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An Examination of the Current State of Female Athlete Media Coverage

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Abstract

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The study uses content analysis to examine sixty sports articles written by the collegiate media in order to determine whether gendered themes of mass sports media exist within the youngest generation of sports writing. The research examines sports articles from two established collegiate media sources, the *Emory Wheel* and the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter* and analyzes the sixty articles for written and visual elements such as gender marking, trivialization, comparison of female athletes to male athletes and apologetic strategies. The literary background research on collegiate and mass media sports writing produces fifteen testable hypotheses that are all examined in the methodology and results sections. The research is critical in the understanding of how gender differences in sport mass media are continuously changed throughout each new cycle of sports writers arriving from the collegiate media. The research also examines the importance of sports leadership positions within both the mass and collegiate media and calls for improvement in staffing for these roles. Collegiate media produces the next generation of sports writers and society must examine the work at this level for a full understanding of mass media's development and current state. The study is a fresh examination of both the progress and the failure of modern sports writers in representing female athletes at an adequate and equitable level in comparison to their male counterparts.

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Sport is an extremely influential part of modern society. According to Ross and Shiner, sport is a “social institution that maintains and reproduces male dominance and female subordination” (2008:42) As a result of this process, traditional gender norms affect the experience of female athletes, including their self expression, self esteem, and representation in the media. Many individuals are forced to negotiate between their conflicting identities as a woman and an athlete. Female athletes, especially those who compete at the collegiate level, must be conscious of their behavior as they navigate feminine expectations of society in a male-dominated athletic environment (Krane et al. 2004; Ross & Shiner 2008). Later in this paper, I will analyze and understand gender in the context of female athletes in order to understand how sexist beliefs negatively impact women’s experience in sports, including their difficulty of being taken seriously as athletes.

Secondly, I will examine the media in order to investigate the representation and experience of a female athlete. According to Buysse and Embser-Herbert, the media is a “shaper and reflector of attitudes, values, and knowledge” (2004:69). The media is a powerful tool that not only transmits societal values and beliefs, but produces and reinforces them (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). However, the relationship between the media and female athletes has been generally unacceptable due to trivialization and exclusion of female sports (Kian, Vincent and Mondello 2008). Additionally, the media’s appetite for the sexualization of female athletes creates self-esteem issues for many women (Kian et al. 2008; Billings et al. 2014; Ravel & Gareau 2016). The literature will further discuss and analyze the media’s role in furthering gender inequality in modern athletics.

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In this study, I will examine the reproduction of gender inequality in collegiate sports by comparing the media coverage of both male and female athletes. The research aims to build on past literature that has explored the ways in which sports coverage has helped to preserve and maintain hegemonic masculinity by examining news coverage at a collegiate level, which is a novel area of study within the field. Through content analysis, I will systematically analyze newspaper articles published at two academic institutions of higher education that both compete within the NCAA Division III organization. I will study the articles in order to test a variety of hypotheses about female athlete representation in collegiate media. The main research question of the study examines how gender affects athletic newspaper coverage in the student press at NCAA Division III colleges and universities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Female Athletes and Gender

The Canadian Institutes of Health Research defines gender as “the socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men, and gender diverse people. It influences how people perceive themselves and each other, how they act and interact, and the distribution of power and resources in society” (CIHR 2021). Gender plays a very complicated role in the lives of female athletes. The traditional role and expectations of a female in society differs greatly from the expectations of an athlete, a role strongly associated with masculine traits. Athletes are encouraged to compete with others, build physical and mental strength and act with dominance and leadership in order to be successful in competition. Society also associates less significant aspects of being an athlete, such as sweating, gaining muscle and communicating loudly with others, with men. On the contrary, the traditional expectation of a female in society is to act passively and kindly towards others while remaining soft-spoken,

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delicate and fertile and adhering to feminine beauty standards (Krane et al. 2004; Kaskan & Ho 2016). Behavior which aligns with the traditional expectations of females is called “hegemonic femininity” and is a component of hegemony theory (Musto & McGann 2016).

Hegemony theory is based upon hegemony, “a particular form of dominance in which a ruling class legitimates its position and secures its acceptance—if not outright support—from those classes below them” (Ross & Shinenew 2008:42). Connell’s theory of gender power relations describes a system of gender hegemony in which hegemonic masculinity sits at the top of the gender hierarchy (Kian et al. 2008). Hegemonic masculinity is the belief that the male gender is dominant and has a right to power through a natural hierarchical gender order which assumes that all other genders are subordinate (Kian et al. 2008; Sobal & Milgrim 2019). The ideology expects aggression, power and heterosexuality from men while requiring females to adhere to the contrasting expectations of hegemonic femininity (Hardin, Dodd & Lauffer 2006; Kian et al. 2008). The main problem with this ideology is the assumption that one specific gender is superior.

Gender is rarely expressed in a binary system and thus the conceptualization of gender is much more complicated than traditional expectations of masculinity and femininity (Sobal & Milgrim 2019). According to Sobal and Milgrim, “the dominant dichotomous categorization of male and female does not represent the multifaceted ways gender is practised in everyday life; multiple, dynamic, situational, overlapping and nuanced” (2019:30). The system of orthodox gender order often creates a very challenging dichotomy for individuals when they identify as one gender but engage in activities or behavior classified or labeled as most suitable for a different gender. Female athletes are a prime example of this circumstance. Gendered

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expectations of individual behavior are created through a unique societal process called “gendertyping.”

According to Sobal and Migrim, “gendertyping” is a key process in society’s conceptualization of gender and consists of defining objects or people as male or female (2019). For example, society associates rugby, basketball and football with men and associates figure skating, tennis and volleyball with women. The gendertyping process can result in activities being labeled as unsuitable for individuals who identify with a specific gender (Ross & Shinenw 2008). In the case of female athletes, many behaviors related to success in team athletic competition are considered traditionally incompatible with the female gender. For example, utilizing force, engaging in physical contact with others, and using a heavy object are not supported by hegemonic femininity (Kane 1988; Ross & Shinenw 2008; Dafferner, Campagna & Rodgers 2019). On the contrary, sports which use a barrier to separate athletes from each other during competition, utilize aesthetically pleasing movement patterns and use light objects are considered appropriate for women in the orthodox gender structure (Sobal & Milgrim 2019). A few sports that fall under these conditions include tennis, gymnastics and volleyball. Certain sports are classified as incompatible with a specific gender for a variety of gendered reasons. A study done on gendertyping in 2019 provides more insight into how society conceptualizes the gender-based qualities of different sports.

