

A GENDER STUDY OF WOMEN AS
CREDIBLE SOURCES IN
SPORTS MEDIA

By

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

The different roles of women in sports seem to be changing faster than ever before. Events such as the debut of the magazine *Sports Illustrated for Women*, the women's professional basketball league, the increasing television presence of female sportscasters, and the popularity of soccer and other historically "masculine" sports among girls and women reflect their changing roles in sports. Nevertheless, on many levels, it appears that women are still not keeping pace with men.

For example, currently women account for about 46% of the total labor force participants, and about 44% of all management and supervisory jobs at Fortune 500 companies are filled by women (US Labor Department, 1997). Although almost half of the management positions in Fortune 500 companies are filled by women; in the sports industry a significantly smaller number of women are represented in management positions. In 1998, only 22% of executives running sports information programs were women (Neupauer, 1998).

Although sports public relations is one of the fastest growing fields today, women do not appear to be holding a proportionate number of top management jobs in the sports industry. The 1997 Racial Report Card found no notable increase in the intensity of the effort to change front office and on-field hiring practices in professional sports to include more women (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998).

Many female industry insiders have been quoted in the popular press about the gender issues they face. Martina Navratilova, a former professional tennis player who

won 18 grand slam tennis singles titles, said that "Sports is like the last bastion of machismo and women are creeping in there and men don't really like it. And some women are uncomfortable with it as well" (Carpenter, 1998).

One area where women in sports seem to be gaining ground, at least on the surface, is in media coverage. Many articles in the popular press highlight the increased popularity of women's sports. Katherine N. Kinnick (1998), who compared newspaper coverage of male and female athletes during the 1996 Summer Olympic Games, believes that journalistic practices may be catching up with contemporary social attitudes by reflecting greater acceptance of women and girls in sport. (Kinnick, 1998).

In her book chapter titled, Growing Up With Gender Discrimination in Sports, Donna Lopiano (1995) noted that, "We must work to increase media coverage of women's sports and encourage more balanced coverage of men's and women's sports" (p. 91-92). Lopiano goes on to explain that when girl athlete images are omitted from traditional media, girls will not know that female sports participation is valued; therefore, girls and women will not strive to excel in sports. She notes that by not participating in sports, girls will miss important opportunities to develop leadership and teamwork skills that are necessary for success as adults (Lopiano, 1995).

Despite a trend toward increased coverage of women in sports, inequities remain in the amount and type of coverage women receive when compared to men. With respect to sports, gender differences in the amount and type of coverage men and women receive has been identified as one type of gender bias (Kinnick, 1998). A significant body of literature documenting the phenomenon of gender bias in sports media has emerged from media scholars, feminist scholars and sports sociologists (Kinnick, 1998). Studies of

gender in sports coverage show two consistent patterns relating to representation. “First, female athletes receive disproportionately less coverage than male athletes, and second, media over represent women in ‘feminine’ sports and under represent those in sports seen as inconsistent with cultural images of femininity” (Kinnick, 1998, p. 213).

In her study of media portrayals of male and female Olympic athletes, Judy Lee (1991) explained that lack of coverage is a way of denying power to women, which results in decreased credibility of women in the sports field. Many of the studies of female athletes in the news media look at the “amount” of coverage, but only a few look at how female athletes are “framed” and other more descriptive aspects of the coverage. In addition to lack of coverage, the manner in which females are reported about and used as sources of information in sports stories may be another way of denying power to women. This thesis will focus on one aspect of this issue: How women are quoted in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories.

As Lee (1991) noted:

While women have made significant advances in athletics at all levels of competition since the turn of the century, the increased rates of participation are not accurately reflected in media representations of female sport performances and achievements. . . . Depictions reveal a profound ambivalence in the reporting of women’s sports, something not present in the reporting of men’s sports. Positive portrayals of sportswomen are combined with subtly negative suggestions. Such trivialization is a way of denying power to women (p. 2).

Significance

The print media are an influential socializing agent. Through the values, ideas and attitudes they present, they may encourage social integration and change or perpetuate myths, biases, and stereotypes (Urquhard & Crossman, 1998). *Sports Illustrated* is a print medium targeted to male readers. *Sports Illustrated* had a readership of 24,813,000 in 1998, which was about 12.7% of the U.S. population. Of those readers, almost 78% were male and 22% were female (*Sports Illustrated*, 1998). Whatever its readership audience, as a top sports magazine, *Sports Illustrated* has the potential for significant social influence.

News editors believe sports news is of interest to male readers (Salwen & Wood, 1994). As a result, sports magazines may be more likely to neglect the concerns of women than other sections (McChesney, 1989). For example, the proportion of coverage male and female sports figures and events receive in print media is more accurately reflective of participation rates than it once was, but is still heavily slanted in favor of males (Kinnick, 1998; Salwen & Wood, 1994). This “out of proportion” coverage of males and females, though improving, has been identified and labeled as gender bias in sports media (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Urquart & Crossman, 1999). In addition to this fairly obvious form of bias, subtle types of gender bias may also exist in the print media’s coverage of sports. For example, uneven distribution of coverage of women in “female appropriate” individual sports and men into team sports and certain “male appropriate” individual sports “reinforces the notion of patriarchal relations so that power is accorded to men and denied to women” (Lee, 1991, p. 4).

Gender bias can also be classified as traditional or subtle. Meertens and Pettigrew (1997) provide useful descriptions of these two types of bias. Traditional bias is described as blatant; "It is hot, close and direct" (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997, p. 54). In contrast, subtle gender bias was described by Meertens and Pettigrew (1997) as ". . .cool, distant, and indirect" (p. 54). Subtle bias is further described as covert and is typically hidden from those who adopt these beliefs because the bias is expressed in socially acceptable ways (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). This thesis further explores the existence of subtle forms of gender bias in the sports media by examining the gender of sources who provided quotes in 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*. Reporters use direct quotes to establish the credibility of their stories, which are considered to represent general social values, ideas and attitudes (Mencher, 1994). Whether or not females were used as sources for direct quotes is important because, when quotes are used, they provide an avenue for females to establish themselves as reliable sources for sports information. Alternatively, if women were not quoted or only quoted rarely, they have little opportunity to establish themselves as credible sources.

Even when women are used as sources for quotes, it does not necessarily follow that the quotes will help establish women as credible sports sources. The content of the quote must be considered. In fact, it has been argued that a quote might enhance or undermine the credibility of a source depending on its context and content (Lee, 1991).

Research Problem

This thesis examined sports reporting by looking at the extent to which reporters rely on women as sources for quotes in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. This research task was accomplished by, first, comparing the frequency of quotes attributed to

men verses women in a popular sports magazine. Then, the potential of quote content to undermine or enhance the credibility of female sources was explored by examining descriptive aspects of its content by comparing the content of quotes attributed to men verses women on all cover story topics. Finally, framing analysis examined the language use of the quoted female sources.

Cover stories were selected because they are the most prominent feature of any magazine (Christ & Johnson, 1985).

The most basic functions of the cover are to differentiate a magazine from its competitors and to sell that magazine to its appropriate audience. . . . It follows that covers represent magazine producers' conceptions and understandings of their readers' interests and needs (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983, p.208).

The findings of this thesis will help to determine if reporters tend to include quotes from male and female sources as information for stories in sports newsmagazine coverage. Specifically, comparison of the amount and content of quotes from male and female sources will provide information on whether one possible type of subtle bias in the print media was present. Additionally, how women frame their responses in their quotes provides some insight into what continues to be a predominantly male dominant ideology in the American sports world.

Research Questions

1. In 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories, do stories more often contain quotes from men or women?
2. Were quotes attributed to male sources more likely to include personal content or professional content?
3. Were quotes attributed to female sources more likely to include personal content or professional content?

4. Were men or women more often the subject of direct quotations?
5. Was the reporter's gender more often male or female?
6. When females were quoted, what did the content and the context of their language use depict or convey about their role and function in American society?

Scope and Limitations

This study is a content analysis and interpretative examination of quotes contained in 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*. Yet, this study has certain limitations. The articles analyzed for this thesis were limited to one magazine, *Sports Illustrated*. Also, only cover stories were evaluated, and only cover stories from 1998 were included. *Sports Illustrated* was selected because it is the premier sports newsmagazine in the U.S. (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Salwen & Wood, 1994). Yet, while *Sports Illustrated* has one of the largest readerships in the sports market, it is not the only sports magazine or the only source for sporting news. There are other magazines, newspapers, networks and other methods of communication. This study speaks only for *Sports Illustrated* articles.

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the emerging and/or still submerged role of women in sports. Although content analysis is a popular method of research, because it is unobtrusive (Babbie, 1992, p. 328), the process itself also has some limitations. Reliability is a limitation of content analysis. Failure to achieve reliability in a content analysis means replication by the same or by other researchers will be difficult, if not impossible (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998, p. 105). To enhance the ability of the study to be

replicated, a modified version of an existing coding system with demonstrated reliability was used for the content analysis portion of this study.

Another limitation of the research approach used in this study involves the theory of gatekeeping in mass communication theory. The quotes examined in this study were filtered through a gatekeeper (i.e., a reporter and an editor, at least). Therefore, the quotes studied did not come directly from the source. It must also be assumed that the reporter and/or editor put the quotes in an accurate or appropriate context of what the quoted speaker said. Further, the accuracy of the verbatim quotes as they appear in the articles also must be accepted at face value.

