic issues from 1960 to 1988. The authors suggested that although photographs appear to reflect reality, they are actually mediated judgments by the photographers, editor and publisher. Bowman and Daniels found that women were both marginalized and trivialized in the photos in the issues of *Sports Illustrated* that they studied, both through the photographs themselves, and in the context (e.g., the caption, the surrounding written text, placement, etc.). They provided many examples to support their findings. In 1960, men were shown in action,

while women were in passive poses, and the placement of the photos of men made them seem superior to women. Another example was provided by the 1972 pre-Olympic issue, where the focus on women's athletic ability was missing; gymnast Cathy Rigby was juvenilized and shown in passive photos with a group of children. In 1984, women did appear in action shots, with straining and bulging muscles. But, the accompanying captions highlighted the feminine sides of the athletes, thus negating the athleticism shown in the pictures. In 1988, the photographs for the men and women were quite comparable, showing athletes of both genders in action. Again, the contexts were quite different. Some of the women were infantilized, while others were feminized and made objects of heterosexual appeal. Through all of this, Bowman and Daniels suggested that *Sports Illustrated* had progressed somewhat with the times, moving toward more action photos of women athletes, but that the context of the photos (captions, written text, etc.) still maintained the status quo of the last 35 years, and served to infantilize and sexualize women athletes.

Duncan (1993) described and analyzed institutionalized societal meanings for gender and gender stereotypes, using the 1992 *Sports Illustrated* Swimsuit issue as an example of a text that structures and reproduces these meanings. The swimsuit issue is an annual issue in *Sports Illustrated*, an otherwise sport specific magazine, that shows bathing suit photos of female models. Duncan pointed out that the general absence of women in serious sports roles in *Sports Illustrated*, and their presence in the Swimsuit Issue, indicated that sport is a domain reserved for men, and that women are sexual objects. This patriarchal reading is the preferred reading that is structured into the text; while alternative readings are possible by the consumer, this latter reading, "situated in

formal resemblances, stokes the engine of patriarchy” (p. 356). Duncan showed how the structuring of patriarchal ideology into the text occurs in three ways: (a) the “objectification” of women, whereby they are constructed as sexual objects for the pleasure of the viewer; (b) the “commodification” of women, where they are turned into commodities to be purchased and consumed by the readers who thus gain symbolic power over women; and (c) the creation of “voyeuristic pleasure” for readers where they gain intimate knowledge of the models’ bodies with no threat to themselves. Duncan sees the ideology associated with the swimsuit issue as one that reduces parity in sport. Women get “symbolically annihilated” as athletes, and seen only as sex objects. This helps preserve sport as a male arena and presents cultural and social differences as natural and real, which can have negative effects on sports participation by women.

Davis (1997) studied the *Sports Illustrated* Swimsuit Issue from a variety of perspectives. She conducted a content analysis of all Swimsuit Issues from 1964 to 1991, and for 1996; she then analyzed other materials about the Swimsuit Issue including letters to the editor in later issues of *Sports Illustrated*, other written materials on the issues, and other texts produced by *Sports Illustrated* similar to the Swimsuit Issue (e.g., calendars); she interviewed 19 people involved in the production of the issue (e.g., business managers, sales managers and photographers); she interviewed 13 librarians to see what happens with the issue in libraries; and she interviewed 39 consumers with a diverse range of opinions on the issue. She found that it was a very controversial topic, with a great debate over its meaning and value. Davis found that while there can be a variety of interpretations by consumers, the majority agree that the swimsuit issue is designed to display ideally beautiful and sexy women’s bodies, and to mark sexual difference and

sexuality. The producers themselves frequently mentioned femininity and ideal beauty. Many textual features encourage consumer consensus on these meanings, including the types of models (non-athletic, matching with stereotypical feminine ideals), the types of photos taken (full body shots, women scantily clad either looking away from the camera suggesting non-dominance or voyeurism, or giving an autoerotic or “come-on” look at the camera), the captions, and the surrounding text.

The ideal subject position in the Swimsuit issue is that of the heterosexual male. Many males mark their heterosexuality by consuming the issue in public. They can do this without sanction as the issue is ostensibly a “sports” magazine and not pornography. Aside from the Swimsuit Issue being obviously sexist, Davis interpreted it as making *Sports Illustrated* more about hegemonic masculinity than about sports coverage. Similar to Duncan (1993) above, she saw *Sports Illustrated* as setting sport off as a male preserve. Through the inordinate focus on elite men’s sports in all other issues, the relative absence of women athletes, and the sexualized use of models in the Swimsuit issue, *Sports Illustrated* can be seen to reinforce hegemonic masculinity and cater a response to the current masculinity crisis. Davis did point out that the practices reinforcing this are not necessarily conscious, but probably occur more through the pursuit of profit. Men are the target market, and the heterosexual male ideal subject position provides the “path of least resistance” to profit. In the end though, it probably makes *Sports Illustrated* more of a “men’s” magazine than it does a “sport” magazine.

The next study was conducted on a magazine that was a spin-off from *Sports Illustrated*, which is *Sports Illustrated for Kids*. *Sports Illustrated for Kids* (SIK) is aimed at children and youth aged 8-13, but has readers as old as age 17 (Cuneen & Sidwell,

1998; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990). The magazine is one of the largest children's sports magazines, with a circulation of 974, 323 in 1997 (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998). Duncan and Sayaovong (1990) conducted a quantitative and qualitative analysis of photographs in the first six issues of *SIK*. They were interested in whether the images constructed a sexual difference between men and women that would come across to the young readers as natural, real, and universal. They found that photos of males outnumbered those of females by a ratio of 2:1 (62% vs. 28%). Males outnumbered females in all major categories, including on the cover, in posters, and in full color. There were no covers showing only females. In terms of creating sexual differences, men were associated with team sports more often (55% of their photos related to team sports vs. 5% for women). Camera angles looking up at individuals (giving them a dominant presence) occurred 3 times more often for men. Fortunately, there were no camera angles looking down on women such as has been seen in other magazine studies (Duncan, 1990). Interestingly and also positively, women were shown more frequently participating in high-risk sports that have often been seen as inappropriate for them. Qualitatively, it was found that there were some photos that minimized sexual differences, such as jockey Julie Krone covered in mud after a race. However, other pictures that did seem to minimize differences were associated with text that created an ambivalent framing of women. For example, in an article on Debbie McIntosh, a woman who coaches boys' basketball, her femininity was often highlighted, and oppositions were set up to show that even though she was an athlete, she was not a 'tomboy.' Such texts create a sexual difference between males and females. The authors argued that the creation of sexual difference in turn helps create an

idea of what is appropriate sport for the different genders, and can lead to a closing off of certain avenues and alternatives, particularly for young girls and women.

Collectively, these studies have shown that *Sports Illustrated* tends to under-represent and sexualize women, and to highlight sexual differences. This creates an ideology of sport as a “male preserve” (Messner, 1988), and defines what sports are appropriate for women and men. It also helps set *Sports Illustrated* off as a men’s magazine. Interestingly, there now is a *Sports Illustrated for Women*, which has published several test issues and is now into a regular publishing schedule. Whether this new initiative will address the inequities and qualitative differences highlighted above, or will simply constitute another publication with the same ideology but aimed at a different target market remains to be seen.

Studies on other sport magazines. Other sport specialized magazines tend to have content that is similar to that seen in *Sports Illustrated*. In 1984, Rintala and Birrell conducted a content analysis of *Young Athlete* magazine, a popular sports magazine of the time aimed at adolescents. They were looking for instances of differential treatment, and to see if representation reflected the participation rates for the two genders. They analyzed all issues from September 1975 to October 1982 and found that men were the primary cover figure 72% of the time, and the secondary cover figure 78% of the time. In total photographs, 63% were solely of men, 31% of women. Men were in the more prominent photographs (centerfolds, full page color photos) more often (84% and 71%, respectively). Females dominated the aesthetic sports coverage (64%), while males dominated the strength sports (89%) and high risk sports (81%), which reflects prevailing stereotypes about “sex-appropriate” sports. Quantitatively, the percentage of females

shown in high school sports was fair relative to the actual participation rates (32.7% of high school athletes were female, while 33.2% in the magazine were), but in recreational sports it did not quite match up (47% of all recreational athletes were female vs. 41% in the magazine). Rintala and Birrell also found that female athletes were underrepresented in team sports, even in those they dominated greatly like softball. The authors indicated that such representations create ideas of the “sex-appropriateness” of sport in general, and for particular sports. In their study of *Young Athlete*, sport could be seen as a male activity, except for aesthetic sports like gymnastics. This could negatively impact on the participation of girls in sports and on the creation of role models.

Leath and Lumpkin (1992) analyzed *Women's Sport and Fitness* magazine from 1975 to 1989, to see how portrayal of women athletes in a magazine specifically devoted to them changed over time. *Women's Sport and Fitness* was particularly interesting as its focus changed over time. The magazine started as *WomenSport* which focused solely on the coverage of women's sport, to a publication appealing to a larger fitness and recreational-oriented audience. The purpose of the study was to determine if feature articles and covers in *WomenSport/Women's Sport and Fitness* showed stereotypical portrayals of women or if they acclaimed the sporting achievements of women. Leath and Lumpkin found that the majority of covers and photos (58.3%) were posed, not action shots. Non-athletes were shown on 44.7% of the covers, and the number of athletes on the cover decreased greatly after the mandate of the magazine changed. Interestingly, all of the non-athletes that appeared on the cover were not written about in feature articles. The majority of feature articles were on supposedly “sex-appropriate” sports, including golf, tennis, track, figure skating and gymnastics. As well, there was a large number of

male authors in the magazine and in some instances, they used stereotypical language, trivializing women's achievements with sexist commentary. Leath and Lumpkin remarked that "such coverage de-emphasizes the sporting achievements of females, and is disconcerting in a publication advocating Women's Sport and Fitness activities" (p. 125). They also noted that the magazine had de-emphasized competition over time, which perhaps implies that it is not appropriate for women.

Lenskyj (1998) did a qualitative analysis of *Inside Sport*, a popular Australian sports magazine, for the year of 1995. She likened *Inside Sport* to "*Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit issue published on a monthly basis" (p. 23). It was noted that *Inside Sport*, which initially featured some actual sportswomen on the covers, now uses sports models on the covers and in the centerfold as key marketing tools to sell it off the newsstand. Although it does cover sports, the magazine includes pictorials of women in stereotypical, seductive poses, complete with sexist commentary. Lenskyj proposed that for many consumers, the sports articles are in fact a socially acceptable reason for buying pictures of women in swimsuits and other similar sexual images. In the actual text itself, Lenskyj found that 88% of feature articles were about men or men's sports. While there was not as much overt sexual exploitation as in the pictures, the 60 short articles that did appear on women's sports tended to stereotype and sexualize them through language, and there was a great focus on the outside lives of the athletes. Many of the topics about women afforded opportunity to show them in swimsuits or tight clothing, such as in articles that focused on surfers, aerobics champions, or the "Gladiators" of television fame. Lenskyj found *Inside Sport* to be generally misogynist, and contributing to the symbolic annihilation of women athletes. She added that this sends an editorial message

that sport is a male preserve in which women are just decorations, to be sexualized and marginalized.

Shifflett and Revelle (1994a) conducted a quantitative analysis of the *NCAA News*. It was assumed that coverage of men's and women's sports would be more equitable in this sort of publication than in others, as the *NCAA News* is distributed by the NCAA primarily as a benefit to members in the organization. However, in their review of relevant articles (involving coaches, athletes or events) from a sample of issues in 1988 and 1991, they found an under-representation of women's sports. In terms of paragraphs, 58% were devoted to men, 21% to women, and 16% had a combined focus. There was seasonal variability, with coverage of women's sport decreasing in the fall (noted as prime football season), dropping as low as 2% in the fall of 1991. Of paragraphs located in the prime positions on the page, 65% were devoted to men's sports. As well, all action photos were of men only.

Malec (1994), with some readjustment of Shifflett and Revelle's data, suggested instead that there was no under-representation of women considering their participation rates. By his accounting, 34% of the athletes in the NCAA were women, and 33% of the articles that Shifflett and Revelle (1994a) looked at were devoted to women, thus suggesting a fair amount of coverage. In response, Shifflett and Revelle (1994b) answered that the number of men's and women's sports (which because of Title IX are about equal) should be considered, not the actual number of athletes. They argued this because several men's sports (such as football) carry far more athletes than comparable women's sports (such as rugby). In this case then, whether the *NCAA News* delivers parity depends on how one looks at it.

Advertisements in magazines. Although advertisements are paid for from outside the media and are consciously created to sell a product or service, they can increase the notion of sport as a male preserve, especially visually. There have been a few studies of advertisements in sports magazines, which will now be briefly reviewed.

Cunneen and Sidwell (1998) borrowed Duncan and Sayaovong's (1990) methodology to look at six years of advertising in *SIK*. They submitted that gender portrayals in the advertising can have a great effect, as the audience is so young and impressionable. As well, the message may get reinforced through purchase and material possession of the product advertised. The researchers found that males outnumbered females 12:1 in total pictures in the advertisements; that there was a male to female ratio of 31:1 in advertisements associated with team sports; and that males outnumbered females 11:1 in sports/recreational advertising combined. Cunneen and Sidwell proposed two reasons for this: (a) it fits into standard advertising practice—advertisers assume the readership is male, and so target them; or (b) it fits into larger ideologies of women and sport in the media, with the associated trivialization and under-representation of, and ambivalence towards women.

Incantalupo (1992) compared advertisements in *Women's Sport and Fitness* and in *Shape* magazine between the years 1985 and 1990, looking particularly at the activity level of those in the advertisements. She found that the ads in both magazines significantly improved in their portrayals of active women over the 5-year period. However, in advertisements in *Shape*, women were less often actively engaged and were sometimes depicted with sexual overtones. This was done with isolated body parts and depictions of women in swimsuits, but not near water.

Bolla (1990) looked at leisure advertisements in two Canadian women's magazines, *Chatelaine* and *Flare* over a 24-year period, from 1964 to 1987. She found that the predominant message that came out was that women's leisure activities were sedentary, and usually involved the presence of a man. Depictions of physically active women peaked in 1974-78. She also noted that the "message of heterosexuality" remained strong throughout.

In 1976, Poe conducted a historical analysis of advertisements in selected magazines for the years 1928, 1956 and 1972, to see what were the images of sportswomen. Those specific years were chosen as she felt that they represented both high and lows for women in sport. The selected magazines were the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Life*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *American Life*, all family or women's magazines. She found that there were significantly more ads of active women in 1928 than in either 1956 or 1972; there was no difference between 1956 and 1972. The total number of ads decreased from 1928, however. In regards to the types of ads, women appeared more in recreational settings than in competitive ones, and being active generally came across as a coed activity. The author found these results quite surprising, as there was much more opportunity for women to be active in the third period than at the other times.

White and Gillett (1994) approached the study of gender representations in sport from the opposite side—they analyzed how men were represented in advertisements in *Flex* magazine, a popular bodybuilding publication, from October 1991 to September 1992. They proposed that images of the muscular male body found in the advertisements encouraged self-transformation through bodywork, and that the muscular body was

represented as natural and desirable. They related this to ideologies of gender difference, and suggested that the muscular body becomes a way to literally embody patriarchal power, in a time when traditional forms are on the wane.

Newspaper Studies

When looking at analyses of newspaper coverage of men's and women's sports, trends similar to those in televised and print media can be observed. These trends can be seen both over time and throughout the world.

Australia. In Australia, Brown (1994, 1995) studied two newspapers, the *Newcastle Herald* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, starting back with 1890 issues. He sampled every 15th day for 5 years (1890, 1914, 1940, 1965 and 1990) so that a variety of days would be represented, and change over time could be seen. Brown was specifically interested in the extent and nature of coverage of women's sports, wishing to explore the degree to which they were visible, the degree to which they were contained, and how the coverage changed over time. He also looked to see if the media images reflected the stereotypes of the specific times. His analysis included photographs and text. Brown found that there was a steady increase in the volume of coverage of women's sports in the two newspapers over the 100-year period, and that the number and range of women's sports that were reported on increased. However, he noted that this may have been more a function of total sports coverage increasing rather than the papers keeping pace with changing societal attitudes. Relative to total sports coverage, women stayed the same over time, receiving approximately 13% of the total space, and still being

outnumbered in total articles by a ratio of 10:1 in 1990. As a positive element, Brown (1994) noted that the coverage of women was no longer restricted to the “gender appropriate” sports, with things such as cricket getting more coverage. But, he saw the “containment” of women’s sports as becoming more subtle. For example, the *Newcastle Herald* developed a specific (and relatively small) women’s section in the sports pages, and women’s sport was mainly relegated there. As well, he noted the increase of “human interest articles” on women, which focused on the personal lives of the athletes more than on their achievements or performance. As a result of such trends, Brown (1994) suggests that coverage of women’s sport was qualitatively better in 1965 than in 1990.

In 1995, Brown performed a more in-depth analysis of the *Newcastle Herald* using the same methodology. In this study, he found that coverage of women’s sports was mainly mid-week, not on weekends when there was the greatest number of readers. He also remarked that although the range of sports covered had greatly increased for women, the so-called “gender appropriate” sports of swimming, tennis and golf received almost half of the total coverage of women’s sport over time. Additionally, the bulk of coverage of women’s sports between 1965 and 1990 was for individual, not team sports. This may create false perceptions of participation opportunities for women. Focusing on the range of sports being covered, Brown (1995) also noted that several new sports had appeared on the scene between 1965 and 1990. For example, surfing, diving, triathlon and aerobics appeared and made up 10% of the total coverage given to women’s sports in 1990. While some of these are not necessarily “gender appropriate” and thus may help break stereotypes, they may be examined through the framework used by Lenskyj (1998), which leads to the conclusion that such sports provide an opportunity to show women in

tight clothing or swimwear. This may indicate a (possibly unconscious) sexualization of women athletes that Brown did not consider.

A study by Stoddart (1994) for the Australian Sports Commission drew data from 13 metropolitan and regional centre newspapers from around the country. Stoddart found that women's sport received 4.5% of the coverage, mixed reports received 9.9%, and men's sport, 85.6%. The range for regional coverage of women's sport was better (from 2.6% to 11.8%) than in large metropolitan newspapers (0.7% to 7.2%). Stoddart also found that women's sport was largely "buried" in mixed reports where it was allotted only 30% of the text, and that women's sport was more likely to be covered on the "off-news" days of Wednesday and Thursday, with Friday and Saturday being reserved mainly for men's sports. Qualitatively, Stoddart (1994) found that there was no trivialization of women's sports and that in the photographs, it was the men who were pictured with wives or girlfriends, while there were no pictures of women with spouses/significant others. This may show a move away from highlighting the personal lives of sportswomen. However, in many instances, women were still shown in inactive poses, while the men were pictured in action.

Menzies (1989) conducted research in 1980 for a state conference on women and sport, and later compared it to similar studies she had done in 1984 and 1988. The studies looked at the coverage of women's sport in all Australian capital city newspapers for a one-week period. Women only received 2.0% of the coverage in 1980, 2.8% in 1984, and 1.7% in 1988. The range of sports which were covered also showed great differences. Five times as many men's sports were reported on, ranging from 49 to 57, while in the three research years, there were reports on only 5 to 7 women's sports.

Europe. Fasting and Tangen published a television and newspaper analysis in 1983. They looked at the four largest newspapers in Norway for the year of 1973 and again for 1980/81, and also looked at a weekly television show, "*The Sports Review*," for a year. Theirs was essentially a quantitative analysis, although they looked for instances of stereotyping language. In regards to the amount of coverage, they found that in 1973 women received 5% of the total coverage by themselves, and that mixed articles received 17% of the coverage. In 1980/81, these percentages had changed to 10% for women only and 18% for mixed coverage. For the television show, women by themselves received 7% of the coverage, and 12% was mixed. Fasting and Tangen reported that official Norwegian statistics for both time periods had participation rates in sports at 60% male and 40% female, so there was a great under-representation of females in sport in the study. The authors did note however, that there was no great amount of stereotyping language for either gender. The vast majority (over 90%) of articles were gender neutral in the commentary.

A qualitative analysis of Finland's largest circulating daily newspaper was conducted by Pirinen (1997b). She studied it for the years 1994 and 1995, focusing on five sports in which women were relative newcomers: hammer throw, triple jump, pole vault, ski jumping and boxing. She wanted to see how discursive struggles played out in the representations of these athletes and in the textual strategies used to describe their sports participation. She ended up with 35 articles in total, many of which were less than 20 lines, with a small title describing the main happening (this is in itself a comment on the coverage devoted to women). Pirinen found that, in the larger articles, comments were made on whether the sport was appropriate for women. These sports were a site of

discursive struggle, as there were both discourses that trivialized and marginalized the athletes, and ones that advocated for equality within the sport. Themes that came out in the trivialization/marginalization discourses were that women: were “second-rate” compared to men; did not have to train, work or compete as hard as the men to achieve the same success; and experienced setbacks as major emotional events, while for men they were more like annoyances to be overcome. As well, women were trivialized by comments on their looks that took the focus away from their athleticism. There were some articles that had an equality discourse, sometimes appearing on the same page as the others. Themes that came from this were that women’s participation has been undermined by prejudice and lack of opportunity, and that women were being treated unequally in competitions (such as having their events staged early in the morning when there were few spectators). There were also articles praising women for their courage and performance in these newer sports, and arguing that their “poor” performances compared to men were a result of having to adapt to new sports and their techniques. Pirinen (1997b) concluded that sports coverage can be a site of ideological struggle. She noted, however, that both discourses compared women’s sport to a male standard, which supports and reproduces traditionally masculine values.

Klein (1988) conducted a mainly qualitative analysis of a complete year’s issues (1979) of four West German daily newspapers, updated with random samples from August 1985 and May 1987. She found that women received only 4.3% to 6.7% of the total sports coverage and that coverage increased when there was a dearth of professional men’s sports or a lack of success in men’s competitions. A large percentage of women’s sports were threaded into articles on men’s, and the title often made little reference to it

being there. Klein (1988) also found that there was a significant difference in the level of competition required to be considered worthy of reporting for the men and women—women had to achieve a significantly higher competitive level than the men to receive coverage. It was noted that “fighting metaphors” were used to describe women as well as men, which was a relatively new phenomenon. This showed that women were breaking into areas that typically were male preserves before, and were being subject to the same discursive practices. This, however, did not carry over to photographs, where women were presented more stereotypically. Sexual differences were highlighted in many of the sports reports. Comments with sexual connotation were sometimes made about the women and parts of their bodies, and comments were also made on women having to withdraw from competition due to pregnancy or menstruation, implying that women were governed by nature. Klein demonstrated that a “psychological Otherness” was often set up for the women. Women were often described as being dependent on nature, exhibiting behavior rooted in a “female hysteria,” and being emotional in both victory and defeat. For example, 40% of photographs showed women that were smiling, compared to 18.9% of those of men. As well, most pictures of men showed them with an intense, fighting expression, while women were shown in a variety of emotional states. Furthermore, in terms of photographs, 75% of the men’s were action photos, while this was only true for 56% of the women’s. In addition, some photographs of the women evoked sexual imagery through things such as tight clothing, stretched bodies and graceful poses. No comparable photos of men appeared in the study period.

Valgeirsson and Snyder (1986) conducted a cross-cultural analysis of newspaper sports sections, using one paper from Iceland (*Morgunbladid*—The Morning Paper), one

from England (*London Times*), and one from the United States (the *New York Times*). Coverage of women's sport was one variable, and they found that *Morgunbladid* gave 9% of its coverage to women's sport, the *London Times* 5%, and the *New York Times* 3%. They remarked that none of the papers provided extensive or equitable coverage for women's sport, but that *Morgunbladid* did provide a little more than the others. They proposed that this was due to sport in Iceland being mainly non-professional, and team sports being considered more open to males and females.

Matheson and Flatten (1996) assessed the coverage of women's sports in 6 national and Sunday newspapers in Great Britain, for 2-week periods in 1984 and 1994, to see if there were any changes over the decade. They compared their results to percentages of women Olympians in Britain (32% in 1984, 39% in 1994) and the percentage of total sports participants that were women (39% and 42%, respectively). The researchers found that there was a great increase in sports coverage in broadsheet newspapers over the decade, but that the percentage allocated to women's sports decreased. For example, women received 6.1% of the articles in broadsheets and 6.1% in the tabloids in 1984; in 1994, with the great increase in sports coverage, the percentages had respectively dropped to 5.8% and 5.1%. When compared to the percentage of elite athletes and sports participants who were women, a great under-representation can be seen, particularly as numbers of both of these groups increased over the decade.