In a study done by Sobal and Milgrim (2019), college students were given a questionnaire about gendertyping in sports. Ninety-two percent of the three hundred and ten respondents were familiar with others referring to different sports as either “masculine” or “feminine.” The respondents themselves found that certain sports, such as track, basketball and softball, detracted from feminine qualities while other sports, such as tennis, gymnastics and

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swimming enhanced such qualities (Sobal & Milgrim 2019). Many other studies have found similar results of sports that emphasize beauty and elegance being considered more appropriate for females than other sports with increased physical contact and a team-oriented nature (Hardin et al. 2006; Ravel & Gareau 2016; Sobal & Milgrim 2019). The authors of this study conclude that gendertyping affects the experience of the individuals who participate in a certain sport and may also reduce initial participation in a sport (Sobal & Milgrim 2019). The negative impacts of gendertyping are too salient to ignore.

According to Musto and McGann (2016), female athletes often navigate the cultural tension between their identity as an athlete and a female by employing apologetic strategies. Apologetic strategies are behaviors that “reflect, enact and stabilize symbolic aspects of the gender order” in attempt to overcome the perceived deviance of being a competitive female within the hegemonic gender structure (Musto & McGann 2016:102) One example of apologetic behavior is abiding by traditional standards of beauty and overemphasizing one’s femininity (Hardy 2016). An athlete demonstrating apologetic behavior might wear her hair long and straight, wear her hair in front of her shoulders, wear a bow, wear jewelry or wear pink while competing (Krane et al. 2004; Musto & McGann 2016). Symbolic interactionism explains these behavioral choices as symbolic support of traditional femininity. A female athlete who chooses to wear a hair bow during competition, for instance, is communicating to others that although she is participating in a traditionally non-feminine activity, she still abides by values of hegemonic femininity (Musto & McGann 2016). One study reported that over seventy percent of the surveyed collegiate female athletes engaged in such behavior (Kaskan & Ho 2016). Another method that female athletes often use to reduce the strain between orthodox gender norms and athleticism is called “doing gender.”

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“Doing gender” is when an individual demonstrates gender with displays of gendered behavior that establishes their gender category. The “continual social process” is “constantly being negotiated on a conscious and unconscious level (Ross & Shiner 2008). Displays associated with doing gender include dressing in a masculine way or styling one’s hair to establish femininity (Ross & Shiner 2008). Many female athletes attempt to “do gender” differently in a variety of contrasting social settings. Ross and Shiner (2008) conducted semi-structured interviews to gain better understanding of how fourteen NCAA Division I athletes conceptualize their identities and behavior as female athletes. The research finds that many female athletes perform femininity to avoid negative repercussions from others, such as being labeled as a homosexual or “manly” (Ross & Shiner 2008). While female athletes often adopt more masculine qualities during practice and competition, they often embrace their femininity in other social settings such as going out with friends at night or attending a formal event (Krane et al. 2004; Ross & Shiner 2008). The authors of the study found that “the desire to look more traditionally feminine seemed to be a calculated decision” (Ross & Shiner 2008).

A large part of the female athlete identity paradox is based upon the tense negotiation between the traditional beauty standards of femininity and the traditionally masculine muscularity which accompanies high level training and competition (Varnes et al. 2013; Dafferner et al. 2019). However, athleticism benefits women as athletic participation is associated with higher body positivity and weight lifting is associated with increased self esteem and decreased bodily social anxiety (Varnes et al. 2013; Kaskan & Ho 2016). A common trend found in body image studies with female collegiate athletes is that muscularity represents capability, coordination, confidence and strength (Krane et al. 2004; Ross & Shiner 2008; Varnes et al. 2013). One study found that athletes at lower competition levels, such as NCAA

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Division II and III, were more satisfied with their bodies than athletes at the highest levels of competition, such as NCAA Division I (Varnes et al. 2013). The finding suggests that female athletes consciously perceive the fact that society values toned female bodies over muscular female bodies, as toned bodies fit into the slim feminine aesthetic while muscularity does not, and higher level female athletes might feel more insecurity associated with increased body size, muscularity and athleticism (Krane et al. 2004).

Another study on body image found that although female athletes take lots of pride in their muscularity in an athletic setting, many of them struggle with the tension between femininity and muscularity in non-athletic social settings (Krane et al. 2004; Ross & Shinew 2008). Female athletes often feel insecure when women's clothing does not fit their muscular body (Krane et al. 2004). A few female athlete interviewees felt that muscularity often made them feel like they were marginalized from other women or girls and felt that society labeled them as "other" in the realm of clothing, femininity, and interpersonal relations (Krane et al. 2004). However, the study found that overall, female athletes affirmed that the "physical and psychological benefits" of competitive athletics outweighed the negative side effects of the female athlete paradox (Krane et al. 2004). The research on female athlete body image leads into a broader examination of the female athlete's identity.

According to Huml, *athletic identity* is defined as "the degree to which an individual identifies with the athletic role" (2018:376-77). For female athletes, this athletic identity is central to their self identity. Although female athletes must negotiate between traditional femininity and their athleticism, many studies confirm that female athletic participation increases empowerment and self-confidence (Krane et al. 2004; Ross & Shinew 2008). Female athletes also gain empowerment while playing an important role in the resistance of the dominant gender

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structure in society (Ross & Shinew 2008). Ross and Shinew (2008) found that although female athletes are aware of traditional gender expectations, their indirect rejection of hegemonic femininity and adoption of androgynous behaviors often creates increased acceptance for progressive gender norms. Female athletes play a tremendously important part in breaking down restrictive gender norms in society.

Media Coverage of Female Athletes

Media coverage is defined as “how a media source portrays subjects in regard to its choices and decisions in writing, placement, vocabulary and emphasis.” The media is an extremely powerful tool which shapes societal values and attitudes and also serves as a “socialization agent,” for the “emotional and moral development of youth” (Cunningham et al. 2004:861). Unfortunately, the media has demonstrated a historic pattern of inferior coverage in regards to both quantity and quality of female athlete media representation (Knight & Giuliano 2002; Ravel & Gareau 2016; Biscomb & Matheson 2019). Female athletes have often been trivialized, sexualized, objectified, undervalued, ignored and omitted by past media coverage (Bruce 2016; Biscomb & Matheson 2019). When media does focus on female athletes, popular topics to discuss include an athlete’s appearance, heterosexuality, emotionality, and traditionally feminine roles, such as being a daughter, wife or mother (Knight & Giuliano 2002). On the contrary, the mass media respectfully depicts male athletes as “powerful, independent, dominating and valued,” (Knight & Giuliano 2002:219). These media trends are functions and producers of sustained hegemonic masculinity in society.