Organization of Study

This study was organized in five chapters and related appendices. The first chapter provides an introduction and overview to the purpose of this study. The second chapter is a review of literature related to the research that helps the reader become familiar with the topic. The third chapter describes the methodology used to conduct the research. The fourth chapter presents the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the study. The fifth chapter is a summary that outlines the conclusions and recommendations. The appendices include additional relevant support information.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Recent trends show that women are participating in sports more than ever. Research findings from various disciplines, including psychology, sociology, mass communications and women's studies, support the assumption that sports is still a man's world (Andre & Holland, 1995). Researchers have studied and concluded that gender inequality is seen in high school sports (Kane, 1989), at the collegiate level (Blum, 1996), and most prevalently at the professional level (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). For example, Title IX was designed to provide women with equal opportunities with men on the sports field at both the high school and collegiate levels (Carpenter, 1998). While the implementation of Title IX has resulted in some increased opportunities for women, the progress is still not equal to opportunities provided to males in the sports industry (Carpenter 1998).

Female Participation on and off the sports field at various levels

Off the field, gender inequality also exists (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998; Lopiano, 1996). Non-athlete and non-coaching sports positions, often referred to as "front office" jobs, are an area where more equitable opportunities for women might be expected. Yet, at the collegiate level, men administer more than 97% of the athletic programs (McCleneghan, 1995).

A similar situation is seen on the professional level. The percentage of league professionals, such as team owners and office personnel, who were women declined by 5% from 1996 to 1997 (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998). In addition, data from the 1997 Racial Report Card by Northeastern University's Center for the Study of Sport in Society

showed that the proverbial “glass ceiling” exists for women vying for top management positions in sports in that they are kept out of major league front office management as well as top-level positions with the professional leagues.

In the top three professional sports leagues, NBA (National Basketball Association), NFL (National Football Association) and MLB (Major League Baseball), there are few opportunities for women in high-level executive positions, such as chairman of the board, president, chief executive officer, vice president and general manager (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998). Only two women, Marge Schott and Georgia Frontiere, hold a top management post in major professional sports (Lapchick & Matthews, 1998). Schott is a controversial public figure, whose continued racist public comments forced her to sell her majority ownership in the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team to avoid her third suspension from major league baseball. Today she owns one limited-partner share of the franchise and keeps a relatively low profile in the sports industry. Although Georgia Frontiere, co-owner of the St. Louis Rams, helped lead her team to its first Super Bowl in 2000, most media coverage about her focuses on her inheritance of the team and some questionable previous management decisions.

Media Coverage of Male and Female Athletes

Print Media. Another way to examine gender inequality is to examine type and amount of coverage women receive from the sports media. In 1998, Kinnick explored gender inequity in a study entitled, “Gender bias in newspaper profiles of 1996 Olympic athletes: A content analysis of five major dailies.” This study compared newspaper coverage of male and female athletes during the 1996 Summer Games, held in Atlanta, Georgia, by examining five leading U.S. newspapers: USA Today, The New York Times,

The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The Atlanta Constitution. Kinnick found that female athletes compared almost equally with male athletes with respect to the number of profiles written. Of the 170 profiles, 93 were of male athletes, and 77 were of female athletes (Kinnick, 1998). Proportionately, female athletes were better represented than males in the profiles, with 2.5% of all female athletes being profiled compared to 1.4% of all male athletes. Kinnick also noted that the focus on the female athletes' appearance observed in previous studies was only partially supported by this data. While one-half (50%) of the profiles about female athletes commented on appearance, slightly more than one-half (52.8%) of the profiles of male athletes mentioned appearance (Kinnick, 1998). Overall, Kinnick (1998) found that gender bias in major newspaper coverage of the 1996 Olympic Games appeared less prevalent compared to rates described in previous studies of media coverage of sporting events. Nevertheless, Kinnick (1998) noted gender differences in the types of information included in media coverage. For example, Kinnick (1998) concluded that "women, even when they are the greatest athletes in the world, still cannot escape gender stereotyping. And journalists, even those at the nation's most prominent newspapers, still see marriage, appearance and emotions as relevant descriptors of female athletes, more so than for males" (p. 235).

Another study that examined the amount of coverage in print media was completed by Urquhart & Crossman (1999). They examined coverage of the Winter Olympic Games in the Globe and Mail, one of Canada's national newspapers. They found that from 1924 to 1992, 82% of sports competitors were men, and 80.4% of the articles were about men. From 1924 to 1992, 18% of sports competitors were women and 19.6% of the articles were about women. While it appeared that male and female athletes

received coverage in the media proportionate to their Winter Olympic participation, Urquhart and Crossman (1999) found a “gross disparity of coverage in the years 1928, 1936, 1956, 1964, and 1984, when women received extremely poor coverage in relation to the number of female competitors” (Urquhart & Crossman, 1999, p. 199). It was noted that Canadian women did not win many medals during the five years mentioned (1928, 1936, 1956, 1964, and 1984), and that lack of media coverage may have been “performance biased” (Urquhart & Crossman, 1999, p. 199).

Overall, the research findings of Urquhart and Crossman (1999) exemplify several themes of gender bias in the sports media. Their findings showed that Winter Olympic coverage by the Globe and Mail underrepresented female athletes compared to male athletes, used few female journalists (36% of articles were written by male journalists, 6.3% of the articles were written by female journalists, and the remaining articles were written by a news agency such as the Canadian Press and the United Press), and located female athletic achievements in the latter pages of the sports section. However, it was noted that the amount of coverage for women athletes competing in the Winter Olympic Games in the Globe and Mail has increased over time (Urquhart & Crossman, 1999).

Television Coverage. Other media outlets also tended to perpetuate a predominant focus on men in sports. Tuggle (1997) found that the nation’s two nightly television sports highlights programs, ESPN’s SportsCenter and CNN’s Sports Tonight, devoted only 5% of their airtime to women’s sports (Tuggle, 1997). In addition, other researchers have found that media other than television covered male athletes much more extensively than they covered women in sports (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983;

Duncan, et al., 1990; Tuggle & Owen, 1999). One study concluded that coverage that is devoted to women was heavily skewed toward so called “socially acceptable” individual sports, such as swimming, diving, and gymnastics (Tuggle 1997).

Television news coverage was the focus of Tuggle and Owen’s 1999 study of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. Tuggle and Owen (1999) found that males received more coverage than females on the NBC broadcasts. They also discovered that males outnumbered females as sources for on-camera interviews at the rate of 200 to 154. Tuggle and Owen (1999) noted that, at first glance, coverage appeared equivalent; but, further analysis showed that female competitors were more likely to receive attention if they competed in what was termed “socially acceptable” individual sports. Of all the coverage devoted to women, 61% dealt with only three sports: swimming, diving, and gymnastics, with gymnastics receiving more than one third (34%) of all coverage devoted to female athletes. Tuggle and Owen (1999) also concluded that the number of fans in the stands and the extensive presence of other media at women’s soccer, basketball, and softball games indicated a high level of interest that was not reflected in the network coverage of those events.

In a study sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Foundation, researchers found that in televised sports, men’s events were covered more often than women’s events. They also found that when women were covered there were significant differences in the quality of technical production of the televised event (Duncan, Messner, Williams & Jensen, 1990).

Manner of Coverage. Another way that gender inequality in sports can be identified is by examining under what circumstances female athletes receive media

coverage and how women are used as sources for sports information. A series of studies conducted by Shifflet and Revelle provided information about gender differences in media coverage at the college level. They noted that studies analyzing content in the collegiate sports media suggest that, with respect to gender, women are underrepresented, and that similar findings have emerged from other studies of print media. Shifflet and Revelle (1996) have suggested that the messages communicated by the sports media are that men are “active/powerful/important,” and women are “inactive/subordinate/unimportant” (p. 144). To investigate their hypotheses, Shifflet and Revelle (1996) compared the content of *NCAA News* 1988 and 1991 and found that females were underrepresented in both the articles and photographs examined. Shifflet and Revelle (1996) described their findings as surprising and identified several factors that contributed to the unexpectedness of their results. First, they expected representations of men’s and women’s sports in the *NCAA News* to be more equitable than those found in popular magazines and newspapers because of the Title IX requirement that each university or college with an NCAA sports program have a similar number of men’s and women’s sports. Also, they noted that the *NCAA News* is distributed as a benefit of membership, and that more equitable coverage was expected on the assumption that economic market forces would be less influential. Shifflet and Revelle (1996) concluded that their findings support the concern that inequitable coverage of men’s and women’s sports can potentially undermine the accomplishments and value of collegiate female athletes.