North America. Two studies in the U.S. looked at the number of photographs of men and women in every eighth issue of the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* (Blackwood, 1983; Miller, 1975). The number of photographs in the sports section were a portion of both of these. In the parts of the studies focusing on the sports sections, it was

concluded that such sections were clearly male-dominated in the two newspapers in both studies. Miller (1974) found that 96% of photos in the *Post* and 90% in the *Times* were of men; in Blackwood's study (1983) it was 95% in the *Post* and 94% in the *Times*. This was obviously a gross under-representation of women athletes in both periods.

Marovelli and Crawford (1987) conducted an interesting study that related mass media coverage of women's sport to the selection of role-models by female high school athletes. They started by quantitatively analyzing a variety of sports media, including two months of the *Washington Post*, one month of the *Fairfax Journal*, 20 issues of *USA Today*, 25 issues of *Sports Illustrated* and one month of local (Fairfax) television program listings. It was found that the *Washington Post* reflected the coverage of the other newspapers, so a more extensive analysis was done on that. Next, they surveyed 66 female high school athletes to see the extent to which they read the *Post* and the *Journal*, and which elite/professional athletes they identified with as role models. In their content analysis, Marovelli and Crawford (1987) found that the *Post* carried on average 15 articles per day on sport, 14 of which were devoted to men. Of the total, 5.9% was given to women's sport, and boys' high school sport received more coverage (3.3%) than women's professional sport (1.3%). Further, *USA Today* was 88% male, the *Fairfax Journal* 85% male, local television coverage 96% male, and it was found that *Sports Illustrated* had 1 in 6 articles on women. The survey showed that over half of the athletes read the *Post* sports section often (3 to 7 times a week) and 40% more read it 1 to 3 times per week. In addition, 41% read the *Journal* often, and 47% 1 to 3 times per week. The survey showed that exposure to the media was fairly heavy and that the athletes identified most with male athletes in "male appropriate" sports; (26 men in 12 sports were

mentioned, while only 12 women in 5 sports). This study presents a good argument for the effect the media can have on the establishment of role models.

Woodcock (1995) conducted an analysis of high school hockey coverage by two Minnesota-St. Paul newspapers between November 1994 and March 1995. The topic and time frame were selected because 1994-95 was the first season of sanctioned girls' high school ice hockey in the state. There were 149 boys' teams that year (64 in the Twin Cities area) and 24 girls teams (all in the Twin Cities). Boys' hockey received 83% of the space given to high school hockey, with girls getting the remaining 17%. This was equitable compared to the number of state teams (girls making up 17% of the number), but not teams in the Twin Cities area (where they were 26% of the number of teams). More distressing perhaps, is the fact that boys' hockey players were pictured 99 times, mainly in action, while girls only 35 times, with only 4 action shots. Woodcock commented that this trend matched with stereotypical attitudes towards women's participation in traditionally male sports.

Wann, Schrader, Allison and McGeorge (1998) conducted a survey of university-sponsored newspapers in a small, medium and large U.S. school, to see if the trends found in other forms of the media existed there, as well. The analysis of the sports sections in the school newspapers was from September 1993 to February 1994, allowing for wide coverage of a variety of sports. It was found that 37% of articles were devoted to women's sports, amounting to 34% of lines. Thirty-six percent of the photographs were of women athletes. Wann and colleagues (1998) compared this to three standards: percentage of female students (49%), percentage of female varsity sports (50%) and

percentage of female athletes (33%). It was decided that coverage was inequitable, as the number of sports was probably the best indicator.

Now we will turn to studies of Canadian newspapers. A small case study was done in class by Snow (1995), a physical education teacher in Montreal. She noticed deference, reticence and holding back behaviors in some of her female grade school students when they were participating with the males, and wanted to see if this was related to modeling behavior. She undertook a two-month case study of the sports section of the *Montreal Gazette*, the local English language newspaper. In two months, there were only eight photographs of girls or women participating in sport, six feature articles on a small variety of women's sport, and limited tournament coverage in the "Sports Shorts" column. This prompted a further two-week study of the front page of the sports section. She found that women received 117 square inches of space, to the men's 3232 square inches. Another two-week collection of photographs resulted in 86 photos of men, and only 8 of women. Snow concluded that women's sport in the *Montreal Gazette* was greatly underrepresented, particularly in team sports. She then related this to modeling behavior in children, as girls seem to be told that sports are for males.

Crossman, Hyslop and Guthrie (1994) analyzed *The Globe and Mail* for one year, from June 1988 to July 1989. Gender and sport was one focus of the study, which sampled every fifth day. They coded articles into categories of male, female, and "unspecified or both," and found a significant difference in articles and editorials devoted to male and female athletes (66.2% vs. 4.8%, respectively). The total space for articles, editorials and pictures was 82.0% for males, and 6.3% for females. Crossman and colleagues (1994) explained that a lot of this was due to 41% of the total space being

devoted to men's professional sports. In amateur sport coverage, the ratio was still 3:1 male to female, but this was consistent with the number of high performance athletes in the country. The authors concluded that there was a high focus on men's professional sport, but that it could be argued that there was no discrimination against amateur women athletes.

Theberge (1991) investigated the coverage of physical activity in four daily newspapers for 6 months, and *Chatelaine* magazine for a period of 10½ years. The papers studied were the St. John's *Evening Telegram*, Montreal's *La Presse*, the *Toronto Star*, and the *Vancouver Sun*. She found that two of the papers, the *Telegram* and the *Sun*, both had over 50% articles focusing on men only. The percentage of articles on women alone ranged from 14.2% to 2.7%. Qualitatively, she found that bicycling and running were presented as non-gendered activities, but that the only activity that was presented as predominantly for women was aerobics. It was proposed that the promotion of bicycling and running as non-gendered activities was positive, but that the promotion of aerobics as a female activity could be problematic. On the positive side, the media were at least drawing attention to an activity associated with women's participation, but on the negative side the commercialized and sexualized nature of aerobics resulted in a highly feminized version of activity. In her analysis of *Chatelaine*, Theberge (1991) concentrated on emergent themes. The majority of articles on physical activity and sport in *Chatelaine* focused on health and fitness, skill development in specific exercise movements, and weight control. Theberge (1991) argued that for the most part, this promoted physical activity, but that associating physical activity with things such as attractiveness and weight control could lead to problems for some readers.

Morrow (1987) showed that the ambivalent denial of women as athletes and the focus on their appearance are not new phenomena. He conducted a historical case study in image making by the media, looking at media representations of Barbara Ann Scott, a former Canadian, World, and Olympic figure skating champion in the late 1940s. In his analysis, Morrow argued that “the image established, promulgated and perpetuated for Scott set a strong, modern precedent in Canada for the emphasis on an ideal woman-first concept of the female athlete” (p. 36). While Scott was a hard-working, dedicated and ambitious champion (as indicated by other historical documents like biographies, and even simply by her achievements), the Canadian media focused on her as a woman first, perpetuating an image of her as “doll-like,” a “fairy queen,” the “ice princess,” and a “little girl.” Morrow (1987) found that the public actually got more information on her appearance and costumes than her performances. He suggested that such media commentary was a vehicle for a re-entrenchment of traditional ideals of femininity and “feminine sports.” His conclusion was that “it was as if the media could not accept the relationship between a debutante and an internationally elite athlete. The reassertion of traditional femininity was the easiest, if not the most superficial image for the media to pursue” (p. 46). Morrow (1987) suggested that the ambivalence that was created around Scott set the precedent, and that its impact can still be felt.

As we can see from the above review, content analyses demonstrate that newspapers show the same trends as those seen in other types of media. Women’s sport has generally been found to be underrepresented in the regular sports media, and a variety of practices exist that tend to trivialize, marginalize, infantilize, sexualize and feminize women athletes. As well, sportswomen are often framed ambivalently and sexual

differences are highlighted, which sets women off as “Other than men.” This has persisted both over time and across national boundaries.

Coverage of Major International Events

In the media coverage of major international events such as the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games and the World Athletic Championships, similar trends exist, however there are some differences. Media coverage of these sorts of event is on a much larger scale and tends to be continuous over a set period of time. Sportswomen are generally given more coverage by the media during international events. The under-representation of women athletes does not seem as pronounced, although arguments can still be made that the coverage is not equitable. Additionally, many of the practices like the marginalizing and sexualizing of sportswomen still occur. A more detailed examination of studies on the mass media coverage of international sporting events follows, in a chronological order of the events.

Olympic Events

Pfister (1987) conducted a historical analysis of coverage of women at the Olympics in a liberal German newspaper, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. She found that there was a relatively constant increase in coverage in *Frankfurter Zeitung* of women Olympians from 1928 to 1980, topping out at 29.3% of the reports in 1980. However, this still constituted a marked under-representation, particularly when considering the amount

of medal success obtained by German women. In a more extensive analysis of the Games from 1952-1980, Pfister found that the amount of “non-sport information” greatly increased over time, mainly for women. Women’s physical appearance was quite likely to be commented on (appearing in 54.8% of the reports in 1980), and their ages were much more likely to be mentioned when compared to the men.

Duncan (1986) wrote an article whose main purpose was to show how spectator sport could be analyzed hermeneutically by looking at the symbolism created by the media. She studied the 1976 and 1984 Olympic events, and through conducting this symbolic analysis, was one of the first to notice the ambivalent framing of sportswomen in the media. She noted that “writers veered wildly between describing women as powerful, precise, courageous, skillful, purposeful and in control, and as cute, vulnerable, juvenile, manipulating and toy- or animal-like” (p. 71). She related these ambivalent descriptors to the changing social roles of women, and stated that the consequence is that women athletes get denigrated.

Toohy (1986) performed a content analysis of the coverage of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics by the five largest circulating newspapers in California. Among other things, he conducted a gender analysis. He compared the amount of coverage given to men and women in the top five sports: track and field, swimming, gymnastics, basketball and volleyball. He found a bias towards men’s sports in the coverage of all of these events except for gymnastics, where the opposite occurred. As a percentage of total coverage for these five sports, women received 35.6% of the total space, and 41.3% of the total number of articles. In gymnastics (which may be noted as a “female appropriate” sport), women were given 45 articles compared to the men’s 39.

In supporting the argument that television constructs (or reconstructs) sporting events, Whannel (1987) did a detailed examination of the BBC's final program in its 1984 Olympic coverage. He reported that images of dominant masculinity and female inferiority were constructed. Masculinity was defined in terms of "toughness," through a focus on men's strength, stamina and ability to keep going in face of illness and adversity. Part of this veneer was created through showing women in oppositional, emotional moments. The final montage included four shots of crying women athletes, the last waving the camera away. This helped set up a reading of opposition, with men being "stereotypically masculine," and women being "stereotypically feminine," that is, in being more emotional and less able to stand up to the stresses of the situation.

Lee (1992) analyzed newspaper portrayals of male and female athletes in the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. She studied a Canadian newspaper (the *Globe and Mail*) and an American one (the *New York Times*). Men received over two times the coverage of women in terms of number of news items, space accorded, and number of photographs. Women were highly represented in coverage of individual sports when compared to team sports, and they were over-represented in gymnastics and swimming. As well, women's coverage was often blended into articles on men, and even in these articles, men received significantly more space. Qualitatively, photographic portrayals of both men and women were positive, and usually the athletes were active, which is different from that seen elsewhere (e.g., Duncan, 1990). Women were subject to far more trivialization, with more references being made to their appearance and psychological traits than to the men's. As well, there were many instances of ambivalent reporting on

the women. For example, descriptions of strengths such as power, grace and skill were in the same articles as inferences to them being cute, vulnerable or emotional.

Duncan (1990) looked at sports photographs related to the 1984 and 1988 Olympics (Summer and Winter). She looked for photographs of athletes in four popular magazines, *Sports Illustrated*, *Life*, *Time* and *Newsweek*. Of the 1369 pictures that she found, she kept 14% (186); all of these were kept as they seemed to suggest sexual difference between the male and female athletes. She further subjected these photographs to a qualitative analysis where the features that were potential conveyors of patriarchal ideology were singled out. She identified many elements that help create sexual difference in sports photographs. These included: (a) physical appearance-the more glamorous sportswomen were pictured a lot more than others and there was a focus on elements such as hair and fingernails that marked women off as “Other” than men; (b) pose/body positions- many photos of the sportswomen bore resemblance to soft core pornography, and they were often in inactive poses that drew attention to body parts like their legs or breasts; (c) facial expressions: women were sometimes seen in pouting expressions or with the erotic “come on” look, including open mouth and narrowed eyes; (d) different postures were sometimes used for men and women, with those of the women often suggesting passivity or non-dominance; (e) emotional displays by women were highlighted; women were much more likely to be pictured crying, which can be taken to signify weakness; and (f) the surrounding captions and texts often served to denigrate and/or objectify women. All of these elements can connote sexual difference, which sets the sportswoman off as an “Other,” and helps legitimate patriarchal ideologies.

Toohey (1997) looked at television coverage of the 1988 and 1992 Summer Olympic Games by a channel in New South Wales, Australia. She found coverage to be fairly equitable, at least quantitatively. In 1988, 27.4 % of the Australian team were women, and coverage of women's sport amounted to 32.9% of the total time allotted. In 1992, 37% of the Australian athletes were female, and sportswomen received 29.7% of the coverage. These numbers were fairly close, and were much higher than what could be seen in regular programming. In many of the sports, women received close to or over half of the coverage, including in swimming, track and field and rowing. Toohey noted this as an encouraging sign, but pointed out that a qualitative analysis was not conducted.

Another study with encouraging results is that conducted by Hall (1992). Her survey looked at the coverage of the 1992 Summer Olympics in three Australian newspapers, the *Age*, the *Herald-Sun* and the *West Australian*. She found that the papers gave between 27% and 32% of their coverage to women Olympians. This could arguably be called equitable coverage, when it is compared to Australian women making up 37% of the Olympic team, and 38% of the Australian medal winners. Coverage did not achieve the 37% that would have been totally fair, but Hall indicated that only two Australian women won gold medals, which she conjectured as an important factor in the media coverage of the event.

Higgs and Weiller (1994) conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses of NBC's television coverage of the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. They compared the extent and the nature of coverage of men and women engaged in the same sports, such as basketball, tennis, swimming and track and field. The amount of coverage within these sports was almost equal, being 56% for men and 44% for women. Women dominated the sports

coverage in a number of individual sports, such as gymnastics (87%), rowing (67%), tennis (67%) and cycling (60%). Coverage of men's sports was heavily weighted in the "power" team sports of volleyball (75%) and basketball (74%). In the qualitative analysis, Higgs and Weiller found a number of differences in the coverage of men's and women's sport, and several interesting narratives about the sportswomen emerged. Men's basketball coverage had much more on-screen statistics and slow motion replay. As in the study of the NCAA championships by Messner and his colleagues (1996), the women's team was gender marked as "the women's" Olympic team, and there were many instances of ambivalent framing. In the volleyball coverage, descriptors of strength were associated with the men's games much more than with the women (41% more). There was also a hierarchy of naming, where women's first names were used 85% of the time versus only 62% for the men. This was particularly recorded in the gymnastics coverage, where women's first names were used 46 times, whereas it only happened 10 times for the men. As well, the women gymnasts were frequently associated with beauty descriptors. This set up an "incongruence between the delightful female image and the intense, competitive athlete" (p. 241). Final qualitative differences noted by Higgs and Weiller (1994) were in the coverage of swimming events. Both ambivalent and blatantly sexist comments were used to describe the women swimmers, and who were also infantilized by frequent reference to them as "girls."

Urquhart and Crossman (1999) studied coverage of the Winter Olympics in the *Globe and Mail* from 1924 to 1992, assessing gender balance in terms of participation rates at the different Olympic competitions. Throughout the time frame, men received more coverage, receiving four times the written coverage and being pictured three times

as much. In five separate years, women received extremely poor coverage (including as recently as 1984). As well, the overall coverage of women was boosted by some standout athletes like Barbara Anne Scott in 1948, and skier Nancy Greene in 1968. The authors did conclude however, that coverage was usually consistent with the participation rates of men and women.

Spears and Seydegart (1996) conducted an analysis of English-language Canadian television broadcasts of the 1994 Winter Olympics. They conducted a quantitative analysis and compared it to two standards: the number of medal events available to men and women, (equitable coverage would have been 41% women's sport, 56% men's sport, and 3% mixed skating events); the medal success (43% women and 57% men). In fact, there was a disproportionate amount given to men's sports, mainly due to coverage of hockey. Of total coverage by CTV, the official network, 32% went to men's hockey, 32% to other men's events, 26% to women's events, and 10% to mixed events (pairs skating). The immense popularity of hockey in Canada, and the amount of time it takes to play a game (approximately 2 ½ hours) was proposed to partly explain this result. Excluding hockey, 44% of the coverage left went to women's sport and 56% to men's, which does match the above standards. The number of interviews on CTV was found inequitable, with 32% overall going to women and 68% to men. The amount of time spent on interviews of women was much less as well. Similar results were found in regards to the representation of women in "special features" sections, like athlete portraits, where only 27% focused on women. More positively, Spears and Seydegart's research found that the coverage given to women's sports on nightly news broadcasts by two other networks, CBC and CTVO, was in line with the medal and event balances, giving 45% and 42% of

the coverage to women's events respectively. As well, it was found that descriptors used by the commentators were essentially the same for both genders, and the interpersonal lives of men were highlighted just as much as were women's.

Daddario (1994) examined CBS's 16-day telecast of the 1992 Albertville Winter Olympics. Her goal was to conduct a rhetorical analysis to see what strategies the media used to fashion a masculine sports hegemony. The first she found was the use of condescending descriptors related to physical attractiveness. In the "traditionally feminine" sport of figure skating, many references were made to the athletes' beauty and apparent attractiveness, thus signifying sexual difference and marking the women as Other. For athletes participating in the traditionally masculine sports of, for example, luge and alpine skiing, this was not as pronounced. A second strategy of marginalization found by Daddario was the use of compensatory rhetoric. Many sportswomen were blamed for their failings and their weaknesses were highlighted, while for a number of the men, an apologetic was made where idiosyncratic behavior was romanticized and made part of their character. This was similar to themes found by Hilliard (1984). Other media strategies that marginalized women were their representation as an "adolescent ideal," and the highlighting of their family relations. This involved making reference to them as "girls," describing them as "mother's daughters," and showing footage and commentary of the athletes' parents or siblings during the competition. This reduced the apparent competitiveness of the events, and framed the athletes as driven by a human connection, not by sporting competition.

Tuggle and Owen (1999) conducted a quantitative descriptive analysis of NBC's coverage of the 1996 Summer Olympics. They found that NBC focused much more on

individual events for women than team sports, giving two times the coverage to the individual events. While there are many more individual events than team sports for women at the Games (68 individual vs. 39 team sports), over 61% of the women's coverage was on swimming, diving and gymnastics, all gender appropriate individual sports. Women received 90% of the airtime that men did, but the majority was in the three sports mentioned above (with 34% going to gymnastics alone). One glaring example of privileging male athletes was noted in the basketball coverage. While both the U.S. men's and women's basketball teams won gold medals, the men's team received 235 minutes of coverage to the women's 95 minutes.

Jones, Murrell and Jackson (1999) analyzed print media descriptions of the gold medal winning contests for five successful U.S. women's sports teams (basketball, gymnastics, soccer and softball at the 1996 Summer Olympics, and hockey at the 1998 Winter Olympics). They found that more task-relevant comments were made in the "female-appropriate" sport of gymnastics and in the gender-neutral sport of softball than in the other three, more "male-appropriate" sports. Conversely, twice as many non-task relevant comments were made in the "male appropriate" sports than in either of the others, and more male comparisons were made in the "male-appropriate" sports. In the coverage of all five medal contests, there were many instances of commentary related to "stereotypically feminine" behaviors. The authors concluded that in the "male-appropriate" sports, women were marginalized in comparison to men and that commentary often did not relate to the competition. In the "female appropriate" sports, performance was focused on, but female stereotypes were reinforced.

A study to determine the salience of women athletes in the 1996 Olympics—the so-called “Olympics of the Women”—was conducted by Eastman and Billings (1999). They compared NBC’s prime-time coverage of men’s and women’s sports over three Olympics (1994 and 1998 Winter Olympics and 1996 Summer Olympics) to determine whether women’s sport was more salient in 1996 than in the other years. The researchers concluded that women’s sports were no more salient in the coverage of any of the three Olympics. For all three Games, the network carefully balanced the amount of coverage in prime-time, with both men’s and women’s sports receiving almost equal airtime. However, the attributions of success and failure were different for men and women, discourses on men dominated the coverage, and in all three Games, stereotypical comments on women’s appearance crept into the on-site commentary.

As indicated by several of the above studies (Hall, 1992; Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Spears & Seydegart, 1996; Toohey, 1997) it appears that, particularly in television coverage, women seem to be getting more equitable amounts of Olympic coverage, in the 1990s at least. However, writings by Andrews (1998) and Daddario (1997) cast a critical eye on this notion, and on the “packaging” of the Olympics.

Using quotations and statements from NBC executives, Andrews (1998) demonstrated how NBC packaged the broadcast of the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics to appeal to a female viewing audience. With the assumption that males will watch anyway, NBC attempted to attract a greater proportion of the potential female audience. Andrews contends that “NBC’s representational strategy for the coverage of the Olympic Games involved manufacturing a stereotypically feminine Olympic spectacle. . . . NBC manufactured their own Olympic reality centered around events deemed appropriate to

female viewers, and infused with sentiment designed to resonate with the female psyche” (p. 11). According to Andrews (1998) the manufacturing of the Atlanta Olympic reality was “based upon understandings of gender identities, practices and experiences, as being wholly unitary, stable and fixed entities, that are engaged by providing programming which resonates with the essential features of our gendered beings” (p. 11). Through this, NBC created a “stereotypically female” Olympics for a “stereotypically female” audience. As noted by Andrews (1998) as well as Eastman and Billings (1999), this “packaging” of the Games was picked up by most of the other media agencies. To create the “stereotypically feminine” package, the media highlighted women athletes in “traditionally feminine” events like gymnastics, with commentary focusing on the feminine and aesthetic elements. Other techniques were the highlighting of interpersonal relationships (which the stereotypical woman would be interested in), and the creation of “traditionally feminine” narrative stories. This is where earlier work by Daddario (1997) on the 1992 Olympics came in, showing how life stories and the “triumphs and tragedies” of the athletes were framed in ways similar to soap opera story-lines. The same happened (only more so) in the 1996 programming. Andrews concluded that, far from being emancipatory, such a focus on female athletes and female consumers only furthers stereotypes and notions of sexual difference. These studies highlight how, even if “quantitative equality” gets achieved, qualitative analysis is needed.

Other International Events

Relatively few studies of other major international sporting events have been done. Only three could be found: Pringle and Gordon's (1995) study of the 1990 Commonwealth Games, and Alexander's (1994a, 1994b) analyses of the 1991 World Athletics Championships.

Pringle and Gordon (1995) analyzed the graphics and text of two Western Australian newspapers (the *Daily News* and *The Western Australian*) about the 1990 Commonwealth Games. They found that the textual coverage given exclusively to men was 46.2%, while that which was given exclusively to women was only 28.4%. Pringle and Gordon noted that while Australian women accounted for 45.1% of their country's medals, and 55% in the high-profile sport of athletics, they only received 38.7% of the total coverage. As well, women were much more likely to receive negative coverage in the areas of appearance, emotions, drug use and illness/injury.

Alexander's (1994a, 1994b) two studies included a quantitative analysis of the coverage of the 1991 World Athletics Championships (she also looked at the track and field events at the 1992 Olympics). Examining the coverage of the BBC, as well as the British newspaper and tabloid press. She found a strongly significant difference (for both the Athletics championship and the Olympics) with men receiving a disproportionate amount of coverage. For example women only received 1/4 of the newspaper coverage, and 7 of the 70 Olympic newspaper editions never mentioned women's athletics at all, despite a full program the day before.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are a number of quantitative and qualitative differences in the media coverage of men's and women's sports. Women's sports are under-represented when compared to men's (Matheson & Flatten, 1996; Messner et al., 1993, 1996; Shifflett & Revelle, 1994a). Sportswomen tend to be trivialized, sexualized, infantilized, gender-marked and symbolically annihilated in many ways (Daddario, 1994; Duncan et al., 1994; Lenskyj, 1998; Messner et al., 1993; 1996; Pirinen, 1997b). As well, they are often shown in inactive poses, and sexual differences between men and women are highlighted (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Duncan, 1990; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Men's sports often gets held up as a comparative standard, and men are portrayed as less emotional and dependent on others than women (Blinde et al., 1991; Brown, 1994; Hilliard, 1984). All of these practices tend to set sport aside as a male preserve (Messner, 1988) and define which sports and sporting roles are appropriate for women (Duncan, 1990; Hilliard, 1984).