Past studies found that female athletes receive approximately five to ten percent of total sports media coverage with this coverage increasing only during major sporting events such as the Commonwealth or Olympic Games (Cunningham et al. 2004; Huffman, Tuggle & Rosengard

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2004; Hardin et al. 2006; MacKay & Dallaire 2009; Bruce 2015). ESPN's *SportsCenter*, an extremely popular sports television program, only covers women's sports two percent of the time (Huffman et al. 2004; Billings et al. 2014). Additionally, the minor coverage of women's sports frequently contains themes of marginalization, trivialization, gender marking, infantilization and comparisons to men (Cunningham et al. 2004; MacKay & Dallaire 2009; Bruce 2016; Barnett 2017). Furthermore, men's sports teams often get recurrent coverage outside of major competitions regardless of their success; women's sports teams coverage is often focused on major competitions and is primarily dependent upon their success (Ravel & Gareau 2016). These recurring themes of unequal coverage have significant consequences for female athletes.

Framing theory best describes the media's power to shape society's perception of importance or irrelevance. The media creates frames of coverage which generate a "schema of interpretation" where individuals are influenced by the "selection and salience" of material which further existing narratives (Rightler-McDaniels 2014:1078). Frames have the power to define problems, suggest how to fix problems, make ethical and moral judgements and determine causation of societal issues (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). Framing most often occurs in the "production phase" of media; Rightler-McDaniels explains that "journalists and media professionals work under the veil of 'cultural principles' and 'cognitive schemata' to bestow meaning to the specific news events they cover" (2014:1078). Past research identifies five traditional media frames for female athletes: infantilization, emphasis of appropriate femininity, gender marking, heterosexuality and a focus on topics unrelated to sports (Ravel & Gareau 2016; Biscomb & Matheson 2019). Frames hold great "persuasive power" within society and often have the ability to change narratives and the public's perception of a media topic (Rightler-McDaniels 2014).

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Through framing, the media shapes societal values by “portraying the dominant images or symbolic representations of American society. These images in turn tell audiences who and what is valued and esteemed in our culture” (Kane 1988:89). An individual often learns and understands their role in society through interactions with media coverage (Weber & Carini 2012). Therefore, the media acts as an extremely important socialization agent for gender and sex roles. When the media omits women’s sports or covers it inadequately, the media sends a message to the public that women’s sports should not be valued (Weber & Carini 2012). Weber and Carini even describe deficient media coverage of women’s sports as “symbolic annihilation” (2012:197); omission of coverage sends potent messages. Alexander states that “it is often as if women in sport are invisible” (1994:655). The invisibility often leads to “assumption of inferiority” by the public (Kaskan & Ho 2016). Additionally, the media shapes societal values when it accepts and promotes the sexualization of female athletes (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). The recurring media theme advances the fundamentally sexist values of hegemonic masculinity while simultaneously objectifying women and trivializing their athletic abilities (Pedersen 2002; Kian et al. 2008). The media plays a key role in society’s understanding of what is valued and what is irrelevant; unfortunately, there are serious misconceptions about the merit and reality of women’s sports.

The media’s traditional framing of female athletes produces and reinforces hegemonic masculinity and its goal of “upholding antiquated definitions of gender and negative stereotypes of women who do not conform to traditional notions of femininity” (Kian, Mondello & Vincent 2009:478). The media’s dominating narratives about a female’s role in the traditional hegemonic gender structure also affect individual opinions and beliefs. According to Hardin et al., “mass media are key to the function of hegemony in the United States” (2006:431). The marginalization

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and trivialization of female athletes in the media secures male precedence in the realm of athletics (Buysse & Embser-Herbert 2004). The media's coverage decisions further promote hegemonic masculinity; by giving more coverage to traditionally feminine sports, such as gymnastics or figure skating, the media supports hegemonic femininity (Kaskan & Ho 2016). The media also uses sexualization to promote traditional values about female inferiority. Daniels states that "a way to limit female power is to sexualize and therefore, trivialize women athletes" (2009:402). Lastly, the media reinforces hegemonic femininity through the constant establishment of heterosexuality (Ravel & Gareau 2016). The media achieves the establishment of heterosexuality with interview questions about boyfriends, husbands or families and emphasizes appropriate femininity (Ravel & Gareau 2016).

Another media technique to strengthen hegemonic masculinity in regard to female athletes is called *infantilization*. One example of infantilization is when the media refers to female athletes by their first name while simultaneously referring to men by using their last name (Ravel & Gareau 2016). Another instance of this concept is when the media uses terms such as "girls" and "young" to describe female athletes (Kaskan & Ho 2016; Ravel & Gareau 2016). One study done by Ravel and Gareau examined the media's representation of female French national soccer players under Coach Bruno Bini during the 2011 Olympic Games (2016). The content analysis found strong themes of hegemonic masculinity through the use of possessive terminology. Phrases such as "Bini's girls" or "his girls" reinforced the orthodox gender hierarchy and emphasized the patriarchal concept that a male coach was in control of the female players (Ravel & Gareau 2016). The authors also found that the media emphasized heterosexuality in the reinforcement that the women were "subservient" to their male coach (Ravel & Gareau 2016). Male athletes are rarely treated or represented in this manner.

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Infantilization serves to devalue and demerit female athletes in order to preserve hegemonic femininity as the dominant gender ideology for women and to maintain male dominance in the realm of sports.

An additional media strategy to reinforce male dominance in sport is called *gender marking*. Gender marking in sport occurs when people refer to teams as either “men’s” or “women’s.” However, gender marking in sport occurs unequally among men’s and women’s teams (Biscomb & Matheson 2017). Ravel and Gareau’s study (2016) found that the French national soccer team website used the term “women’s football” to refer to the female national team while using “football” to refer to the male national team. The pattern of gender marking extends outside of this one example. The media, when engaging in asymmetrical gender marking, creates a disparity between male and female athletics and implies that the real version of the sport is the male version. Gender marking supports and furthers existing themes of gendered coverage inequality.

Female athletes do not receive adequate coverage due to the gendered themes that often emerge from media narratives (Wann et al. 1998). The topic of female athletes’ personal lives away from sport occurs often in the media. A study done by Carter, Casanova and Maume (2015) found that Olympian profiles from the 2008 Olympic Games media guide covered significantly more of female athletes’ personal information than that of the men. The increase of personal information took focus away from female athletes as world class athletes and emphasized their role as women with feminine hobbies (Carter et al. 2015). The researchers considered the inclusion of feminine hobbies to be apologetic behavior (Carter et al. 2015). The media’s portrayal of female athletes also emphasizes appropriate womanhood over an athlete identity (Biscomb & Matheson 2019). For example, Ravel and Gareau (2016) found that

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interview questions of the French women's national soccer team in 2011 were largely unrelated to sport; videos of the interviews had titles such as "Footballers and Fashionistas," "Footballers and Girls First and Foremost," and "Leisure after Football." In comparison, the media frequently uses powerful metaphors, such as war, to describe male athletes and their performance (Biscomb & Matheson 2019). Biscomb and Matheson state that even when appropriate descriptors are used in respect to female athletes, these descriptors are accompanied by "implicit references to dependency and being vulnerable and being anxious" (2019:261).