Impact of “Gender-Appropriateness” of Sports Coverage. Gender bias may also be referenced by comparing the manner in which the print media cover different types of

women in sports (Jones, Murrel & Jackson, 1999; Kinnick 1998). In the study titled, "Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages," Jones, Murrel and Jackson (1999) used the intense coverage of the successful women's teams in the 1996 Summer Olympics and the 1998 Winter Olympics to examine how the media's portrayal of female athletes' performance commented on gender issues. The researchers classified Olympic events as traditional "gender-appropriate" or nontraditional "gender-inappropriate" using categories first described by Matteo (1986). Female-appropriate sports emphasize "aesthetics and beauty while discouraging physicality" (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999, p. 183); whereas male-appropriate sports emphasize "physical contact through active, aggressive and autonomous behavior" (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999, p. 188). For example, Matteo (1986) defined figure skating and gymnastics as female appropriate; basketball, hockey, and soccer were defined as male appropriate; and softball was defined as neutral. Thus, when female athletes were involved in male appropriate sports, it was classified as gender inappropriate (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999). The researchers then conducted a content analysis of print media coverage of female athletes to examine how each Olympic sport conforms to traditional images of "gender-appropriate" feminine behavior, such as beauty, passivity or subservience to a male coach. The study found that descriptions of female athletes' performances reflected widespread stereotyped beliefs about gender. For example, consistent with stereotypes defined in the study, in print media coverage feminine athletes were described as "pretty" or "beautiful." Also, female athletes were more often described in ways that implied subservience to a male coach, while male athletes were more likely to be described as "determined, powerful" or physical in sports play. Furthermore, the study also showed that in print media coverage

female athletes tended to be judged and evaluated using traditional beliefs about gender whether they are competing in a traditional “gender-appropriate” event or in a nontraditional “gender-inappropriate” event. The study also found that print media coverage frequently de-emphasized task-relevant aspects of the female athlete’s performance. For example, articles about males tended to describe the athlete’s performance in his team’s gold medal winning contest. Articles about females, on the other hand, tended to include performance-irrelevant dimensions. Articles about females tended to describe an athlete in a context that had no relevance to sports or to the athlete’s performance in her team’s gold medal winning contest, such as “She plays the cello.” (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999).

Research Examining Extent of Media Coverage and Manner of Coverage.

Research conducted by Judy Lee (1991) studied media coverage of male and female athletes in the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games using both the Globe and Mail in Canada and The New York Times in the United States. This quantitative analysis showed that, as subjects of sports news coverage, men were over-represented as compared to women. Another finding of Lee’s (1991) study was that each gender participated more extensively in certain types of sports. Females had higher participation rates in individual sports, such as gymnastics, swimming, tennis, and equestrian activities. Men had higher participation rates in team sports, such as basketball, baseball, and yachting, as well as in individual sports, such as boxing, fencing, cycling, judo, weightlifting, and wrestling. Lee (1991) also found that men markedly outnumber women as authors of news reports.

Lee (1991) also conducted a qualitative analysis, using the data collected from the quantitative portion of her study, of men’s and women’s portrayals in newspaper sports

news coverage and concluded that men were more favorably portrayed in sport news coverage. She found that women's reports tended to focus on weaknesses. For example, references were made to women's psychological traits, including emotional states or tendencies; references to tears in success and defeat, passiveness, nerves, dispositions, unfulfillment, and role conflict, as opposed to women's physical strengths in performances and achievements (p.111). Also, physiological differences between men and women were emphasized in these reports. Lee (1991) found that sports news reports mentioned non-performance-related information, such as appearance and descriptions of body shape and size when covering female athletes, but that these features seldom were included in the reports about male athletes. Another observation of the study was that reports on women were more likely to be woven into reports on men. However, the reverse was not seen, and Lee (1991) described this practice as a way of diminishing women's contributions to the Olympics. Lee's (1991) approach of combining both content analysis and qualitative research was used as a model for the design of the current study.

Sports Illustrated Background. To further examine coverage of women by the sports media, a number of researchers have examined *Sports Illustrated*. *Sports Illustrated* is the nation's largest circulation sports newsmagazine and is published weekly by Time, Inc. The magazine had a readership of 24,813,000 in 1998, which is about 12.7% of the American population. Of those readers, about 78% are male and about 22% are female. The main target audience for *Sports Illustrated* is men between the ages of 35 and 54 with a median income of \$47,000 a year (*Sports Illustrated*, 1998).

Sports Illustrated's first issue appeared on newsstands on August 16, 1954, and it has been published weekly since, with two issues combined at year-end. A double issue is published in the fall each year, and a special double issue featuring swimsuit models comes out each in February.

Studies of *Sports Illustrated*. A number of studies have examined *Sports Illustrated's* coverage of women during the past fifteen years. In general, researchers have noted that *Sports Illustrated's* coverage of men significantly overshadows coverage of women (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Lapchick 1991; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991).

Trends in the types of athletes likely to receive coverage in *Sports Illustrated* also have been observed. For example, Kane (1989) found that women who participated in individual "socially acceptable" sports such as tennis and golf were much more likely to attract coverage from *Sports Illustrated* than women who participated in team events (Kane, 1989).

In 1991, Lumpkin and Williams (1991) analyzed the first 34 years (1954-1987) of *Sports Illustrated* issues. They noted that *Sports Illustrated* devoted an average of 90.8% of feature articles to male athletes and 8% to female athletes (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991). In their discussion, Lumpkin and Williams (1991) noted that *Sports Illustrated* reinforced traditional attitudes toward females in sport in two ways. First, *Sports Illustrated* provided only a limited number of articles about female athletes, and these articles were shorter than those articles featuring males. Lumpkin and Williams (1991) suggested that the individuals selected as subjects in feature stories for *Sports Illustrated's* personal profiles might have reflected the interest of a primarily male

readership and further suggested that overrepresentation of male athletes in *Sports Illustrated* may be more a result of cultural bias than a deliberate discriminatory policy by journalists. According to the study, "Male authors write mostly about males" (p. 26) and, apparently, said the authors, for males. Nevertheless, whether intentionally or unintentionally, *Sports Illustrated* perpetuates and reinforces traditional images and stereotypes of women and men in sport (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991).

In the one published study that compared only photographs of males and females in a sports magazine, Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) studied the photography in *Sports Illustrated*. They found that male athletes were likely to be photographed fully engaged in sport, whereas female athletes were more likely to be depicted in passive or non-athletic poses. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) concluded that passive poses contributed to characterizations of female athletes as weak, and media portrayals such as these contribute to a composite image of female athletes as being "less than" and "different from" the male ideal.

Salwen and Wood (1994) also examined *Sports Illustrated*. They looked at cover stories and cover photos during four three-year intervals: 1957-1959, 1967-1968, 1977-1979, and 1987-1989. They found that, overall, females were less likely than males to appear on the covers of *Sports Illustrated*. Further, when female athletes appeared on the cover, they were less likely than male athletes to be portrayed in active poses. Salwen and Wood (1994) also found that their longitudinal analysis indicated no evidence of increased coverage of females on *Sports Illustrated* covers through the years, and no increase in portrayals of female athletes in active poses. In fact, the percentage of female athletes shown in cover photos was highest during the 1950s (Salwen & Wood, 1994).

Female athletes were also more likely to be depicted in active sports poses on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* during the 1950s than during later decades (Salwen & Wood, 1994).

Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter concludes that gender inequality is still appears in the amount and types of sports coverage. Descriptions of gender inequality have been examined extensively by Clair (1993), who defines the “dominant interest” as those concerns shared and promoted by members of a society’s privileged group. In American society, that privileged group continues to be white males (Clair, 1993). Although Robin Clair (1993) did not examine gender in sports per se, her identification of the dominant group applies well to the sports arena. For example, several prominent professional female athletes have characterized the gender issues they have faced as one of the most difficult aspects of their sports career (Carpenter, 1998).

Another perspective on the issue of gender inequality is to examine the role women play in perpetuating differences (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Christ & Johnson, 1985; Kane, 1989; Clair, 1993). One hypothesis investigated by Clair (1993), is that women help to perpetuate the privilege of patriarchy through hegemony. Clair (1993) identifies hegemony as a tool of patriarchy, which is seen when “the leadership of one group dominates another group through the subjugated group’s unwitting acquiescence or active participation” (Clair, 1993, p. 114). No published studies specifically looked at whether or not women were used as sources for quotes in sports magazine cover stories. However, this study attempts to fill that void by conducting a content analysis of the quotes attributed to women and men in 1998 *Sports Illustrated*

cover stories. In addition, descriptive analysis was also used to study whether women may help to perpetuate gender inequality in sports.

Women are actively participating in the sports arena, both on and off the field, and their participation is expanding as seen with the introduction and success of ventures, such as the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) (Lopiano, 1998). At the same time, studies suggest that females are not well represented in front office positions, nor is coverage of female athletes equal to their participation. Yet, when females are covered in the sports media, the coverage is different from male coverage, especially if the sport is considered "appropriate" for female participation.

Although it has been determined that coverage of females in the sports media is not equal to their participation, another way to look at gender inequality is to examine the type of information females themselves are providing about sports through quotes. Quotes are important to media stories because they provide interest, balance and credibility to a story (Mencher, 1999). It is important to examine quotes to see if the content of quotes truly reflects the current views and opinions of society. Although reporters select which quotes will be used in their stories, female sources do have some responsibility for the views and opinions reflected in the story based on the content of the information they choose to provide. Regardless of a female's position in the sports industry, as a player, sports executive, or fan, analyzing the quotes attributed to women provides information about how reporters portray females by the selection of quotes reporters select to use in stories as well as the words women themselves use. These quotes also may offer insight about how readers may perceive women based on the information they provide as sources for sports news stories and features.

This thesis will expand on previous studies of gender inequality in sports media coverage. It will look at one part of gender bias in the sports industry by examining the amount and content of quotes from female sources in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. While overall content in sports media stories has been examined, there are no studies that specifically look at the content of women's quotes in sports media.

