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Framing the 2012 Olympics:  
A Content Analysis of International Newspaper Coverage of Female Athletes

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A thesis  
presented to  
the faculty of the Department of Communication  
East Tennessee State University  
In partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
Master of Arts in Professional Communication

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by

Jessica Giuggioli

May 2013

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John King, Chair

Carrie Oliveira

Gary Lhotsky

Keywords: athletes, content analysis, framing theory, media

## ABSTRACT

Framing the 2012 Olympics:

A Content Analysis of International Newspaper Coverage of Female Athletes

by

Jessica Giuggioli

The present content analysis was designed to identify the representation of female athletes in the media during the 2012 London Olympics. Coders analyzed 617 mentions of male and female athletes in order to determine the quantity and quality of coverage during the 2012 Olympics.

The research mostly supported previous literature concerning the depiction of female athletes in the media, as the study revealed an imbalance in the quantity and quality of coverage of male and female athletes in newspapers. The frequency of mentions of female athletes was lower than the frequency of mentions of male athletes. Furthermore, female athletes were found to be more frequently associated with sexism than male athletes.

The exploratory research revealed significant differences in the depiction of female athletes in Western and Eastern countries because female athletes tend to be portrayed in more subordinate roles in Eastern newspapers.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The mass media are an essential part of today's social life because the media create and transmit important cultural information. It is a common belief that the media portray and reflect the important and relevant matters of society; therefore, what is depicted in the media deserves attention. Furthermore, it is suggested that "how members of society see themselves, how they are viewed and even treated by others, is determined to a great extent by their media representation" (Bernstein, 2002, p. 416) because the way the media portray a certain person or issue tends to shape people's perceptions and opinions.

Although the media present several aspects of everyday life such as politics, economics, and entertainment, sports are probably one of the most popular. Because the majority of spectators experience sporting events through the media such as television and newspapers, the mass media have a great influence on the perception of sports in society. Through media framing, which refers to the selection and presentation of content by a media outlet, the media can influence the audience and have a strong impact on the perception of female athletes around the world. For this reason, it is important to discuss the representation of female athletes in the media because their portrayal strongly influences society's ideas of women in sports.

A lot of research has been done on the media coverage of women's sports because it continues to be a concern in today's society due to the difference in coverage of male and female athletes. Previous studies have suggested that there is a difference in the quantity and quality of coverage of women sports in the media because female athletes are often underreported and misrepresented throughout all mass media (Bernstein, 2002; Kian & Hardin, 2009; Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1993; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). As pointed out by various scholars, this



common trait underlines “the dominance of gender as a framing device” (Wensing & Bruce, 2003, p. 387) that contributes to the invisibility of women athletes in the mass media.

Furthermore, scholars have suggested that “the mass media help reinforce hegemonic masculinity in sport” (Kian & Hardin, 2009, p. 185) by placing women in a lower social status than men. This representation of female athletes in the media is a major concern because it leads to the marginalization of women in sports and reinforces the dominance of men in society.

This study is a content analysis of the newspaper coverage of female athletes in the media during the 2012 Olympics. The objective is to identify the way in which the media frame female athletes by comparing the depiction of female athletes to the representation of male athletes during the London Olympic Games. Furthermore, this study is an analysis of the possible differences in media framing of female athletes in the West, including Europe, North America, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific Islands, compared to the East, including Africa, Asia, and Middle East (King, 2008).

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### *Framing Theory*

Framing theory argues that how an entity is presented (framed) in the media influences how media consumers think about that entity. The words and images that the media use to present certain topics influence how audiences interpret the topic (Scheufele, 2004). Framing theory attempts to reflect the effects of media framing on its audience because it is considered a powerful tool that can affect society's ideas and beliefs. As Kuypers (2002) noted, "frames actually define our understanding of any given situation" (p. 7). Moreover, previous studies have shown that media framing of issues can affect the readers' judgment on the issue as well as defining it.

The process of framing is usually considered as an active process because it involves selection, as journalists decide which elements to include or exclude from a story or a report (Zaharopoulos, 2007). As cited in Kian and Hardin (2009) framing is generally understood as "the process in which a point of view on a given issue or event is used to interpret and present reality – magnifying or shrinking elements of that issue or event to make them more or less salient" (p. 188). This definition underlines the power of framing because it can alter the importance of any given issue. Furthermore, Lecheler and Vreese (2011) suggested that "framing stresses certain aspects of reality and pushes others into the background; it has a selective function. In this way certain attributes, judgments and decisions are suggested" (p. 960). The media tend to use framing in order to maintain high interest by the receiver, as Zaharopoulos (2007) pointed out that the news media often frame an event "consciously or unconsciously in order to keep the story alive and fresh" (p. 237).

For this reason, the study on how the Olympic Games are framed by the media does not only tell us about journalistic decisions, values, and practices but also points out the effects of such practices that are directly related to the meaning the readers may have derived from the news coverage of the event (Zaharopoulos, 2007). Furthermore, a study by Hovland and Weiss on the learning effects over time revealed that although individuals tend to forget the source of a message, they are still affected by its content after weeks, which supports the claim that framing effects can persist beyond initial exposure and have an impact over time (Zaharopoulos, 2007). Consequently, it is relevant to consider the framing techniques used by the media in the depiction of female athletes because the portrayal of certain frames may affect the audiences' attitude toward the content for a longer period of time as well as sending explicit and implicit messages about a certain issue.

According to Hardin and Greer (2009) the representation of female athletes in the media reinforces ideas of difference that lead to sexism and stereotyping in women's sports. For this reason, it is important to discuss the use of framing in media reports about female athletes because "the messages the media send out about women's sports have had a powerful influence on how women athletes and women's sports are accepted in this culture (Ziegler, 2006, p. 90). Therefore, framing theory supports this study as it underlines "the process by which the emphasis or construction of a message affects the interpretation of the receiver" (Shah, McLeod, Gotlieb & Lee, 2009, p. 86). Through media framing journalists are able to frame the information they choose to report as well as the tone toward the content, which will affect the audience's perception of women's sports and female athletes across the world.

### *The Olympic Games*

The modern Olympic Games were founded by Pierre de Coubertin, a French aristocrat. Coubertin, inspired by the ancient Olympic Games, founded the International Olympic committee in 1894; 2 years later, in 1896, the first modern Olympics took place in Athens, Greece. As were the ancient Olympic Games, the 1896 Olympics were exclusively reserved for male athletes, and women were not allowed to participate. For this reason at its origins the Olympic Games were considered “a context for institutionalized sexism” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 209), as male competitors exclusively participated in the events; moreover, people believed that sports only pertained to men and feared that women would lose their femininity by becoming too muscular. However, female athletes gradually began to participate in a few events. In the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris, tennis and golf were open to female participants; Later on, in the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm, the first female swimmers were allowed to participate in the Games.