The media's focus on female athletes' familial or romantic relationships is unequal compared to male athletes; the media narrative is a primary reinforcer of hegemonic femininity and heterosexuality (Biscomb & Matheson 2019). According to Hardy (2015), the two accepted roles for women in society are sex object or mother; neither of these roles value a woman's athletic ability or their overall merit as an individual. Research done by Barnett (2017) and Cooky, Messner and Musto (2015) identifies that the media creates narratives of female athletes that highlight their roles as mothers, daughters and wives. These narratives further hegemonic femininity and emphasize that the female athlete's importance is found in the traditional role as a woman, not as an athlete.

Ambivalence is a destructive and extremely common theme found in media coverage of female athletes (Cooky et al. 2015; Bruce 2016). According to Bruce, "ambivalent coverage juxtaposes representations of sportswomen's physical skill, strength or competence against traditional femininity, weakness, incapacity and the inferior quality of women's sport" (2016:366). "Colorful commentary" is a significantly important aspect of the popularity and viewership of men's sports as it "plays an important role in generating excitement and ongoing interest" (Cooky et al. 2015). When the media frequently covers female sports in a

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“matter-of-fact, uninspiring, and lackluster manner,” the ambivalence sends a message to media consumers about the value and importance of female athletics and annihilates public interest (Cooky et al. 2015:263). Even despite the fact that women’s sports are competitive, engaging and impressive, media consumers are often influenced by the media’s inherent narrative that female sports are not worth the watch. The process results in continued marginalization for female sports and reinforces male dominance in the realm of athletics (Cooky et al. 2015).

Two linked media themes which decrease the coverage quality of female athletes are *trivialization* and comparison to men (Alexander 1994; Kian et al. 2008). Trivialization occurs, for example, when a female athlete beats an opponent but their success is ascribed to the opponent’s incompetence (Alexander 1994; Kaskan & Ho 2016). The narrative creates an assumption of inferiority, “the notion that women are less physically or mentally able than men” (Kaskan & Ho 2016:277). When a woman performs or competes in an excellent manner, the media often compares the female athlete to a successful male athlete. According to Biscomb and Matheson, the media often portrays the message that “women can only succeed if they achieve a male standard in sport” (2019:260). Male athletes are constantly included in print and broadcast discourse about female athletes; however, female athletes are rarely referenced in media focused on male athletes (Kian et al. 2008).

Kian et al. conducted an analysis of print media coverage of the 2016 March Madness basketball tournaments and the findings of the study were shockingly sexist. Two of the primary themes identified in the content analysis included “he was always on my mind” and “she must have played with boys to get that good” (Kian et al. 2016). The concept that a female athlete must compete against boys during youth in order to attain athletic excellence is problematic due to the implied certitude that “male athletes are physically better than female athletes and that this

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dominance begins during the formative years of childhood” (Kian et al. 2008:235). Existing research is extremely important in order to understand how hegemonic masculinity continues to prevail throughout the print and broadcast media coverage of female sports.

Photography is an extremely important aspect of the media’s power to communicate important messages about gender to society. According to Rightler-McDaniels, “photography is a signifying system that works to legitimate interests of hegemonic groups” and “media photographs do not merely create images, they construct differences between genders as though the differences are natural and commonsense” (2014:1076-78). Mass media images commonly depict and support the sexualization and marginalization of female athletes (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). Photo coverage of female athletes often separates them from male athletes and puts them into an “other” category (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). The “other” category serves to support the hegemonic gender order (Rightler-McDaniels 2014). One study on high school sports coverage found that articles focused on female athletes were given less prominent article placement and were also less likely to include a photograph (Pedersen 2002). Another study found that the NCAA, the prominent association for United States collegiate athletics, published a media guide that portrayed hegemonic femininity and devalued the female athletes’ athleticism (Buysse & Embser-Herbert 2004). Photo coverage of female athletes is a major problem in society which contributes significantly to the toxic expectations of the hegemonic gender order.

Kaskan and Ho define sexual objectification as “the act of reducing a woman to her body or body parts with the misperception that her body or body parts are capable of representing the woman as a whole” (2016:278). Unfortunately, sexualization and sexual objectification are extremely common in modern society. The American Psychological Association published a task force report in 2007 which found sexualization in “almost every form of media, including

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television, music videos, music lyrics, movies, magazines, sport media, video games, internet and advertising” (Daniels 2009:403). Studies have found that even the most popular sports media companies, such as Sports Illustrated, demonstrate blatant sexualization of female athletes (Weber & Carini 2012). The sexualization of female athletes serves to deprecate perceptions of a female’s athletic abilities in order to reinforce patriarchal dominance in sports (Daniels 2009).

The sexualization of female athletes supports outdated values of hegemonic masculinity and empowers nobody. One study demonstrates that sexualized images of female athletes have a negative influence on female viewers’ body image and cause psychological distress; however, performance photos of female athletes serve as a positive influence on women’s perceptions of their own bodily abilities and also lead to less self-objectification (Daniels 2009). Higher self objectification in female adolescents was associated with worse motor performance on a softball throwing task despite having prior athletic experience controlled for (Daniels 2009). The study found that girls with higher levels of self-objectification “moved their bodies in restricted ways” and the author hypothesized that these girls may avoid sport participation as a result and may “miss out on the many physical and psychological benefits of being physically active” (Daniels 2009:416-417). The results of these studies clearly show the benefits of portraying female athletes in action; all athletes, both male and female, are “viewed as less capable and aggressive” when the focus of the media is on their appearance (Kaskan & Ho 2016). According to Buysse and Embser-Herbert, the media has a “responsibility to act as social agents in the transformation of athletic images by reflecting the reality of the female athletic experience. That reality is best reflected by constructing images of female athletes that emphasize their athletic competence in sports” (2004:80).

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Educational flaws in the sports media industry contribute to how inequality is reproduced. A study done by Hardin et al. found that many sports journalism textbooks are outdated and the majority of stories and athletes represent men's professional sports (2006). In the few instances where female athletes are included, the textbook depicts them primarily playing individual, non-contact sports (Hardin et al. 2006). The study also found that men constituted eighty-one percent of all photos in the textbooks (Hardin et al. 2006). The lack of female representation in sports journalism textbooks communicates to student journalists that women do not belong in the sports field (Huffman et al. 2004). The absence of women in the textbook is just as symbolic as the presence of men. According to Hardin et al., "symbolic representations in journalism textbooks are often used to reinforce cultural hegemony in the same ways as the general mass media" (2006:433). The sports media industry must fix its teaching tools to avoid continued reproduction of hegemonic masculinity.