Theoretical Framework

Both uses and gratifications and modeling theories apply to this study. While the uses and gratifications approach, which was developed in the early 1940s and 1950s, is not new (Jeffres, 1986), the theory is relevant because people "seek content from the media that they anticipate will provide them with certain kinds of experiences" (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 400). The emphasis of the uses and gratifications theory is on an active audience that deliberately uses the media to achieve specific goals (Jeffres, 1986). A magazine tailors its content to what appeals to readers. Since men make up approximately 80% of *Sports Illustrated's* readership (*Sports Illustrated*, 1998), *Sports Illustrated's* focus on coverage of males is a response to the demonstrated purchase of the magazine by men. This theory's tenets suggest that men, through their demonstrated wants and needs about sports reporting, which is visible whether they buy the magazine or not, have a direct impact on the content of *Sports Illustrated*. If the content does not satisfy *Sports Illustrated's* target audience of men, the magazine will lose subscribers. As a result, the magazine is merely responding to the market demand.

Modeling theory is also applicable because studies have found that in some cases the media provide models of behavior that can be imitated, and people who see the action may adopt it as part of their own behavior repertoire (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). In

addition, Alexis Tan (1981) noted that studies have found that the media portray females in traditional roles and that:

Children are more likely to identify with, pay attention, to and learn from same-sex role models. Children use media as a guide to appropriate sex-role behaviors in real life. And, finally, media can effectively change sex-role expectations of children (Tan, 1981, p. 258).

These theories suggest that *Sports Illustrated* can reinforce the idea of the male model while diminishing that of the female. As long as reporters choose to use traditional and stereotypical feminine ideas in quotations from women in *Sports Illustrated* stories and women continue to trivialize their positions, the model of women as non-credible and non-knowledgeable sources for sports information may continue. It can also be argued that *Sports Illustrated* seems to reinforce socialization of society towards the dominant male ideology through this modeling of females.

Chapter 3
Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodologies of content analysis and discursive framing used in this study. It explains the research objectives, sampling, coding, data gathering, and analytic methods employed.

Research Problem

This thesis examines one aspect of sports reporting by looking at the extent to which stories include women as sources for quotes and analyzing what the content of the quotes contained in one year's cover stories in *Sports Illustrated* magazine. Reporters use quotes to add credibility and provide firsthand information (Mencher, 1994). This thesis will explore the extent to which female sources provide information for quotes as well as the type of information they are being asked to provide, and what they are actually quoted as saying. It also looks at the content and context of these quotes and offers some insights into the meaning these quotes convey about the status of women in and around the sports world, a growing part of American society.

The research compared the frequency and content of quotes attributed to men and women in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* issues. Findings helped determine if men or women were included more frequently as information resources for stories in sports magazine coverage, which might ultimately suggest gender as a factor in selecting sources for information pertaining to sports. Further analysis also examined the extent to which quotes from women selected for inclusion in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories may perpetuate the dominant social ideology of patriarchy.

Research Questions

1. In 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories, do stories **more often contain quotes** from men or women?
2. Were quotes attributed to male sources more likely to include personal content or professional content?
3. Were quotes attributed to female sources **more likely to include** personal content or professional content?
4. Were men or women **more often** the subject of direct quotations?
5. Was the reporter's gender more often male or female?
6. When females were quoted, what did the content and the context of their language use depict or convey about their role and function in American society?

Methods

The print media are an influential socializing agent. Through the values, ideas and attitudes they present, they may encourage social integration and change or perpetuate myths, biases, and stereotypes (Urquhart & Crossman, 1990). As discussed in Chapter 2, existent research indicates that news editors and reporters believe sports news to be of special interest to male readers (Salwen & Wood, 1994). As a result, sports magazines may be more likely to neglect the concerns of women than other periodicals or publications (McChesney, 1989).

The proportion of coverage male and female sports figures and events receive in print media is more accurately reflective of participation rates than it once was, but is still heavily slanted in favor of males (Kinnick, 1998). This disproportional coverage of males and females, though improving, is one example of gender-reporting differences in sports media.

In addition to this form of bias, more subtle types of gender bias may also exist in the print media's coverage of sports. This thesis further explored the existence of subtle forms of gender bias by examining the content of quotations and sources of quotations in 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*. Cover stories are the most prominent feature of any magazine (Christ & Johnson, 1985). Also, "the most basic functions of the cover are to differentiate a magazine from its competitors and to sell that magazine to its appropriate audience...It follows that covers represent magazine producers' conceptions and understandings of their readers' interests and needs" (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983, p.208).

In general, accepted journalistic practice, reporters use direct quotes to establish the credibility of their stories; these quotes, then, are considered to represent general social values, ideas and attitudes. Whether or not females were used as sources for direct quotes is important because direct quotes from either gender provide an avenue to establish reliable sources for sports or any other information. It follows, then, that if women are not quoted or only rarely quoted, they have little opportunity to establish themselves as credible sources. The research task in this thesis compared the frequency of quotes attributed to men versus women in a popular sports magazine, which can indicate the opportunity available to women.

Even though women might be used as sources for quotes, it does not necessarily follow that the quotes will help establish women as credible sources. To determine if a quote helps promote females as credible source of sports information, the content of the quotes must be examined as well. In fact, Lee (1991) argued that a quote might enhance or undermine the credibility of a source depending on its context and content. Therefore,

this study also compared the content of quotes attributed to men versus women in this one-year's cover story topics.

Sampling

This study focused on 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*. All quotes in each of the 52 cover stories were analyzed using one quantitative and one qualitative research method. There were a total of 86 separate stories because some cover stories had multiple segments that were authored by different reporters. Content analysis, a commonly used research technique, was used as the quantitative method. Discursive framing was selected as an interpretive framework in the qualitative approach because it has previously been used in studies that explore subtle gender bias in writing (Terry & Schiappa, 1999).

Sports Illustrated, which is published weekly by Time Inc., is the selected publication for this study because of its prominence in sports journalism (Salwen & Wood, 1994; Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). "Actually, the coverage [of women] in *Sports Illustrated*, however minimal, has been about the best coverage of women available" (Salwen & Wood, 1994, p. 101).

Intercoder Reliability

For the content analysis portion of this study, three coders and the author coded the sample articles. An intercoder reliability test was used to establish the reliability and validity of coding definitions and ensure that the findings in this study were consistent, interpretable, and replicable. The coders reached an agreement rate of more than 90%. All coders had completed basic mass communication research courses and had experience with coding protocol.

Each coder, including the author, analyzed five randomly selected *Sports Illustrated* cover story articles. Articles were selected randomly from the *Sports Illustrated* cover stories because random sampling controls for inevitable human biases in selection (Babbie, 1992). Coders reviewed approximately 10% of the articles and approximately 30% of the quotes studied in this thesis to maintain the most reliable results because this is an accepted standard in quantitative research (Babbie, 1992). The coders achieved 97% agreement.

Quantitative Methods

Content analysis was selected as a research method for this thesis because it “... is particularly well suited to the study of communications” (Babbie, 1992, p. 314). According to Earl Babbie (1992), content analysis provides a comprehensive perspective to the researcher and the ability to develop a “. . . deeper and fuller understanding” (p. 285) of a study.

A modified version of Lee’s (1991) content analysis design was used for this study because it most closely fit the purpose of this thesis. This study expands literature on gender bias in the sports industry by examining the amount and content of quotes from females sources in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. However, some revision of Lee’s definitions was necessary because Lee’s analysis was not specifically designed to study direct quotes.

Also, the gender of the reporter writing the *Sports Illustrated* article was identified for this study. The author reviewed each of the 52 *Sports Illustrated* cover story articles, and all of the quotes were identified. To ensure that no quotes were overlooked, each article was reviewed by a second person to verify that all quotes were marked. A

quote was defined as a direct statement set off by quotation marks and attributed to a person or thing, such as a newspaper article. The author and coders looked only at the actual words in the quotes because what was implied cannot be assumed.

After quotes were identified, they were categorized in three different ways. First, the gender of the source to whom the quote was attributed was identified. The gender of source of a quote could be male, female, both male and female or neutral. Gender was determined as male when a male was quoted; female when a female was quoted; as both male and female when no gender is specified but both males and females are a part of the organization; and neutral when the source was a hypothetical subject, game or athletic move.

Second, the gender of the person whom the quote was about was identified. The gender of the person whom the quote was about could be male, female, both male and female or neutral. Gender was determined as male when a male was quoted; female when a female was quoted; as both male and female when no gender is specified but both males and females are a part of the organization; and neutral when the source was a hypothetical subject, game or athletic move.

Third, the content of the quotes were examined. Content was defined as containing professional, personal, neutral or mixed content. Professional content was defined as information that relates directly to athletic performance or skill as an athlete, or information that relates directly to an athlete as part of a team or sport. Personal content was defined as references made to marital status, dating habits, and domestic roles, as well as references to male and female athletes emotional states or tendencies; references to tears in success and defeat, passiveness, nerves, dispositions, unfulfillment,

and role conflict. Neutral content was defined as content neither professional nor personal and contained content that was not meaningful to the purpose of this study. Quotes were defined as mixed content when a quote described non-gender-specific groups or organizations, such as an incident with the police. Complete coding definitions and examples are shown in Appendix A.

A frequency table was used to describe gender of the reporter writing the cover story. As described above, each cover story topic was categorized as male, female, or mixed. A frequency table was used to show the number and percentage of stories in each category. A frequency count was also used to show the number of times men, women, or neutral sources were quoted in cover stories. The content of each quote was classified as personal, professional, or some combination of the two. Frequency counts were used to show the number of quotes of each content type. Frequency tables were also tabulated to allow comparison of the gender focus of the article by gender of the person who was quoted, gender focus of the article by gender of the person the quote was about, and gender focus of the article by quote content.