As shown by the previous literature, before the 20th century, female athletes never represented more than 10% of the total number of competitors during the Olympics. However, with the pressure from several sporting and political organizations, the participation of female athletes during the Olympics noticeably increased during the second half of the 20th century (Crolley & Teso, 2007). The 1994 Olympic Charter, which is a set of rules and guidelines for the organization of the Olympic Games, represented a real breakthrough for women’s sports because it included specific efforts in the promotion of women. The positive effects of the Charter were clearly visible and the participation of women in the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta rose to 35%, which represented an important step toward the equality of female and male athletes. Moreover, in the 2004 Athens Olympics for the first time in history, the percentage of women participating in the Games was higher than 40%, of a total of 10,864 athletes, 4,412 were women

and 6,452 were men (Crolley & Teso, 2007). Finally, in the 2012 London Olympics, the percentage of male and female participants was respectively 55% and 45%, which represents a constant improvement in participation over the years (Info Graphic Club, 2013).

A lot of studies have been done on the media coverage during the Olympics, as the Olympic Games represent a major sporting event worldwide. The Olympics are the most covered sporting event around the world, as billions of people follow it through various media outlets such as television, newspapers, internet, and radio. Because the Olympic Games are the major sporting event across the world, the media coverage of the events is taken very seriously and it is given great attention. Previous studies have shown greater coverage of women's sports during the Olympics because of strategies that promote gender equality in sports media as well as the strong nationalistic enthusiasm that characterizes the Games (Capranica et al., 2005). However, because the Olympics have nearly an equal number of female and male participants, the Games represent the sporting event in which gender differences can be the most noticeable and accurate because the quantity and quality of media coverage truly express the portrayal of female athletes in the media.

### *Quantitative Coverage of Female Athletes*

Extensive research has been conducted on the quantity of media coverage of female athletics because it continues to be a concern in today's society. After the enactment of Title IX in the United States, on June 23rd, 1972, which states that "no person can be excluded from participation or denied benefits on the basis of sex from any educational program receiving federal funds" (Ziegler, 2006, p. 90), there has been an increase in opportunities for women to participate in sports, including expanded youth programs, better and earlier coaching, and an increase of scholarships for college female athletes (Messner et al., 1993). The improvements

brought by the enactment of Title IX resulted in an increased number of participants in women's sports in the United States; however, the boom in female athletic participation has not been reflected by the media, as the media coverage on female's sports continues to receive less attention (Ziegler, 2006).

Although the media coverage of male and female athletes is still subject to noticeable imbalances, Ziegler (2006) pointed out that the "media coverage of female athletes has evolved from virtually no coverage in the 1950s, to minimal coverage thru the mid-1990s" (p. 91). As a study by Graydon showed, in the early 1980s more than 90% of sports reporting covered men's sports, as reporters tended to disregard adequate coverage of female sports. Later on, in the 1990s, a study of four major metropolitan daily newspapers showed that 81% of all sports column inches were devoted exclusively to men's sports, 3.5% to women's sports, and 15.5% covered both or gender neutral sports (Messner et al., 1993). Furthermore, a study conducted by Mason of two major newspapers in the United Kingdom showed that even in the late 1990s the newspaper coverage of female athletes was very imbalanced, as 99.5% of sports-related articles in the *Sun* covered men's sports, and a dominance of 88.5% of men's sports articles was also found in *The Times* (as cited in Bernstein, 2002).

As shown by the previous literature, the space dedicated to women's sports is far less than the space occupied by male sports in the print media, which reinforces the idea that sports pertain to men and marginalize the role of women in sports. As noted by Bernstein (2002), "since the media are seen as reflecting what is important and has prestige, especially in western society, this severe underrepresentation is seen as creating the impression that women athletes are non-existent in the sporting world or of little value when they do exist" (p. 417). In addition, Crolley

and Teso (2007) suggested that the lack of coverage of female athletes in the media, contributes to the stereotypes and inequalities between males and females in society.

### *Qualitative Coverage of Female Athletes*

The quantity of women's sports coverage is not the only limit, as the quality of female athletes' reports still needs improvement. Mean and Kassing (2008) argued that although the participation of female athletes and reports have increased, "sport remain a powerful gender demarcator" (p. 127) because the media depictions and frames of female athletes reinforce stereotypical gender roles in society. Moreover, as underlined by Capranica et al. (2004), "the media tend to undermine and trivialize women's accomplishments and reinforce the idea that sports pertain to men" (p. 212), while symbolically annihilating female athletes.

The marginalization of female athletes is evident across all types of media, from television to newspapers. In the analysis of the newspaper coverage, the placement of a story in the newspaper indicates its importance; relevant articles tend to be in the front page or section front of the newspaper, while less relevant articles are usually found in inside pages (Frideres, Palao, & Mottinger, 2008). A study conducted by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles found that only 3.2% of women's articles made the front page, while 85.3% of front page stories were about men, and 9.9% discussed both genders (Frideres et al., 2008). These data clearly suggest a subordination of female athletes, who are given less prominence in media and tend to be attributed less importance than men.

The inequality between male and female athletes in the media also appears through their depiction in specific athletic events. Because females infrequently equal males in upper body strength and physical size, they have been confined by the media to feminine sports, which are disciplines that have historically been associated with grace and beauty. Individual sports such as

golf, tennis, swimming, gymnastics, and ice skating have been commonly considered appropriate feminine sports that emphasize the aesthetic movements of the female body rather than muscular strength. On the other hand, team sports such as football and ice hockey that require aggressiveness and physical strength are typically considered masculine sports (Daddario, 1994; Hardin & Greer, 2009). Furthermore, Bernstein (2002) pointed out that female athletes are more likely to receive media attention if they compete in *appropriate* feminine sports. A study showed that 61% of female sports coverage focused only on three sports: swimming, diving, and gymnastics, and the latter received more than 34% of all coverage devoted to female athletes (Bernstein, 2002).

The confinement of female athletes to gender appropriate sports is not the only technique that the media use to frame women athletes into stereotypical gender roles that depict females as inferior to men. As suggested by previous literature, the media representation of female athletes underlines various techniques that subordinate women athletes and diminish them to stereotypical and sexist gender roles (Capranica et al., 2004). Wensing and Bruce (2003) identified five sexist elements that frame female athletes into their culturally prescribed gender characteristics: gender marking, heterosexuality, emphasis on femininity, infantilization, and nonsport related reports.

According to literature, gender marking implies for men's sport events to be presented as the norm, while women's events continue to be "marked as the *other*, derivative, and by implication, inferior to the men's" (Messner et al., 1993, p. 127). As shown in a study on women's basketball and women's tennis by Messner et al. (1993), gender was constantly marked verbally and through the use of graphics. The study revealed that during basketball games the audience was continuously reminded that they were watching the "Women's final four," the



“NCAA Women’s National Championship Game” and so on. Moreover, the CBS logos and graphics above game scores also marked gender by always putting emphasis on the *women’s* event. In addition, the use of gender marking was also evident in tennis matches. The analysis of three tennis matches revealed an average of 59.7% of gender marking during women’s events, as CBS more frequently tended to display a pink on screen graphic for women’s matches, than a blue on screen graphic for men’s events (Messner et al., 1993). By gender marking sporting events, the media frame men’s sports as the norm while women’s events are portrayed differently, which clearly reinforces the dominance of men in sports and consequently in society.