In terms of the coverage of Olympic events, the under-representation of women's sports seems to be less of an issue, especially in recent times (Hall, 1992; Toohey, 1997). However, many of the problematic qualitative differences in the coverage of men's and women's sports remain (Duncan, 1990; Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Lee, 1992). As for other international events, only a few studies are available, so the case there remains to be made.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework that will be used to discuss and contextualize the newspaper coverage of the Pan-Am Games. The framework is feminist cultural studies, which is situated at the intersection of British cultural studies, socialist feminism, and the work of Michel Foucault (Cole, 1993). Drawing from the strengths of these three areas, feminist cultural studies provides an interdisciplinary framework for studying cultural practices and complex social relationships. This chapter will give a brief overview on the influences that have lead most strongly to the development of feminist cultural studies, and then examine several of the framework's key concepts to be used in presenting and discussing the interpretations of the text under study.

Influences from British Cultural Studies

British cultural studies developed in the 1950s and 1960s, first through work done at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, and then through the diffusion of ideas in courses and publications in various places (Hall, 1994). British cultural studies developed in response to the massive cultural changes in post-war Britain, and started a break with the dominant disciplines of the time, namely literary criticism, Marxism, and positivistic social science (Cole, 1993). Three major works were Richard Hoggart's (1957) *Uses of Literacy*, Raymond William's (1958) *Culture and Society*, and E.P. Thompson's (1963) *The Making of the English Working*

Class. These studies moved culture away from literary definitions to a more anthropological conception. The study of culture then shifted away from elitist “high culture” to a focus on a “whole way of life” in society that included beliefs, lived experiences, and “ordinary” culture (Hall, 1994). Through British cultural studies, culture has become understood as a field of social practices and historical processes, and the study of it has moved towards a focus on society “at large.”

Influences from Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminist theory is also a recent theoretical tradition that emerged from feminism in the 1970s. Socialist feminism stems from feminist critiques and reformulations of socialist and Marxist theories, and addresses the glaring exclusions of gender and race in the analyses of these theories.

Socialist feminism developed from two positions. One was based on a revision of Marxist concepts to include women’s positions in the labor force and the family under capitalism. This position arose from work such as Juliet Mitchell’s (1971) *The Woman’s Estate*. The second position, exemplified by Gayle Rubin’s (1976) *The Traffic in Women*, focuses on larger sex/gender systems, and views patriarchal capitalist relationships as part of the larger systems (Cole, 1993). Socialist feminism’s legacy to feminist cultural studies is mostly the focus on gender and patriarchal relationships that was not present in British cultural studies.

Foucauldian Influences

The work of Michel Foucault has had broad influences in many disciplines, including anthropology, medicine, feminism and cultural studies. Foucault's work deserves a separate mention as an influence on feminist cultural studies, as it has had a determinant impact on the themes of power and discipline (Rail & Harvey, 1995). Foucault re-conceptualized the notion of power, taking it away from traditional ideas of state control, and theorizing how it permeates society and affects people at the individual level. Within feminist cultural studies, one of Foucault's influences has been to situate the body in the political field. The body is now recognized as a site for power and gender relationships through its involvement in the economic field, and attempts to control and discipline it for economic purposes.

Key Concepts

The key concepts in feminist cultural studies are culture, ideology, hegemony, power, gender, patriarchy and resistance. These concepts can be used in the interpretations and understanding of a text, particularly when this text relates to the sports media, an increasingly important part of popular culture, and a topic that lends itself well to cultural analysis. Key concepts in feminist cultural studies are summarized below.

Culture

A simplified conception of culture is that it is a “a group’s way of life.” It is threaded through all of the group’s social practices, and is the sum of its interrelationships (Hall, 1994). The group shares historical experiences, bodies of common knowledge, language, customs, tradition, beliefs, and often values and goals. Culture is the many forms of sense making, through and about these interrelationships, in various settings in societies marked by constant change. Sport and the media are elements of culture. However, it is how people relate to elements like these and make sense out of them that truly reflects that people’s culture. At the same time, culture is also a site of conflict and struggle, as various cultural expressions relate to the amounts of power held by different groups in societies in an ever-changing state of flux.

Sex/Gender

Sex and gender are related but different concepts. Sex refers to the primary biological and anatomical differences that have been traditionally been used to determine if one is “male” or “female.” Gender on the other hand, is a set of social, psychological, and cultural characteristics that have traditionally been used to differentiate “men” from “women.” When individuals are born, they are most often designated to be male or female. However, individuals learn how to perform “gender,” and therefore become what is traditionally understood to be men or women. This gender learning starts in childhood, when children are exposed to gender norms by their parents, families, schools,

communities, and institutions like the mass media. Pronger (1993) proposes that the term “gender” automatically implies a relationship where dominance and subordination help define what it means to be a man or a woman. Through this power relationship, people’s behaviors may become limited. For example, there are the ideas of “male appropriate” sports like rugby, and “female appropriate” sports like gymnastics. As these sports have been designated as appropriate to one sex/gender, participation in them by people of the other sex/gender may be limited by social sanctions.

Ideology

According to Althusser (1971), ideology “represents the imaginary relationships of people to their real conditions of existence” (p. 36). By this, he means that it is the global system of concepts, images, myths and representations that affirm the hierarchical nature of society.

Ideology is tied to the interests of the dominant group in society, whether this is based on economic, religious, or political reasons. As Althusser explains, ideology works within a culture to legitimate ideas that benefit the dominant group. Ideology is tied into a system where the more or less conscious interests of the dominant group become justified.

Ideology is ever-present, and individuals incorporate it into themselves in a process that Althusser calls “interpellation.” Through interpellation, individuals incorporate norms and values without realizing it. Societal structures of domination become seen as natural, rational and ahistorical.

According to Althusser, ideology is maintained and exercised through “Repressive State Apparatuses” (RSAs) and “Ideological State Apparatuses” (ISAs). RSAs are coercive and overt measures from the state like the military and the penal system. ISAs are a more covert means of promoting dominant ideologies. ISAs include things such as religious institutions, the educational system, families, cultural institutions like the arts, and the mass media. Through the work of these societal institutions, ideology mystifies and disguises the real situation, where the class interests and values of the dominant group are being furthered.

Hegemony

Intimately connected to ideology is the concept of hegemony. Originally a Marxist concept, hegemony has been refined by Gramsci (1971). In his conception, hegemony occurs when a dominant social group has gained control of the economic means of production and is able to project this into the social, cultural and political world through civil society. Hegemony is a process through which the beliefs and values learned in the course of ordinary cultural practices help to maintain patterns of power and privilege in society.

Hegemony helps naturalize the inequalities between groups so that the domination of the elites is apparently justified. A system with obvious class, gender and ethnic inequalities is held together, apparently by consent, as the system which creates these inequalities seems to be common sense.

Applying the concept of hegemony to culture, we have to be aware that cultural experiences and artifacts (like the media) cannot be understood without considering whose ideas are being promoted, and how these cultural experiences are being packaged as right and natural. One needs to be attentive to the hegemonic process that is at work in the creation and negotiation of cultural experiences.

Power

It is in the concept of power where the influence of Foucault can be most felt in feminist cultural studies. Before Foucault, power had traditionally been seen as a top-down system where power rested with the state and the elites, and then filtered down onto the masses. Foucault's conception of power goes well beyond this to see how power disperses throughout society to affect individuals, their bodies, and their everyday existence. Foucault (1977) uses the notion of the Panopticon to demonstrate how power diffuses throughout society. The Panopticon was a proposed design for a circular prison where inmates were watched by guards who cannot be seen. As they did not know if or when they were being watched, individuals would have to resort to self-surveillance. Foucault sees society as a great Panopticon where everyone is self-policing. As noted by Rail and Harvey (1995), "Panoticism represents a view of society that makes evident the ways in which surveillance and self-policing are used to ensure social control and order" (p. 167).

For Foucault, knowledge is related to power and power is exercised through knowledge. In power struggles, those who possess a body of knowledge can use it to

legitimate the fact that they subject others to certain practices (Foucault, 1980). For example, medical doctors exercise control over the rest of the population's health practices as they have a specific and powerful body of knowledge. Power can only exist then, when it is exercised and put into action.

Foucault has highlighted how the body is a site for power and control. Cole (1993) describes the body as a "central ideological resource" (p. 85) in that it has to be managed within a raced/gendered system that is intricately tied to capitalist ideals of work and profit. The individual body can become the site of a power struggle between the individual and dominant ideologies. Theorizing the body in this way, Foucault has centered it (and practices involving it like sport) into discussions of power and control.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a concept that refers to the social system in which men dominate women. The term "patriarchy" was first used by Kate Millett (1970) in her book *Sexual Politics*. Different ideas of the operation of patriarchy come from socialist feminism. One is that capitalism and patriarchy are tied together in the same system, so that women's work is subordinate to men's (Mitchell, 1971). Another is that patriarchy is part of a larger sex/gender system, whereby oppression is not inevitable, but is a product of a series of social relations, of which capitalism is just one (Rubin, 1976).

However it is looked at, patriarchy is a system where men, despite their different roles and positions in society, unite their interests to become dominant over women. Ideologies of gender are particularly important in maintaining this dominance. Millett

(1970) suggests that male dominance has been gained through the uncoerced consent of women. She uses the word “uncoerced” as the coercion that occurs is not overt and blatant. This uncoerced consent is gained through getting women to embrace sex-role stereotypes and accept a “natural” social order differentiated by gender, wherein power rests with the men. Both male and female children are socialized into the patriarchal system through stereotypes and gender biases. The media can be a particularly powerful device in socializing people into the patriarchal system.

Closely aligned with patriarchy is the notion of a “sexual division of labor.” This exists in most societies, and is one which accords lower status to women’s work (Hartmann, 1992). Driven by economic needs and the goal of biological reproduction, labor gets split so that women’s work becomes that which involves child rearing, caregiving and domestic labor. This work is seen as “valueless” in a capitalist system, as it does not lead directly to the generation of capital or goods (Hartmann, 1992). The sexual division of labor ties into patriarchal ideology, as it oppresses women and gives men control of both women’s work and their reproductive bodies.

Resistance

All is not bleak, however, as there is still a possibility for resistance by the non-dominant groups. Resistance is possible as ideologies are never totally uncontested, power is always struggled for, and hegemonic processes are never seamless. Resistance occurs when people struggle against the oppression of ruling groups, usually through developing collective cultural or class movements (Althusser, 1971).

Conclusion

As a theoretical framework, feminist cultural studies allows for an understanding of culture and gender relationships while avoiding the reductionism of several of the stances that it draws from. One can consider culture yet still include gender concerns (absent from much of British cultural studies). One can also avoid the isolation of women's experiences that is part of many forms of feminist theory. The framework allows the consideration of the above concepts without reducing them into separate, unrelated processes, as has been wont in other theories.

Feminist cultural studies also brings a perspective that allows for interdisciplinary work as is the case of the present study. Indeed, the media coverage of a large sporting event like the Pan American Games crosses many disciplines, including sociology, communications studies, women's studies, sport studies and cultural studies.

Finally, feminist cultural studies enables a greater understanding and deeper interpretation of a cultural text like sports media coverage. It provides a framework wherein the text's possibilities for the promotion of dominant ideologies or for the provision of opportunities for resistance to them, can be identified and deconstructed.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

In terms of methodology, the present study borrowed from the hermeneutical approach developed by Paul Ricoeur (1973, 1984, 1991). Hermeneutics has been developed through textual analysis and philosophical debate, and it is about interpretation, understanding and meaning. Kane and Parks (1992) have described hermeneutics as “a scientific method loosely defined as the theory or philosophy of the interpretation of meaning” (p. 56). Ricoeur (1973) himself has defined hermeneutics as “the theory of the operations of understanding in its relations to the interpretation of texts” (p. 112). According to Madison (1988), “the task of interpretation or hermeneutics is to reconstruct the internal dynamics of a text so as to make manifest the world it projects. This world is a possible world, one that I, as the reader, could inhabit” (p. 95).

Hermeneutics

The word “hermeneutics” has as its root the name of the Greek god Hermes, who was the Pantheon’s messenger and interpreter to the masses (Kane & Parks, 1992). In the 17th Century, the field started out exclusively as a means of biblical exegesis. By the 18th Century, this had expanded to the interpretation of secular texts (Harris, 1981). In the 19th century, philosophers such as Friedrich Schlegel and William Dilthey developed the notion of hermeneutics as the art of understanding any utterance in any

language (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). They also opened up a debate about the form that hermeneutics should take: explanation, as in structural quantitative measures, versus subjective understanding, as in qualitative interpretation (Ricoeur, 1973).

In terms of modern hermeneutics, Hans-George Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur have been particularly influential. Gadamer, as detailed by Madison (1988), is more properly philosophical. His work “seeks to determine what is involved in the process of understanding itself, what it is that has actually happened whenever we claim to have arrived at an understanding of things, the world, ourselves” (Madison, 1988, p. 110). Ricoeur, by comparison, is more interested in interpreting texts and purposeful actions, and in the search for meaning in them. His work is more relevant to the present study.

Ricoeurian Hermeneutics

The main thrust of Ricoeurian hermeneutics is the interpretation and understanding of texts. Ricoeur extends his ideas on interpretation of texts to any meaningful activity, but his work on textual analysis is of the most importance to the present study. Ricoeur sees the interpretation of a text as the unfolding of it, “no longer backwards towards its author, but forward toward its immanent meaning and toward the sort of world it discovers and opens up” (1973, p. 120). Rather than looking for the author’s intentions in writing the text, the researcher is instead trying to interpret the meaning that the text has in and of itself. In his essay “The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text,” Ricoeur (1984) notes four characteristics of a written text, and shows how it differs from spoken discourse.

The first characteristic is that written discourse is inscribed and fixed, unlike speech, which is temporary and fleeting (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Ricoeur, 1984). What is inscribed is the meaning of the speech event, not the instance of discourse.

The second characteristic is that the text takes on an autonomy of its own (Ricoeur, 1984). The idea is that a written text is an object autonomous from its author, whereby “what the text signifies is no longer what the author meant; henceforth, textual meaning and psychological meaning have different destinies” (Ricoeur, 1991, p. 83). The autonomy of the text opens it up to a variety of possible readings.

The third characteristic of a text that opens it up to interpretation is the “display of non-ostensive references” (Ricoeur, 1984, p. 203). Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) note that in speech, the “dialogue ultimately refers to the situation common to the speakers” (p. 5), but that in written texts, the limited context is removed and there is no reference to which to directly point. This means that written texts have a “non-ostensive reference,” or refer to things that the writer cannot directly show the reader. Because of this non-ostensive reference, the meaning is removed from the limited context and the text projects its own world into which the reader is drawn (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988).

The last characteristic is “the universal range of the audience” (Ricoeur, 1984, p. 203). This means that, as opposed to speech, for which there is a specific audience directly addressed, the audience of a text is virtually unlimited. The text is universal to all who may pick it up; the only limitation on the audience is the requirement of literacy.

What these four characteristics mean is that any text is open to interpretation and analysis as it has undergone a form of objectification. The meaning of the text now belongs to the text itself, not to the intentions of the author (Howard, 1982). Such a

conclusion leads to an important question: if we can no longer interpret the author's intentions, what can be interpreted? Ricoeur (1991) answers that what may be interpreted in a text is the proposed world that the reader could inhabit: "That is what I call the world of the text, the world proper to this unique text" (p. 86). In brief, a text has its own world, its own image of the way things are or can be. The researcher is not looking for hidden meanings, but for the meanings that the text has and the image of the world (i.e., "the world") that it projects.

The above ideas are crucial to the current study, as they imply that newspaper articles about men and women athletes (i.e., the text in this instance) create a world that the reader can inhabit, a world that can become a place of discursive effects and power. It is thus the task of the researcher to interpret the texts, to discover their meanings and find the worlds that they create about men's and women's sports.

Ricoeur (1991) includes the structural analysis of a text as part of its interpretation. Settling (for himself at least) the hermeneutical debate of explanation versus understanding, Ricoeur (1991) sees explanation as being enfolded and incorporated by understanding; explanation is also a step in the process of understanding a text. In the Ricoeurian approach to hermeneutics then, a structural analysis is one of the means included in interpreting the world that the text is unfolding. To this end, the present study included quantitative structural analyses.

Ricoeurian Hermeneutics and Sport Studies

Methodologically, the practical question for the present study is how to access the meanings and projected world of the newspaper articles. Past studies on sport that have used hermeneutical methods point the way. Kane and Parks (1992), Duncan and Brummett (1991), Duncan and Hasbrook (1988), Duncan (1986, 1990), and Harris (1981) have all used or discussed the hermeneutical approach. Most of these studies have had a thematic focus, looking for recurrent themes or descriptors. While other hermeneutical methods could be used, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) suggest that, “one will look for recurrent themes (often not explicit) and will ask, ‘What is being given special attention in this text? Is there a particular emphasis—or neglect—in this text?’ The focus is not only on what is being said, but how it is said” (p. 7).

A critical point in carrying out the analysis is the concept of the “pre-understanding.” This relates to the “hermeneutic circle,” the premise of hermeneutics that knowledge is circular (Duncan, 1986; Harris, 1981). Duncan (1986) indicates that “before one can learn anything about the cultural or written text that one is studying, one must have some partial understanding of that subject, however incomplete” (p. 51). This partial understanding is the pre-understanding of the hermeneutic circle, in which one moves back and forth from pre-understanding to understanding as they read a text and analyze it (Harris, 1981). A promising way of gaining a solid pre-understanding is demonstrated in the design of Kane and Parks (1992), who grounded their hermeneutical analysis on a synthesis of previous work.

A problem that arises is in the possibility of any text having a multiplicity of meanings (Duncan, 1990). Due to the autonomy of the text and subjectivity that is recognized within hermeneutics, arguing for a specific interpretation can be countered by the suggestion that many more possible ones exist. This is a valid critique, but Duncan (1986) argues that “the point of hermeneutics is to help the reader experience the meaning that the investigator has uncovered. Obviously, the best way to accomplish this goal is to include lots of text as supporting evidence” (p. 52). The use of examples from the text or activity under question, to support interpretations or arguments, has been utilized by several researchers of sport (e.g., Duncan 1986, 1990; Geertz, 1973; Hilliard, 1984; Kane & Parks, 1992).

Using Ricoeurian Hermeneutics in the Present Study

Selecting the Text

The text, for the present study, consisted of English language Canadian newspaper articles related to sports events at the 1999 Pan-American Games, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The text used was restricted to the articles published in the two national daily newspapers (*The Globe and Mail* and *The National Post*), newspapers from the two major metropolitan centres which house the majority of the national summer sports governing bodies (*The Toronto Star* and *The Ottawa Citizen*), and the largest circulating newspaper in the host site for the event (*The Winnipeg Free Press*). In all, 867 articles were analyzed. Photographs were also considered as part of the text, and a total of 866

photographs were content analyzed. Articles and photographs were collected from July 23 to August 9, 1999. This represented the period from one day after the start of the Games until one day after competition finished (this period was selected as newspaper coverage is generally one day in arrears of the events—the first events occurred on July 22, with competition lasting right to the last day on August 8).

Many articles in the newspapers that were related to the Pan-American Games were ruled out of the analysis, as they did not relate directly to men's or women's sports. These included articles that were written about the Winnipeg community, the arts and music festivals attached to the Pan-American Games, and the volunteers and administration of the Games. A second group of articles were ruled out of the quantitative analysis as they dealt with doping in sport. During the Games, there were several high-profile athletes caught using drugs. The original articles that broke these stories were included in the quantitative portion, as this was considered direct sports coverage. However, later articles on the doping of these athletes were ruled out of the quantitative analysis, as it was felt that this was not truly Pan-Am coverage. Almost all of these articles were no longer directly covering Pan-Am sports—the athlete involved was only mentioned as a lead-in to discussions of past incidents of doping in sports, efforts to eradicate doping, or the effects of drugs on the body.

Analyzing the Text

Following from prior sports media studies using a hermeneutical approach, the present study focused on the identification of recurrent themes in the coverage of men's

and women's sports, as well as the identification of descriptors used for men and women athletes. Articles were divided into two categories: those referring to men's sports and those referring to women's sports. Articles with mixed coverage (i.e., coverage of both men's and women's events) were split down into the above categories. Recurrent themes within each category were sought, and comparisons were then made between the themes for men's sports and women's sports, to see the similarities and differences in them. As for descriptors, all terms used to define or characterize men athletes were listed, and the same was done for terms used when describing women athletes. Once the lists were completed, they were analyzed and compared.

The pre-understanding for this study was rooted in the previous sports studies that were reviewed in Chapter II. The researcher was thus being aware of possible themes or descriptors such as: the highlighting of "feminine" traits such as attractiveness or emotionality, a focus on the non-sporting activities of the athletes or their personal lives, the association of descriptors of weakness with women and strength with men, an infantilization of female athletes, a focus on women in the so-called "sex-appropriate" sports, and descriptions of the men's action in terms of "the war metaphor." Of course, the study allowed for the identification of new emergent factors.

Although the study focused on emergent themes, efforts were made to use terms for emergent themes that were similar to those found in previous studies. This served the purpose of allowing post-facto comparisons between the present study, and previous ones.

A structural analysis of the text was also conducted. Numerical measures were taken, namely: the percentage of articles for men's sport, women's sports, and mixed

articles (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991); the percentage of headlines for men's and women's sports (Alexander, 1994b); the percentage of photographs of male and female athletes (Alexander, 1994b, Pringle & Gordon 1995); and the percentage of total amount of space (estimated in number of 1/8 page sections) devoted to men's and women's articles and photographs. As Ricoeur (1991) observed, noting structural features such as these is important in developing a complete interpretation, as these features make up part of the overall complexity of the text.

To assess whether there was equity in the coverage of men's and women's sports, these measures were then compared to other figures. In the study, these particular numbers were considered: (a) the percentage of male and female athletes at the Pan-Am Games (Hall, 1992)—in the present case, of the total number of athletes at the 1999 Pan-American Games, 63.3% (3,003) were men and 36.7% (1,736) were women (Pan-Am Games Organizing Committee, 1999); (b) the percentage of Canadian male and female athletes—for the 1999 Games, the Canadian team was made up of 56.8% of men (n=349) and 43.2% of women (n=265) (Pan-Am Games Organizing Committee, 1999); (c) the percentage of sports available to men and women (Hall, 1992, Shifflett & Revelle, 1994b)—there were 46 sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games, of which men could compete in 51.2% (n=44), and women could compete in 48.8% (n=42); and (d) the percentage of medals won by Canadian men and women athletes (Spears & Seydegart, 1996)—Canadian athletes won 195 medals at the Games and men won 46.6% of them (n=91), while women won 49.2% of them (n=96), the other medals (n=8) being won in gender neutral events such as equestrian, in some sailing events where men and women

compete together or in events like mixed doubles in badminton (Pan-Am Games Organizing Committee, 1999).

The figure that was considered most important was the first figure of the percentage of women participants (36.7%). This figure was chosen as a minimum comparative standard for “equitable coverage” to exist, as it was felt that the amount of coverage devoted to women athletes should at least reflect the percentage of women participants. The other three figures were considered “tougher” equity standards (i.e., 43.2% for the percentage of Canadian women participants, 48.8% for the percentage of sports available to women, and 49.2% for the percentage of medals won by Canadian women), and were used to help explain the percentages of coverage that went beyond the minimum required for “equity.”

Analyzing the Photographs

Photographs of athletes at the Pan-Am Games were considered part of the text, and were subjected to a content analysis. The content and context of the photographs was analyzed using the framework developed by Duncan (1990) and Duncan and Sayoavong (1990). Borrowing from Duncan (1990), the following elements were examined in terms of content: the activity level of the athletes (whether they were active or passive), their poses and body positions, their facial expressions, their emotional displays, the camera angles, and whether the athlete was from a team or individual sport. In terms of context, the analysis centered on the visual space in which each photo appeared, the substantive

nature of the caption, and the photograph's relation to the surrounding written text and title.