Statistical Analysis

The author completed Chi Square tests and descriptive statistics on the nominal data. Pearson product-moment correlation was used to analyze the relations between the data from the quotes. A 95% confidence level, an accepted standard in quantitative research, was used in this study, indicating that there was a 95% probability that significant results were real and not due to chance.

Qualitative/Interpretive Analysis

For the descriptive analysis, the author selected quotes attributed only to females. These quotes were examined in terms of discursive framing. For the analysis, 22 of the 52 total *Sports Illustrated* cover stories contained at least one quote from a female source. A total of 149 separate quotes from female sources were examined to determine if one or more of the framing devices defined below were being used, or at least, seemed to be in use assuming the accuracy of the quoted material, by women in their personal descriptions of themselves in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories.

Hakim (1987) explained the usefulness of qualitative research in the following way:

Qualitative research offers richly descriptive reports of individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behavior; displays how these are put together, more or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of their experiences; and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and behavior, or how conflicting attitudes and motives are resolved in particular choices made (p.26).

The words a person chooses to use in describing a situation in a direct quote can provide information about patterns of attitudes. For example, framing devices are rhetorical/discursive practices that influence interpretation of social events by the actor or actors (Clair, 1993, p. 118).

The qualitative analysis portion of this thesis followed procedures outlined by Clair (1993) in her study, "The Use of Framing Devices to Sequester Organizational

Narrative: Hegemony and Harassment.” Clair’s (1993) study aided in examining how the framing of female quotes in cover stories of *Sports Illustrated* can function as a hegemonic device to maintain and perpetuate the dominant interests of a privileged group in a patriarchal society. The term “dominant interests” refers to those concerns shared and promoted by members of the privileged group. Today, American society operates under the “patriarchal” ideology where males enjoy a privileged position relative to females (Clair, 1993, p. 114). “Hegemony is seen when groups participate in their own sublimation” (Clair, 1993).

The method of qualitative research used in this thesis was to examine how women discussed their personal experiences as female athletes or females associated with the sports industry via direct quotes in the 1998 cover story issues of *Sports Illustrated* newsmagazine. Six types of framing devices explicated by Clair (1993) guided this analysis. They were: accepting the dominant interest as universal, simple misunderstanding, reification, trivialization, denotative hesitancy, and public/private expression and public/private domain.

Qualitative Definitions. The six framing devices Clair (1993) explicated in her study are defined below.

Accepting the dominant interest as universal is to agree that “organizational” interests take precedence over secondary or personal interests (Clair, 1993). It refers to those concerns shared and promoted by members of the privileged group (Clair, 1993, p. 114). In the case of this thesis, males have the privileged position relative to females. In the current study, this framing device is appropriate because female sources quoted in *Sports Illustrated* include discourse that states or implies that male sports issues take

precedence over secondary or personal interests and especially over more “feminized” issues.

In Clair’s (1993) definitions, “simple misunderstanding” is based on the notion that organizations must disguise contradictions inherent to the system. Clair explained that targets of sexual harassment, for example, incorporate the framing device of simple misunderstanding in their language use when they accept and justify such contradictions, such as questioning a man’s advances in the following way: “I’m not sure if it was sexual harassment or if the man was just flirting with me” (Clair, 1993, p. 119). An example of this can be seen when female sources quoted in *Sports Illustrated* perpetuate hegemony by accepting or justifying system contradictions by attributing them to a “simple misunderstanding.”

Reification gives permanence and a sense of tangibility to abstract ideology, according to Clair (1993). This framing device is seen when female sources suggest that something is tangible or permanent when it is really just an abstract idea. For example, statements that suggest that “that’s just the way it is” and imply that “the way it is” is unchangeable (Clair, 1993) embrace the reification framing device.

Another way that the dominant group may isolate the female viewpoint is to trivialize the sublimated group, thus effectively invalidating the situation and/or the issue for the person (Clair, 1993). Trivialization as a form of negation can be accomplished through humor, ridicule, or even metaphor. In this current project, quoted female sources use the trivialization framing device as a form of negation that reduces the significance of an event affecting them in some way by making light of it.

The vocabulary used by a quoted female source in news stories can impact a reader's understanding of the sports world and a woman's experience in it. It is a powerful tool for defining reality. Since mostly males write about sports, males may determine the vocabulary used in sports reporting. As a result, women may use this vocabulary, too, in their own descriptions of sports. Denotative hesitancy is seen when the less dominant group, females, lacks the means of expression to convey their own narrative or define their own experience (Clair, 1993).

Finally, there are two types of expressions, public and private, which are typically practiced in their corresponding domains (Clair, 1993). Quotes that move a news story, for example, from the public arena to the private domain are more likely to maintain the prevailing dominant ideology. In this study, the dominant ideology is defined as a masculine or paternalistic culture where male-oriented concepts are used as a force against others, specifically females in the sporting world.

Assumptions. The following assumptions were made when completing the interpretative portion of this research. The first assumption was that the quotes were reported accurately in the stories. As with any interview, every single quote or general information provided to the reporter by the female or male sources is not included in final stories. It is assumed that the reporter did not purposely frame the female quotes according to the framework Clair (1993) explicated. According to the tenets of hegemony (Clair, 1993), a necessary assumption is that females frame their own experiences as an athlete and/or a woman in ways that help to perpetuate the oppressive dominant ideology of patriarchy prevalent in American society, including the sports arena.

Limitations. This study, which is a content analysis and interpretative examination of quotes contained in 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*, has certain limitations. This study was limited to one magazine, *Sports Illustrated*, and examined only one year of cover stories. In addition, because this study focused on a magazine targeted towards men that is widely accepted as a source of sports information for men, it is recognized that the number of male sources quoted compared to the number of female sources quoted may not be equal in number. However, since one research focus of this study is to examine the actual content of the quotes, this is an important finding.

Chapter 4

Content Analysis Findings

A content analysis of 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories was conducted. The results are presented in text and table format. The total number of quotes varies slightly between categories of analysis because a small number of quotes were eliminated in certain categories since they lacked meaningful content. This content was defined as yes and no answers or dialogue that did not provide information germane to the study.

Of the 52 articles reviewed, 50 articles contained quotes that were analyzed for this thesis. The other two articles contained no quotes. Although 52 cover stories were studied for this thesis, there were a total of 86 separate stories because some cover stories had multiple segments that were authored by different reporters. For example, "1997 Moments," a cover story about highlights from the 1997 year in sports, contained eleven segments, each written by a different reporter. Of the 86 articles/segments, six contained no quotes.

Of the 86 articles/segments included in this thesis, five articles were solely about females. Of those five articles, only three contained direct quotes. Thus, of the 80 articles/segments that contained direct quotes, only three stories included a female subject as the topic. In addition, one article/segment was written by a female reporter.

Reporter Gender

There were a total of 33 different cover story reporters. *Sports Illustrated* confirmed the reporters' gender included in this study. A female reporter, Kelli Anderson, wrote only one *Sports Illustrated* cover story. Her byline appeared as one of eight reporters covering a single article about each of the top 25 teams in college

basketball for that year. When comparing author gender and percent of overall quotes in the cover stories, 98.4% (1,434) of the quotes were contained in stories by a male reporter, while 1.6% (24) of the quotes were in the story by a female reporter. Frequency counts were used to examine these results.

Cover Story Topic

Almost 94% of articles were classified as being about a male topic, and nearly 6% of the articles (five articles in all) included a female subject. Only three of the five articles about female subjects contained any quotes. The two articles that did not contain quotes were about track and women's basketball. Of the three articles that did contain quotes, one story about downhill skiing included both male and female subjects. The other two articles were about Pat Summitt, head women's basketball coach at the University of Tennessee, and Michelle Kwan, an Olympic figure skater.

TABLE I
Gender of Quoted Source in Articles

Male	Neutral	Female	Total
1,257 (87%)	46 (3%)	149 (10%)	1,452 (100%)

Table I shows that 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories mainly quote men. Males were quoted 87% of the time, while females were quoted 10% of the time. Three percent of the time a neutral source, defined as a gender-neutral entity, such as a crowd or a fan or a newspaper article, was quoted. These results indicate that males were used as sources more than nine out of 10 times in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories.

TABLE II

Gender of the Subject of the Article

Male	Mostly Male; Some Female	Neutral	Mostly Female; Some Male	Female	Total
1,121 (77%)	2 (0%)	255 (18%)	3 (0%)	96 (7%)	1,452 (100%)

Males were much more likely to be the subject of quotes in cover stories as Table II shows. Males were the subject of a quote 77% of the time, and females were the subject of a quote 7% of the time. Neutral entities were the subject of a quote 18% of the time, while quotes about both male and female subjects were found less than 1% of the time. Gender neutral entities were more than twice as likely as females to be the subject of a quote.

TABLE III

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Gender of Quoted Source

Article Gender Focus	Gender of Quoted Source			
	Male	Neutral	Female	Total
Male	1,202 (83%)	36 (3%)	95 (7%)	1,333 (92%)
Female	11 (>1%)	0 (0%)	43 (3%)	54 (4%)
Mixed	44 (3%)	1 (0%)	11 (>1%)	56 (4%)
Total	1,257 (87%)	37 (3%)	149 (10%)	1,443 (100%)

Table III compares gender of the person who was quoted with the gender focus of the article, and shows that males were quoted in articles about males 83% of the time, males were quoted in articles about females less than 1% of the time, and males were quoted in

articles about both males and females 3% of the time. Quotes attributed to a gender-neutral entity, such as an unidentified fan, appeared in 3% of the articles about males, in none of the articles about females, and in none of the articles about both males and females. Females were quoted in articles about males 7% of the time, 3% of the time in articles about females, and less than 1% of the time in articles about both males and females.