Although gender marking may be the most noticeable sexist practice used by the media to frame female athletes, Wensing and Bruce (2003) identified heterosexuality as another common technique. Emphasis on female athletes’ heterosexuality, through their depiction as sex objects or heterosexual role of mother, wife, or girlfriend, also reinforces ideas of adequate gender roles in society. As Wensing and Bruce (2003) pointed out, the media often tend to frame female athletes as sex objects by focusing on the women’s sex appeal and portraying female athletes as objects of the male gaze. This portrayal allows for a consistency of the stereotypical heterosexual female role, which does not challenge male dominance and gender transgression. Furthermore, according to Stevenson (2002), “the (hetero)sexuality of women has been exploited as a catalyst for obtaining media coverage for women’s sports” (p. 212) because the emphasis on females sexual appeal tends to attract the audience and media’s attention. As pointed out by Stevenson, “there are countless examples of sports where the competitors have adopted sexy outfits in an effort to attract media attention or have posed for makeovers or soft pornography features” (p. 212).

In addition to female athletes' depiction as sex objects, emphasis on their heterosexual role in society is common ground in media depictions of female athletes. As shown in a study by Sailors, Teetzel, and Weaving (2012) on women's Olympic beach volleyball, female athletes are often confined to the stereotypical heterosexual role of mothers. The study showed how the media representation of Kerry Walsh during her interview before the 2012 London Olympics clearly maintained the centrality on motherhood by framing the woman as a mother and secondarily as an athlete (Sailors, Teetzel, & Weaving, 2012). Furthermore, Stevenson (2002) pointed out that "media references to a sportswoman's heterosexual credentials, such as boyfriends, husbands, children...are common place and reassure audiences of gender priorities" (p. 212) by reinforcing the idea that sports are the domain of men, while females are still portrayed in stereotypical heterosexual roles that do not challenge the dominance of men in the sports world. Moreover, scholars argued that mentioning women's marital status, and whether or not they have children and discussing their husband's occupation is a way to reinforce the traditional role of women in society (Crolley & Teso, 2007).

Traditional gender roles often tend to associate women with accentuated femininity, which is linked to an uncontrollable display of emotions. Emphasis on femininity is another technique that the media use to frame female athletes by depicting them as extremely fragile, emotionally unstable, dependent, and concerned for others (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). A study by Klein (1988) revealed that female athletes are portrayed as very emotional and fragile in success or defeat, and sports commentaries often talk about tears of pain and anger when referring to women competitors. Contrarily, male athletes are most often portrayed with expressions of concentration and challenge (Klein, 1988). Furthermore, a study by Messner et al. (1993) showed that female athletes "are more likely to be framed as failures due to some combination of

nervousness, lack of confidence, lack of being comfortable, lack of aggression, and lack of stamina” (p. 125). On the other hand, male athletes’ defeats are associated with the power, strength, and intelligence of their male opponents. In addition to women’s fragility and emotional instability, the media often emphasize women athletes’ femininity through their dependency upon others: “Sport reports give an image of female behavior which is explained and simultaneously excused by the idea that women are in broadest sense dependent on nature” (Klein, 1988, p. 144). According to Daddario (1994) while a man’s masculine identity depends on the achievement of autonomy, a woman’s feminine identity depends on interpersonal relationships, which reinforces the idea that women are weaker than men. This trait was evident in a study by Daddario (1994) on the 1992 Winter Olympics in which many gold-medal female athletes attributed and dedicated their victories to family members. This study highlighted women’s concern and dependency upon others because the athletes dedicated their victories to others; by dramatizing and reconstructing these human connections, the media framed the event by focusing on stereotypical feminine traits of visible emotions and dependency.

In addition to feminine stereotypes, Wensing and Bruce (2003) identified infantilization as another technique that the media use to frame female athletes. The infantilization of women athletes in the media tends to reduce them to adolescent status despite the fact that some of the athletes are in their late 20s. According to Bernstein (2002) in the media “whereas male athletes are valorized, lionized, and put on cultural pedestals’ female athletes are infantilized” (p. 420). Female athletes are often referred to as *girls* or *young ladies*, while male athletes are usually referred to as *men* (Bernstein, 2002; Messner et al., 1993). Furthermore, previous studies showed that another common practice that reinforces the infantilization of women in the media is the use of first names to refer to female athletes. A study by Messner et al. on the coverage of tennis

matches showed that commentators referred to female tennis players by their first names 52.5% of the time, while men were addressed by their first names only 7.8% of the time (as cited in Bernstein, 2002). Moreover, a study conducted by Pfister on the coverage of the Olympics in German newspapers also revealed that while women were introduced by their first names, nicknames, or fantasy names, men were addressed by their last names (as cited in Bernstein, 2002). According to Bernstein (2002), “this phenomenon is perceived by the various writers as displaying a hierarchy of naming, that is, a linguistic practice which reinforces the existing gender-based status differences” (p. 420). By addressing female athletes by first names or silly nicknames and using last names to address male athletes the media emphasize gender differences as well as diminish and discredit women athletes. Although the way female athletes are addressed in the media is a clear indicator of the way women are infantilized in the media, Daddario (1994) identified female athletes’ role, as *mother’s daughter* to be another strategy that the media use to infantilize women athletes. Through this depiction, the media construct the image of child-like girls rather than full-grown and independent adults, which once again frames female athletes as weak and infantile.

The last frame identified in literature is the use of nonsport related comments in the media, which are very common among the portrayal of female athletes (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). As highlighted by Bernstein (2002), “researchers analyzing the portrayal of female athletes from different perspectives found the coverage to be often framed with stereotypes which emphasize appearance and attractiveness rather than athletic skill” (p. 421). Moreover, scholars argued that reports of female athletes are often focused on nonsport related issues such as the size and weight of the competitor and emphasis on women’s clothes and hair style (Klein, 1988). A study by Bernstein (2002) on the newspaper coverage of female athletes during the

2000 Sydney Olympics revealed that although Marion Jones was the fastest woman in the world and attracted a great amount of media attention, Amy Acuff, a part-time model and high jumper, who always wore outrageous outfits received more media coverage than the world champion. As suggested by this finding, the media often tend to dismiss female athletes' skills and emphasize nonsport related matters such as uncommon outfits.

In addition to printed media, the focus on nonsport related issues is common across all types of media; a study conducted by Eastman and Billings that analyzed the telecasts of the 1994, 1996, and 1998 Olympics found that there were significantly more comments about the attractiveness and appearance of female athletes than male competitors (as cited in Billings & Eastman, 2003). This finding suggested that when discussing female athletes the attention shifts from sports and athleticism to nonsport related issues such as appearance and aesthetics.