In addition to the elements used by Duncan (1990), an additional element related to content was examined. Indeed, note was taken of whether the athletes pictured were in stereotypically "gender-appropriate" sports or not. Stereotypically "gender appropriate" sports are those that conform to traditional images or stereotypes about appropriate masculine or feminine behavior (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999). The association of men or women with particular sports can have the effect of gendering those sports and perhaps influencing the nature of participation in them. It can also lead to a reproduction of stereotypes and dominant beliefs about gender.

Metheny's classification system was used to decide which sports were "male appropriate" or "female appropriate." Metheny (1965) developed a model based on the quality of movements within each activity. Her model, developed by expert opinion, was later tested with different populations, and found to be consistent with accepted stereotypes. This system tends to classify team sports, power events and events with physical contact or the overpowering of opponents as "male appropriate" sports, while "female appropriate" sports tend to recoup more individual sports, sports involving less display of strength or power, and sports involving aesthetic dimensions. While some sports were difficult to classify, and notions of "stereotypically appropriate" behavior have undoubtedly changed over time, Metheny's system was still used to note the trends in terms of men's and women's sports favored by the newspaper coverage. Which sports the athletes pictured were participating in, and the "stereotypical gender appropriateness"

of the sport was noted, to see if particular sports were being set aside as exclusively male or female, or were being created as more “appropriate” for one gender or the other.

Through the thematic and structural analysis of the text, the Ricoeurian approach was then brought to fruition through interpreting “the worlds” that were created by the media about men’s and women’s sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games. Interpretations of the meanings created by the text were made, and an attempt was made to understand what the text suggested are the worlds of men’s and women’s sports.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results from the four types of analyses that were conducted on the Canadian newspaper coverage of men's and women's sports from the 1999 Pan-American Games. The chapter commences with the results of the structural analysis, so that a general picture of the amount and type of coverage can be developed, and a conception of the general structure of the text can be established. It then presents the themes that emerged about men's and women's sports, and the descriptors that referred to the male and female athletes. Finally, the results of the photographic analysis are presented in terms of the context and of the actual content of the photographs.

The Structure of the Text

Articles

Table 1 displays the results regarding the number of articles by gender. There were 867 articles on men's and women's sports in the five newspapers. The least coverage of the 1999 Pan-American Games was in the *Ottawa Citizen*, with a total of only 52 articles for the 17 days of competition. By far, the largest amount of coverage was in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which actually devoted a special section of the newspaper (approximately 15-18 pages) to the Pan-American Games each day.

Table 1**Number of Articles on Men's Sports, on Women's Sports or on Both, by Newspaper**

Newspaper	Men		Women		Both	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
GM	48	(43.7%)	27	(24.5%)	35	(31.8%)
NP	35	(34.0%)	28	(27.2%)	40	(38.8%)
WFP	141	(32.6%)	81	(18.7%)	211	(48.7%)
OC	15	(28.8%)	5	(9.60%)	32	(61.6%)
TS	89	(52.7%)	44	(26.0%)	36	(21.3%)

Total	328	(37.8%)	185	(21.3%)	354	(40.9%)

In terms of gender differences, “Men only” articles varied from being 6.8% more frequent (*National Post*) to 26.7% more frequent (*Toronto Star*) than “women only” articles. Overall, “men only” articles were 16.5% more frequent than “women only” articles. It was noted, however, that all newspapers had a large percentage of mixed articles, where news from both men’s and women’s events were reported in the same article. This was definitely the preference in the *Ottawa Citizen*. To better evaluate whether the majority of coverage was being devoted to men or women, the mixed articles were broken down further.

Table 2
Number of Articles Mainly on Men Sports,
Mainly on Women's Sports or Neutral, by Newspaper

Newspaper	Mainly on Men		Mainly on Women		Neutral	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
GM	54	(49.1%)	33	(30.0%)	23	(20.9%)
NP	45	(43.7%)	35	(34.0%)	23	(22.3%)
WFP	207	(47.8%)	148	(34.2%)	78	(18.0%)
OC	27	(51.9%)	20	(38.5%)	5	(9.6%)
TS	97	(57.4%)	54	(32.0%)	18	(10.6%)

Total	430	(49.6%)	290	(33.5%)	147	(17.0%)

The number of lines in the mixed articles was counted and the articles were coded into categories of mainly men, mainly women, and neutral (meaning 50%-50%). These were then added to the “men only” and “women only” categories. The results from the combined accounting of articles are displayed in Table 2. As can be seen in the table, the spread between the percentage of men’s articles and women’s articles showed an overall decrease when mixed articles were further broken down into “Mainly on men” and “Mainly on women” categories. Three of the five newspapers (*Toronto Star*, *Globe and*

Mail, Winnipeg Free Press) showed slight decreases in the spread, while the *Ottawa Citizen* showed a large decrease, and the *National Post* showed a slight increase. Referring to Table 2, articles that were “Mainly on men” were 16.1% more frequent than articles “Mainly on women,” with 17.1% of articles being mixed evenly between men’s and women’s sports.

To calculate whether there was equitable coverage of men’s and women’s sport, the equity standard was applied (i.e., 36.7%). As can be seen in Table 2, 290 articles were “mainly on women” and an additional 147 were evenly split (73.5 articles on men and 73.5 on women). Adding 73.5 to the 290 articles “mainly on women” gives a total of 363.5 articles on women. Considering the total number of articles ($n=867$), this gives a percentage of 42.9% of articles on women, which exceeds the 36.7% equity standard. It can thus be concluded that at first glance, women’s sports received an equitable coverage, at least in terms of numerical equity.

The size of the articles constituted an additional consideration. If the articles (and photographs) on men were much larger than those on women, the pendulum would be swung towards inequity. To assess the situation better, the size of articles devoted to the coverage of men’s and women’s sports was estimated in terms of 1/8 portions of a standard broadsheet newspaper page.

Table 3 presents estimates of the size of articles that were mainly on men, and mainly on women (neutral articles were not included). As shown in the table, 59.7% of the total space in the five newspapers that was given to articles on the Pan-American Games was devoted to the coverage of men’s sports, while 40.3% was devoted to the coverage of women’s sports. Returning to the first equity standard (i.e., 36.7%), the

percentage of article space given to women's sports seemed fair. However, it still did not reach any of the other equity standards (i.e., 43.2% for the percentage of Canadian women participants, 48.8% for the percentage of sports available to women, and 49.2% for the percentage of medals won by Canadian women).

Table 3
Estimated Size of Articles "Mainly on Men's Sports"
and "Mainly on Women's Sports"

Size (in 1/8 th of a page)	Mainly on Men		Mainly on Women	
	f	(%)	f	(%)
Less than 1/8	254	(35.3%)	147	(20.4%)
1/8 to 1/4	168	(23.3%)	137	(19.1%)
1/4 to 3/8	7	(1.0%)	6	(0.8%)
Greater than 3/8	1	(0.2%)	0	(0.0%)

Total	430	(59.7%)	290	(40.3%)

Another interesting point coming from Table 3 was that while generally there were more articles that were mainly on men's sports, many of these tended to be small in size. A full 14.3% of the overall 19.4% more space that men athletes had was in articles that

were less than 1/8 of a page in size. As well, it can be seen that 19.1% of the article space was devoted to articles on women's sports that were between 1/8 and 1/4 of a page in size. Thus, while there were more articles on men's sports, the spread was reduced somewhat by the tendency of the articles on women to be larger.

Headlines

There was a large number (N=1204) of headlines and sub-headlines related to the Pan-American Games during the selected time period. This was because there was often more than one sub-headline to go with the main headline in an article. Table 4 displays the number of headlines and sub-headlines that referred to men's and women's sports. Combining all newspapers, headlines that referred to men's sports (43.8%) outnumbered those that referred to women's sports (33.9%), or those that referred to both (22.3%).

As with the articles, there was a great difference between the newspapers in terms of the spread between the percentage of headlines devoted to men and that of headlines devoted to women. In the *National Post* and the *Ottawa Citizen*, the difference was only 3.4% and 3.5% respectively, in favor of the men. On the other hand, the *Toronto Star* accorded a full 18.0% more headlines to men's sports than to women's sports. Overall, headlines for men's sports accounted for only 9.9% more of the total headlines than did those for women's sport.

Again, calculations were required to make a comparison to the equity standard. Dividing the 269 headlines that referred to both men's and women's sports, and adding this to the women's total, gave an overall total of 542.5 headlines on women athletes.

Table 4
Number of Headlines Related to Men's Sports,
Women's Sports or Both, by Newspaper

Newspaper	Men		Women		Both	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
GM	50	(35.7%)	42	(30.0%)	48	(34.3%)
NP	68	(38.0%)	62	(34.6%)	49	(27.4%)
WFP	246	(44.8%)	189	(34.4%)	114	(20.7%)
OC	31	(35.7%)	28	(32.2%)	28	(32.2%)
TS	132	(53.0%)	87	(35.0%)	30	(12.0%)

Total	527	(43.8%)	408	(33.9%)	269	(22.3%)

Considering the total headlines (n=1104), this meant that 49.2% of all headlines referred to women's sports, which actually met all four equity standards.

Photographs

The percentage of photographs of men (52.5%) and women (47.5%) athletes was almost equal in the selected newspapers' coverage of the 1999 Pan-American Games.

The number of men only, women only and mixed gender photographs is presented in Table 5. As can be seen in the table, there were almost as many photographs of women athletes only (46.3% of the time) as there were of men athletes only (51.4%). In two of the newspapers (the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto Star*), it was nearly a 50%-50% ratio. The largest margin of difference was in the *National Post*, where men were pictured 17.6% more frequently. In this case, the total photographs of women athletes only exceeded the favored standard for equity (36.7%), and also exceeded the standard related to the participation rate of Canadian women athletes (43.2%).

Table 5
Number of Photographs of Men, of Women or of Both, by Newspaper

Newspaper	Men		Women		Both	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
GM	40	(55.6%)	32	(44.4%)	0	(0.0%)
NP	43	(58.1%)	30	(40.5%)	1	(1.4%)
WFP	277	(50.6%)	256	(46.7%)	15	(2.7%)
OC	23	(50.0%)	21	(47.8%)	1	(2.2%)
TS	62	(49.3%)	61	(48.3%)	3	(2.4%)

Total	445	(51.4%)	401	(46.3%)	20	(2.3%)

To better assess the situation in terms of equity, the size of the photographs was also estimated in 1/8 portions of a page. Table 6 displays the estimated size of photographs of men and women. Again, not much difference existed overall between the space devoted to photographs of men (52.6%), and the space devoted to photographs of women (47.4%). The photographic coverage of men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games was about equal, both in terms of percentages and size.

Table 6
Estimated Size of Photographs of Men and Women in 1/8 Page portions

Size	Photos of Men Athletes		Photos of Women Athletes	
	f	(%)	f	(%)
Less than 1/8	286	(33.8%)	267	(31.6%)
1/8 to 1/4	129	(15.2%)	112	(13.2%)
1/4 to 3/8	30	(3.6%)	22	(2.6%)
Greater than 3/8	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)
Total	445	(52.6%)	401	(47.4%)

Results in the above six tables indicate that women received a surprisingly high amount of coverage. At least, there was more coverage than was received in previous

studies (e.g., Lee, 1992; Spears & Seydegart, 1996; Toohey, 1986; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). It is arguable that the amount of coverage was approaching equity, at least compared to the easiest standard of equity (36.7%), which correspond to the percentage of women athletes at the 1999 Pan-American Games. If we consider that women received 42.9% of the coverage in terms of the total number of articles, 40.3% in terms of the total size of articles, 49.2% in terms of the total number of headlines, 47.5% in terms of the total number of photographs, and 47.4% in terms of the total size of photographs, we can conclude that all these numbers exceed the percentage of women athletes at the Games and therefore that the least difficult standard of equity is reached. This being said, it is also interesting to note that it is only in terms of the total number of headlines that the other three standards of equity are reached (i.e., 43.2% for the percentage of Canadian women participants, 48.8% for the percentage of sports available to women, and 49.2% for the percentage of medals won by Canadian women).

The results of the structural analysis indicate that women may be making some numerical gains in the sports media, at least regarding international events. More of the overall coverage of the 1999 Pan American Games was devoted to women's sports than has been seen in many other studies of similar events (Lee, 1992; Spears & Seydegart, 1996; Toohey, 1986; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). It is important to note though, that two of the five newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, devoted much less of their written coverage (articles and headlines) to women than the others did. So while quantitatively women were given equitable coverage, in two of the papers the coverage devoted to women was significantly less than that given to men.

The coverage in the *Toronto Star* was particularly interesting as, paradoxically, the newspaper devoted far less written coverage to women's sports, but pictured women athletes as often as men. This may be partly explained by a large focus on the sport of baseball, which was a men's only sport. Baseball was by far the most covered sport in the *Toronto Star*. In fact, of the 97 articles that were mainly on men, 31 were devoted to baseball coverage. This can be related to a tendency to focus on professional men's sports in regular daily coverage—a tendency previously documented in the *Toronto Star's* sports pages by Crossman and her colleagues (1990). Baseball had the most professional athletes of any sport at the 1999 Pan-American Games, with the entire Canadian and American squads composed of professionals, and several professionals on other teams. Thus, it fitted well into the usual scope for the *Star*, and was frequently written about.

Main Themes Characterizing the Text

The discussion now turns to the themes and descriptors characterizing the text on men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games. The text was read with an eye to recurrent themes, and these were later grouped into categories that allowed for a more global interpretation.

Main Themes in the Men's Coverage

A total of 159 different themes emerged from the text related to men's sports. These themes were ranked by frequency of occurrence and a table of ranked themes for men is included in Appendix A. To facilitate the analysis, these themes were grouped into categories that were expressive of the more general trends in the text. Table 7 presents the categories of themes, and the themes that were grouped into them. Categories are listed in order of number of occurrences, and are discussed in the order they appear in the table.

Table 7
Themes from the Men's Sports Coverage, by Category

Category	(Sub-cat.)	Total	Theme	f
Success		448	Easy Wins	52
			Domination	47
			Olympic qualifying concerns	45
			Past Success	42
			Olympic qualified	38
			Surprise performance/Win	37
			Coming through	33
			Record setting	29
			Preparing for Worlds/Other	25
			History of Winning/Success	23
			Come from behind	23
			Historic win	20
			High expectations	16
			High level of performance	9
	Personal best	9		

Table 7 (continued)

Physicality	(Positive)	296	Skilled	58
			Good play	49
			Powerful	37
			Record setting	26
			Playing through injury	22
			Speed	19
			Physical contact	16
			Strength	15
			Large size	11
			Intimidation	9
			Comeback from injury/layoff	9
			Good training/training hard	8
			Endurance/conditioning	7
			Physical ability	5
			Overcoming environment/equipment	5
	Talent	5		
	(Negative)	110	Injury/illness problems	29
			Injured and unable to compete	24
			Training problems	14
			Trouble with conditions/environment	13
Poor Conditioning			8	
Old			6	
Retirements			6	
Slow			5	
Equipment Troubles			5	
Mental Aspects	(Positive)	312	Experienced	55
			Team Cohesion	44
			Confidence	27
			Intensity	26
			Mental toughness	25
			Leadership	21
			Hard working	20
			Strategy	18
			Intelligence	14
			Mental skills	14
			Team effort	11
			Aggressive	11
			Determination	9
			Competitive Spirit	7
			Heart	5
Focus	5			

Table 7 (continued)

	(Negative)	54	Nerves/nervous	27
			Mental letdown/Poor mental skills	21
			Distracted	6
Personality	(Positive)	234	National Pride	55
			Good personality traits	25
			Good character	21
			Proud of performance	17
			Dreams	16
			Giving back to sport/Community	15
			Respect for opponents	14
			Sportsmanship	12
			Joking	11
			Memories for athlete	9
			Overcoming personal adversity	9
			Giving back to fans	8
			Love of game	8
			Forward looking	7
			Friendship with opponents	7
	(Negative)	36	Personal problems	17
			Negative personality traits	14
			Idolization of competitor	5
Conflicts		241	Conflict with officials	49
			Conflict with governing bodies	38
			Rivalry	37
			Violence/Violent Agression	36
			Sanctions imposed	17
			Conflict between opponents	15
			Police required	14
			Mistake made by officials	10
			Protests Filed	10
			Revenge	8
			Threatening	7
Relationships to Fans (Positive)		216	Fan Support	55
			Thrilling for fans	38
			Affected by crowd	32
			Causing excitement	32
			Fan favourites	18
			Star Status	18
			Heroic Status	17

Table 7 (continued)

			Attention Getting	16
			Popular with fans	6
	(Negative)	52	Unpopular with fans	18
			Anonymity	18
			Lack of fans	16
Poor Performance		217	Poor Performance	51
			Errors/Mistakes	34
			Poor Competition	33
			Missing key teammates	21
			Missing top competitors	19
			Struggling	19
			Failure	19
			Rebuilding team/Program	8
			Low expectations	8
			History of losing	5
Emotionality	(Positive)	117	Celebratory	37
			Emotional involvement	28
			Fun/Enjoyment	27
			Thrilled with being at Games	14
			Excited	11
	(Negative)	69	Disappointed	24
			Devastation/Depression	15
			Dissatisfied with performance	12
			Heartbroken	11
			Frustration	7
Family issues		144	Having a family	40
			Family through sport	27
			Family history in sport	24
			Performing in front of family	24
			Family support	19
			Connection to family	10
High Quality of Competition		134	Close Competition	57
			Good Competition	45
			Memorable	27
			Highlights	5

Table 7 (continued)

Professional Issues	(Positive)	86	Professional career	63
			Professional career possibilities	23
	(Negative)	62	Professionals different from amateurs	33
			Motivated by money, not love	29
Inexperience/Youth		69	Improving	19
			Inexperienced	15
			New team together	13
			Future of sport	12
			Young, but good	10
Other		220	Immigration	26
			Outside Life/Careers	26
			Coaching Expertise	19
			Lack of funding	17
			Cheating	17
			Life more important than sport	14
			Negative media	14
			Media Attention	14
			Heterosexuality	11
			Aboriginal ethnicity	9
			Little media attention	9
			Paying own way	8
			Redemption	7
			Performance related to luck	7
			Backed by sport governing body	6
	Participating in strange sport	6		
	Lack or opportunity	5		
	Active coaching	5		

Success. Many themes related to the athletic success that the sportsmen were having. Under the category termed “Success” came a large number of themes (15). These themes ranged from being about a specific instance of success (e.g., “Coming through,” “Surprise win/performance”, “Come from behind”) or a more general pattern of winning or success (e.g., “High level of performance,” “Olympic qualified,” “History of

winning/success”). Part of the magnitude of this category of themes no doubt relates to what is considered newsworthy. As noted by Spears and Seydegart (1996), it can be assumed that winning and gaining medals will be considered particularly newsworthy, and will be a focus of the media. However, there still remains a heavy weighting towards a depiction of successful men.

Physicality. The second largest category of themes on men was the one related to the “Physicality” of the men. There were 16 themes that positively portrayed the male athletes. Many of the themes related to their physical attributes, including themes on speed, strength, size, power, endurance/conditioning, and physical ability, as well as the number 2 ranked theme “Skilled.” Several others were about the physical performance or actions of men, such as good play, physical contact, good training, and intimidation. Often, these themes came together in the same article, as provided by the example of a July 30 *Toronto Star* article on the men’s baseball team. The article focuses on the good play of the Canadians, their power hitting and skilled defense, and happily reports about instances of physical contact and violence at the plate.

There were several themes related to the physicality of the men that dealt with negative aspects or physical problems. Two dealt with injuries: “Injury/illness problems,” and “Injured and unable to compete.” There were also themes related to being slow or having poor conditioning, and having trouble with the conditions/environment. These sorts of themes detracted from the overall notion of the physicality of the men, but were far less prominent and occurred with much less frequency than did the more positive ones. Additionally, themes like “Injury/illness problems” were sometimes used as apologetics for the poor play or performance of the men.

Mental aspects. One of the larger categories of themes, comprising some 16 positive themes and 3 negative, was the category designated “Mental aspects.” This category involved themes related to mental traits, such as confidence, intensity, intelligence, mental toughness and determination, other themes related to mentality, such as team cohesion, leadership, intimidation and being hard working, as well as focus and the use of mental skills during events.

This category, other than being one of the largest, was also one of the most prominent with seven of the 16 themes included in it being in the top 60 ranked themes overall. This of course also meant a high number of occurrences, with the theme “Experienced” occurring 55 times itself. As a whole, this category indicates that the men athletes were mentally competent, intelligent, could use that intelligence as an advantage and were possessing mental traits that lead to success. Similar themes were found by Hilliard (1984) who noted that men pro tennis players were presented as independent and determined. This positive category was reinforced by the relative absence of negative mental aspects. There were only three only negative themes related to mentality, and these were all very low in the overall rankings.

Personality. Another category of themes for the men related to personality issues. There were 25 occurrences of “Good personality traits,” with traits such as gentleness, a good personality or thinking positively being discussed. There were as well 21 occurrences of the theme “Good character,” with discussions of the athlete in question’s modesty, chivalry, ethical nature, etc. In addition, many other themes could be taken as inferring a positive personality or character, such as “Giving back to sport/community,” “Sportsmanship,” “Overcoming personal adversity” or “Friendship with opponents.”

Three negative themes were present that related to personality; “Personal problems” (ranked 73rd), “Negative personality traits” (92nd), and “Idolization of competitors” (153rd). Such a focus on the personality of the athletes could be seen as trivializing the sporting experience through provision of non-sport information (Pfister, 1987; Pirinen, 1997b). However, the prominence of this category is smaller compared to that of those relating to physicality, mentality and success. Thus, the detraction from the sporting experience is minimized. Furthermore, the focus on personality is overwhelmingly positive, and the themes were often related directly to sporting roles.

Conflicts. A large category of themes for the men dealt with conflict. The largest of these were “Conflict with officials” (particularly in the sports of baseball and basketball) and “Conflict with sports governing bodies” (almost exclusively in track and field). Several other themes dealt with conflict between competitors; these included “Physical contact,” “Violence/violent aggression,” “conflict between opponents,” and “Police required” to settle conflicts. The latter theme involved incidents in soccer and basketball where police were required to protect the officials, or to sort out fights on the floor.

Part of the prominence of this category was due to the great amount of coverage devoted to men’s baseball, and to issues in the track competition. Conflicts with the umpire over calls were fairly frequent in the baseball competition, were regularly covered, and thus became more prominent because of the large amount of coverage of the sport.

As for track events, there was controversy and conflict between athletes and Athletics Canada over selections for the men’s 100 metres. Donovan Bailey, one of the world’s top sprinters, was plagued by injury and was not selected for the 4X100m squad.

When a teammate dropped out, Bailey was offered the spot, but declined, citing frequent conflicts with Athletics Canada. This became one of the largest issues of the Pan American Games. Bailey received much negative press and was set up by the media as an anti-hero. Through this, the theme “Conflict with governing bodies” emerged and became recurrent thereafter.

While several stand-out episodes did greatly increase the overall theme of conflict, there was still a lot of media focus on it. Much of the conflict, particularly in the case of violent aggression and physical contact, was actually portrayed in a positive light, taken as being natural and, in many cases, glorified. Similarities exist here to what was found by Hilliard (1984), where outbursts and fits of violence were taken as the athletes being natural and true to themselves. An example from the text under analysis comes from a *Winnipeg Free Press* article on August 6. An ugly episode wherein fistfights broke out at a basketball game and including a coach making threatening and lewd gestures at an official was discounted as being the result of Latin American culture and “Spanish blood.” Violence, conflict and the men’s poor behavior were often naturalized in ways like this.

Relationships to fans. The next largest category of themes related to the fans. Themes in this category included “Fan support,” “Affected by the crowd,” “Causing excitement” and being “favorites.” There were also a few themes that indicated a lack of popularity or letting the fans down. These were almost exclusively related to Donovan Bailey and the issues surrounding his appearance at the Games.

Poor Performance. A certain amount of ambivalence occurred in the coverage of men’s sports, because of the presence of the previous categories of themes and this one,

whose themes dealt with poor quality of play/ poor performance. In this category were 11 themes that characterized the men as struggling, making errors and mistakes, performing poorly and being poor competition. A fair amount of prominence was given to themes of this sort: In the overall ranking, “Errors/ mistakes” was 25th, “Poor performance” 8th, and “Poor competition” 28th. This category of themes is obviously indicating the opposite of the previous two categories, and sets up some ambivalence between the characterization of physical, successful men, and men who perform poorly, struggle, and experience failure.