While inequality continues to taint mass media coverage of female athletes, a study by Cooky et al. provides some key points where progress can be made in the next five years: "equitable quantity of coverage, rough equivalence in presentation quality of women's sports (game footage, graphics, interviews, enthusiasm)" and the hiring of sports anchors who will be motivated to make improvements (2015:281). Another solution is promoting the social media accounts of female athletes. On social media, every athlete is able to "emphasize their brawn, their beauty, and their brands" to media consumers on their own terms without having to deal with inaccurate or sexist framing by third party media producers (Barnett 2017:105). These solutions must be implemented and others must be created; female athletes deserve respectful and accurate media coverage.

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Although there is still a lot of improvement to be made in the quality and quantity of female athletes media coverage, a model for progress currently exists; not all media sources display trends of trivialization and marginalization of female athletes. A study done by MacKay and Dallaire (2009) revealed that college campus media depict “women as serious athletes and have fewer gender differences in media representations” (2009:25). The study also found that female athletes receive more coverage than male athletes in the student press (MacKay & Dallaire 2009). The student press could set an important precedent for the mass media in covering male and female athletes equitably. The current study will build upon these previous findings in order to gain more understanding about the student press’ coverage of both male and female athletes.

HYPOTHESES

The aim of this research is to examine patterns of media coverage of the student press in relation to collegiate female athletes and build upon past research. Based on existing literature on mass media coverage of female athletes, the study hypothesizes that a content analysis of sports print media from the student press at two NCAA Division III institutions will find the following:

Hypothesis 1: Females are more likely to write articles that focus on female athletes.

Hypothesis 2: Males are more likely to write articles that focus on male athletes.

Hypothesis 3: Gender of the player or team affects the number of times emotion is referenced in an article and occurs more frequently in articles about female athletes or teams.

Hypothesis 4: There are more articles that focus on male athletes than female athletes.

Hypothesis 5: Infantilization is more likely to occur in female-focused articles than male-focused articles.

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Hypothesis 6: Gender marking is more likely to occur in female-focused articles than male-focused articles.

Hypothesis 7: Comparisons of female athletes to male athletes are made more frequently than comparisons of male athletes to female athletes.

Hypothesis 8: Comparisons of male athletes to female athletes do not occur.

Hypothesis 9: Trivialization occurs frequently in articles about female athletes.

Hypothesis 10: Trivialization does not occur in articles about male athletes.

Hypothesis 11: Male-focused articles are more likely to include a photo than female-focused articles.

Hypothesis 12: Action shots are more likely to feature male athletes while posed photographs are more likely to feature female athletes.

Hypothesis 13: Female athletes demonstrate apologetic behavior in posed photos.

Hypothesis 14: All articles are more likely to be published under a male sports editor than a female sports editor.

Hypothesis 15: Articles about male athletes are longer than articles about female athletes.

METHODS

Research Design

In this study, I performed a content analysis of sixty articles from both Emory University's student press, the *Emory Wheel*, and Johns Hopkins' student press, the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter*. Content analysis as a methodology is used in many studies that examine similar research questions around gender (Alexander 1994; Kane 1998; Wann et al. 1998; Pedersen 2002; Buysse & Embser-Herbert 2004; Cunningham et al. 2004; Huffman et al. 2004; Kian et al. 2008; MacKay & Dallaire 2009; Weber & Carini 2012; Rightler-McDaniels 2014;

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Carter et al. 2015; Dafferner et al. 2019). The method provides both a quantitative and qualitative scope of important elements within each article, including the author's gender, the covered team or player's gender, the number of references to both positive and negative emotion, the frequency of gender marking, occurrences of trivialization, instances of infantilization, comparisons of athletes to athletes of a different gender, whether a picture was included in each article, whether the pictured athlete was photographed in action, occurrences of apologetic behavior in posed photos and the average length of each article based on gender of the covered athlete. These aspects of each article are important in the broader perspective of how gender is covered in the student press and led to important analyses which provided answers to the fifteen hypotheses of this study.

Table 1 here

Sample

The sample ($N=60$) includes thirty articles from the *Emory Wheel*, Emory University's student press and thirty articles from the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, John Hopkins University's student press. Articles published from three points in time throughout the traditional academic calendar, April, October and December, are included in the sample. I chose those three time points in order to include in-season articles of every collegiate sport offered at the two institutions. October covers the fall sports season, December covers the winter sports season and April covers the spring sports season. Articles from these three months constitute a representative sample of all sports articles published throughout the school year. I excluded any article that does not focus on a collegiate team or player; examples include an article on a professional sports team or an article which featured a discussion about domestic sport policy. I

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also excluded any article that focuses on multiple teams or athletes of different genders, such as an article which examines the success of both men's and women's soccer.

Operationalization and Measures

The independent variable, gender, is operationalized by the incidence of the words "male" or "female" used to describe or modify the description of 1) an athlete or team, 2) the author of each article and 3) the sports editor of the article. I used the term "men's" or "women's" before the sport name on the Emory or Johns Hopkins athletics website to classify the team or athlete as either male or female. I also used the online roster of each collegiate team to classify each athlete as either male or female. I used profiles and information from student media sites and university databases to determine the gender of each writer and editor of the articles.

I operationalized the dependent variable, media coverage, by collecting data on many different elements of each article. First, I found each reference to emotion and classified each reference as either positive or negative emotion. Next, I identified each occurrence of gender marking, infantilization, athlete comparison and trivialization. I also recorded whether a picture was included and whether the pictured athlete was in action or posed. I then examined all photos for occurrences of apologetic behavior among posed athletes. Lastly, I recorded the number of characters, words and sentences of each article.

Data Collection

For data collection, I started by browsing the most recent sports article headlines in the sports section of the *Emory Wheel* website. I examined the headline of each article and the date from the sports section page in reverse chronological order. When I saw an article which was published in either April, October and December and featured a single collegiate athlete or team,

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I printed the website page and saved it as a PDF file in a folder on my desktop. Once I collected thirty Emory Wheel articles, I moved to the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter* website and collected thirty articles in the same manner. I saved every article PDF under a specific numeric code system which organized each PDF by date and source. Then, I analyzed all sixty articles for relevant variable content in MAXQDA software until each variable and article was completed. Once the data was collected from all articles, the MAXQDA data was converted to an Excel file and uploaded into SPSS Statistics software for further analysis.

Data Analysis

I conducted thirteen statistical tests in SPSS Statistics software to test the fifteen hypotheses. I used a chi-square test of independence to test for association between categorical variables and a one-way ANOVA to compare the means between groups of quantitative variables. The methodology for conducting the statistical analyses is supported by the fact that a chi-square test is the most common statistical test for content analyses (Pedersen 2002). I also used descriptive statistical analyses in order to gain understanding about the data and create descriptive tables.