Moreover, as pointed out by French tennis player, Nathalie Tauziat, "aesthetics and charisma are winning out over sporting performance" (as cited in Bernstein, 2002) because the media promote the style of the female players over their athletic skills and substance of the game. In addition to nonsport related issues through emphasis on appearance rather than sports, the media often frame female athletes by depicting them in nonsport related scenarios. A study on press photographs of male and female athletes revealed that sport themes were much more often portrayed in male photos rather than female photos, as three quarters of sportsmen photographs showed the subjects in a sport setting, and only 56% of sports women were portrayed in such settings; a large amount of sports women were portrayed in posed photographs that underline passiveness and restraint, which are not sports characteristics (Klein, 1988).

The previous literature suggested that the media coverage of sports has had a major role in the male dominance in the sports world. The coverage of female and male athletes differs

quantitatively and qualitatively, as previous studies have pointed out that female athletes are less visible than men in mediated sports, and when they are covered, they are often trivialized (Kian & Hardin, 2009). Furthermore, media framing in the coverage of women's sports has affected the perception of female athletes in society, and reinforced ideas of sexism and hegemonic masculinity. Although the media coverage of female athletes tends to be greater during the Olympics, the media framing of women's sports during the 2012 London Olympics represents an excellent example of the current portrayal of female athletes around the world.

### *The West and the East*

Hofstede's cultural dimensions identify a difference in cultures among Eastern and Western countries. While the West tends to be low on power distance, Eastern countries are usually high on power distance that allows for the acceptance of inequalities among people (Hofstede, n.d.). These cultural differences are reflected in society and have an impact on people's perception of the world. For this reason, it is interesting to analyze media portrayals of female athletes in the West and the East in order to determine the influence that different cultures have on media representations of female athletes. The exploratory research is an analysis of the possible differences in the newspaper coverage of female athletes in the West (Europe, North America, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, Pacific Islands) and the East (Asia, Africa, Middle East). For this purpose, it is relevant to consider the meaning behind the definition and division of the West and the East.

The definition of the West and the East is cultural and historical rather than geographical. It rose with the definition of the West, which separates Western cultures from Eastern countries. It originated around 400AD in the Mediterranean and its vicinity, as Greece and Rome are often considered at the roots of its origin (Kurth, 2003). Current notions of the definition of West and

East locate the West as closely related to European culture and people. Scholars understand the West to be originated from three different traditions: “the classical culture of Greece and Rome, the Christian religion..., and the Enlightenment of the modern era” (Kurth, 2003, p. 5). When discussing classical culture, Greece contributed to the idea of a republic, while Rome created the idea of an empire, which formed the Western concept of liberty in accordance to the law. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Christianity is another important tradition of the West as it established the sanctity of and obedience to Christ, which reinforced the concept of liberty under law. Finally, scholars identified the modern Enlightenment as another tradition that separates the West from the East because it provided ideas of liberal democracy, free market, as well as the belief in reason and science (Kurth, 2003).

Although there is not a strict definition of the West and the East, for this study I used a contemporary cultural meaning suggested by the previous literature that places Europe, North America, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands in the West, while Africa, Asia, and Middle East countries represent the East (King, 2008).

## CHAPTER 3

### HYPOTHESES AND EXPLORATORY QUESTIONS

The previous literature review leads to several hypotheses and research questions about the portrayal of female athletes by the media. The study on the quantity of female sports coverage conducted by Frideres et al. (2008) leads to the first research question that is developed to compare the number of mentions of female athletes to the number of mentions of male athletes in order to determine the quantity of women's sports coverage during the 2012 Olympics. The second research question is related to the tone used about female athletes, as Capranica et al. (2005) underlined a subordination of women's sports. The third question is centered on the identification of the placement of the article in the newspaper because the placement in the newspaper (front page, section front, or inside) reflects the importance that is attributed to the article. The fourth research question addresses the placement of the mention in the story (head line, sub-head, lead, photo, or body), in order to assess the importance that is attributed to each mention. The fifth research question is about the representation of female athletes in individual or team sports because individual sports are considered feminine while team sports are more masculine. Furthermore, the study by Wensing and Bruce (2003), which analyzed the various techniques that subordinate female athletes, leads to the next research question concerning sexism in women's sports coverage; The sixth research question deals with the presence of sexism when referring to female athletes, which is analyzed on the base of gender marking, heterosexuality, femininity, infantilization, and nonrelated sport comments (Capranica et al, 2004). Given that there is no previous literature on the possible differences between the portrayals of female athletes in the West (Europe, North America, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific Islands) and the East (Asia, Africa, and Middle East), six exploratory



questions provide an analysis of this matter (King, 2008). The first exploratory question is an investigation of the frequency of mentions of female athletes in the West region and East region during the 2012 Olympics. The second exploratory question is an analysis of the relationship between the region where the newspaper was published and the tone toward female athletes during the 2012 Olympics; the third and fourth exploratory questions respectively address the relationship between the region in which the newspaper was published and the page prominence and story placement in the newspaper. The fifth exploratory question is an analysis of the relationship between the region in which the newspaper was published and the sport (individual or team). Finally the last exploratory question is an investigation of a possible relationship between the region in which the newspaper was published and sexism toward female athletes.

### *Hypotheses*

H1: The frequency of mentions of female athletes will be lower than the frequency of mentions of male athletes.

H2: The tone toward female athletes in the media will more frequently be negative and neutral than the tone toward male athletes.

H3: Mentions of female athletes will more frequently appear in less prominent page positions than mentions of male athletes.

H4: Mentions of female athletes will more frequently appear in less prominent story positions than mentions of male athletes.

H5: Female athletes will more frequently be portrayed in individual sports than male athletes.

H6: Sexism will more frequently be associated with female athletes rather than male athletes.

### *Exploratory Questions*

EQ1: Will the frequency of mentions of female athletes be higher in Western or Eastern countries?

EQ2: Will the tone toward female athletes be more positive in Western or Eastern countries?

EQ3: Will there be a difference in the page prominence of mentions of female athletes in Western and Eastern countries?

EQ4: Will there be a difference in the story placement of mentions of female athletes in Western and Eastern countries?

EQ5: Will female athletes more frequently be portrayed in individual sports in Western or Eastern countries?

EQ6: Will sexism more frequently be associated with female athletes in Western or Eastern countries?

## CHAPTER 4

### METHOD

Coders searched the Lexis Nexis database using the terms, “champion” or “medalist,” and “2012 Olympics” in the major world publications section in order to retrieve articles between July 25, 2012, and August 12, 2012, which covers the entire time period of the 2012 London Olympic Games. The unit of analysis was any mention of the term “champion” or “medalist” that referred to a specific athlete or team during the 2012 Olympics. The Lexis Nexis database yielded a population of 798 articles with mentions of “champion” or “medalist” during the selected dates. Using the online randomizer tool on randomizer.org (Urbaniak & Plous, 1997), a simple random sample of 500 articles was extracted. After removing duplicate articles and mentions that were not related to specific athletes or teams during the 2012 Olympics, 344 articles were analyzed and 617 mentions were coded, with the significance level for the study set at .05.