It appears that in many cases, the media is more than willing to report on the failings of male athletes, particularly when they do not live up to expectations. On the other hand, it was noted that in many portrayals of the men, they were still successful and able to win, in spite of things like errors or poor play. Often, the focus shifted from the poor quality of performance to the ability to win, or recover from the poor play. This actually improved the mental toughness or heroic status of the men that was being inferred, as they were represented as able to overcome difficulties and rise to success.

This is often done by the media to increase the “dramatic side” of sport stories, and to attract more reader (or viewer) interest. The story-line makes the athlete even more heroic, by overcoming past problems and beating long odds, similar to fictional heroes, or soap opera characters (Andrews, 1998).

As well, some of the notions that there was poor competition came out of the fact that the media were covering the Pan American Games. In many articles there was a discussion of the Pan American Games as a “B Grade” competition. The Games were often considered to be much less in stature and competitiveness than other events like the

Olympics, or even the World Athletic Championships and Pan Pacific Swim competition that were to come later that summer. Many of the sports at the Games were portrayed as a competition only between Canada, Cuba, and the United States, and it was often inferred that the U.S. did not even send their best athletes. Thus, much of the notion of poor competition or poor quality came out of this, and was constant for both men and women.

Emotionality. Similar to preceding categories of themes, but more specifically related to the sport situation, is the next category of themes: “Emotionality”. Within this category, were five themes related to positive emotions, and five related to negative emotions. Predominant in this category were themes that men were celebratory, emotionally involved, and having fun or enjoying the experience. It was also inferred, however, that they could be nervous and disappointed with their performance or results. This category of themes runs in contrast with the findings of several other studies (Duncan, 1990; Hilliard, 1984; Whannel, 1987) where it was found that, come good or bad, men were characterized as emotionally neutral. This perhaps shows some progress in media coverage, as men are being allowed to be emotional, and the focus with emotionality is not solely on that of the women.

High quality of competition/performance. Closely linked to the ideas of success above was a small category of themes that were indicative of a high quality of performance. Two of these themes were quite prominent, with “Close competition” ranking number 3 overall, and “Good competition” ranking 11th. These were also themes related to memorable performances, highlights of the games, and actual “High level of performance”. As well, the number 1 theme “Professional careers”, could also be taken as inferring a high level of play or performance, as presumably, only the best athletes have

professional careers in sport. This category of themes, along with others, promotes conceptions of highly successful, highly skilled men engaged in sporting pursuits.

Professional issues. A smaller category of themes related to “Professional Issues in Sport.” There were both positive and negative themes on professional male athletes. “Professional careers in sport” was the number 1 theme, and there was a less frequent theme indicating professional career possibilities. These themes inferred a high quality of play and a high level of skill, and relate to the tendency of the sports media to concentrate greatly on professional men’s sports (Crossman et al., 1994).

Two other themes in regards to professional athletes were negative. One indicated that professionals were “Motivated by money, not love” of the game. The other discussed professionals as being different from amateurs, in their acceptance and usage of drugs in sport, and also in their demands and expectations from organizing committees and governing bodies. These themes relatively characterized professional male athletes as steroid-infused, demanding and petulant.

The differences between themes in this category show some ambivalence, as these athletes are both lauded and despised. However, the positives outweigh the negatives. So “Professional Issues” overall can be linked to the larger characterization of competent, physical, high quality men athletes.

Family issues. Another large category of themes for men dealt with family issues. These themes dealt with such matters as “Having a family” i.e., wife and children, having a “Family tradition in sport,” “Family support for the athlete” and “Performing in front of family.” The largest of this category was “Having a family” (ranked 15th overall) whereby the focus was on the wife or children of the athlete. This can be seen as

trivializing the men somewhat, as the focus gets taken away from sport and centered on their outside lives (Blinde et al, 1991). However, parallels could be drawn to themes uncovered by Hilliard (1984). In his work, it was found that discussion of men's lives was indicative that for them, having a successful sporting career was not incompatible with successful heterosexual relationships and other masculine roles, while the opposite was true for women.

Other themes of note in "Family Issues" for men were related to a Family "tradition in sport," and "Family through sport" i.e., through participating in sport together. These themes indicated that success in sports ran in the family, either inter-generationally or amongst siblings. These notions added to the characterization of men as successful and set higher expectations for them.

Doping issues. There was some concentration by the media on doping issues for the men. This small, but incredibly prominent category of themes was almost totally a men's concern, as six of the seven positive drug tests at the Games were by men.

Most of the text and the themes on this specifically related to two cases of doping. The first involved Canadian roller hockey goalie Steve Vezina. His positive test was prominent as it was the first, it was of a Canadian, massive amounts of steroids and other substances were detected, and it negated the Gold medal that the popular roller hockey team had won. The second case received even more press due to the stature of the athlete involved: Olympic Champion and world record holding high jumper Javier Sotomayor tested positive for cocaine.

These positive tests set off a flurry of writing on the amount of doping in sport and pseudo-scientific discussions of the affects of drugs on the body. Overall, these themes

questioned the legitimacy of men's sports, and made them seem less desirable as a pursuit or a commodity for consumption (Duncan, 1990).

Outside life/career. A last theme of note for men pertains to their "Outside lives/Careers." This theme focused on the outside of sport careers and student lives of the men. For example, several articles on the men's boxing team made reference to the varied careers that the athletes had, such as working as fashion designers, teachers, steelworkers and students.

The focus on men's careers could be interpreted in a variety of ways. For example, it could be construed as the fact that these men were not serious athletes, as they had important lives outside sport. A second possible interpretation, that could tie in with the work done by Kane and Parks (1992), as well as Hilliard (1984), is that having traditional male roles does not preclude men from high levels of athletic success. The focus by the media on the work lives of the men can be interpreted as showing that the "successful male athlete" can also be a success in other traditional masculine roles.

Descriptors Characterizing Male Athletes

In terms of descriptors directly related to male athletes, there was an overwhelming majority towards those that described them in positive terms. As can be seen in Table 8, descriptors were also broken down into categories to make them more amenable to interpretation.

Table 8
Descriptors in the Men's Sports Coverage, by Category

Category	f (total)	Descriptor	f (descriptor)
Powerful	67	“powerful”	22
		“powerhouse”	9
		“strong”	7
		“mighty”	5
		“fireballer”	4
		“baseball power”	3
		“juggernauts”	3
		“slugger”	2
		“hard-slugging”	2
		“dominant”	2
		“tower or power”	1
		“overpowering”	1
		“power hitter”	1
		“devastating puncher”	1
		“an unstoppable force”	1
		“a playful command”	1
		“heavy hitter”	1
“hardest puncher”	1		
Great and Heroic	54	“hero”	14
		“the greatest”	5
		“vaunted”	4
		“champion”	4
		“great goliaths”	3
		“legendary”	2
		“great”	2
		“Captain Canada”	2
		“an idol”	2
		“king”	2
		“home run hero”	1
		“famed”	1
		“finest”	1
		“most decorated”	1
		“legend”	1
		“sport icon”	1
“storied”	1		

Table 8 (continued)

		“titans”	1
		“sultans”	1
		“illustrious”	1
		“national treasure”	1
		“icon du jour”	1
		“revered”	1
		“God like”	1
Best	49	“the best in the world”	18
		“top ranked”	12
		“the best”	6
		“world class”	2
		“world’s no. 1”	2
		“big league caliber”	1
		“quality”	1
		“a master”	1
		“Mr. Magic”	1
		“excellent”	1
		“strong team”	1
		“premier player”	1
		“superpowers”	1
		“exceptional”	1
Veteran	42	“veteran”	40
		“experienced”	2
Star	41	“star”	10
		“darlings”	7
		“Cinderella”	5
		“popular”	4
		“high profile”	3
		“superstar”	2
		“the biggest names”	1
		“famous”	1
		“the top”	1
		“world renowned”	1
		“noted”	1
		“headliner”	1
		“highly regarded”	1
		“memorable”	1
		“fairy tale team”	1
		“homey players”	1

Table 8 (continued)

Weak	32	“weak”	5
		“overmatched”	4
		“undermanned”	3
		“soft”	2
		“out classed”	2
		“hapless”	2
		“weaker team”	2
		“harmless”	1
		“decidedly ordinary”	1
		“looked ordinary”	1
		“lowly regarded”	1
		“lowly”	1
		“lowly ranked”	1
		“comical”	1
		“only a slight threat”	1
		“normally mediocre”	1
		“minor leaguers”	1
		“rinky-rink”	1
“makeshift”	1		
Talented	30	“talented”	8
		“ace”	4
		“slick”	3
		“skilled”	2
		“acrobatic”	2
		“able to play”	2
		“effortless”	1
		“smooth”	1
		“AAA caliber”	1
		“strong on the court”	1
		“the Michael Jordan of volleyball”	1
		“sharp”	1
		“sharp-shooting”	1
		“gifted”	1
“blessed”	1		
Big	30	“big”	9
		“giant”	5
		“massive”	1
		“tall”	1
		“enormous”	1
		“burly”	1
		“huge”	1

Table 8 (continued)

		“mountain of a man”	1
		“large”	1
		“larger than life”	1
		“like a dump truck”	1
		“imposing”	1
		“rangy”	1
		“lanky”	1
		“striking”	1
		“intimidating”	1
		“stubby”	1
		“round around the middle”	1
Gutsy	28	“scrappy”	9
		“gritty”	3
		“intense”	3
		“tough”	3
		“lions”	2
		“spirited”	2
		“courageous”	1
		“gutsy”	1
		“a worthy competitor”	1
		“resilient”	1
		“wild guys”	1
		“grinders”	1
Struggling	20	“ragged”	2
		“disorganized”	2
		“sluggish”	2
		“anything but [themselves]”	2
		“not ready”	1
		“offensively lacking”	1
		“no Donovan Bailey”	1
		“defective”	1
		“something terribly wrong”	1
		“like sandlotters”	1
		“porous defense”	1
		“flailing”	1
		“shaky”	1
		“not a lot of talent”	1
		“disjointed”	1
		“slop throwing”	1

Table 8 (continued)

Spectacular	18	“spectacular”	5
		“sensation”	5
		“phenom”	3
		“phenomenon”	1
		“dynamic”	1
		“a whiz”	1
		“dazzling”	1
		“magical”	1
Small	14	“slight”	4
		“diminutive”	3
		“small”	2
		“short”	1
		“runt”	1
		“little”	1
		“innocent schoolboy looks”	1
		“slick legs”	1
Happy	12	“grinning”	3
		“beaming”	2
		“happy”	1
		“triumphant grin”	1
		“exhuberant”	1
		“teary-eyed”	1
		“whopping like little leaguers”	1
		“happy go lucky”	1
		“content”	1
Likable	12	“gentle”	3
		“without pretense”	1
		“kind”	1
		“personable”	1
		“amiable”	1
		“easy going”	1
		“ordinary”	1
		“engaging smile”	1
		“humble”	1
“self deprecating”	1		
Unknown	12	“underdogs”	4
		“no names”	2
		“anonymous”	2
		“little known”	2

Table 8 (continued)

		“unheralded”	1
		“lesser lights”	1
Hard Bodied	10	“sculpted”	1
		“chiseled”	1
		“muscled”	1
		“lean”	1
		“steely bod”	1
		“in great shape”	1
		“sveltest of the swell”	1
		“fire hydrant frame”	1
		“tight”	1
		“Popeye forearms”	1
Intelligent	10	“crafty”	3
		“patient”	2
		“insightful”	1
		“canny”	1
		“smart”	1
		“shifty”	1
		“composed”	1
Fast	10	“speedy”	4
		“fast”	2
		“lightning fast”	2
		“explosive”	1
		“blazin”	1
Promising	9	“upstarts”	4
		“the future of the game”	2
		“promising”	1
		“getting stronger”	1
		“heir apparent”	1
Animal-Like	8	“an animal”	2
		“beast”	1
		“a monster”	1
		“gentle bear”	1
		“an angry grizzly”	1
		“a bull”	1
		“the big dogs”	1

Table 8 (continued)

Hard Working	8	“determined”	3
		“Crash Davis”	2
		“workhorse”	1
		“energetic”	1
		“journeyman”	1
Stylish	7	“flamboyant”	4
		“stylish”	1
		“fancy”	1
		“butterfly style”	1
Devastated/Sad	6	“disappointed”	2
		“dejected”	1
		“shell-shocked”	1
		“sad”	1
		“in tears”	1
Childish	6	“childish”	1
		“crybaby”	1
		“a spectacle of himself”	1
		“unrepentant”	1
		“sly grins, but little to say”	1
		“a ‘so-called’ ambassador”	1
Nervous	6	“nervous”	4
		“jittery”	1
		“fidgiting”	1
Tired	6	“sapped of energy”	1
		“clearly spent”	1
		“exhausted”	1
		“sweat soaked”	1
		“weary”	1
		“sweat-drenched”	1
Mean	5	“a predator”	1
		“fierce”	1
		“vicious”	1
		“a killer”	1
		“very, very mean”	1

Table 8 (continued)

Hot	4	“hot”	1
		“hotter than hot”	1
		“the hottest”	1
		“hotshot”	1
Confident	4	“cocky”	2
		“confident”	1
		“upbeat”	1
Frustrated	4	“frustrated”	2
		“irate”	2
Machine-like	4	“a well-oiled machine”	2
		“robots”	2
Other	7	“team leader”	1
		“spiritual leader”	1
		“narrow face”	1
		“Eddie Murphy lookalike”	1
		“goateed face”	1
		“dreadlocked/ bearded”	1
		“balding”	1

Powerful, big, and hard-bodied. Descriptors relating to the physicality of men athletes were prominent in many categories. There were some 207 descriptors that positively described the physical ability, bodies or appearance of men, while only 40 described these in negative terms.

There were a great many descriptors that created an image of male athletes as powerful and skilled. Some of the words used in terms of skill were: “a strong team,” “brilliant,” “exceptional,” “magical,” and “an ace player.” In terms of power, frequent descriptors that occurred were “powerful,” “mighty,” “powerhouse,” and “devastating.”

Often, skill and power were associated together so that an image of imposing, dominant athletes was created.

The size of the men (i.e., Category #7, “Big”) was the most often described physical trait, at least when it came to being of large size. Along with other descriptors of size, height and weight was commonly listed. There was a focus in the text on the size of three athletes in particular: Cuban Boxer Alexis Rubalcaba, Canadian basketball centre Todd MacCulloch, and softball pitcher Darren Zack. Zack, for example, was variously described as “an imposing 250 pound player,” “such a big guy,” “the big man Darren Zack” and “the mountain of a man (he weighs 250 pounds which teammates figures make him the largest human being in the athletes village).”

Accompanying this focus on the large size of the men was an almost complete absence of reference to small men. The category “Small” had only 14 occurrences in it. It may be assumed that there were smaller male athletes at the Games, particularly in sports with relatively small weight classes, such as boxing, judo, wrestling and other similar sports. However, there were only 11 descriptors related to small size, and most of these were in reference to Edward “Stubby” Clapp. Clapp was the hero of the Canadian baseball team, driving in the winning run over the American team, and playing a role in the win over Cuba, both historic wins. Clapp (who is actually 5 feet 8) was described as “diminutive” and a “runt infielder from Windsor.” However, with the heroic status accorded him by the media, this just added to his status, as his small size was made to be something that he had to overcome on his way to heroism.

As noted before, there were almost no negative descriptors related to the physicality of the men. A few related to the men looking tired or exhausted, i.e., “Tired,” but these usually fit into articles that detailed long, hard fought events.

Taken together, the many descriptors of the physicality of men created an image of large, powerful, skilled men engaged in demanding pursuits. Often the descriptors of strength, size and power came together in the same article with similar themes of physicality. The strongest example of this was a *Winnipeg Free Press* article on Alexis Rubalcaba. In it, he was described as “a 6 foot 8, 250 pound monster who is the grim reaper of super heavyweight boxing ... sheer size. Rubalcaba steps OVER the ropes, not through them. His fists are the size of small dogs, and he wields them like sledgehammers...” This demonstrates how the elements of power, size, strength and animal-likeness are often combined together. Such descriptors are a powerful agent in the creation of an image, a mystique about the physicality of men (Messner, 1988).

Great and heroic. The next category of descriptors was related to the men in terms of greatness or having high status. Within this category were descriptors that made men seem heroic, that accorded them star status, or spoke about them in terms of being great or legendary. Once again, descriptors in this category most frequently referred to the Canadian baseball team and Darren Zack, while also Cuban high jumper Javier Sotomayor. In Sotomayor’s case, the notion of greatness or star status was usually employed to show how far was his doping-related fall from grace. This created an ambivalent situation where disgrace and cheating was associated with being a top ranked, legendary athlete. A dark shadow was also cast by it over all men’s sports, where it was implied that being at the top levels required drug use.

However, sometimes such descriptors and related themes were used to provide a form of forgiveness or exoneration for Sotomayor's cocaine use. It was implied that his athletic greatness and star profile made cocaine use seem like an acceptable sort of character flaw. It was almost as if it was okay for him to use drugs, because he was such a great person anyway.

Best. The next largest category of descriptors about men describes them as "the best in the sport." Within this category of descriptors are such things as being "top ranked," "world-class," or a "premiere player." Mostly, this category involved describing the athletes as being "the best" in the world, or in their sport. Examples include, "the best amateur boxer in the world," "the best goalie in roller hockey in all of North America," and "the best team Canada has ever sent to an international competition." Descriptors such as these help reinforce earlier conceptions of dominant, competent men.

Veteran. There were many descriptors inferring experience in sport for the men. There were 43 descriptors of experience for the men, versus only 8 that inferred lack of experience or needing development. This category was called "veteran" in sport, as the word as used in 40 of the 42 cases. For example, several articles made note of "veteran rider Ian Miller."

Weak and struggling. In the descriptors it can again be noted that there was some ambivalence between the image of successful, physical men, and descriptors implying poor competition or poor performance. Descriptors in the category of "Struggling" described teams or athletes as being "ragged," "disorganized" or "sluggish." Similarly, there was another category called "weak," where the athletes were described as "overmatched," "undermanned," or "outclassed."

Something unusual in regards to this was that several of the descriptors of weak or struggling men came out of the *Toronto Star's* heavy baseball coverage. The *Toronto Star* seemed to particularly like inferring poor performance to the Cuban baseball team, which it did in several articles. Thus, a fair portion of the poor play descriptors came out of what seemed to be a particular bias against the Cuban baseball team in the *Star's* coverage.

Likable. Another small category of descriptors commented on the personalities or personality traits of the men. Again, as was with themes on the men's personality, there was a focus on modesty, work ethic and traits such as gentleness. However, this category was very small, especially in comparison to the large amount of descriptors about such things as the "Power," "veteran experience," and "gutsiness" of the men.

Additional Characteristics of Male Athletes

There were other phrases and words used to qualify the image of the male athletes or to provide information about them. These were not descriptors but included references to the athletes' pro career, past success, or outside sport career.

Performance references. Related to the concepts of greatness and success is another group of phrases that made reference to past performance or provided extra information on past successes of the athletes. For example, Donovan Bailey is described as "Bailey, the Olympic Champion and former world record holder." Such qualifiers of the men appeared 138 times, and included references to successes as the national level, in the NCAA, at Pan American, Commonwealth and Olympic games, and World

Championships. Most made reference to Olympic and World competitions.

Professional Career references. Related to experience in sport was another set of phrases that made professional career references. These were qualifiers of the athlete that provided information on or made reference to the professional sport career experience of the men. For example, “Dallas Mavericks point guard Steve Nash,” was on the men’s basketball team, while Stubby Clapp was listed as “a member of the Triple-A Memphis Redbirds in the St. Louis Cardinals organization.” This group of qualifiers indicates experience and a higher level of play as professional leagues are generally seen to be of high quality.

Outside life/career references. The last category of qualifiers makes reference to their outside lives or careers. These, like performance or professional career references, modify the image of the athlete in question by providing extra information. Examples of these qualifiers are: “Derek Porter, sculler and doctor of chiropractic” or “kinesiology student Mark Simmons.” For the men, careers were mentioned more often than student life, a marked contrast to what was mentioned for the women. As noted above in the thematic discussion, providing this information can create a sense of a “super-man” who can take on many masculine roles, being successful both on the athletic field and in the work world.

Main Themes in the Women's Coverage

After sorting and recombination, 145 different themes were present for women in the text analyzed. A ranked list is in appendix B. Many of these themes were the same or very similar to those that appeared for men, but there were some new themes and some subtle differences. As with the men, the themes were grouped, based on similarities, into categories that enabled further interpretation of the text. Themes and categories are presented in Table 9.

Table 9
Themes from the Women's Sports Coverage, by Category

Category	(Sub-cat.)	Total	Theme	f
Success		493	Domination	60
			Olympic qualified	46
			Easy wins	39
			Record setting	37
			High expectations	35
			Surprise performance/Win	33
			Preparing for World Championships	32
			Olympic qualifying concerns	30
			Multiple medallist	30
			Past Success	26
			Coming through	24
			Top-ranked	22
			Preparing for Olympics/Others	20
			Historic win	18
			Best ever results	15
			History of Winning/Success	10
	Personal best	8		
	Come from behind	8		

Table 9 (continued)

Physicality	(Positive)	374	Good play	69		
			Physical contact	43		
			Powerful	36		
			Comeback from injury/layoff	35		
			Skilled	33		
			Speed	27		
			Playing through injury	25		
			Strength	20		
			Good training/training hard	19		
			Physical ability	17		
			Overcoming conditions/environment	17		
			Endurance/conditioning	14		
			Key Player on team	7		
			Talent	7		
			Multi-sport athlete	5		
			(Negative)	142	Poor play	38
					Injury/illness problems	29
					Poor Conditioning	13
					Focus on medical aspects	12
Injured and unable to compete	11					
Poor skills	11					
Small size	10					
Trouble with conditions/environment	8					
Training problems	5					
Old/aging	5					
Mental Aspects	(Positive)	311	Team Cohesion	38		
			Mental toughness	34		
			Confidence	31		
			Experienced	31		
			Leadership	27		
			Intensity	23		
			Competitive Spirit	23		
			Determination	19		
			Focus	17		
			Hard working	16		
			Strategy	13		
			Doing their best	11		
			Intelligence	10		
			Team effort	10		
Mental skills	8					

Table 9 (continued)

	(Negative)	43	Mental letdown/Poor mental skills	23
			Nerves/nervous	20
Personality	(Positive)	264	Good personality traits	58
			Proud of performance	38
			Nationalism	21
			Good character	19
			Forward looking	16
			Hard working	16
			Dreams	15
			Giving back to fans	11
			Overcoming personal adversity	11
			Giving back to sport/Community	10
			Love of game	10
			Personal sacrifice for sport	9
			Normal/Ordinary	7
			Ambassador/Symbol of sport	7
			Respect for opponents	6
			Sportsmanship	5
			Pioneer/Activist in sport	5
	(Negative)	7	Negative personality traits	7
Relationships to Fans	(Positive)	208	Fan Support	60
			Affected by crowd	41
			Thrilling for fans	29
			Inspirational	26
			Fan favourite	16
			Attention Getting	11
			Star status	11
			Causing excitement	9
			Heroic status	5
	(Negative)	23	Anonymous	15
			Lack of fans	8
Poor Performance		203	Poor competition	40
			Poor Play	38
			Failure	36
			Struggling	30
			Errors/Mistakes	27
			Rebuilding team/Program	8
			Layoffs from sport	7

Table 9 (continued)

			Developmental problems in sport	6
			Low expectations	6
			History of losing	5
Emotionality	(Positive)	99	Excited	28
			Celebratory	27
			Emotional involvement	23
			Fun/Enjoyment	21
	(Negative)	98	Disappointed	41
			Devastation/Depression	27
			Dissatisfied with performance	16
			Negative emotions	7
			Frustration	7
Family issues		130	Having a family	22
			Family support	21
			Focus on athlete's family	11
			Performing in front of family	18
			Connection to family	17
			Performing for family	17
			Family through sport	8
			Family history in sport	6
Inexperienced/Youth		121	Inexperienced	31
			Improving	24
			Future potential	17
			Gaining experience/learning	12
			Inconsistency	9
			New team together	8
			Young but talented	8
			Needing improvement	6
			Missing key teammates	6
High Quality of Competition		119	Close Competition	66
			Good Competition	24
			High level of performance	15
			Memorable	14
Conflict		55	Rivalry	26
			Conflict with officials	18
			Conflict with opponent	6
			Conflict with sport administration	5

Table 9 (continued)

Coaching Issues	51	Focus on coaching activity	23
		Coach/Coaching expertise	17
		Coach named/Focus on coach	11
Sexuality Issues	32	Heterosexuality	16
		Focus on sexuality	8
		Appearance/body type	8
Funding issues	26	Lack of funding	16
		Paying own way	10
Other	68	Professional careers	28
		Media attention	16
		Cheating	12
		Aboriginal ancestry	12

Success. As with the men, the largest category of themes was “Success” in the text on women’s sports. A very high level of performance was implied by themes referring to preparing for the World Championships or the Olympics, winning multiple medals, and having a “Best-ever performance”. There was actually a greater focus on success in the women’s themes than in the men’s, with 18 themes versus the 12 for men, and the themes being more prominent in the coverage. Thus, there was not any “symbolic annihilation” of the women and their athletic successes; the Canadian newspaper media reported on it more than other types of media have been found to (Davis, 1997; Duncan, 1993; Lenskyj, 1998).