RESULTS

The analysis found that sixty percent of the articles ($n = 36$) focused on female athletes or teams with an average of over three and a half references to emotion per article ($M = 3.89$). Only forty percent of articles ($n = 24$) focused on male athletes or teams; these articles averaged just under two and a half references to emotion per article ($M = 2.46$). The analysis also found that female-presenting sports writers wrote about twenty-three percent of articles in the sample ($n = 14$) while male-presenting sports writers wrote approximately seventy-six percent of the articles ($n = 46$).

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Table 2 here

A chi square test found Hypothesis 1, which predicted that female-presenting sports writers would be more likely to write articles focused on female athletes and teams, insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $X^2(2, n = 60) = 1.640, p = .440$. Hypothesis 2, which predicted that male-presenting sports writers would be more likely to write articles focused on male athletes and teams, was also insignificant. A one-way ANOVA found Hypothesis 3, which theorized that the gender of the player and team significantly affects the number of times emotion is referenced in an article, insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 2.366, p = 0.129$, despite female articles averaging more emotional references ($M = 3.833, SD = 2.913$) than male articles ($M = 2.792, SD = 1.933$). The finding partially supported the hypothesis. Another important finding was that although the gender of the team and athlete did not significantly affect the overall references to emotion, gender did affect the number of references to positive emotion within the articles at a statistically significant level. The one-way ANOVA found this relationship significant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 4.368, p = 0.041$.

Tables 3-5 here

Hypothesis 4, which predicted that there would be more articles about male athletes than female athletes, fails to be supported with sixty percent of articles focused on female athletes ($n = 36$) and only forty percent focused on male athletes ($n = 24$). A one-way ANOVA found Hypothesis 5, which postulated that infantilization would be more likely to be found in articles about female athletes, was insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.663, p = 0.419$. The single instance of trivialization occurred as a reference to female cross country athletes as “girls” instead of “women” by a female-presenting sportswriter when discussing a

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race with a female athlete ($n = 1$). A one-way ANOVA found Hypothesis 6, which predicted that gender marking would be more likely to occur in female-focused articles than male-focused articles, insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.009$, $p = 0.925$ despite instances of gender marking occurring more frequently with female sports ($n = 31$) than male sports ($n = 20$). A one-way ANOVA also found gender marking sports in the title of articles insignificant in regards to gender at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.124$, $p = 0.726$. An additional finding was that out of all references to athletics teams, there were only two cases where sports were not gender marked. One instance of this was in regards to the Emory women's soccer team and the other case was in reference to the Emory men's tennis team.

Table 6 here

A paired samples t-test found Hypothesis 7, which postulated that comparisons of female athletes to male athletes would be made more frequently than male to female references, insignificant as well. There was not a significant difference in the number of comparisons of female athletes to male athletes ($M = 0.03$, $SD = 0.181$) and comparisons of male athletes to female athletes ($M = 0.02$, $SD = 0.129$), $t(59) = 0.574$, $p = 0.568$. Hypothesis 8, which predicted that no male athletes would be compared to female athletes, fails to be supported due to one single instance of a comparison of the men's tennis team to the women's tennis team ($n = 1$). A one-way ANOVA found Hypothesis 9 and 10, which hypothesized that trivialization would occur frequently in articles about female athletes while never occurring in articles about male athletes, insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 1.091$, $p = 0.301$. Instances of trivialization did, however, occur more frequently in female-focused articles ($n = 6$) compared to male-focused articles ($n = 1$). Hypothesis 11 predicted that male-focused articles would be more likely to include a photo than female-focused articles. A chi square test of independence, $X^2(1, n$

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= 60) = 0.567, $p = .451$, found that male-focused articles were not significantly more likely to include a photo than female-focused articles. Female-focused articles actually included a photo sixty-four percent of the time ($n = 23$) while male-focused articles only included a photo fifty-four percent of the time ($n = 13$).

Tables 7-9 here

Hypothesis 12 postulated that action photographs would most likely feature male athletes while posed photographs would most likely feature female athletes. A chi square test of independence found the hypothesis insignificant, $X^2(1, n = 60) = 3.403, p = .182$. Female athletes were pictured in action fifty-seven percent of the time in female-focused photos ($n = 13$) and were posed in forty-three percent of female-focused photos ($n = 10$). Male athletes, however, were pictured in action eighty-five percent of the time ($n = 11$) and were only pictured posed in a mere fifteen percent ($n = 2$) of male-focused photos. One additional and unexpected finding was that approximately forty-six percent of the female-focused action photos depicted volleyball players ($n = 6$).

Figures 1-2 here

Hypothesis 13 predicted that female athletes would demonstrate apologetic behavior in posed photos. The hypothesis was supported by the data with a content analysis of the posed photos included with female-focused articles. Out of the eleven posed photos of female athletes, twenty-seven percent of the pictured athletes wore jewelry ($n = 3$), sixty-four percent wore their hair down ($n = 7$), and fifty-five percent wore their hair down in front of their shoulders ($n = 6$). Hypothesis 14 theorized that all articles would be more likely to be published under a male-presenting sports editor than a female-presenting sports editor. While there is data to support this prediction in the case of all thirty *Emory Wheel* articles, as every single one of the

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articles was published under a male-presenting sports editor, the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter* employs three students in this position, with one of them being female-presenting. Even if the three sports editors distributed editing responsibilities equally, then the articles in this study were published under a female-presenting sports editor only seventeen percent of the time. However, this conclusion is a very difficult assumption to make without contacting the paper directly and this hypothesis must remain inconclusive.

Figure 3 here

The last hypothesis, Hypothesis 15, predicts that articles about male athletes will be longer than articles about female athletes. I tested this hypothesis by using three different elements of the articles: character count, word count and sentence count. A one-way ANOVA to test word count and the effect of gender found the results insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.015$, $p = 0.904$. The second one-way ANOVA to test sentence count and the effect of gender was also insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.005$, $p = 0.947$. The final one-way ANOVA to test character count and the effect of gender was also insignificant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, $F(1,58) = 0.002$, $p = 0.963$. The finding means that there was no statistically significant difference between the word count, sentence count and character count of articles written about female athletes and male athletes.