The independent variables were the *gender* of the athlete (male or female) of which the mention was about, and the *region* in which the newspaper was published: West (North America, Latin America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Pacific Islands) or East (Asia, Africa and Middle East). Finally, the dependent variables were *tone*, *page*, *story*, *sport*, and *sexism*.

The tone toward the mention was coded as negative when the tone toward the athlete or team was clearly negative; it was coded as positive when the tone was clearly positive; finally, it was coded neutral when the mention simply reported facts or was neutral toward the athlete or team:

- Negative tone: “The only disappointment was the performance of world champion Sarah Stevenson” (Toney, 2012, p. 27)

- Positive tone: “The 2011 world champion, who carried her country's flag at the Opening Ceremony, had won all of her three semi-final heats in a dominant performance” (Dickinson, 2012, p. 14)
- Neutral tone: “ Great Britain's three-time world champion Shanaze Reade was fifth in 39.368 and world champion Magalie Pottier of France seventh in 39.778 in the event, which determined seedings for tomorrow's semi-finals” (Western Mail, 2012, p. 48)

The variable page was an analysis of where the mention was located in the newspaper (front page, section front, or inside page), in order to determine the importance that was given to the story. The variable story analyzed where the mention was placed in the story: in the headline (including subheadlines), in the lead of the story (including first sentence and first paragraph), paired with a graphic or photo, or in the body of the story. Sport was coded as individual or team based on the way the medals were awarded. Finally, sexism was coded based on the five gender characteristics identified by Wensing and Bruce (2003): Gender marking, heterosexuality, femininity, infantilization, nonsport related reports (Wensing & Bruce, 2003), and no sexism when mentions were not associated with sexist terms or connotations.

Mentions of female and male athletes were coded with gender marking if they were marked by gender:

- Gender marking (females): “The national *women's handball team* edged highly favorite Russia 24-23 and set up a semifinal against defending champion Norway on Thursday” (The Korea Herald, 2012, n.d.)
- Gender marking (males): “Jin, now a two-time gold medalist after winning the *men's 10-meter* air pistol on Saturday, will now set his sights on the 50-meter air pistol event on Aug. 5 for a third gold” (The Korea Herald, 2012, n.d.)

Mentions of female and male athletes were coded with heterosexuality if they portrayed athletes as sex symbols or if they emphasized their heterosexual role in society:

- Heterosexuality (female): “Sarah Ayton, two-time gold medallist in sailing who sacrificed own ambition for third medal at 2012 Olympics in order to support *husband's* effort” (The New York Times, 2012, p. 5)
- Heterosexuality (male): “He always says that setbacks make you stronger: he points out that his Athens debacle had one great compensation; it led to his meeting the beautiful Czech shooting champion, Katerina Kurkhova, who later became his *wife*” (Truss, 2012, p. 56)

Mentions of female and male athletes were coded with femininity if they were associated with the athletes’ emotions, portrayal of dependency, and emotional fragility:

- Femininity (female): “I think the way she has conducted herself, her Christianity, her *humble nature* and the fact she’s a four-times world champion make me think she’s a contender for the Val Barker” (Scully & Fitzmaurice, 2012, p. 2) OR “The public address announcer blared - the gold medalist and Olympic champion . . . - and that's about the point that 17 year old Claressa Shields *lost it*” (Maese, 2012, p. 7)
- Femininity (male): “The 2008 Olympic race walk champion who was expelled from the London Games for doping *broke down in tears* while recounting how he hid the banned substance in the home...” (The New Zealand Herald, 2012, n.d.)

Mentions of female and male athletes were coded with infantilization if athletes were reduced to adolescent status and if they were called by their first names and demeaning nicknames:

- Infantilization (female): “Birmingham gymnast Francesca ‘*Frankie*’ Jones has become the senior British overall rhythmic champion for the sixth time” (Birmingham Mail, 2012, p. 36)
- Infantilization (male): “That Baltimore *teen* became the greatest Olympic champion Tuesday night in London, still finding his mother in the stands like he did when he was 7” (Wise, 2012, p. A01)

Mentions of female and male athletes were coded with nonsport related reports if mentions were associated with insignificant reports that were not related to sports and focused on other matters, such as attractiveness, hair, clothes, etc...

- Nonsport related (female): “In Olympic terms, the hugely-popular Grainger, a three-time silver medallist, *had always been a bridesmaid, never the bride*” (Viner, 2012, n.d.).
- Nonsport related (male): “Victory was especially pleasing for Stewart... *His father, Robbie, was a South African kayaking champion who was denied the chance to compete in the Olympics because of sanctions imposed on his country during the apartheid era*” (McDonald & Kogoy, 2012, p. 1).

Finally, mentions of male and female athletes were coded with no sexism if the mentions were not associated with sexist stereotypes or comments:

- No sexism (female): “Magalie Pottier, the French world champion, was seventh” (Dickinson, 2012, p. 14)
- No sexism (male): “All the major European nations are playing next week, including the world and European champions Spain who are travelling to Puerto Rico for a friendly” (Wallace, 2012, p. 50)

The data were coded by two graduate students of the Communication Department at East Tennessee State University. The inter-coder reliability was measured using the Holsti formula:  $2A / (Na+Nb)$ , in which 2 represents the number of coders; A signifies the number of agreements between the coders; Na and Nb represent the number of units analyzed by each coder (Neudendorf, 2002, p. 149). After three rounds of trials, the final round, as shown in Table 1, yielded at least 90% agreement between the two coders.

Table 1

*Holsti Formula (Calculation for Intercoder Reliability)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Holsti Formula</b>	<b>Agreement</b>
Gender	2 (30) / (30 + 30)	100%
Nation	2 (30) / (30 + 30)	100%
Tone	2 (28) / (30 + 30)	93%
Page	2 (30) / (30 + 30)	100%
Story	2 (30) / (30 + 30)	100%
Sport	2 (29) / (30 + 30)	96%
Sexism	2 (27) / (30 + 30)	90%

Although Lexis Nexis does not have a complete selection of every article published in all major world publications, it is the best tool to use for this study because it includes more than 4,000 sources. As noted in Neuendorf (2002), Lexis Nexis is the “largest message archive in existence, with more than 9.5 million documents added daily to over one billion documents already online,” (p. 76), which make it a valid database for various research projects. Furthermore, because the search was limited to Major World Publications in English, newspapers in foreign languages were excluded from the analysis.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS

#### *Hypotheses Tests*

**H1:** The frequency of mentions of female athletes will be lower than the frequency of mentions of male athletes. As shown in Table 2, the hypothesis was supported; the study yielded a higher frequency of male mentions.