This seems to be a very positive thing for women’s sport. It should be kept in mind though, that Canadian women actually did have more success than men in terms of medal count (Pan Am Organizing Committee, 1999). In terms of a usual argument by the media

that what is newsworthy gets reported on (Spears & Seydegart, 1996), the actual success of women partly accounts for the focus on it by the media. If we consider that men's sport still received more coverage overall, it appears that women needed to be very successful to get reported on at all. Perhaps then, the focus on women's success can be accounted for in that only highly successful women are reported on, while there is more general coverage for men's sports (Brown, 1995).

Physicality. "Physicality" was the next largest category of themes for the women, with 16 themes giving a positive portrayal, and 10 giving negative ones. Physical attributes made up a sizable portion of the category, with themes on power, skill, speed and strength being the most prominent. Several of the themes in the "Physicality" category took greater precedence for the women than the men. For example, "Good play" was the number 1 theme for women, while only 9th for men.

Prior studies had found that there was a lack of focus on the physicality of women (Blinde et al., 1994; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988), or that other outside life concerns and non sport information took precedence (Brown, 1995; Jones et al., 1999; Pfister, 1987). This does not appear to be the case in the current text, as the physicality of the women is a subject of much concentration. In the present study, an image was created of fast, strong, powerful women engaged in physical sports. Exemplary of this is the theme "Physical contact." Reporting on this in women's sports was next to "taboo" in many of the prior studies (e.g., Blinde et al., 1991; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991). In the present study, physical contact was not just reported, it was often celebrated, and came in as the 7th ranked women's theme.

However, much more ambivalence was created about the physicality of the women than was about the physicality of the men. While there was about the same number of negative themes about the physicality of the women and men, those associated with the women were more prominent. In many instances, there was also a direct ambivalence, with it occurring in the same sentence. This is discussed in a later section.

To demonstrate how pronounced the ambivalence was, we will look at the themes of “Good play” versus “Poor play.” “Good play” was the number 1 women’s theme and occurred 69 times. “Poor play” was number 13 and occurred 38 times, which is over half as much. This shows that while physicality was very prominent for women, there was a large undercurrent of negative aspects associated with it.

Still in the area of physicality, there were other differences in the men’s and women’s themes. There were no themes of “Large size” or “Intimidation” for the women as there was for men. Instead, there were themes of “Poor skills,” “Small size,” and some that related to medical aspects, whereby medical support that the athlete needed was detailed. For the women, there were also smaller themes related to appearance or sexuality, although this was less prominent in the present case than in past studies (Klein, 1988; Lenskyj, 1998; Messner et al, 1994; Pirinen, 1997a).

Through the focus on physicality, an image was created of strong, powerful women, engaged in tough, physical sports. This is a more powerful image than in many prior studies. At the same time, there is an undercurrent of ambivalence, where the sports women may be small, injured or have poor skills. Such ambivalence is not new, but appears to have become more subtle and less direct than before (Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 1993; Morrow, 1997).

Mental aspects. “Mental aspects” was one of the largest category of themes for women. Very similar themes to those that appeared in the men’s articles appeared in the text on women; there were themes on mental traits such as confidence, leadership and intelligence, themes related to mental skills and strategy, and other themes related to mentality.

This category of themes was more prominent for women than for men, with more of the themes ranking in the top 30 overall. This could be taken as a focus more on the mentality than the physicality of the women, but as we shall see, physicality is still quite important. Themes on “mental toughness”, confidence and leadership were ranked higher for women than for men, which strongly suggests mental competence.

One theme in this category, that had no corresponding theme in the text on men, was called “Doing their best.” It only ranked 97th overall, but its presence alone was interesting. Initially, this theme came from quotations in interviews with women gymnasts, who were saying that they were going to “Do their best.” This was at the same time that they were actually dominating the competition and winning medals. The tendency of women athletes to speak in this way was initially a small focus of the media, but increased somewhat after.

Chananie (1999) contended that women are trained by the sports system to frame themselves in this way, so that the focus is less on the athleticism and performance, and consequently less on “masculine” traits. It is a form of “stigma management” that women have been indoctrinated into, so that the women themselves do not want to appear too muscular or emasculated, and thus perform “face work,” or speak in ways to avoid being stigmatized as such (Chananie, 1999). This appears to have happened in a number of

cases, particularly with women gymnasts, cyclists and tennis players. The regular appearance of this theme may also reflect a particular selection of quotes by journalists or others involved in the productive process, where by choice or by habit, any quotes that they get like these are used.

Personality. There was a large focus by the media on the personality of the women athletes at the Pan Am Games. There were 16 positive themes and one negative theme, which is comparable in number to the same category for men. Most of these themes also have similar salience as the men's themes, with rankings from in the 80s to over 100. However, a glaring difference in the coverage of men and women was the focus on personality traits. For women, the theme "Personality traits" was ranked 5th, while for men it was further back at number 44.

Relationship to fans. There was a fair sized category of themes for women that referred to their relationship to fans. Themes in this category referred to the sportswomen as thrilling the fans, causing excitement, and having the support of fans. In comparison to the men, "Fan support" and "Affected by the crowd" were more salient to the women. This may create a belief that women were more dependant on the crowd for their performance than the men, which makes them less personally responsible. However, it was later ascertained in analysis of references to "local Winnipeg athletes" that many more of the Canadian women at games had local Winnipeg associations than did men. Hence, some of the fan support and the affect of the crowd could be due to larger number of family and friends in the stands, which makes the more frequent appearance of these themes a bit more understandable.

One positive difference in this category of themes was the theme “Inspirational,” which only appeared for the women. This theme related that the performance of the athletes in question was generally inspirational to fans, and likely to inspire others to take up sport. This was a very positive framing of the women, which related to physicality, mentality and their affect on fans.

Poor performance. The themes in the category related to “Poor level of performance” were quite prominent. As mentioned earlier, “Poor competition” ranked far ahead of “Good competition.” As well, “Poor play” was ranked 13th for women, “Failure” was 16th, and there were six other themes inferring a poor level of performance.

As mentioned in the section on women’s physicality, this sets up a great ambivalence between the image of highly physical, successful women athletes, and athletes that plays poorly, are struggling, or have a history of losing. Consequently, much of the power of the women athletes is subtly undercut.

It should be noted however, that as was mentioned in the discussion of men’s themes, some of the notions of poor competition came out of the media’s bias against the Pan Am Games as a “B grade” competition. Towards the end of the competition, this started to improve but some of the implied poor competition for women may be attributed to biases against the Games themselves.

Emotionality. Another category of themes focused on the “Emotionality” of the women. Again, very similar themes appear in this category for the women as did for the men. A focus on the emotionality of women isn’t unusual; however, it was found that there was an almost equal focus on the emotionality of men. On the other hand, themes of “Disappointment” and “Devastation/Depression” were much more prevalent for the

women than for the men. This makes women seem less emotionally stable, and more reactive to misfortunes (Hilliard, 1984). While this still impacts negatively on the image of sportswomen, vast improvements have been made in this area by the media. In the written text at least emotionality was not made solely the domain of women, as it often was in prior studies (Hilliard, 1984, Kane & Parks, 1992; Pirinen, 1997b; Whannel, 1987).

Family issues. Issues related to the athlete's family are what the next category of themes was concerned with. Themes for women in this category were connected to such things as "Having a family," "Family support" and the athlete's "Connection to family." Similar to the men, "Having a family" was the highest ranked theme in this category. Conversely though, the theme has much more salience for men (ranked 15th overall) than for women (only ranked 50th overall).

Thus, the contrast mentioned previously, in the compatibility of outside life with sport, is completed. Much as found by Hilliard (1984), having a family is seen here as compatible with athletic success for men, while not necessarily so compatible with it for women. There was less focus on women's immediate families; accompanying this were frequent suggestions that family concerns impacted on the ability of the women to train and compete. Conversely, it may be considered that sport is tragic to the rest of their social lives (Birrell & Theberge, 1994). Such approaches to the theme were demonstrated in an article in the *Toronto Star* on August 7, where problems with babysitting and layoffs from the sport due to family were discussed.

Themes in the "Family issues" category for women that did not appear for men were "Focus on the athlete's family" and "Performing for family." The first theme involved a focus on what members of the athlete's family were doing or feeling, looked

like, or did for a living. The second one inferred that the reason the athletes were competing was for their families--to make them proud, or pay their families back for all they had done for them. Through these themes, women are depicted as less athletes, and more daughters or sisters (Daddario, 1994) and an image is created that women are dependant on significant others in their lives as was found in Hilliard, (1984) and Higgs and Weiller, (1994). This infantilizes the athletes by making them seem childlike (Higgs & Weiller, 1994), and robs much from the notion of powerful, physical women.

Inexperience/youth. Another fairly large category of themes that suggested inexperience and youth. Included in this category were themes that noted that women needed improvement, were inconsistent and inexperienced. There were some more positive themes in the category, such as “Future potential” and “Gaining experience/learning.” While these were positive, they conversely imply that the athletes are inexperienced and not yet at their potential. This category of themes, by implication, made women athletes seem less skilled physically and less apt mentality.

High quality competition/performance. The category “High quality of competition/performance” was also created for the women, but did not have as much salience as it did for the men. The theme “Close competition” was essentially the same for men and women, ranked number 3 and number 2 respectively. The theme “Good competition” showed vast difference though. While ranked 10th for men, it was 44th for women. In fact, “Poor Competition” instead ranked 10th for women. Therefore, while there were themes related to high quality of performance for women, they were not particularly prominent. This is quite surprising, considering the successes of women. Perhaps, as was found in Pirinen (1997b), it is being implied that women can be

successful without being particularly good, and that a high level of skill or conditioning is not required to excel in women's sports.

Coaching issues. A last major category of themes for women is related to coaching issues. While there were only three themes in this category, it was felt that it was important due to its near absence for men. In this category of themes, there was a focus on the coaching activity that was occurring, a focus on the coach him/herself, or attributions of the athlete's performance to the coach's expertise. This seems to make the athlete's less responsible for their success or performance themselves, as some of it is attributed to the coach. While there is probably some reality to this, it is also probably true for men. Yet, there was little of these themes in the men's text. This shows a selective attention by the media on aspects that subtly draw away from the power and performance of sportswomen, thereby reducing their status.

Descriptors Characterizing Women Athletes

There were fewer descriptors of women athletes than of men, which can be partly accounted for by there being fewer articles. In any case, there were 466 terms that described women positively, 94 that described them negatively. Categories of women's descriptors that are discussed in the next section, are in Table 10.

Table 10
Descriptors in the Women's Sports Coverage, by Category

Category	f (category)	Descriptor	f (descriptor)
Powerful	58	“powerful”	19
		“strong”	8
		“powerhouse”	5
		“formidable”	4
		“dominant”	4
		“raw power”	2
		“the Rocket Woman”	2
		“dominators”	2
		“a force”	2
		“a world power”	2
		“unstoppable”	1
		“brutal strength”	1
		“monstrous forehand”	1
		“explosive”	1
		“booming”	1
		“power hitter”	1
		“power player”	1
“no place for weaklings”	1		
Talented	50	“talented”	9
		“acrobat”	3
		“athletic”	2
		“agile”	2
		“deft”	2
		“light touch”	2
		“excellent skills”	2
		“dangerous”	2
		“high-flying”	1
		“a natural”	1
		“aerialist”	1
		“gravity-defying”	1
		“diving, leaping”	1
		“coordinated”	1
		“effortless”	1
“impressive”	1		
“smooth”	1		

Table 10 (continued)

		“sharp”	1
		“slick”	1
		“perfect”	1
		“precise”	1
		“proficient”	1
		“coldly efficient”	1
		“overwhelming skill”	1
		“skillful”	1
		“premiere”	1
		“sharp-shooting”	1
		“strikes well”	1
		“a strong team”	1
		“a tough test”	1
		“go to player”	1
		“go to gal”	1
		“the offensive catalyst”	1
		“consistent”	1
Gutsy	51	“scrappy”	6
		“grit”	6
		“aggressive”	5
		“tough”	5
		“feisty”	3
		“physical”	3
		“plucky”	2
		“relentless”	2
		“tenacious”	1
		“edgy”	1
		“winning attitude”	1
		“with a verve”	1
		“blazing eyes”	1
		“gutsy”	1
		“a tornado”	1
		“dynamo”	1
		“fierce”	1
		“hard-charging”	1
		“daring”	1
		“hustling”	1
		“pesky”	1
		“with reckless abandonment”	1
		“emptied the tank”	1
		“bruising”	1
		“rough and ready”	1

Table 10 (continued)

		“vicious”	1
		“a killer”	1
Best	37	“the best in the world”	13
		“the best”	8
		“top”	7
		“ace”	5
		“highest ranked”	1
		“a perennial power”	1
		“champion”	1
		“world class”	1
Likable	33	“charming”	4
		“outspoken”	3
		“classy”	2
		“proud”	2
		“humble”	1
		“gracious”	1
		“refreshingly normal”	1
		“ordinary”	1
		“selfless”	1
		“an ever-dutiful daughter”	1
		“enthusiastic”	1
		“giggly”	1
		“ebullient”	1
		“bubbly”	1
		“playful”	1
		“coy”	1
		“spirited”	1
		“friendly”	1
		“sociable”	1
		“soft-spoken”	1
		“charismatic”	1
		“shy”	1
		“nice”	1
		“a real champ”	1
		“ambitious”	1
		“perfectionist”	1
		“trail-blazing”	1
Star	31	“star”	14
		“superstar”	4
		“darlings”	3

Table 10 (continued)

		“marquee name”	2
		“the face of the Games”	1
		“a magnetic presence”	1
		“celebrated”	1
		“the anti-Bailey”	1
		“sweetheart du jour”	1
		“high-profile”	1
		“well-known”	1
		“the best known”	1
Veteran	27	“veteran”	25
		“elder statesman”	1
		“a living piece of athletics history”	1
Queen	26	“Queen”	9
		“heroine”	5
		“hero”	4
		“legend”	2
		“the Giants”	2
		“the First Lady”	1
		“the Grand Dame”	1
		“royal”	1
		“vaunted”	1
Happy	26	“bubbling”	3
		“elated”	3
		“big smile”	3
		“beaming”	2
		“happy-go-lucky”	1
		“shrieks happily”	1
		“ecstatic”	1
		“jubilant”	1
		“teary-eyed (with joy)”	1
		“jubilant”	1
		“bouncing”	1
		“breathless with excitement”	1
		“danced around like Rocky”	1
		“wreathed in smiles”	1
		“sparkling smile”	1
		“wide smile”	1
		“smiling”	1
		“grinning”	1
		“laughing”	1

Table 10 (continued)

Small	18	“small”	3
		“petite”	3
		“lightweight”	2
		“little”	2
		“wisp of a thing”	2
		“tiny”	2
		“but a child”	1
		“diminutive”	1
		“light”	1
		“like a gnat in a tornado”	1
Crying	18	“tearful”	4
		“in tears”	4
		“disappointed”	3
		“forlorn”	1
		“heart-broken”	1
		“crying”	1
		“teary-eyed”	1
		“fighting back tears”	1
		“weeping”	1
		“sobbing”	1
Promising	17	“the future”	4
		“rising”	2
		“promising”	2
		“budding”	2
		“potential”	2
		“upstarts”	2
		“growing stronger”	1
		“rapidly maturing”	1
		“up and coming”	1
Attractive	16	“tanned”	2
		“braces gleaming”	2
		“striking-looking”	1
		“blond”	1
		“freckled face”	1
		“smooth, seductive”	1
		“throaty”	1
		“vivacious”	1
		“glamorous”	1
		“dolled up”	1
“raven hair”	1		

Table 10 (continued)

		“glassy-eyed”	1
		“looks younger than her 37 years”	1
		“a sharp looking combination (clothes)”	1
Sensational	16	“a sensation”	7
		“marvelous”	2
		“sensational”	1
		“exciting”	1
		“awesome”	1
		“the Dynamic Duo”	1
		“phenom”	1
		“brilliant”	1
		“stellar”	1
Inexperienced	13	“inexperienced”	10
		“short on experience”	2
		“light on experience”	2
		“with little experience”	1
		“underdog”	2
		“little-known”	1
Hard Bodied	11	“willowy”	3
		“well-oiled machine”	2
		“sculpted”	1
		“lithe”	1
		“large-lunged”	1
		“sleek”	1
		“statuesque”	1
		“rippling muscles”	1
Big	10	“big”	5
		“tall”	2
		“large”	1
		“hulking”	1
		“tall as Amazons”	1
Weak	10	“anemic”	2
		“rusty”	2
		“weak”	1
		“second tier”	1
		“lopsided”	1
		“overmatched”	1
		“self-destructing”	1

Table 10 (continued)

		“needing a lot of help”	1
Stylish	10	“graceful”	5
		“dramatic”	1
		“coltish”	1
		“military-themed”	1
		“spirited rhythm”	1
		“flair”	1
		Intelligent	9
“articulate”	1		
“bright”	1		
“brilliant”	1		
“patient”	1		
“efficient”	1		
“composed”	1		
“cool-headed”	1		
“pretty together”	1		
Confident	9	“confident”	4
		“poised”	3
		“dependable”	1
		“mentally tough”	1
Fast	8	“speedy”	3
		“quick”	2
		“speedster”	1
		“fast”	1
		“fastest in the world”	1
Tired	7	“tired”	1
		“dismal”	1
		“lethargic”	1
		“flat”	1
		“devoid of intensity”	1
		“burnt out”	1
		“sweat-soaked”	1
Brash	7	“brash”	1
		“vocal”	1
		“self-absorbed”	1
		“bitter”	1
		“pouting”	1

Table 10 (continued)

		“sly”	1
		“sneering”	1
Hard Working	3	“a soldier”	1
		“dedicated”	1
		“stalwart”	1
Other	12	“leader”	5
		“nervous”	1
		“rattled”	1
		“nomadic”	1
		“open face”	1
		“the Stepford Wives”	1
		“legally-blind”	1
		“bronchitis-beaten”	1

Talented and powerful. As was the case for the men, descriptors related to physicality were by the largest categories for women. The descriptors in the top two categories described women athletes as “Talented” and “Powerful.”

The largest category described women in terms of power. For example, it was noted that cyclist Tanya Dubnicoff “displayed a raw power that was electrifying to watch and almost palpable.” Many of the power descriptors related to U.S. tennis player Alexandra Stevenson. A “6 foot, power player,” other descriptors described her powerful ground strokes, and her “booming serve,” which earned her the nickname “Rocket Woman.”

The second largest category of descriptors, “Talented,” talked about the talent and skill of the athletes, such as “Canada’s brilliant striker Sarah Barrantas,” who developed into “Canada’s most dangerous weapon on the pitch.” The descriptors of skill and talent were often associated with other physical concepts like speed or power.

Gutsy. Women athletes were also described as “gutsy,” using such words as “scrappy,” “tenacious,” and “tough.” Such descriptors help create an image of intense, hard-playing women who are not afraid of being competitive, or of physical contact. This was a different focus from several of the prior media analyses (Duncan et al., 1994; Messner et al., 1993; Rintala & Birrell, 1984).

Best. The rest of the categories of descriptors of women sport are fairly small. Case in point is the category “the best,” with 37 total descriptions. Mainly these descriptors spoke of the athletes as “the best” in their sport again. Examples included “one of the world’s best women’s water polo players,” and “a chucker who has earned the reputation of being the world’s best on the mound.”

Likable. There was still however, a focus on describing personality issues. Many of the descriptors in the “Likable” category spoke of the charm of the women, or their propensity to laugh and giggle. For example, winner Jessica Deglau is described as “a happy go lucky sort who is always grinning and laughing;” we are further informed that it is “pretty much impossible for her to finish a sentence without giggling.” This was the general representation of Deglau, which makes her seem silly and child like, which diffuses much of the dominance and power of her four gold, six medal performance at the Games. This example shows how a particular personality focus can divert attention away from the athleticism of women, thereby making them seem less powerful, and trivializing women’s sport (Messner et al., 1996).

Star and queen. Another category of descriptors, which were selectively applied to only a few athletes, were those that implied being like the royalty of their sports. In the category “Queen”, four women were described as legendary, or “the queen of their

sports”: Dubnicoff, rower Marnie McBean, swimmer Joanne Malar, and softball pitcher Lisa Fernandez. The group which is described as having “Star status” widens this by a few athletes. While this category of descriptors creates an image of widely successful, legendary women athletes, it limits it to a very select few, less than for the men.

Veteran Versus Inexperienced. Interestingly enough, with the large thematic focus on inexperience for women, there are almost twice as many descriptors that inferred experience for women, as there were that inferred inexperience (27 vs. 13). Apparently there were “veteran players” on some of the women’s teams at the Pan American Games, even if earlier themes suggest not. A number of descriptors suggested inexperience. For example the basketball team was described as “young and inexperienced,” and “long on youth, and short on experience.” As well, most of the references to experience are of individual athletes, while many of those on inexperience referred to entire teams. The picture is thus created of inexperienced women’s teams anchored by a handful of veteran players. Whether this was the true reality, or solely a media creation is difficult to determine.

As well, there was another category that described the women as “promising.” It was written that women were “rising” or “budding,” “the future of the sport,” and that they had “great potential.” While these were positive descriptions of the women, they also tied into the notion of inexperience. Describing someone as “the future” necessarily implies that they are not “the present,” meaning that they are not currently at their full potential. This could be taken as a nicer way of saying that the athlete is young and inexperienced, particularly considering that there was so much focus on inexperience.

Happy and crying. There was a larger focus on the emotionality of women than of the men. Two categories of themes illustrate this—“happy” and “crying.” In terms of happiness, women were described as “bubbling,” “elated” or “beaming.” Such words helped focus the reader on the positive emotions that came with victory. In the category “Crying,” words that appeared were those such as “tearful,” “forlorn” and “weeping.” Negative descriptors such as these were used only for the women. Several other studies have similarly found that there was a strong focus on the emotions of women only (Duncan, 1990; Hilliard, 1984; Whannel, 1987). These categories of descriptors make women seem less emotionally stable and strong than men, an obvious point with the “Crying” category. However, the “Happy” category also adds to this representation, as women are made to seem more celebratory, and less able to contain their emotions than men. These categories work together to form an emotional characterization of women, one where there are only highs and lows and no neutral stability in between.

Small. An interesting note was that descriptors of small size were also quite prominent, which is the converse of the men. Words used here were “tiny, small, petite, diminutive, and lightweight.” In contrast to the men’s descriptors of size, height and weight were rarely listed; more abstract descriptors like the above were used.

Attractive. In the descriptors, there was a focus on the appearance, beauty or fashion of the women. While there were only 16 descriptors of appearance for the women, this is far more than for the men. Many of these descriptors focused on the smiling faces of the athletes and the shape of their bodies. For example, sprinter Angela Bailey is described as having “ a bounce in her step, a mischievous grin on her open face,” and another descriptor in the same article relates how she is “still sculpted, lithe.”

Here as well, many of the descriptors were of Alexandra Stevenson. She was frequently described with a focus on her appearance and fashion. This directly mitigated her physicality, in showing her as “powerful yet attractive” Similar occurrences were found in many prior studies (Daddario, 1994; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Kane & Parks, 1992; Pirinen, 1997a).