Despite the fact that only one of the fifteen hypotheses were fully supported, multiple frequency-based findings partially supported the initial predictions. For example, female-focused articles referenced emotion approximately one more time per article than male-focused articles. The study also found that male athletes were depicted in action eighty-five percent of the time while female athletes were depicted in action only fifty-seven percent of the time. The study also found that seventy-five percent of articles ($n = 45$) were written by male sports writers. The

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finding is aligned with conclusions of existing literature in the sports journalism field. One surprising yet important analysis found that sixty percent of the articles in the study ($n = 36$) were written about female athletes and teams in comparison to a mere forty percent of articles written about male athletes and teams ($n = 24$). The finding confirms existing literature that collegiate media often covers female athletes more than male athletes. The results of this analysis provide results that both support and contradict the fifteen hypotheses of the study. However, the contradictory results are actually extremely positive in regards to the current state of collegiate media and provide critical insight into the current quality of student sports journalism at universities. These results also show that mass media trends do not necessarily extend to university presses. Both predicted and surprising outcomes are beneficial in the greater understanding of the student media's coverage of female athletes.

CONCLUSIONS

Although only one of the fifteen hypotheses was fully supported, a few findings did support the study's initial predictions. Female-focused articles referenced emotion more than male-focused articles and male-athletes were depicted in action at a much higher percentage than female-athletes in photos. These findings strongly align with past literature and are important in understanding how the student press portrays male and female athletes differently. Collegiate media plays a big role in the socialization of future journalists and it is crucial that gendered differences in the student media's coverage of athletes are recognized and fixed.

Another finding that provides more insight into the current state of female athlete affairs is the frequent occurrence of apologetic behavior among female athletes in posed photographs. The apologetic behavior, demonstrated in the form of wearing jewelry and wearing one's hair down and in front of the shoulders, shows the impact of the gendered expectations which are

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often produced through the mass media. The behavior is supported by the literature as a direct mechanism in conforming to standards of femininity. The finding provides insight into the fact that female athletes continue to be affected and shaped by societal expectations even within the context of collegiate athletics.

The lack of female leadership in positions of authority within campus media sports departments requires further discussion. Although the *Johns Hopkins News-Letter* has one female-presenting individual in a sports editor position, the female-presenting editor works alongside two male-presenting counterparts in the same role. The *Emory Wheel* has no female-presenting leadership in the sports section of the publication. These examples follow a similar theme of the literature; although progress is being made at the entry level or in standard sports writing positions, female-presenting individuals are not being placed into leadership positions within sports journalism. The absence of women in sports journalism leadership positions must be corrected within the collegiate media culture. Young journalists develop important skills in leadership roles within the collegiate media and women need to experience more leadership opportunities within this field. Amateur settings develop strong leadership skills and sports journalism is no different. Without female leadership in the sports department of collegiate media, full-time female-presenting sports journalists will have a much more difficult time acquiring and succeeding in leadership positions within the mass media.

The majority of the fifteen hypotheses not being supported by the data from the collegiate media sources is an extremely positive finding. The majority of hypotheses in the study are based upon problematic and recurring themes in the mass media and constructed upon past research and literature; the lack of statistical support is an optimistic conclusion. Although the sample size ($N = 60$) may have contributed to a few of the insignificant results, this outcome conveys that the

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student presses examined in this study are significantly more gender progressive than the mass media. Progression is a satisfactory finding, especially due to the fact that student journalists represent the next generation of sports writers and editors.

The lack of trivialization, infantilization, inequitable gender marking, comparison of female athletes to male athletes and coverage inequality within the collegiate media is an important finding of the content analysis. These aspects of the mass media coverage of female athletes have negative effects on societal perceptions of the public. Respectable and equitable coverage in the media creates a positive effect on media consumers and further the cause for the progression of female sports and appreciation for hard-working and deserving female athletes.

The student media's progressive and less gendered coverage of athletes is a critical example for the mass media. The next generation of sports writers must learn from the mistakes of the mass media and provide adequate media coverage for all athletes; these values must be ingrained in the foundations of student presses and socialized into the media. Sports journalists must identify and correct sexist themes in current and past mass media sports coverage of female athletes. These findings should also motivate media companies to hire young and progressive sports journalists who can cover sports in a representative and equitable manner. While these findings are somewhat limited due to a small sample size of articles and student press sources, more research is necessary to support these findings by using additional student press sources and increasing the quantity of articles in the sample.

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Table 1. Description of Each Variable

Variable Name	Description of Variable
GENDERA	Gender of player or team that the article covers
GENDERW	Gender of the writer of the article
EMOTOT	Total number of references to emotion in each article
EMOPOS	Number of references to positive emotion in each article
EMONEG	Number of references to negative emotion in each article
INFANT	Total occurrences of infantilization in each article
TRIVIA	Total occurrences of trivialization in each article
GMARKA	Total occurrences of gender marking per article
GMARKT	Total occurrences of gender marking per article title
FCOMPM	Total occurrences of comparisons of females to males
MCOMPF	Total occurrences of comparisons of males to females
PHOTO	Whether the article includes a photo (Y/N)
ACTION	Whether the photo is in action or posed
APOLOGY	Whether a posed female athlete demonstrates apologetic behavior (Y/N)
EDITOR	Gender of the sports editor of the article
CHARACTER	Number of characters in each article
WORD	Number of words in each article
SENTENCE	Number of sentences in each article

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Table 2. Article Frequency by Gender of Covered Team or Player

Gender	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	36	60	60
Male	24	40	100
Total	60	100	100

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Table 3. Gender of Covered Team or Player by Gender of Writer

Gender	Male Athlete/Team	Female Athlete/Team	Total
Male Author	18	28	46
Female Author	6	8	14
Total	24	36	60

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Table 4. Gender of Covered Team or Player and Emotional References

Gender of Team	Negative Emotion References	Positive Emotion References	Total Emotional References
Male	16	43	59
Female	14	126	140

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Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Total Emotional References by Gender of Athlete or Team

Athlete/Team Gender	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Lower Bound of 95% Mean Confidence Interval	Upper Bound of 95% Mean Confidence Interval	Minimum	Maximum
Male	24	2.792	1.933	0.395	1.975	3.608	0	7
Female	36	3.833	2.913	0.486	2.848	4.819	0	12
Total	60	3.417	2.599	0.336	2.745	4.088	0	12

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Table 6. One-Way ANOVA Test Results by Hypothesis and Variables Tested

Hypothesis	Variable #1	Variable #2	Between Groups df	Within Groups df	F Value	Significance
#3	GENDERA	EMOTOT	1	58	2.366	0.129
#3	GENDERA	EMOPOS	1	58	4.368	0.041*
#5	GENDERA	INFANT	1	58	0.663	0.419
#6	GENDERA	GMARKA	1	58	0.009	0.925
#6	GENDERA	GMARKT	1	58	0.124	0.726
#9	GENDERA	TRIVIA	1	58	1.365	0.248
#10	GENDERA	TRIVIA	1	58	1.365	0.248
#15	GENDERA	WORD	1	58	0.015	0.904
#15	GENDERA	SENTENCE	1	58	0.005	0.947
#15	GENDERA	CHARACTER	1	58	0.002	0.963

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Table 7. Total Variable Occurrences in Articles