Table 2

#### *Frequency of Mentions of Male and Female Athletes*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	368	59.6
Female	249	40.4

Note: n=617

**H2:** The tone toward female athletes will more frequently be negative and neutral than the tone toward male athletes. As indicated in Table 3, the tone toward female athletes appears to be slightly more negative and neutral than the tone toward male athletes. However, the finding is not statistically significant.

Table 3

#### *Tone toward Mentions of Male and Female Athletes*

	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative, Neutral</b>
Male	176 (47.8%)	192 (52.2%)
Female	108 (43.4%)	141 (56.6%)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=1.18$ ; df=1; p=n.s.

**H3:** Mentions of female athletes will more frequently appear in less prominent page positions than mentions of male athletes. As indicated in Table 4, the hypothesis is not supported;



mentions of female athletes receive more page prominence than mentions of male athletes. A higher frequency of mentions of female athletes is found in the section front and front page of the newspaper.

Table 4

*Page Prominence of Mentions of Male and Female Athletes*

	<b>Inside</b>	<b>Section Front</b>	<b>Front Page</b>
Male	336 (91.3%)	24 (6.5%)	8 (2.2%)
Female	214 (85.9%)	28 (11.2%)	7 (2.8%)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=4.66$ ; df=2; p<0.05

**H4:** Mentions of female athletes will more frequently appear in less prominent story positions than mentions of male athletes. As indicated in Table 5, it appears that a small majority of mentions of female athletes is found in the body of the story. However, this finding is not statistically significant.

Table 5

*Story Prominence of Mentions of Male and Female Athletes*

	<b>Body of the Story</b>	<b>Headline, Lead of the Story</b>
Male	333 (90.5%)	35 (9.5%)
Female	230 (92.4%)	19 (7.6%)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=.66$ ; df=1; p= n.s.

**H5:** Female athletes will more frequently be portrayed in individual sports than male athletes. As shown in Table 6, contrary to the previous hypothesis, it appears that a slightly higher frequency of mentions of female athletes is portrayed in team sports rather than male athletes. However, the finding is not statistically significant.

Table 6

*Mentions of Male and Female Athletes by Sport*

	<b>Individual Sport</b>	<b>Team Sport</b>
Male	298 (81%)	70 (19%)
Female	190 (76.3%)	59 (23.7)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=1.96$ ; df=1; p=n.s.

**H6:** Sexism will more frequently be associated with female athletes rather than male athletes. As indicated in Table 7, mentions of female athletes are characterized by sexism 53.8% of the time, while mentions of male athletes reveal an association with sexism only 15.2% of the time.

Furthermore, Table 7 indicates the distribution of sexism based on the five stereotypical sexist elements identified by Wensing and Bruce (2003): gender marking, heterosexuality, femininity, infantilization, and nonsport related reports.

Table 7

*Mentions of Male and Female Athletes by Sexism*

	<b>Gender Marking</b>	<b>Heterosexuality</b>	<b>Femininity</b>	<b>Infantilization</b>	<b>Nonsport</b>	<b>Sexism Total</b>	<b>No Sexism</b>
Male	31 (8.4%)	2 (0.5%)	12 (3.3%)	7 (1.9%)	4 (1.1%)	56 (15.2%)	312 (84.8%)
Female	47 (18.9%)	6 (2.4%)	49 (19.7%)	19 (7.6%)	13 (5.2%)	134 (53.8%)	115 (46.2%)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=110.06$ ; df=5; p<.001

Because in Table 7 there is a low expected frequency count in 16.7% of the cells, the variables *heterosexuality*, *femininity*, *infantilization* and *nonsport* have been collapsed into one variable (*feminine stereotypes*) in order to ensure statistical validity of the Chi-square test. When collapsing the variables, the Chi-square presents as follows in Table 8:

Table 8

*Mentions of Male and Female Athletes by Sexism (collapsed)*

	<b>Gender Marking</b>	<b>Feminine Stereotypes</b>	<b>No Sexism</b>
Male	31 (8.4%)	25 (6.8%)	312 (84.8%)
Female	47 (18.9%)	87 (34.9%)	115 (46.2%)

Note: n=617;  $\chi^2=109.62$ ; df=2; p<.001

*Exploratory Research*

All exploratory research was conducted exclusively on mentions of female athletes, given that the objective was to identify the differences in media portrayals of female athletes in Western regions (Europe, North America, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific Islands) and Eastern regions (Asia, Africa, and Middle East).

**EQ1:** Will the frequency of mentions of female athletes be higher in Western or Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 9, the frequency of mentions of female athletes in newspapers is significantly higher in Western countries.

Table 9

*Frequency of Mentions of Female Athletes by Region*

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
West	230	92.4
East	19	7.6

Note: n=249

**EQ2:** Will the tone toward female athletes be more positive in Western or Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 10, the tone toward female athletes in Western and Eastern countries appears to be very similar. However, the results are not statistically significant.

Table 10

*Tone Toward Mentions of Female Athletes by Region*

	<b>Negative, Neutral</b>	<b>Positive</b>
West	130 (56.5%)	100 (43.5%)
East	11 (57.9%)	8 (42.1%)

Note: n=249;  $\chi^2=.01$ ; df=1; p=n.s.

**EQ3:** Will there be a difference in the page prominence of mentions of female athletes in Western and Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 11, mentions of female athletes more frequently appear in the front page or section front of the newspaper in Western countries, while in Eastern newspapers, all mentions of female athletes are found inside the newspaper.

Table 11

*Page Prominence of Mentions of Female Athletes by Region*

	<b>Inside Page</b>	<b>Section front, Front page</b>
West	195 (84.8%)	35 (15.2%)
East	19 (100%)	0 (0%)

Note: n=249;  $\chi^2=3.36$ ; df=1; p<.05

**EQ4:** Will there be a difference in story placement of mentions of female athletes in Western and Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 12, no mentions of female athletes are found in the lead or headline of the story in Eastern newspapers, while a small number of mentions of female athletes are found in Western newspapers. However, the result is not statistically significant.

Table 12

*Story Prominence of Mentions of Female Athletes by Region*

	<b>Body of the story</b>	<b>Lead, Headline of the Story</b>
West	211 (91.7%)	19 (8.3%)
East	19 (100%)	0 (0%)

Note: n=249;  $\chi^2=1.70$ ; df=1; p=n.s.

**EQ5:** Will female athletes be more frequently portrayed in individual sports in Western or Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 13, female athletes tend to be portrayed more in individual sports in Eastern countries, while the portrayal of female athletes in the West depicts them in team sports 25.2% of the time.