Additional Characteristics of Female Athletes

Performance references. There were almost as many performance references for women as there were for men, impressive considering that there were fewer women’s articles. These qualifiers, that described the past successes of the women, broke down mainly into Olympic and World Championship references, but there were some for the Pan American and Commonwealth Games, and for other competitions. In total, there were 107 performance references for women. That there were so many indicates a high level of performance and past success for the women, which could argue against the perception of youth and inexperience that was created.

Outside life references. The last category of qualifiers for women is “Outside life references.” In sharp contrast to the men, outside life was nearly non-existent thematically for the women, appearing only five times. There is contrast in the references as well. Whereas with men there was more of a focus on careers than student life, with women it is the opposite. There were 26 references to student life for women, with 16 to work life, 5 of these to work that had been given up in pursuit of the athletic career.

This falls into line with earlier proposals, that references to outside lives were indicating that successful careers were compatible with athletic careers for men, but not for women. There is much less focus on women's careers, which is probably more selective attention than reality. Importance was attached to mentioning the careers of men, but not those of women, which ties into the notions of the compatibility of sporting and other masculine roles for men.

Comparison of Themes and Descriptors in the Coverage of Men's and Women's Sports

Comparison of Themes

There were many similarities in the themes that characterized men and women athletes in the coverage of the 1999 Pan-American Games. Many of the categories contained similar themes, and in a ranked comparison, had the same relative stress. Table 11 displays the categories for men's and women's themes in a rank list.

As can be seen in Table 11, when categories of themes are ranked, there is little difference in the relative ranking. However, It is interesting to note the difference in the frequencies of some categories. For example, there were more themes related to physicality on the women's side (516) than on the men's side (448), even while women had less articles covering them. As well, there are more themes in the "Success" category on the women's side. This however, may relate to the greater medal success of Canadian women, and reflect that they are actually having more success.

Table 11

Categories of Themes in the Men's and Women's Sports Coverage, by Rank

Men's			Women's		
Rank	Category	(f)	Rank	Category	(f)
1.	Success	(448)	1.	Physicality	(516)
2.	Physicality	(406)	2.	Success	(493)
3.	Mental Aspects	(366)	3.	Mental Aspects	(354)
4.	Personality	(270)	4.	Personality	(271)
5.	Relationship to Fans	(268)	5.	Relationship to Fans	(231)
6.	Conflicts	(241)	6.	Poor Performance	(203)
7.	Poor Performance	(217)	7.	Emotionality	(197)
8.	Emotionality	(186)	8.	Family Issues	(130)
9.	Professional Issues	(148)	9.	Inexperienced/Youth	(121)
10.	Family Issues	(144)	10.	Quality Competition	(119)
11.	Quality Competition	(134)	11.	Conflict	(55)
12.	Inexperience/Youth	(69)	12.	Coaching Issues	(51)

Comparisons of what is stressed within certain categories point towards internal differences that frequency tables may not readily make apparent. For example, within the theme of "Personality traits," the focus was different. Traits that were more frequently detailed for women were that they were happy-go lucky, giggly, happy and friendly. For the men, traits mainly written on were modesty and niceness. Such a focus in personality makes the women seen less serious and more child-like than the men, and thereby serves to trivialize their sporting experiences (Messner et al, 1993; Pirinen, 1997b).

There was relatively little reference to men being inexperienced—certainly nowhere as large as for the women. Something else to remember is that the number 5 theme for

men is “Experienced” and that a great number of descriptors referred to the men as “veterans,” thus setting an oppositional to women on this matter.

It might be argued that this was actually the reality at the Games, with the athlete’s composed of young, inexperienced women and older, more experienced men. However, an example will be made of the men’s and women’s soccer teams that shows how much of this difference was created, and not just covered by the media. The men’s team was an under 21 squad, the women’s an under 20, and both had identical performances, losing in the bronze medal match. Despite the similarities in age and performance, the women were frequently described as young and inexperienced, and their failings attributed to that, while the men were described in terms of professional careers and past experience, and their failings attributed to playing stronger, more skilled opponents. The creation of difference can be seen here, difference which makes women appear to be lesser than their male counterparts.

In team concepts in the “Mental aspects” category, themes on “Team cohesion” were ranked 13th for both men and women, while “Team effort” had almost identical rankings (106th vs. 108th). This suggests that thematically at least, there was nearly as much focus on team sports and situations for the women, as was for the men. This goes against previous findings where there was little focus on team sports for women, a “symbolic denial of team” (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Lee, 1992; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Perhaps then, this suggests that there has been some improvement in the media coverage of women’s team sports, as team sports were not totally denied.

However, an absence was noted for the women in the more violent sort of “stereotypically masculine themes,” including “Aggression,” “Intimidation,” “Revenge,”

and “Threatening.” Their absence in the women’s text and presence in men’s makes the sportsmen seem more forceful, powerful and serious. Thus, like in Chananie’s (1999) concept of the “war metaphor,” the absence of these pseudo-violent themes makes sportswomen seem less intense and powerful than the men.

A final thematic contrast is in “Family Issues.” For men, “Having a Family” was the most frequent theme, while for the women, several of the other “Family themes” were as important, such as “Family support” and “Focus on family.” Through this subtle focus, men are accorded a masculine, “head of the household” role, while women are as likely to be seen as daughters as mothers, perhaps suggesting that families are compatible with sporting roles for men, but not for women. As well, for the men, the other family themes implied family success and a history in sport, which adds to their image of success. Here it can be seen that themes about family can build up the images of men, while tear down those of women.

Comparison of Descriptors

Comparisons of the descriptors that were used to characterize male and female athletes can be done in two ways: (a) by comparing rankings together, and (b) by looking for categories of descriptors that are absent for one gender or the other. Table 12 presents the ranked categories of descriptors in the men’s and women’s coverage.

In the first case, particular stress has been put on men as being both “Great and Heroic” and “Big.” The rankings for the men are much higher than for the women. This creates an image of large, imposing men, with a great and successful athletic background.

Table 12

Categories of Descriptors in the Men's and Women's Sports Coverage, by Rank

Men's			Women's		
Rank	Category	(f)	Rank	Category	(f)
1.	Powerful	(67)	1.	Powerful	(58)
2.	Great and Heroic	(54)	8.	Queen	(26)
3.	Best	(49)	4.	Best	(37)
4.	Veteran	(42)	7.	Veteran	(27)
5.	Star	(41)	6.	Star	(31)
6.	Weak	(32)	17.	Weak	(10)
7.	Talented	(30)	2.	Talented	(50)
7.	Big	(30)	17.	Big	(10)
9.	Gutsy	(28)	3.	Gutsy	(51)
10.	Struggling	(20)			
11.	Spectacular	(18)	13.	Sensational	(16)
12.	Small	(14)	10.	Small	(18)
13.	Happy	(12)	8.	Happy	(26)
13.	Likable	(12)	5.	Likable	(33)
13.	Unknown	(12)	15.	Inexperienced	(13)
16.	Hard bodied	(10)	16.	Hard-Bodied	(11)
16.	Intelligent	(10)	20.	Intelligent	(9)
16.	Fast	(10)	22.	Fast	(8)
19.	Promising	(9)	12.	Promising	(17)
20.	Animal-Like	(8)			
20.	Hard Working	(8)	25.	Hard Working	(3)
22.	Stylish	(7)	17.	Stylish	(10)
23.	Devastated/Sad	(6)	10.	Crying	(18)
23.	Childish	(6)	23.	Brash	(7)
23.	Nervous	(6)			
23.	Tired	(6)	23.	Tired	(7)
27.	Mean	(5)			
28.	Hot	(4)			
28.	Confident	(4)	20.	Confident	(9)
28.	Machine-like	(4)			
28.	Frustrated	(4)			
			13.	Attractive	(16)

The terminology in this regard is also different, with men being “great” and women being the “queens” of their sports. Thus, while greatness is still being inferred for the women, their femininity is still reinforced. On the other hand, women rank higher than the men in the areas of “Talented” and “Gutsy.” This creates an image for the women of skill, ability, intensity and heart, which is a very positive framing.

Nevertheless, women rank much higher in “Crying” than in the similar category for men (“Sad”), and the descriptors themselves, such as “teary-eyed” and “weeping” make the women seem much less emotionally stable, and more in line with stereotypical notions of “emotional femininity.”

As well, “Attractive” does not appear in the descriptors of men. The presence of it for the women indicates that the media still focus somewhat on the beauty markers of women, insisting that they be both “pretty and powerful” (Burton, 1999). Descriptors of attractiveness are actually more frequent than descriptors that infer hard bodies, intelligence, large size, confidence or hard work. This shows that the media still often focuses more on the appearance of the female athlete, than on the factors which make her an athlete.

On the men’s side, they are described as “animal-like,” “mean,” “hot” and “machine-like,” descriptors that did not appear for the women. This is a stereotypical notion of male athletes, who are aggressive and dominant. This not only serves to make women seem less intense and aggressive, it also “pigeonholes” men into stereotypical notions of masculinity that could impact negatively on their experience in sport.

Additional Observations

Throughout the course of the analysis, other observations were made about the written text. These observations involved searching for the occurrence of practices or structures that had been found in prior studies on the sport media. Several factors, other than themes or descriptors, emerged as relevant to the interpretation of the text. These included such things as direct ambivalence, gender marking, use of the war metaphor, and the sexualization of athletes.

Ambivalence

Thus far, numerous episodes of subtle ambivalence have been discussed, as has the presence of more general ambivalence in regards to such things as associations of success and failure, experience and inexperience, and heroic status with doping. The concern in this section is not on such subtleties, which require a critical eye and interpretive skills, but on direct ambivalence, where it occurs in the same article or even the same sentence. Such overt ambivalence had previously been found by Messner and colleagues (1993), and Duncan and Hasbrook (1988).

There were very few instances of direct ambivalence in the text concerned with men's sports. One example that was found was where good play was directly associated with poor play. This article wrote of soccer player "Dwayne DeRosario, who had three goals in the tournament, but didn't show much last night." Other examples were in articles about boxers Troy Ross and Domenic Filane, who are both fashion designers by

trade. The articles associated the strength and power of boxing with “an effeminate industry like clothing design.” By and large though, there were few instances of direct ambivalence in the articles on men.

Conversely, much more direct ambivalence surrounded the text for women. For instance, the discourse on kayaker Karen Furneaux was demonstrative of power and weakness descriptors going together. A July 24 *Globe and Mail* article said: “At only 5 feet, 5 (“and a half”, she says), Furneaux is rather light and small for a kayaker. ‘She has a big fight in a small body’ (coach) Buday said.” The *National Post*’s headline trumpeted: “Lightweight packs big punch in winning second gold medal.” It also mentioned that “Karen Furneaux is a lightweight by kayaking standards at 5 feet, 5 inches and 120 pounds. Add the weight of two gold medals and she’s a heavyweight.”

Another example was with gold medal-winning weightlifter Miel McGerrigle. The focus was not on her gold medal performance, but on the two unsuccessful lifts that she tried after winning. This article also carefully pointed out that McGerrigle was a former gymnast, and that her performance, while enough to win at the Pan-Ams, was not elite on the world stage. As well, other articles on women weightlifters focused on the more stereotypically female appropriate sports that they had participated in.

Hence, we see that there still are many times when the power and performance of women is instantly mitigated with notions of weakness or femininity. The potential for the creation of images of powerful, independent women is thus defused before it even starts (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988).

Infantilization

Infantilization occurs when athletes are called “boys” or “girls,” instead of “men” and “women,” or when there is a particularly strong focus on youth. In several prior studies, it was found that women were infantilized, but men were not (see Blinde et al., 1991; Halbert & Latimer, 1994; Messner et al., 1993).

In the present text, it was found that there was little difference in the amount of infantilization of men or women. There were some 73 descriptions of men that inferred youth, or spoke of them as “boys,” while there were 69 of the same sort of descriptions for women. In terms of direct infantilization of men and women then, there was little difference to be found. The only point was that many of the references for women came from the athletes themselves, who spoke of “the other girls” in reference to other competitors. The same did not occur for men, which makes the men seem more intense and competitive (Halbert & Latimer, 1994).

The search for evidence on infantilization lead to attention on a singular observation. In the early stages of coverage, it appeared that there were differences in the way that local Winnipeg athletes were being identified, with women being described as “local girls” and men more in terms of “hometown heroes.” The media, especially the *Winnipeg Free Press*, made recurrent allusions to the Winnipeg associations of athletes. While early on there seemed to be some differences in the naming practices connected to this, in the end the differences had all but disappeared. Heroism had been associated with several of the women, and the most of the terms used were switched to mention “Winnipeggers” or “Winnipeg’s own.” The attention paid to this matter did however

make the researcher aware that there were many more local women athletes than men, which enabled a better understanding of the themes of “Fan support” and “Affected by crowd.”

Use of First Names

Another search that discovered few differences was related to the use of first names. Higgs and Weiller (1994) and Messner and colleagues (1993) had found that there was a tendency by journalists to use first names for women, but not for men, which accorded less status to the women. In the present case, there was almost no use of the first name only. The only cases found were with Emma Robinson and Tanya Dubnicoff for the women (both high-profile local athletes), and with “Stubby” Clapp and Donovan Bailey for the men (both of whom became very high profile during the Games). In this regard, men and women received equal treatment.

Age References

No difference was found in the practice of providing the athletes’ ages either. Prior studies had found that the ages of women were mentioned, but not the ages of men (Blinde et al., 1991; Messner et al, 1993). The findings in this regard for the present study were that the age of men was provided as often as the age of women. It appears that it is now possibly a standard practice to tell the age of the athlete, no matter if a man or a

woman, suggesting that journalists are being more attentive to the subtleties of the language that they are using.

Battle Language

A large difference was found, however, in the use of “battle language,” which is related to Chananie’s (1999) concept of the “war analogy.” The action in men’s sports was far more likely to be described in terms of battle language than was the action in women’s sports. The language that was used in describing the men’s action used words such as “thrashed,” “clubbed,” “routed,” “whipping,” “attack,” “lobbered,” “fought,” and “juggernaut.” Analogies were often made to war scenarios, or interpersonal duels. While such terms were used to describe the action in women’s sports, they literally were only used about half as much as they were for the men. Words such as these evoke images of warlike domination and physical control (Chananie, 1999). The overwhelming use of them in regards to men’s sports creates a perception of dominant, physically imposing men that is quite in line with masculine stereotypes.

Stereotyping

Other than in the use of warlike analogies, there was some active stereotyping of men and women in the media coverage. The women’s team handball team was perhaps the greatest victim of this. Handball is a fast-paced and violent sport, and a fair amount of the media coverage focused on this, which moved it outside of traditional gendered

concepts. However, there were articles in each of the newspapers that framed the women handball players in stereotypical ways. The team does its own fundraising to pay for training, and the fundraising efforts that the media chose to focus on were the Tupperware parties and dinners that some team members had organized, a stereotypically feminine activity. In about 75% of the articles on women's handball, the Tupperware reference gets slipped in somehow, so that instead of an image of rough and speedy women, we are left with notions of stereotypical femininity.

There were also some instances of stereotyping of men. For example, the image that was created of men in the sport of fencing was not one of skill and finesse (which are probably the most desirable physical traits for the sport), but of speed and strength. The focus was put on the more stereotypically masculine qualities, instead of the actual qualities needed in the sport.

Sexualization

Many prior studies have found that the media sexualizes women athletes (e.g., Bowman & Daniels, 1995; Lenskyj, 1998; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Pirinen, 1997a). There was relatively little sexualization of women in the coverage of the 1999 Pan-American Games, other than for a few glaring examples.

One of these was in the sport of beach volleyball. The coverage of this sport greatly focused on the bodies and outfits of the athletes. The *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* in particular sexualized these athletes. In the case of the *Globe and Mail*, there was an almost equal sexualization of the men and women, which is unusual when compared

to the prior literature. For example, an article on July 30 describes the men as “sweat-drenched male gladiators” with “massive pecs and oodles of hams and gams.” The same article then goes on to describe the women, who are “tall as amazons,” and relates how the women’s game is more popular for television because of their clothing.

In the *National Post*, sexualization only occurs for the women. It sometimes took on ridiculous proportions—a case in point is provided by the title of one article: “Skin is in for Beach Volleyball—For the Women, that is.”

A more significant case of sexualization surrounded U.S. tennis player Alexandra Stevenson, one of the more prominent athletes according to the coverage of women’s sports. While there were many descriptors of her skill and power, there was often more of a focus on her appearance, personality and fashion. In several articles, it was related how she was an ordinary girl, with interests in men. It was also related how she collaborated with U.S. teammates on a “hot guys in tennis list,” and was interested in men’s beach volleyball. As well, one article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* described her fashion on the way to the mall. The overall impression that is created about her then, was not of the “6 foot 1 power player,” but of a normal, fashionable, attractive, heterosexual young girl. Consequently, she was sexualized, and the focus was taken away from sport, which is particularly problematic due to the fact that she was so prominent a figure on the women’s sports scene.

Gender Marking

The last observation that was made was related to the gender marking of sports. Gender marking occurs when a sports is designated “men’s” or “women’s.” In the previous literature, usually only women’s sports were gender marked; this was taken to mean that the men’s sports were the ones that actually mattered, as they were, for example, “the world championship,” versus only “the women’s world championship” (Blinde et al., 1991; Messner et al., 1996, 1993; Higgs & Weiller, 1994).

In the present study, it was found that men’s sports were as likely to be gender marked as were women’s sports. The only sports where there was a significant amount of non-gender marked events were in track and field and swimming. In swimming, both men’s and women’s events were frequently left without a gender reference, while in the track events, only the men’s events were non-gender marked. This perhaps shows some of the biases that were present in prior studies, as presumably, the men’s events are the “real” ones.

In this area at least, it appears that the media have made an effort to remain conscious of the language that they are using. It was interesting to note that there were several references to “men’s baseball” and “men’s roller hockey.” Both of these events were men’s only sports at the Pan-Am Games, and the fact that they are being gender-marked anyway suggests that the media is trying to pay some attention to this concern.

Context and Content of Photographs

As discussed earlier there was no great difference in the percentage of photographs devoted to men's and women's sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games, nor was there a very great difference in the size of photographs of the men and women. Photographs were further analyzed, both in terms of their context and content. The context included location, the relationship to text, the substantive nature of captions, and the relationship to any titles. The content included the activity level of the athlete, their poses and body position, their facial expressions, camera angles, whether the athletes were in team or individual sports, and whether they were in stereotypically gender appropriate sports or not. The discussion will start with the context, so that a general picture can be established before moving into specific content.

Context of Photographs

For the discussion of the photographs, the *Winnipeg Free Press* will be discussed as a separate collection from the other newspapers in the study. This is for two reasons: (a) the vast majority of photographs that were studied were from the *Free Press* (556 of 866 photos), and (b) the context and content was sufficiently different from the other newspapers to warrant a separate discussion.

Location of photographs. Prior studies of sports photographs suggest that photographs of women tend to be in less prominent locations than those of men,

including on the back pages of sports sections or photo spreads, and towards the bottom of pages (Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Rintala & Birrell, 1984).

The structure of the *Winnipeg Free Press's* coverage of the Pan-American Games gave great prominence to photographs of both men and women athletes. The *Free Press*, as noted earlier, had a separate "Pan Am Games Special" section devoted to the Games, during the full duration of coverage. This section, which came at the front of the newspaper, was between 15 and 18 pages every day, and averaged over 30 photographs per day. Photographs of men and women athletes were dispersed throughout the section, with about equal prominence given to photos of men's and women's sports. Cover photos provide an example of this. There were 18 large cover photos, including the commemorative issue, which was added along with the last day's Special. Of these photos, 8 were of women, and 10 were of men. Noteworthy is that the commemorative issue had a full-page photograph of triathlete Sharon Donnelly on the cover. Such near equal prominence given to photographs of men's and women's sports was similar throughout the Special sections of the *Free Press*.

In the other newspapers, the situation was quite different. Generally, the Games were given far less prominent coverage. Much of the time, a small number of articles or photographs related to the Games were placed on the front page of the sports section, with the majority of the rest of the coverage relegated to the back pages of the section. These four newspapers kept their focus on professional (mainly men's) sports, even while there was a major international sporting event in their own country, which speaks volumes about the weight that is put on the coverage of professional men's sports.

Because of this, many photographs from the Pan-American Games were on the back pages, whether they were of men's or women's sports.

However, small differences in the placement of photos of men's and women's sport were still noted. Of the photographs that did make it to the front pages of the newspapers, a higher proportion of those were of men. Men's photos were more likely to appear on the front pages of the newspapers, and on the front page of the sports section. A slightly larger proportion of women's photos appeared in the back pages of the sports section, which suggests that slightly greater prominence was being given to photographs of men.

Other contextual features. In terms of other contextual features, there were relatively few differences between the five newspapers, and between the contexts in which photographs of men and women athletes were situated.

In approximately 50% of all photographs (men's or women's), the associated caption explained the substantive nature of the photograph, and provided some extra information on the athletes who were pictured. There were also a large number of cases where the caption provided little in the way of explanation of the photograph. A caption of this type, for example, would simply say something like "Rower Porter powers his way to gold," which provides very little information about the photograph. It is noteworthy though, that the usage of such captions was about the same for photographs of men and of women.

The only difference between the papers in terms of captions was noted in the *Toronto Star's* coverage. There were several instances where the *Star* had photographs with no caption other than the athlete's name; these were always associated with an

article on the athlete, however. Again, there was no difference in the usage of these captions for men or women.

In addition, no significant difference was noted in any of the newspapers in terms of the relationship to the text and relationship to titles. Most often, photographs directly related to the action that titles were alluding to. However, there were a surprising number of photographs that had no accompanying text. It appears that the newspapers placed value on showing action, even if there were no accompanying articles that described that action. Again, this was consistent with both men's and women's photographs. When there was an attached article, the photographs usually were directly related to the article's text. To conclude on the context of photographs, there was little difference between men's and women's, except for the space in which the photographs were located.

Content of Photographs

Activity level. There was no difference in the activity levels of men and women in the photographs from the 1999 Pan-American Games, which was different from prior studies that found women to be pictured inactively more often (Bowman & Daniels, 1995; Duncan, 1990, Duncan & Sayoavong, 1990, Salwen & Wood, 1994). In the photographs from the *Winnipeg Free Press*, both men and women were much more likely to be actively pictured.

Conversely, in the other four newspapers, both men and women were almost as likely to be pictured in inactive poses as they were in active ones. Overall for the four newspapers, there were a high number of photos that were post-competition, that showed

the athlete on the podium, or celebrating after a victory, which greatly increased the number of passive photos.

Pose and body position. Some slight differences were noted between the photographs of men and women athlete's in terms of pose and body position. Men were slightly more likely to be shown with implements for throwing or hitting. This is consistent with previous findings (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Rintala & Birell, 1984). However, it must be considered that the men's baseball team was a particular focus of the media and had no female counterpart, which may account for some of this difference. Men were still more likely than women to be shown in photographs involving physical contact, also consistent with previous findings (Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990). On the other hand, that women participated in sports involving physical contact was not totally denied, as had been the case before (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). There were still many photos of physical contact for the women, particularly in the sports of basketball, team handball and field hockey—just not as many as there were for the men. A final difference noted, although slight, was that women were more likely to be pictured in “podium shots,” where they were displaying medals, or on the podium receiving them. This did decrease the overall perception of activity, but was far less frequent than previously (Bowman & Daniels, 1995).

Facial expression. Previous studies have found that women were made to seem far more emotional than men, through the display of photographs of emotional women with photographs of men with no expression (Duncan, 1990; Whannel, 1987). In the present study, the number of photographs of men and women who were emotional was about the same, for both positive and negative emotions. On the other hand, there were many more

photographs of men with no expression than women, which may still suggest that men are more emotionally stable (Whannel, 1987).

Camera angle. There was next to no difference in the camera angle that was employed. The overwhelming choice was a straight angle at the athlete being pictured, whether a man or a woman. As well, most of the angles which were up or down at the athlete were due to the nature of the sport, such as show jumping where the angle was necessarily up, or swimming, where anything but a head on photo required some downward angle into the pool. Here at least, the print media has improved greatly over prior findings (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Duncan & Sayoavong, 1990).

Team versus individual sports. There still was some preference to show women in individual sports over those in team sports (Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Lee, 1992; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Once again, the *Winnipeg Free Press* was different from its counterparts, as women in team sports were pictured more frequently in that newspaper. In the other newspapers, women in team sports were only shown about 1/3 of the time, while for the men it was about half of the time. Still, there was not a total denial of team for women (Rintala & Birrell, 1984) which is encouraging.