TABLE IV

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Gender of the Subject of the Quotation

	Article Gender Focus		Gender of the Subject of the Quotation			Total
	Male	Mostly Male; Some Female	Neutral	Mostly Female, Some Male	Female	
Male	1,103 (81%)	2 (>1%)	122 (9%)	2 (>1%)	21 (2%)	1,250 (92%)
Female	3 (>1%)	0 (0%)	4 (>1%)	1 (>1%)	44 (3%)	52 (4%)
Mixed	15 (1%)	0 (0%)	33 (2%)	0 (0%)	6 (>1%)	54 (4%)
Total	1,121 (83%)	2 (>1%)	159 (12%)	3 (>1%)	71 (5%)	1,356 (100%)

When the gender focus of the article was male, the gender of the subject of the quotation was male 81% of the time; mostly male, some female less than 1% of the time; neutral 9% of the time; mostly female some male less than 1% of the time; and female 2% of the time. When the gender focus of the article was female, the gender of the subject of the quotation was male less than 1% of the time; mostly male, some female quotes appeared none of the time; neutral quote subjects that were neither male or female and mostly female, some male subjects less than 1% of the time; and females 3% of the

time. When looking at articles with a gender focus that included both males and females, males were the subject of quotes 1% of the time; neutral entities 2% of the time; and females less than 1% of the time.

TABLE V

Overall Content of Quotes

Personal	Mostly Personal, Some Profess.	Half Personal; Half Profess.	Mostly Profess.; Some Personal	Profess.	No Content	Total
289 (20%)	110 (8%)	236 (16%)	328 (23%)	324 (22%)	165 (11%)	1,452 (100%)

When looking at overall quote content in Table V, 20% of the quotes contained some personal content; and 8% of the quotes contained mostly personal with some professional content. Quotes that contained half-personal and half-professional information appeared 16% of the time in the cover stories. Nearly half of the quotes contained professional or mostly professional content, with 23% containing mostly professional with some personal information, and 22% of the quotes containing professional content. Eleven percent of the quotes contained no content, defined as dialogue or other responses, such as “Yes” which helped the flow of the story, but did not provide information.

Personal quotes contained information characterized as information unrelated to a person’s skill as an athlete, coach or sports executive. Quotes coded as “professional” contained information directly related to a person’s skill as an athlete, coach or sports executive. Information coded as mostly personal, some professional included a small amount of professional information with the quote content being mostly personal. Information coded as half personal, half professional was neither personal nor professional related equally to both professional and personal topics. Information coded

as mostly professional, some personal included a small amount of personal information, but the quote content contained mostly professional information.

TABLE VI

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Quote Content

Article Gender Focus	Quote Content					Total
	Personal	Mostly Personal; Some Profess.	Neutral	Mostly Profess., Some Personal	Profess.	
Male	283 (22%)	104 (8%)	216 (17%)	296 (23%)	285 (22%)	1,184 (92%)
Female	4 (>1%)	4 (>1%)	12 (1%)	11 (1%)	19 (2%)	50 (4%)
Mixed	2 (>1%)	2 (>1%)	8 (1%)	21 (2%)	20 (2%)	53 (4%)
Total	289 (23%)	110 (8%)	236 (18%)	328 (26%)	324 (25%)	1,287 (100%)

Table VI shows that quotes contained the following types of information: purely personal 23% of the time; mostly personal, some professional 8% of the time; neutral 18% of the time; mostly professional, some personal 26% of the time; and only professional 25% of the time.

TABLE VII

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Quote Content
(Categories Combined)

Article Gender Focus	Quote Content			
	Personal	Neutral	Professional	Total
Male	387 (33%)	216 (18%)	581 (49%)	1,184 (100%)
Female	8 (16%)	12 (24%)	30 (60%)	50 (100%)

Because the numbers of articles about males and females were so disproportionate, Table VII was created to show the proportion of professional versus personal information to be compared between articles about males versus articles about females. To make the table more meaningful, the categories of personal and mostly personal, some professional were combined as personal and the categories of professional and mostly professional, some personal were combined as professional.

Relationship Analysis

Chi Square analysis was used to determine if there was a relation between gender of the source quoted in each article and gender of the subject of the article, between gender of the source quoted in each article and content contained in the quote, and between gender of the subject of the article and content contained in the quote.

TABLE VIII

Intercorrelation Between Gender of the Quoted Source,
Gender of the Subject of the Quotation, and Quote Content

	Source Quoted	Subject of Quotation	Quote Content
Attribution of Quote	--	--	--
Subject of Quote	.394*	--	--
Quote Content	-.212*	-.137*	--

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

A Pearson product-moment correlation showed a moderate correlation of .3 between gender of the source quoted in each article and gender of the subject of the article. It also showed a weak correlation between gender of the source quoted in each article and content contained in the quote (.2) and between gender of the subject of the article and content contained in the quote (.1).

TABLE IX

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Gender of the Subject of the Quotation

Article Gender Focus	Gender of Quoted Source			
	Male	Neutral	Female	Total
Male	1,024 (76%)	28 (2%)	66 (5%)	1,118 (83%)
Mostly Male, Some Female	1 (>1%)	0 (0%)	1 (>1%)	2 (>1%)
Neutral	128 (10%)	5 (>1%)	26 (2%)	159 (12%)
Mostly Female, Some Male	2 (>1%)	0 (0%)	1 (>1%)	3 (>1%)
Female	24 (2%)	0 (0%)	46 (3%)	70 (5%)
Total	1,179 (87%)	33 (3%)	140 (10%)	1,352 (100%)

Table IX shows that males talked about male subjects 76% of the time, neutral subjects 10% of the time, and female subjects 2% of the time. Females were quoted about males 5% of the time, neutral topics 2% of the time, and about females 3% of the time.

TABLE X

Gender Focus of the Article Compared with Gender of the Subject of the Quotation (Categories Combined)

Article Gender Focus	Gender of Quoted Source			Total
	Male	Neutral	Female	
Male	1,025 (87%)	128 (11%)	26 (2%)	1,179 (100%)
Female	67 (48%)	26 (18%)	47 (34%)	140 (100%)

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Because the gender of sources was so disproportionately male, Table X was created to show the proportion of quotes about male versus female subjects. To make the table more meaningful, the categories of male and mostly male, some female were combined as male and the categories of female and mostly female, some male were combined as female.

This table shows that regardless of whether males or females were the source of the quote, both were more likely to provide information about males. Also, male sources were used infrequently to provide information about females while females provided information about males and females more proportionately than males.

Qualitative/Interpretative Findings

Both men and women have participated in the construction of the dominant discourse (Clair, 1993, p. 118). Dominant discourse can be defined as language use by males and females that reflects the masculine or paternalistic view. For example, in the 1980s, high school English students were taught to use masculine pronouns, such as he/him as opposed to she/her, when referring to a universal audience. Such language use can perpetuate gender stereotypes and hegemony. The six framing devices under examination in this study can function similarly in female language use. The six framing devices are: accepting the dominant interest as universal, simple misunderstanding, reification, trivialization, denotative hesitancy, and public/private expression and public/private domain (Clair, 1993).

Trivialization was the framing device seen most often in the direct quotes analyzed in this thesis. Many quotes could be categorized under more than one framing device. Because such a large number of quotes show trivialization, quotes that fit another category in addition to trivialization were included in that category and the trivialization was noted. A full list of the quotes from female sources examined in this study can be found in Appendix C.

Accepting the Dominant Interest as Universal

“Accepting the dominant interest as universal” is seen when female sources quoted in *Sports Illustrated* use discourse that states or implies that male sports issues take precedence over secondary or personal interests, especially “feminine” ones.

Examples of quotes from female sources that may perpetuate hegemony via the framing technique “accepting the dominant interest as universal” were observed in several stories.

“Paternity Ward,” written by Grant Wahl and L. Jon Wertheim, was the cover story in the May 4, 1998, issue of *Sports Illustrated*. It contained a total of 47 quotes; 19 from female sources. This article was about the startling number of pro athletes who were fathering out-of-wedlock children and the disruptive effect paternity cases have on teams. The cover story was described in the magazine as a “special report” written to bring to the forefront the extent of the “problem” of athletes fathering out-of-wedlock children and the stresses this puts on the athletes’ careers. Several of the quotes from this article provide examples of female sources’ incorporation into their own discourse of the “accepting the dominant interest as universal” framing device. The dominant interest portrayed in this article was that the needs of the athlete take precedence, and that these paternity issues are created by opportunistic women. The consequences have a negative impact on the athlete and, ultimately, his team’s performance.

Several of the quotes provided by female sources for this article supported this concept. One example is when Charlotte Osuna, the mother of one of six children (all of whom have different mothers) fathered by Cleveland Cavaliers basketball star Shawn Kemp, explained Kemp’s erratic behavior and missed games by stating:

“I know it takes two to tango, but he met some bad women.” And then Osuna goes on to say, “It was, like, every other day somebody was delivering a total bomb to him.”

This statement, which seems to put the blame on the women rather than placing any responsibility on Kemp for his actions, is consistent with the overall tone of the article.