Variable	Total Number (N)	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
FCOMPM	60	1	0	1	0.03	0.181
INFANT	60	1	0	1	0.02	0.129
TRIVIA	60	3	0	3	0.12	0.454
MCOMPF	60	1	0	1	0.02	0.129

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Table 8. Chi Square Test Results by Hypothesis and Variables Tested

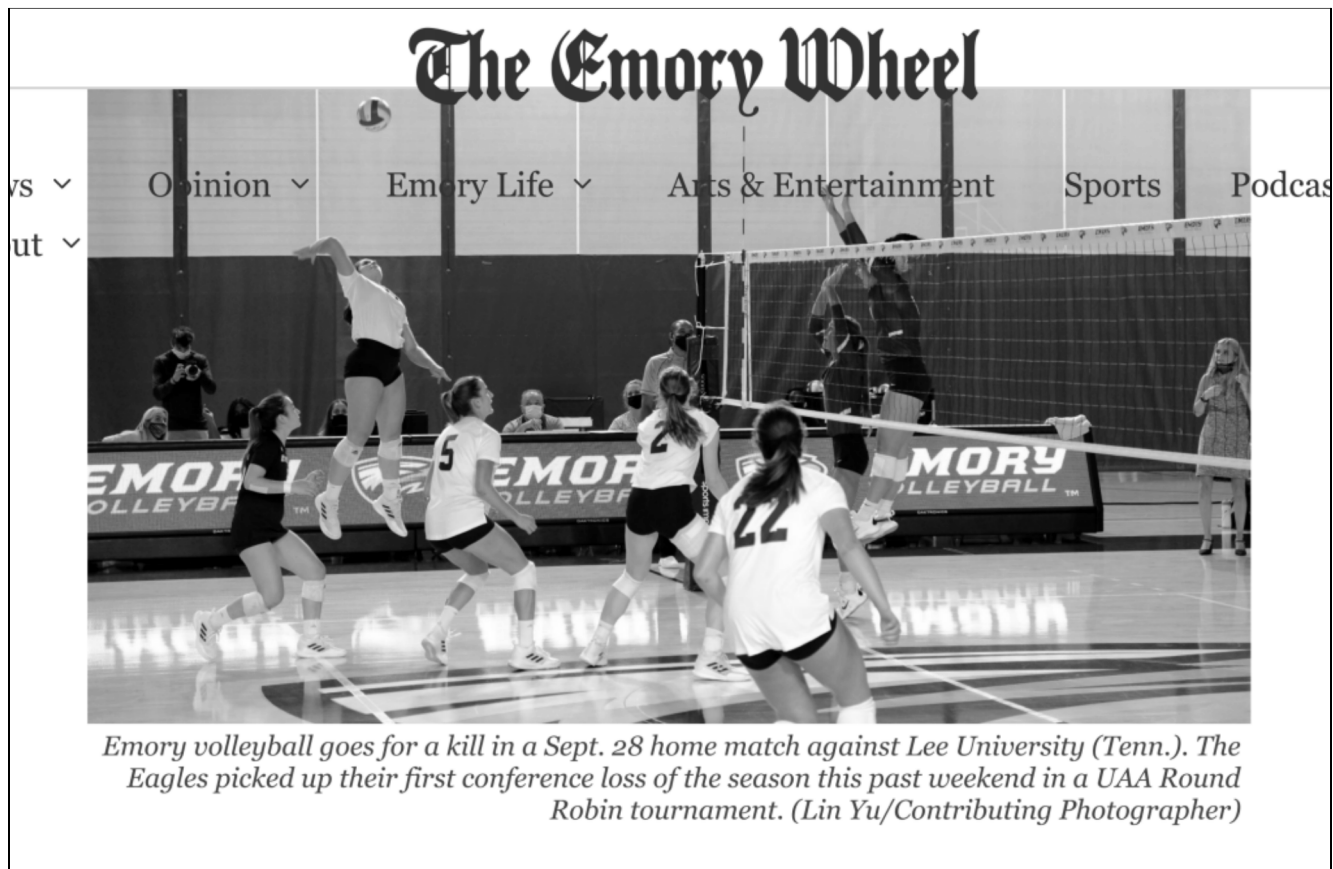
Hypothesis	Variable #1	Variable #2	Value	df	Significance
#1	GENDERW	GENDERA	1.640	2	0.440
#2	GENDERW	GENDERA	1.640	2	0.440
#11	GENDERA	PHOTO	0.567	1	0.451
#12	GENDERA	ACTION	3.403	1	0.182

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Table 9. Textual Examples of Variables within Articles

Variable	Textual Example of Occurrence in Articles
TRIVIA	Bliss was at the heart of that run, but the Jays were aided by even more errors from Ursinus. As was the case for much of the match, Hopkins simply had to let Ursinus beat themselves.
TRIVIA	That's not meant to diminish what the team did this game, but Ursinus certainly made it easier for the Blue Jays.
TRIVIA	In doubles, freshman Christina Watson and sophomore Stephanie Taylor faced little resistance from their opponent. With several aces from Watson, the duo secured an 8-3 victory.
INFANT	One standout of the meet is senior captain Ella Baran picking off three girls in the final stretch of the race to land herself in ninth place – earning crucial points for the Blue Jays.
FCOMPM	The Jays shot a Stephen Curry-like 48.4 percent from the floor.
MCOMPF	The men's team experienced similar success to the women's team in the doubles draw.
GMARKA	The Hopkins women's soccer team went into their matchup with the Swarthmore College Garnet this past Saturday looking to increase their winning streak to three games.
GMARKA	The Emory men's soccer team demolished Piedmont College (Ga.) 5-0 at home on Oct. 27, bouncing back from a 1-0 away loss on Oct. 20.
GMARKT	Men's swimming wins against NJIT after over a year of not competing
GMARKT	Goals for Girls: Emory women's soccer supports Reclaim Childhood
EMOPOS	"I was so happy with how the whole team refused to give up."
EMOPOS	Korslund echoed the sentiment, saying that the team had a feeling of excitement, rather than nervousness.
EMOPOS	Wallace is hopeful about the road ahead for her team.
EMONEG	"And I think we were all frustrated about how close the game was, but at the end of the day, a win's a win, and we're going to take it and move onto the next one."
EMONEG	The injury was devastating, not only because the team lost Hada, but because the Blue Jay roster only consists of 10 players, and needs everyone at full strength.
EMONEG	"It is difficult joining a new team and adapting to a tougher game in college."

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Figure 1. Action Photo of an Emory Volleyball Athlete from *The Emory Wheel*

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Figure 2. Posed Photo of a Men's Cross Country Athlete from *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*



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Figure 3. Three Examples of Female Apologetic Behavior in a Posed Photo from *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*