Table 13

*Mentions of Female Athletes in Sports by Region*

	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Team</b>
West	172 (74.8%)	58 (25.2%)
East	18 (94.7%)	1 (5.3%)

Note: n=249;  $\chi^2=3.86$ ; df=1; p<.05

**EQ6:** Will sexism be more frequently associated with mentions of female athletes in Western or Eastern countries? As indicated in Table 14, there appears to be more sexism toward mentions of female athletes in Western countries than in Eastern countries. However, the finding is not statistically significant.

Table 14

*Sexism of Mentions of Female Athletes by Region*

	<b>Sexism</b>	<b>No Sexism</b>
<b>West</b>	127 (55.2%)	103 (44.8%)
<b>East</b>	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.2%)

Note: n=249;  $\chi^2=2.40$ ; df=1; p=n.s.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The present content analysis revealed interesting findings concerning the depiction of female athletes in the media. In accordance to previous literature, the study suggested that the quantity of media coverage of female athletes continues to be a concern in today's society. The current content analysis on the 2012 Olympic Games revealed a higher frequency of mentions of male athletes in newspapers around the world. The research yielded 59.6% of mentions of male athletes against 40.4% of mentions of female athletes. Given that the participation of male and female athletes in the 2012 Olympics was respectively 55% and 45%, the quantitative difference in coverage is not highly significant; however, it still identifies an imbalance in the media portrayal of male and female athletes. The prevalence of male athletes in the media suggests that sports are still dominated by men, while women continue to be attributed less importance. In addition, by portraying a higher frequency of male athletes compared to female athletes, the media reinforce the stereotype that sports pertain to men and confines women to stereotypical gender roles. Furthermore, because the media is attributed great importance in society, the imbalance in the coverage of male and female sports can lead to inequalities among men and women in society.

Although the quantity of media coverage continues to represent a concern, the quality of coverage is also very important to consider. The present content analysis supported previous findings that suggested when women sports are covered, the quality of the coverage still needs improvement. The current study revealed a high frequency of sexism when referring to female athletes; the study showed that mentions of female athletes were associated with sexism 53.8% of the time, while only 15.2% of mentions of male athletes were characterized by sexism.

When looking at the five sexist categories identified by Wensing and Bruce (2003), *gender marking, heterosexuality, femininity, infantilization, and nonsport related*, it is interesting to notice that mentions of female athletes were marked by gender 18.9% of the time, while only 8.4% of mentions of male athletes were characterized by gender marking. By referring to men's sporting events as "the sporting event" and to women's sporting events as "women's sporting event," the media reinforce the idea that men's sports are the norm, while women's sports tend to be marked as the other and inferior.

In addition, in the analysis of sexism related to mentions of heterosexuality the study showed that female athletes tend to be depicted with heterosexual reports more often than male athletes. Mentions of female athletes were found to be associated with heterosexuality 2.4% of the time, while only .5% of mentions of male athletes were associated with heterosexuality. By portraying female athletes as sex symbols or in their heterosexual role of mothers, wives, and girlfriends, the media reinforce stereotypical ideas of gender roles in society.

Furthermore, in support of previous literature, the present study revealed that emphasis on femininity is another technique that the media use to frame female athletes. As shown in the present content analysis, 19.7% of mentions of female athletes were associated with femininity while only 3.3% of mentions of male athletes were characterized by feminine traits. By depicting female athletes as very emotional, fragile, and dependent upon others, the media emphasize women athletes' femininity, which does not challenge traditional gender roles in society.

Moreover, the present study revealed that infantilization is also more frequently present when discussing female athletes. The content analysis revealed that 7.6% of mentions of female athletes were characterized with infantilization, while only 1.9% of mentions of male athletes contained infantilization. By reducing female athletes to adolescent status and referring to these



women by their first names or silly nicknames, the media create the image of the child-like girls, which clearly infantilize female athletes and encourages the audience to not take them seriously.

Finally, nonsport related comments were associated with female athletes 5.2% of the time, while only 1.1% of mentions of male athletes were characterized by nonsport related comments. By emphasizing nonsport related issues when addressing female athletes, the media shift the focus from the performance of the athlete to other insignificant issues such as hair, outfits, appearance, etc...which leads to objectification and it is just another way to reinforce hegemonic masculinity and diminish the role of women in sports.

Contrary to expectations and previous research, the present study revealed an interesting finding concerning page prominence. Although the majority of mentions of males and females were found in inside pages of the newspaper, coders found a significantly higher frequency of mentions of female athletes in the section front of the newspaper; 11.2% of mentions of female athletes made the section front of the newspaper, while only 6.5% of mentions of male athletes was found in the section front. However, mentions of female and male athletes received a very similar treatment as far as front page mentions, as only 2.8% of mentions of female athletes and 2.2% of mentions of male athletes were found in the front page of the newspaper. Perhaps, this finding suggests that although the frequency of female and male athletes in the media is still imbalanced, when women are portrayed, they are more frequently assigned the spotlight, as they received better page prominence.

The exploratory research, which was designed to compare Western and Eastern countries in their media depiction of female athletes, revealed a higher frequency of mentions of female athletes in the West, as 92.4% of mentions of female athletes was found in Western newspapers, while only 7.6% of mentions of female athletes were found in Eastern papers. Another

significant finding when comparing Western and Eastern countries was the page prominence of the articles. In Western countries 15.2% of mentions of female athletes was found in the section front or front page of the newspaper, while all mentions of female athletes in Eastern newspapers were found in an inside page. This finding shows that female athletes are given more page prominence in Western countries, while they tend to be marginalized and given less importance in Eastern countries. In addition, the comparison of individual versus team sports in the West and the East revealed that 25.2% of female athletes were portrayed in team sports in Western newspapers, while only 5.3% of female athletes were portrayed in team sports in Eastern countries. This finding revealed that in the East a large majority (94.7%) of female athletes still tend to be portrayed in individual sports, which do not challenge stereotypical gender roles, as they tend to be considered more feminine and gender appropriate. However, in Western newspapers, although the media still portray the majority (74.8%) of female athletes in individual sports, a quarter of mentions of female athletes depicted women in team sports.

These findings suggest that in Eastern countries female athletes tend to be placed in a more subordinate role compared to female athletes in Western countries. In the media the quantity and quality of coverage of female sports is still inadequate; female athletes in Eastern countries are given less page prominence in newspapers compared to Western countries, and tend to be portrayed more in individual sports rather than team sports. Perhaps these findings can be explained by Hofstede's cultural dimensions, which identify Eastern countries as high on power distance, which implies that these cultures accept hierarchal order and inequalities among people. Eastern countries tend to assign a place for each person in hierarchal order without need for justification. Furthermore, centralization is common, as subordinates are not expected to have aspirations beyond their rank (Hofstede, n.d.). For this reason the lack of coverage of female

athletes can be explained through the accepted notion of hegemonic masculinity that places women in positions below men. Consequently, female athletes in the East are not attributed much importance and receive less media coverage.