Later in the article, Osuna, who was forced to bring about legal action through a paternity suit against Kemp, again supports acceptance of the dominant interest of male athletes in the following quote:

"[Kemp] is an exceptional dad. He loves her, he sees her, he takes care of her. He makes a valiant effort to try to see his children."

This view represents the dominant view that doing "what is expected" of most fathers represents a "valiant effort" when it comes to a professional male athlete. Why is it that this male athlete is credited as an "exceptional dad" for making a "valiant effort to try to see his children" when mothers are expected by social standards to care for their children? Osuna is also trivializing women as mothers because, although complimenting Kemp on his parenting skills, she still had to file a lawsuit before Kemp finally took financial responsibility for his child.

"Paternity Ward" also demonstrates the "acceptance of the dominant interest as universal" framing technique in the next two quotes by females.

"Mr. Howard's initial response . . . was that the birth was [my] choice and therefore he should not have to pay child support."

and

"I've done my very best so no one can find me. I've just kind of dropped off the face of the earth."

In the second quote above, the female is saying that she chose to retreat and not pursue the athlete with legal action to force him to take responsibility for his child. This

demonstrates the dominant interest of female sacrifice to make life easier for the ideologically and socially dominant male.

Further evidence of the “acceptance of the dominant interests as universal” device is seen when one compares the quotes about **paternity** included above to the following quotes that frame athletes positively for their **financial support** of adult relatives. In this instance, the dominant view seems to be that many successful professional male athletes started from humble **beginnings and are now noble enough** to support less fortunate adult relatives. Quotes from females that support this idea are shown below. Yet, as was shown above when the same athletes have out-of-wedlock children, it is acceptable to avoid responsibility because they are the victims of opportunistic women, who apparently, “need” a man to support them, vying for large sums of money to support their whole family.

An article about Allen Iverson, a guard with the Philadelphia 76ers, points out that “the wallet in Iverson’s pocket is small, but so many people live out of it.” The story then goes on to list 13 people he supports, including his half-sister Brandy Freeman.

“The more of his family here, the better. We’re working on Brandy to come live with us now.” [Quote was attributed to Iverson’s half-sister.]

A similar history of male athletes supporting adult relatives is shown in the September 28, 1998, article profiling Terrell Davis, MVP (Most Valuable Player) of Super Bowl XXXIII. The story describes how the Davis family’s standard of living improved dramatically after Davis was drafted into the National Football League by the Denver Broncos, and how he bought his mother a house in Denver a few blocks from his own house so she could live near him.

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"I think he likes it that I'm here in Denver. He called me the other night. He was all concerned. Some kids were walking around his lawn. They'd found out where he lived. He wanted me to come over and get them out of there. I said maybe he should call the police. He said, 'I'm calling you.'"

An article titled, "The Best of Friends," is about Muhammad Ali and his 35-year friendship with Howard Bingham. Ali's wife, Lonnie, seems to accept the "dominant interest as universal" of men chasing other women, even when it is right in front of her. Examples of statements she makes follow.

"Ali, Halle Berry is here."

"He's flirting and doesn't think I can see." [Lonnie Ali says jokingly]

"He can't keep a secret."

Simple Misunderstanding

Female sources quoted in *Sports Illustrated* perpetuate hegemony when they accept or justify system contradictions by attributing them to a simple misunderstanding. In Clair's (1993) article, she uses sexual harassment cases to explain the concept of simple misunderstanding. There, females question their own judgment and express their uncertainty in their discursive framing by attributing to "flirting" what might, in fact, be sexual harassment and/or abuse. This linguistic attribution perpetuates hegemony. While there were no quotes in this study that fit the simple misunderstanding framing device, it is important to note that it has been documented elsewhere.

Reification

Reification is seen when female sources suggest that something is tangible or permanent when it is really just an abstract idea. For example, statements that suggest

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“that’s just the way it is” and imply that “the way it is” is unchangeable (Clair, 1993) facilitate the reification framing device.

In the article titled, “Paternity Ward,” a female lawyer is quoted to help explain the issues that male athletes have when it comes to paying large sums of child-support. The following quote sports the reification framing device and seems to support the foregone conclusion of the article that many women who have out-of-wedlock children will use legal action to receive large sums of money, and then use that money to support an entire family that may or may not be related to the male athlete. (Again, this indicates a “need” for women to be supported by men to survive.)

The female lawyer is quoted as describing athletes’ reactions to this issue:

“I don't mind paying for my kids, but I don't want to pay for her too.” Also, sometimes the woman has had a kid with another father, so the athlete says, ‘Why am I going to be supporting another child that's not mine?’ Which, at \$10,000 a month, he's going to be doing. The law recognizes that possibility and essentially says, ‘Too bad.’”

Trivialization

Quoted female sources can be seen using the trivialization framing device as a form of negation that reduces the significance of an event by making light of it.

In the article, “Paternity Ward,” a female, who is a lawyer for one of the male athletes, trivializes women and their ability to support themselves. She does this by comparing the issue of child-support to divorce suits and makes it appear that, unless women receive some sort of support from their husbands or male partners, they will be on welfare. This raises an interesting issue because this lawyer comes across as an expert,

which seems to make her trivialization of women's ability to support themselves even more damaging in the opinions and attitudes of *Sports Illustrated's* mostly male readers:

"When you talk about investment in a child, it's not just buying the Pampers -- it's all the things that go into producing an adult who's a functioning and productive member of society. You can analogize it to what happens to wives in divorce suits. Should we just look at that amount of support it will take to keep them off the welfare rolls? Or are they entitled to share in the accumulated wealth?"

Female athletes also used the trivialization framing device when describing their athletic performance or explaining why they succeeded or failed. The following quotes show how females voiced a lack of confidence in their physical abilities as well as downplayed when/if they won in a competition. When females say that they are satisfied with anything other than winning (or downplay their accomplishments) by stating that they are happy with second place, males may tend to dismiss women's achievements, saying that females are not competitive enough. Men may conclude that females do not deserve to be a part of the sports world. These assumptions perpetuate a stereotype that female athletes are lucky to succeed in the male-dominated sports industry.

"I had a master plan, but I didn't have the confidence to execute in these conditions, because I didn't want to go into the fence. I don't know. Maybe I won that gold medal in the Super G so I wouldn't injure myself today."

"When I think back to Dec. 4, sitting on the snow in Vail with a blown-out knee, I feel like I'm lucky to even be here. I don't like to think that way, it doesn't become me. But it's real. Long week, long year."

"Michelle lost her confidence after the nationals. That was her first bad skate in two or three years, and it didn't help that other people began comparing her to Tara. Michelle had never been compared to anyone before. She'd always been the one who was coming up."

Michelle Kwan described herself as *"the happiest silver medallist ever."*

"Maybe this means I was meant to go with her. I almost feel like I'm the godmother of this baby."

In many *Sports Illustrated* quotes, women were often depicted as what is commonly referred to as "trophy wives" of famous, powerful, successful male athletes and coaches, whose only function is to serve their husbands. In the following quotes, the wives and mothers come across as unintelligent and even incompetent, out of touch with reality, or in a passive role in the relationship.

"You can get a degree in ballet, in vocal music, sculpture--even tuba. Maybe you should be able to get a degree in football."

"We get letters from countries I never heard of."

"I don't understand sports, really. I've never been a fan."

"[There are] kids everywhere [in New Orleans], why do they let them live there? Make them go to work or something. Get the off the streets. It's totally disgusting."

"I went to Bourbon Street a few times at night. I had to cover my nose."

"I kept waiting for him to snap at me, to end a conversation abruptly, but he's still so loose and happy. That's not like him; he usually saves his happiness for afterward. One of his former teammates, Keith Bishop, was looking for Super

Bowl tickets, and a radio station in Texas was giving away tickets to whoever could get the most famous person to call. So John called the radio station for Keith, and Keith won the contest because John's probably the most famous person there is this week. [John Elway's wife discussing the week leading up to Denver's win in Super Bowl XXXII.]

A profile about Bill Parcells, head coach of the New York Jets professional football team, appeared in the December 14, 1998, issue of *Sports Illustrated* and provided an example of this type of trivialization. The profile described Parcells as stubborn, domineering and nasty – and possibly the best coach in the National Football League.

“*Wasn't that nice of coach Cahill to console you like that.*” [Quote attributed to Bill Parcells' mother.]

Bill Parcells' mother, Ida, who rarely saw him play quarterback on his high school football team, misunderstood a scene where Cahill was chastising Parcells for calling a bad play in the football game. This quote makes Parcells' mother look unintelligent and reinforces the idea that women do not understand sports.

In this quote, Ashley Judd, a movie actress and University of Kentucky alumna, is commenting on her relationship with Head Coach Tubby Smith's wife in an article about Kentucky's basketball program. This was the only quote from a female that appeared in the article:

“When I became something of a scandal, Donna said, ‘You know what? Four old ladies picked that dress out. You're doing what we can't.’”

The next quote is from Mark McGuire's ex-wife. She was explaining why McGuire wasn't as successful at the beginning of his professional baseball career as he is today

and commenting on his current record for the most home runs hit in a single season. She trivializes women by categorizing them as a negative factor contributing to his poor performance early in McGuire's career.

"I think there were too many things calling Mark's name. Women, fame, glamour."