Stereotypical “gender appropriateness” of the sport. It is difficult to say what sports are not “stereotypically male appropriate.” Metheney (1965) hardly included men in her classification system, which makes its use problematic. However, there were far more photographs of men in what could be considered “stereotypically male appropriate sports” such as soccer, baseball and basketball, than were men in more neutral sports like badminton or tennis. So the focus for men is still in the powerful, team sports.

For the women, there were a large number of photographs in which the women are participating in sports that could be considered “stereotypically non-appropriate” for them, such as weightlifting, basketball and field hockey, all sports involving contact or power moves. As well, there was less focus than in prior studies (Duncan, 1990; Lee, 1992) on the “stereotypically gender appropriate” sports like gymnastics and tennis. These results could be considered encouraging, as women are being pictured more often in the “less traditional sports” for their gender.

Other photographic content. The content of photographs of women in two specific sports (weightlifting and team handball) requires further mention. These two sports would definitely be considered “stereotypically non-appropriate” for women, weightlifting because it is a power sport, and team handball because of the massive amount of physical contact and injury involved. Both sports were frequently pictured for women in the 1999 Pan-American Games coverage, but the content of the photographs ultimately impacted negatively on the image of these athletes.

The team handball photographs initially started out all as action photos, with intense game shots that emphasized contact. The last set of images that readers were left with though, in all five newspapers, were images of crying, emotional women after losing in the gold medal game. This last set of images were the ones used in the “memorable moments” articles in the last few days of coverage, not the speed or contact ones. Add this to the stereotyping commentary that was mentioned before on Tupperware parties, and the image that is left of these athletes is not of intensity and strength, but of stereotypical women behaving in stereotypical ways. Thus one of the most “stereotypically non-appropriate” sports is feminized.

The content of women's weightlifting photographs set this sport aside as one that was inappropriate for women. Women's weightlifting was shown in photographs more often than men's, which was surprising. However, in over half of the photographs of women weightlifters, the athlete is shown either during an unsuccessful lift, or immediately after one. Significantly, no men's weightlifters were shown being unsuccessful in any form. Once again, adding the content of articles on this sport, which speak of failure and the more "stereotypically appropriate" sports in which the women have competed, changes the image of the women participating. Women are made to seem unsuccessful in the sport, and their femininity is carefully reinforced. In this way, the sport of weightlifting is set off as a male preserve, and any potential of crossing gender barriers is shut down.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The structural analysis of the text indicates that women received equitable newspaper coverage during the 1999 Pan-American Games, based on their participation rate of 36.7% at these games. The percentage of articles, headlines, photographs, and space devoted to women's sports exceeded their participation rate. However, as the study dealt with Canadian media, perhaps a little more coverage of women's sports could have been expected, as Canadian women were particularly successful in terms of medal count at the 1999 Pan-American games. Still, numerical equity was achieved.

The thematic content analysis indicated that there were subtle differences in the coverage of men's and women's sports, with regards to things such as physicality, personality and professional sporting career issues. In terms of physicality, the focus in the media coverage for men was on their power, good play, and large size, while for the women, it was on good play, physical contact, and skill. There was still some focus on the smaller size of women athletes. Concentration was paid to the professional sporting careers of the men, and the intense, sometimes "war-like" conflict in which they engaged. For women athletes, there was a greater concentration on their emotionality and it was suggested that they were inexperienced. In terms of descriptors, while both male and female athletes were described as "powerful" and "talented," men were more "heroic," while women were more "attractive."

Other features within the written text were also noted. For instance, there was some ambivalence about women athletes and the latter were still sexualized, which did not

occur for men. Additionally, the action in women's sports was described less in terms of "battle language" or "war metaphors." Finally, photographs of women were not placed as prominently as those of men, and there were differences in content that indicated that certain sports were not "appropriate" for women.

The Hermeneutic World of the Text

To bring the hermeneutic project to a close, one needs to provide an interpretation of the text, of "the world that the text creates." In the present case, two worlds were created by the Canadian media. One is the world of what it means to be a male athlete at the 1999 Pan-American Games, and the other is what it means to be a women athlete at the Games.

According to the world of the text, male athletes are competent and experienced in sport. They are confident and able to bounce back from injury or episodes of poor play. Physically, men are large, powerful, and skilled. They play at a high level and have had much past success in sport, including as professional athletes. Men are aggressive, intimidating and sometimes violent. They tend to be in frequent conflict with officials in sport and with each other. Men are of good character and their personality traits are secondary to their sporting performance. Performance can be used as an apologetic for certain idiosyncrasies like drug use. Men also can be very successful in other masculine roles such as being a father or having a career outside of sport. When they play sports, it is like going to war. Perhaps for this reason, men's sports deserve prominence. Men play a range of sports but are particularly good in team sports.

The world that the text creates for women is slightly different. Women in sport are very prominent and deserving of attention. Women are very competent mentally, however, they are likely to be inexperienced and in need of further development in sport. Women are skilled and physically tough, yet they may be of a small size or in need of medical care. Their play, while often very good, is sometimes poor and they are often unsuccessful. Despite this, women do experience great successes and are inspirational to fans. The personality traits that women have are very important, as are their relationships to their families. Women participate in a wide range of sports, from individual to team sports, and from aesthetic to power sports. However, some of the sports involving power moves may not be entirely appropriate for them.

The above “worlds” were created by the text of newspaper coverage on the 1999 Pan-American Games. This reading of the text has been grounded in the images, structures and themes that emerged over the 18 days of coverage. The value of hermeneutics to this study has been to enable an interpretation of these worlds, whereby the difference in the meanings of being men and women athletes can be found, and the world into which the reader can project his or herself can be discussed.

Discussion

Hermeneutics suggests that the world of a text is one into which the readers may project themselves, and through this the world becomes like reality (Ricoeur, 1991). It is in this that the media can have a very powerful effect, as the world that they create can

become a reality for readers. Thus the world that has been created for men's and women's sports about the Pan-American Games becomes the reality.

This reality is very problematic in that the themes and practices that have been found in the study serve to reduce the power of women in sport and to promote patriarchal ideology. For example, there has been some evidence of an ambivalence (both direct and indirect) towards women athletes. As well, there was a focus on the personality traits and femininity of women athletes. These things serve to symbolically deny power to women in sport: (Messner et al., 1993), and set sport aside as a male preserve.

There were other instances of practices or themes that reinforced patriarchal relationships or created ideas of crucial sexual difference. Other than what was mentioned above, there was the notion created that women were not as successful in sport as men, particularly in power sports like weightlifting. There was also the creation of the perception that many of the women at the Pan-American Games were young and inexperienced, especially compared with the men. Such constructs reaffirm the hierarchical relationships in sport, and help create a notion of sexual difference between men and women which, in turn, defines what sports are appropriate (Duncan & Sayoavong, 1990)..

One category of themes and descriptors that acutely tied into dominant ideologies of femininity concerned the physicality of women. While women could be strong and powerful, they were also small, injury-prone, and often in need of medical attention. This construction sets up the idea that women cannot be too physical and that their bodies need to be managed by (most often male) medical professionals so that they do not injure themselves (Cole, 1993). This sounds very similar to older ideologies that limited

women's participation in sports for so long a time up until the last few decades, and helped create the sexual division of labor (in sport and in society).

There was an apparent inconsistency in the text. On the one hand, the structural analysis of the text indicated that women athletes were approaching quantitative equity, at least in terms of the easiest equity standard (i.e., the one using overall women's participation rate in the Games). This was similar to findings by several researchers who looked at Olympic coverage (Hall, 1992; Spears & Seydegart, 1996; Toohey, 1997). On the other hand, the analysis of themes, descriptors and photographs showed that many subtle differences remained in the coverage of men's and women's sports and that, on a qualitative basis, equity was still not reached.

There are two possible explanations to account for this inconsistency. One could be that women in sport (as well as women in society) have gained enough power that they can demand to be noticed. Women athletes can no longer be ignored (as happened in the past); they are now being recognized as athletes worthy of the media's attention. The qualitative difference remains, however, because the media are not yet used to covering women's sports the same way they are covering men's sports, and so they slip into patterns that provide stereotypical coverage out of habit.

Another possible explanation is that this type of ambivalent coverage is normal within patriarchal hegemonic relationships and it operates on an unconscious level. According to this more likely explanation, women athletes and sports have gained enough power to demand media attention, and this accounts for the large percentage of articles and photographs that the newspapers devoted to women's sports. However, dominant ideologies are still at work, even at the unconscious level with individual sports

writers. Thus, practices such as gender stereotyping and a focus on the femininity of women athletes occur. This serves to subtly undercut the power of women in sport and helps set aside the male preserve of sport. This is not to say that a media conspiracy against women is occurring; more so, it is that media practices that have traditionally kept power away from women in sports are well-entrenched and have just become far more subtle in their usage.

One potential reason explaining why inequitable practices and constructs have not yet disappeared is related to the general structure of the media. Mass media still constitute an upper-class, white and male-dominated world if we consider who owns the media and who has power within the structure (Sage, 1998). Those who have the power are the ones who select and edit journalistic discourses. In the end, it is no surprise that the promotion of patriarchal ideologies and subtle neutralization of powerful women are in the interests of those who own and run the media.

In addition, departments responsible for sports journalism are male-dominated. There is a relative absence of women sports writers, as evidenced by Eberhard and Myers' (1988) study, which found that women sports reporters made up less than 1 in 10 people of large sports journalism departments in the United States. Thus, there are many more male reporters and many more male voices providing our sports coverage.

One major factor in the journalistic discourses on sport is the fact that sports writers, unlike other journalists, are of the world about which they write. Many sports writers are former athletes themselves, or have had other heavy involvement in sport. Thus they are an internal part of the system of dominant ideologies in sport, and probably do not even realize that their writings reinforce dominant ideologies. It is interesting to

note that some of the strongest stereotyping of male and female athletes came from the few women sports journalists whose work appeared in the selected text. This seems indicative that dominant ideologies are so well-entrenched that they even impact on women. It could also be that newspaper sports departments act as gate-keepers for the male preserve of sport and thus are represented by men who only hire women journalists who agree with their own world view.

Going back to the concept of culture, it was simplistically defined as the way of life of a people, and included the ways in which people make sense of their world. In Canadian culture, the media are certainly one of the most widely employed means of making sense of the world. Thus, media coverage constitutes one way in which ordinary people make sense of the world of sport. Unfortunately, linking this to results such as some found in the present study means that people make sense of the world of sport in ways that tend to reinforce dominant patriarchal ideologies. The consequence is that certain avenues for participation in sport may become closed off by ideological constructs of what sports are appropriate for men and what sports are appropriate for women (Duncan & Sayoavong, 1990). This is as restrictive for men as it is for women. While women may find themselves closed off from power and speed sports, men may equally find themselves closed off from sports that require creativity, grace, flexibility and expression. Additionally, there are crucial messages being sent to men and women regarding what is valued in our society. Women and young girls may be on the losing side of this process when they are valued and given media attention for their youth and inexperience, their physical attractiveness, their dependence on men (particularly for coaching and for the management of their bodies), their emotionality (being happy or

crying), or when being “likable” seems three times as important as being “intelligent,” “fast,” “hard working,” or “confident.”

In the end though, all is not entirely dark. A comparison of the results of the present study’s structural analysis to those of previous studies suggests that power is being negotiated and may in fact be shifting towards a more equitable situation. For example, there was the theme “Inspirational” for women, which did not have an equivalent for men. The presence of this theme suggests that women are beginning to be recognized for the qualities that they bring to sport; qualities that may be otherwise lacking. As well, results suggest that even if the media are greatly preoccupied with professional men’s sports (even if they are devastated by drugs and cheating), they are not totally blind to affairs that can help improve the world of sport.

Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Research

Media constructions of sport can create perceptions of what sport is, and what sports are appropriate for men and women. This is problematic, as media coverage such as what was found in the study can close off avenues of opportunity for participation in sport. However, resistance to dominant ideologies in sport is possible, as evidenced by some of the coverage of women’s sports and the fact that, at least for international events, the amount of coverage devoted to women’s sports has greatly improved. Equitable coverage offers hope of improvement, both in the sports media and in the world of sport.

This study provided needed information on the Canadian media, but focused solely on newspaper coverage of sport. More work needs to be done on other Canadian media

forms, and in particular on the blossoming forms of Internet and other electronic media. The way news is delivered is changing and new media forms are becoming quite popular with both producers and consumers. Analysis of these emerging and changing media forms needs to be conducted to determine whether such forms are any different from their predecessors or just as tied into dominant discourses.

Finally, more research needs to be conducted into the impact of media coverage on consumers. It has been suggested that the media creation of “sexually appropriate” sports can impact on the choices of the reader, and on opportunities for sport for men and women. Up until now, most studies have focused on the media and the present study has interpreted two “worlds” that the media text has opened up to readers. More work is needed to see how people negotiate these worlds, and how they influence their own.

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APPENDIX A

THEMES FROM THE COVERAGE OF MEN'S SPORTS, IN RANK ORDER

Appendix A

Themes from the Coverage of Men's Sports, in Rank Order

Rank	Theme	Major f	Minor f	Total f
1	Professional careers in sport	58	5	63
2	Skilled	51	7	58
3	Close competition	41	16	57
4	Fan support	50	5	55
5	Experienced	43	12	55
6	National pride/Nationalism	44	8	52
7	Easy wins	37	15	52
8	Poor Performance	44	7	51
9	Good play	41	8	49
9	Conflict with officials	41	8	49
11	Domination	30	17	47
12	Good competition	40	5	45
13	Olympic qualifying concerns	39	6	45
14	Team cohesion	33	11	44
15	Past success	37	5	42
16	Having a family	40	-	40
17	Olympic qualified	33	5	38
18	Conflict with governing bodies	32	6	38
19	Thrilling for fans	23	15	38
20	Rivalry	26	11	37
20	Surprise performance/win	26	11	37
22	Celebratory	23	14	37
23	Power	21	16	37
24	Violence/violent aggression	35	1	36
25	Errors/mistakes	26	8	34
26	Professionals different from amateurs	32	1	33
27	Coming through	29	4	33
28	Poor competition	27	6	33
29	Affected by crowd	31	1	32
30	Causing excitement	27	5	32
31	Motivated by money, not love	24	5	29
32	Record setting	23	6	29
33	Injury/illness problems	21	8	29
34	Emotional involvement	22	6	28

Appendix A (continued)

35	Family through sport	27	-	27
36	Memorable	25	2	27
37	Fun/enjoyment	20	7	27
38	Confidence	18	9	27
39	Nerves/nervous	16	9	27
40	Immigration	26	-	26
40	Outside life/career	26	-	26
42	Playing through injury	23	3	26
43	Intensity	18	8	26
44	Preparing for Worlds/Other	22	3	25
45	Good personality traits	20	5	25
46	Mental toughness	19	6	25
47	Family history in sport	24	-	24
47	Performing in front of family	24	-	24
49	Injured and unable to compete	19	5	24
50	Disappointed	18	6	24
51	Professional career possibilities	21	2	23
52	History of winning/success	20	3	23
53	Come from behind	16	7	23
54	Speed	15	7	22
55	Mental letdown/poor mental skills	20	1	21
56	Missing key teammates	19	2	21
57	Good character	15	6	21
58	Top-ranked	14	7	21
59	Leadership	12	9	21
60	Historic win	16	4	20
61	Hard working	14	6	20
62	Family support	19	-	19
63	Coach/Coaching Expertise	18	1	19
64	Missing top competitors	18	1	19
64	Physical contact	18	1	19
66	Struggling	17	2	19
67	Failure	16	3	19
67	Improving	16	3	19
69	Fan favorites	18	-	18
70	Strategy	18	-	18
71	Anonymity	17	1	18
72	Star status	14	4	18
73	Personal problems	17	-	17
74	Proud of performance	16	1	17
75	Cheating	15	2	17
75	Lack of funding	15	2	17

Appendix A (continued)

77	Sanctions/suspensions imposed	13	4	17
78	Heroic status	9	8	17
79	High expectations	16	-	16
79	Attention getting	14	2	16
79	Dreams	14	2	16
82	Strength	13	3	16
83	Giving back to sport/community	15	-	15
83	Large size	14	1	15
83	Inexperience	14	1	15
86	Conflict between opponents	12	3	15
87	Devastation/depression	10	5	15
88	Life more important than sport	14	-	14
88	Thrilled with being at the Games	14	-	14
88	Police required due to conflict	14	-	14
88	Training problems	14	-	14
92	Respect for opponents	13	1	14
92	Negative media	13	1	14
92	Negative personality traits	13	1	14
95	Media attention	12	2	14
96	Intelligence	11	3	14
97	Mental skills	10	4	14
98	Trouble with conditions/environment	13	-	13
99	New team together	11	2	13
100	Future of sport	12	-	12
101	Sportsmanship	9	3	12
102	Dissatisfied with performance	4	8	12
103	Heterosexuality	11	-	11
104	Intimidation	10	1	11
104	Joking	10	1	11
104	Team effort	10	1	11
107	Excited	9	2	11
108	Heartbroken	7	4	11
109	Aggressive	6	5	11
110	Connection to family	10	-	10
111	Young, but good	9	1	10
111	Unpopular/negative to fans	9	1	10
111	Mistake by official	9	1	10
114	Protests filed	8	2	10
115	Aboriginal ethnicity	9	-	9
115	High level of performance	9	-	9
115	Memories for athlete	9	-	9
115	Comeback from injury/layoff	9	-	9

Appendix A (continued)

119	Overcoming personal adversity	8	1	9
120	Determination	7	2	9
120	Little media attention	7	2	9
122	Good Training/training hard	6	2	9
122	Personal best	6	3	9
124	Giving back to fans	8	-	8
124	Love of game	8	-	8
124	Paying own way in sport	8	-	8
127	Rebuilding team/program	7	1	8
127	Lack of fans	7	1	8
127	Low expectations	7	1	8
130	Revenge	5	3	8
130	Endurance/conditioning	5	3	8
132	Poor conditioning	4	4	8
133	Ability	7	-	7
133	Competitive spirit	7	-	7
133	Forward looking	7	-	7
133	Redemption	7	-	7
133	Performance related to luck	7	-	7
133	Threatening	7	-	7
139	Friendship with opponents	6	1	7
139	Frustration	6	1	7
141	Underdogs	4	3	7
142	Backed by governing body	6	-	6
142	Popular sport with fans	6	-	6
142	Distracted	6	-	6
142	Old	6	-	6
142	Participation in strange sport	6	-	6
147	Retirements	4	2	6
148	Equipment troubles	5	-	5
148	Highlights	5	-	5
148	Slow	5	-	5
148	Focus	5	-	5
148	Active coaching	5	-	5
153	Overcoming environment/ equipment problems	4	1	5
153	Heart	4	1	5
153	Talent	4	1	5
153	History of losing	4	1	5
153	Idolization of competitor	4	1	5
153	Lack of opportunities	4	1	5

APPENDIX B

THEMES FROM THE COVERAGE OF WOMEN'S SPORTS, IN RANK ORDER

Appendix B

Themes from the Coverage of Women's Sports, in Rank Order

Rank	Theme	Major f	Minor f	Total f
1	Good play	62	7	69
2	Close competition	47	19	66
3	Fan support	57	3	60
4	Domination	49	11	60
5	Good Personality traits	50	8	58
6	Olympic qualified	40	6	46
7	Physical contact	43	-	43
8	Affected positively by crowd	39	2	41
9	Disappointed	31	10	41
10	Poor competition	31	9	40
11	Easy wins	34	5	39
12	Team cohesion	36	2	38
13	Poor play	35	3	38
14	Proud of performance	38	10	38
15	Record-setting	35	2	37
16	Failure	32	4	36
17	Power	27	9	36
18	Comeback from injury/layoff	35	-	35
19	High expectations	32	3	35
20	Mental toughness	29	5	34
21	Surprise performance/win	31	2	33
22	Skilled	27	6	33
23	Preparing for Worlds	27	5	32
24	Inexperienced	28	3	31
25	Confidence	25	6	31
26	Experienced	23	8	31
27	Olympic qualifying concerns	29	1	30
28	Multiple medallist	26	4	30
28	Struggling	26	4	30
30	Thrilling for fans	27	2	29
30	Injury/illness affecting performance	27	2	29
32	Professional careers in sport	24	4	28
33	Excited	22	6	28
34	Errors/mistakes	26	1	27

Appendix B (continued)

35	Devastation/depression	25	2	27
35	Celebratory	25	2	27
35	Speed	25	2	27
38	Leadership	19	8	27
39	Inspirational	25	1	26
40	Past success	24	2	26
41	Rivalry	22	4	26
42	Playing through injury	25	-	25
43	Improving	22	2	24
44	Good competition	22	2	24
45	Coming through	21	3	24
46	Focus on coaching activity	23	-	23
47	Emotional involvement	21	2	23
47	Mental letdown/poor mental skills	21	2	23
49	Competitive spirit	20	3	23
50	Intensity	18	5	23
51	Having a family	22	-	22
51	Family support	21	-	21
51	Focus on athlete's family	21	-	21
54	Fun/enjoyment	20	1	21
55	Nationalism	19	2	21
56	Preparing for Olympics/other	20	-	20
57	Strength	18	2	20
58	Nerves/nervous	17	3	20
59	Good character	19	-	19
60	Determination	18	1	19
61	Training concerns	17	2	19
62	Performing in front of family/friends	18	-	18
63	Historic event/win	16	2	18
64	Conflict with officials	14	4	18
65	Performing for family	17	-	17
66	Connection to family	17	-	17
67	Coach/Coaching expertise	16	1	17
67	Physical ability	16	1	17
67	Overcoming conditions/ environment	16	1	17
67	Struggling	16	1	17
67	Focus/concentration	16	1	17
72	Future potential	15	2	17
73	Heterosexuality	16	-	16
73	Media attention	16	-	16
73	Dissatisfied with performance	16	-	16
73	Lack of funding	16	-	16

Appendix B (continued)

77	Forward looking	15	1	16
78	Hard working	14	2	16
79	Fan Favourite	13	3	16
80	High level of performance	15	-	15
81	Best ever results	15	-	15
81	Dreams/goals	15	-	15
83	Anonymous	14	1	15
84	Memorable	14	-	14
85	Endurance/conditioning	13	1	14
86	Strategy	11	2	13
87	Poor conditioning	7	6	13
88	Cheating	12	-	12
88	Aboriginal ancestry	12	-	12
88	Focus on medical aspects	12	-	12
88	Gaining experience/learning	12	-	12
92	Giving back to fans	11	-	11
92	Overcoming personal adversity	11	-	11
92	Attention getting	11	-	11
92	Doing their best	11	-	11
92	Star status	11	-	11
97	Injured and unable to compete	10	1	11
97	Poor skills	10	1	11
99	Coach named/focus on coach	4	7	11
100	History of winning/success	10	-	10
100	Intelligence	10	-	10
100	Giving back to sport/community	10	-	10
100	Paying own way	10	-	10
104	Love of sport	9	1	10
104	Small size	9	1	10
106	Inconsistency	9	-	9
107	Team effort	8	1	9
107	Causing excitement	8	1	9
109	Personal sacrifice for sport	7	2	9
110	Problems with environment	8	-	8
110	New team together	8	-	8
110	Lack of fans	8	-	8
110	Young, but talented	8	-	8
110	Rebuilding team/program	8	-	8
110	Mental skills	8	-	8
110	Appearance/body type	8	-	8
110	Family history in sport	8	-	8
110	Immigration	8	-	8

Appendix B (continued)

119	Personal best performance	7	1	8
119	Focus on sexuality	7	1	8
121	Come from behind	6	2	8
122	Ambassador/ symbol of sport	7	-	7
122	Layoffs from sport	7	-	7
122	Normal/ordinary type of person	7	-	7
122	Key player on team	7	-	7
122	Negative media	7	-	7
127	Negative emotions	6	1	7
127	Frustration	6	1	7
129	Talent	5	2	7
129	Negative personality traits	5	2	7
131	Missing key teammates	6	-	6
131	Needing improvement	6	-	6
131	Development problems in sport	6	-	6
131	Respect for sport/opponents	6	-	6
131	Family through sport	6	-	6
136	Conflict with opponent	5	1	6
136	Low expectations	5	1	6
136	Pioneer/activist in sport	5	-	5
136	Training problems	5	-	5
136	History of losing	5	-	5
136	Sportsmanship	5	-	5
136	Old/aging	5	-	5
143	Conflict with sport administration	4	1	5
144	Multi-sport athlete	4	1	5
145	Heroic status	2	3	5