#### *Limitations*

This content analysis was an investigation of the newspaper coverage of the 2012 Olympics in order to determine imbalances in the coverage of male and female athletes. Because the newspaper coverage of Olympic events is usually centered on the winners and previous champions, the coders searched the Lexis Nexis database using the terms “champion” and “medalist,” as more generic terms yielded results that were not useful for the study. Because the mentions mostly referred to champions and medalists, journalists may have had a more positive tone toward the mentions than they had toward any other athlete, which could have slightly altered the results in regard to tone.

Furthermore, the Olympic Games being hosted in London could have had an impact on the exploratory research. Although the Lexis Nexis database was searched under Major World Publications, only English newspapers were analyzed, which could have slightly altered the results, as the majority of English newspapers were published in Western countries.

#### *Future Studies*

For future research it would be interesting to continue observing the media coverage during the Olympic Games in order to track the changes in the coverage of female athletes. This study revealed a continuous imbalance in the quantitative and qualitative portrayal of female athletes in newspapers; it would be interesting to analyze the 2016 Olympics in order to determine the extent to which the present findings compare to the coverage of future Olympic Games.

In addition, it would be interesting to conduct exploratory research on the possible differences in coverage in Western and Eastern countries if the Olympics were hosted in the East. It would be interesting to look at the frequency of newspapers published in the East as well as the qualitative differences in the portrayal of female athletes.

### *Conclusion*

Results of the present content analysis were mostly consistent with previous findings; the newspaper coverage of male and female athletes during the 2012 London Olympics was imbalanced. Results showed that there is a difference in the quantity and quality of media coverage of female athletes during the Olympics. Given that the Olympic Games represent a major event worldwide and its media coverage is taken very seriously, this study revealed a significant finding, as female athletes are still fairly underreported and trivialized by the media. This study suggests that although there have been improvements, we live in a society in which hegemonic masculinity is the norm, and the fight for women's equality is still an open battle.

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## APPENDICES

### *Appendix A: Newspapers*

<b>Name</b>	<b>City, Country, Region</b>
Addis Fortune	Washington DC, United States, West
Africa News	Washington DC, United States, West
Australian	Canary Wharf, England, West
Belfast Telegraph	Belfast, Northern Ireland, West
Birmingham Evening Mail	London, England, West
Birmingham Mail	London, England, West
Canberra Times	Canberra, Australia, West
Christian Science Monitor	Boston, United States, West
Courier Mail	Brisbane, Australia, West
Daily Mirror	Canary Wharf, England, West
Daily Post	Liverpool, England, West
Daily Star	Canary Wharf, England, West
Daily Telegraph	London, England, West
Daily Trust	Abuja, Nigeria, East
Dominion Post	Wellington, New Zealand, West
Evening Gazette	London, England, West
Evening Standard	London, England, West
Evening Times	Glasgow, Scotland, West
Gazette	Montreal, Canada, West
Globe and Mail	Ontario, Canada, West
Guardian	London, England, West
Herald Glasgow	Glasgow, Scotland, West
Hobart Mercury	Tasmania, Australia, West
Independent	London, England, West
International Herald Tribune	Neuilly Cedex, France, West
Jerusalem Post	Jerusalem, Israel, East
Kalgoorlie Miner	Osborne Park, Western Australia, West

Korea Herald	Chung-Gu, Seoul Korea, East
Leadership	Abuja, Nigeria, East
Liverpool Echo	Liverpool, England, West
Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles, United States, West
Mirror	Canary Wharf, England, West
National Post	Ontario, Canada, West
Newsday	New York, United States, West
New Straits Times	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, East
New Times	Kigali, Rwanda, East
New Vision	Kampala, Uganda, East
New York Times	New York, United States, West
New Zealand Herald	Auckland, New Zealand, West
Northern Echo	Darlington, England, West
Observer	London, England, West
Philadelphia Inquirer	Philadelphia, United States, West
Prague Post	Prague, Czech Republic, West
Press	Christchurch, New Zealand, West
Scotland on Sunday	Edinburgh, Scotland, West
South China Morning Post	Hong Kong, China, East
South Wales Echo	London, England, West
Sun	London, England, West
Sunday Express	London, England, West
Sunday Herald Sun	Melbourne, Australia, West
Sunday Mail	Queensland, Australia, West
Sunday Mercury	London, England, West
Sunday Times	London, England, West
Sunday Times	Johannesburg, South Africa, East
Sydney Morning Herald	Sydney, Australia, West
Tampa Bay Times	Tampa, United States, West
Telegraph	London, England, West
This Day	Lagos, Nigeria, East

Times	London, England, West
Times of Zambia	Ndola, Zambia, East
Toronto Star	Toronto, Canada, West
Wales on Sunday	London, England, West
Washington Post	Washington DC, United States, West
Weekend Australian	Surry Hills, Australia, West
West Australian (Perth)	Perth, Australia, West
Western Mail	London, England, West

## *Appendix B: Coding Model*

### Identification Variables

ID – ID number of the story

Write ID number of the story

Coder – Coder’s ID number

1 = Jessica Giuggioli

2 = Meylin

Name – newspaper name

Enter the name of the newspaper; do not include “The” before the name

Date – date of publication

Enter actual date as mmddyy with no spaces or punctuation (ex. 081112 = August 11, 2012)

### Independent Variables

Gender – gender of the athlete the mention is about

1 = male

2 = female

Region – region where the newspaper is published

1 = West (North America, Latin America, Europe, Australia, Pacific Islands, New Zealand)

2 = East (Asia, Africa, Middle East)

### Dependent Variables

Tone – tone toward the mention

1 = negative (clearly negative)

2 = neutral (factual or neutral)

3 = positive (clearly positive)

Page – page prominence

1 = inside page of newspaper (also if no page number is given)

2 = section front of newspaper (ex. B1, G1, business front page, sports front page)

3 = front page of the newspaper (page A1 only)

Story – story placement (if story is only one paragraph, the lead is only the first sentence)

1 = body of the story

2 = paired with graphic or photo caption

3 = in the lead of the story (first sentence/first paragraph)

4 = in the headline of the story (including subheads)

Sport – what sport is the mention about (depending on the way medals were awarded)

1 = individual sport

2 = team sport

Sexism – if the tone of the article is sexist

1 = gender marking (marking female events as women's sports and male events as the norm)

2 = heterosexuality (depiction of athletes as sex objects or in their heterosexual role)

3 = femininity (emphasis on emotions, dependency)

4 = infantilization (use of first names, diminutives, mother's daughter portrayal)

5 = non-sport related reports (focus on appearance. Clothes, hair etc...)

6 = no sexism

VITA

JESSICA GIUGGIOLI

Personal Data:                   Date of Birth: May 11, 1988  
  Place of Birth: Piombino, Italy  
  Marital Status: Single

Education:                        Bachelor's Degree in Spanish, University of Missouri, 2010  
  Master's Degree in Professional Communication,  
  East Tennessee State University, 2013

Experience:                        Graduate Assistant Tennis Coach, East Tennessee State  
  University, 2011-2013