In this study of 1998 *Sports Illustrated* stories, only three articles with females as main subjects were cover stories. Trivialization occurred in descriptions of success of the female athletes in all these stories. In the article profiles about male athletes, men were commended for succeeding despite "humble" beginnings and were glorified for supporting their adult relatives (as noted above). Often, however, the success of female athletes was attributed to the career guidance and support of a male family member, the fathers, in the three articles included in this study:

"What did my dad say?" [Pat Summitt asking about her father's reaction to a coaching loss early in her coaching career.]

The article attributed Summitt's drive and her success to her need for acceptance and approval from her father.

In the quote below, world champion figure skater Michelle Kwan's sister, who is also a competitive ice skater, attributes their disciplined practice and resulting success as competitive skaters to their father.

"Michelle was going faster than anyone. We'd go to Lake Arrowhead for the weekend, which was inspirational, since there was always someone famous skating there, and every weekend she'd learn a new jump. To her it was like walking. We had no vacations. No days off. We skated on Christmas Day. One

day I'd be tired. The next day Michelle would be tired. But Dad would tell us, It's your responsibility to do it even when you don't want to. He taught us we had to commit."

An article about competitive skiing included an update on both the male and female season. While the portion of the article about men's skiing focused on mostly competition reports with a few personal anecdotes about male skiers, the section about Picabo Street, an accomplished Olympic female champion, focused on the role of Street's family, specifically her father, in her success:

"We vibrate on a high level in our family."

"Everybody wants to make things perfect for me. They're thinking, Do I talk to her? Do I leave her alone? It's tough for them."

In yet another article, Mark O'Meara's wife, Alicia, trivializes his British Open win while "sipping champagne." This is an example of a female attributing success to something other than hard work; especially with regard to a male:

"Mark didn't have anything to prove. This is just something nice that happened to us."

In the following quote, Terrell Davis' mother endorses the stereotype that women should stay home and raise a family rather than become a professional. The story then goes on to show that, after her husband's death, the Davis family experienced extreme poverty because she did not have any work-related skills.

"I was 16 years old when I got married. I didn't know anything. I thought I'd have a house full of kids and we'd all go to church on Sunday and I'd cook dinner every

night and my husband would say, 'Hi, honey, I'm home.' Well, Joe Davis wasn't exactly the hi-honey-I'm-home type."

Another example of the trivialization framing device apparent in female quotes was this one. The quote is from the wife of the baseball fan who caught McGuire's record-breaking homerun baseball. The quote frames her as unintelligent or, at least, overly sentimental and non-pragmatic because all she wanted for this highly coveted sports memento that was worth more than a million dollars was a hug from McGuire:

"There was only one thing we wanted from him. That was a good hug. And it was a good hug."

There were a number of quotes by females in the articles included in this study that showed emotion and "feelings" while quotes by men and about men rarely showed emotion. This tendency to focus on females' emotions reinforces the stereotype that women are too emotional to succeed in sports and other traditionally male arenas.

Examples of quotes focusing female emotions and feelings are listed below:

"I was crying during her long program, sure. The people around me were crying, too. That's what you hope to do with a program. They were enraptured by what Michelle was doing on the ice."

"I had this flutter in my stomach when I saw him. So did my dad, I mean if this isn't full circle..."

"I was sad because Kobe was sad. I never imagined feeling that way about somebody I'd never met. It hurt him as if it was a family member. For a week he was missing meals. It was really, really hard for him."

"The life went out of me. The feeling started at the top of my head and drained right to my feet. I cried for two days."

"I remember being really happy when Terrell graduated from high school. Terrell and Jamaul graduated together. Terrell was going off to Long Beach. Jamaul had enlisted in the Navy. I remember feeling they had survived. They had come through it all, and they were safe."

"I'm glad last year happened. Everything happened so fast, I didn't appreciate what I'd already done. I didn't enjoy it. I was so worried about winning, it was as if I was caught up in my own web. I kept asking myself, Why am I here if I don't love it? Why am I torturing myself? It's supposed to be fun, and I thought I'd die if I didn't win."

"Skating takes up 70 percent of my time. School about 25 percent. Having fun and talking to my friends, five percent. It's hard. I envy other kids a lot of things, but I get a guilt trip when I'm not training."

"We'd focused on the dramatic side of her personality. Frank and I had seen that peaceful quality of hers in practice. We just hadn't given her a vehicle to express it."

The aforementioned article about Pat Summitt contained four more examples of how emotional interactions were played up in cover stories about women. Such emotional interactions were not included in the cover stories about men:

"If she didn't really want me, why did she go through all that, Mom?"

"You don't think we can win it all with me playing like I am, but I...I don't think we can win it all with your coaching like you are. You've got to back off me now, especially in front of other people. You can't do that to me anymore."

"Doesn't mean I won't criticize you anymore, do you understand? But I'll try."

A series of quotes that appeared in an article profiling New Orleans Head Football Coach Mike Ditka also demonstrated the trivialization framing device. Ditka, who is well-known for his extensive experience and success as football coach of the Chicago Bears, was portrayed as the "white knight" from a fairy tale that had come to New Orleans to "save" the New Orleans Saints football team from its dismal history of poor performance. The following quotes show how the females are literally begging him to stay after rumors had circulated that he was leaving New Orleans based on comments he had made after an embarrassing loss in November 1997. This "begging" reinforces the stereotype that women are poor, weak, ineffective beings who need men to save them from a dismal life of loneliness:

"We have lots of confidence in you, Mike," says an elderly woman. "Please don't tell us you're leaving anymore."

[The elderly woman continues] *"Mike? Please don't do that again."*

Later in the story, another female is quoted beseeching Ditka to stay by trying to convince him that the New Orleans football team is not a hopeless cause and that he is needed to save the day:

"Coach Mike, you know we have a lot of St. Jude's altars in New Orleans. You know who St. Jude was?" [St. Jude is the patron saint of hopeless causes.]

"You ever pray to St. Jude, Coach Mike?"

"We're not a hopeless cause!"

The trivialization framing device was seen most often in the direct quotes from women analyzed for this thesis. Females seem to diminish the significance of events by making light of the situation, thereby reinforcing the dominant ideology.

Denotative Hesitancy

The vocabulary that is used by a female source can impact a reader's understanding of the world and is a powerful tool for defining reality. Since mostly males write about sports, they often dictate the vocabulary used in sports reporting. As a result, women may use this vocabulary in their own descriptions of sports and their experiences with sports. Denotative hesitancy is seen when the less dominant, here females, lack the means of expression to convey their own narrative or define their own experience.

In the following example, there is no language for a woman to describe the act of "labor," that is childbirth, while doing a "man's" job. In this example Pat Summit's role as head coach is considered a "man's" job:

"Mickie, we have to go. Now." [Pat Summit is going into labor while she's on the road recruiting the top women's basketball recruit in 1997.]

In the case of Summit, the word, "labor," could be seen as a contradiction because it conjures up an image of when a woman's only "labor" was childbirth as opposed to "labor" needed to support a family.

In the following quote, when Allan Iverson's female tutor had to resort to male-inspired sports lingo to describe Iverson's success at the end of the season, such as "he really broke out," the denotative hesitancy device also seems to appear:

“He had been struggling, and all these people were putting pressure on him, asking if he was going to be drafted or not. Before the last home game I told him the NBA stuff doesn't matter to me, but that he wouldn't be happy if he wasn't playing the way he's capable of playing. Then against Auburn he really broke out. Ever since then he's been a totally different player.”

This is an example of how sports reporting, which is a male-dominated industry, has set a vocabulary still predominantly evoking a patriarchal perspective and experience.

Public/Private Expressions and Public/Private Domain

There are two types of expressions, public and private, which are typically practiced in their corresponding domains. Quotes that can move a story from the public arena to the private domain are more likely to maintain the dominant ideology, by diminishing or relegating to the emotional and/or interpersonal what might be a competing or challenging ideology. This can work conversely. Two examples of women bringing such private expressions into the public domain follow. In all of the articles reviewed for this study, only the three following quotes made any reference to sex. Since sex is considered by American society as extremely private, it is interesting that these quotes came from women and that the subject came up as an answer to a reporter's question. The article, “Paternity Ward,” was about the effects of having out-of-wedlock children on the male athlete. Ironically, though, sex was not specifically mentioned in the article. It can also backfire. These females are upholding the dominant ideology by making themselves look like sex objects and maintaining the dominant ideology as these examples show:

"Not in our family it's not. But if he wins, I'm sure he'll deserve any favor he wants." [John Elway's wife answering the reporter's question about having sex before a football game.]

"If I suck on something, it's not going to be a crawfish." [Mike Ditka's wife answering a reporter's question about New Orleans crawfish.] She goes on to say,

"Menopause will be absolutely wonderful in this car [Mercedes SLK230]."

Later in the article, Ditka's wife alludes to another private situation when she says:

"The money makes him look like a pimp."

In the following quote, Mark McGuire's ex-wife discusses McGuire's early years of playing baseball and some of the doubts he felt, but she sets the quote in the personal domain:

"I can remember lying in bed in the middle of the night and Mark saying, 'I can't hit the baseball anymore. I'm done. I've lost it. I've got to quit.'"

These quotes that bring the private domain into the public diminish the female voice by perpetuating hegemony. They make certain stereotypes acceptable as well as perpetuate stereotypes of "traditional" women as sex objects.

The framing devices outlined in Clair's (1993) study showed that women helped to reinforce hegemony through the content of their quotes in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. By perpetuating the dominant ideology of the patriarchal male and the helpless female, women continue to diminish their role in the sports arena.

Females Quoted as Credible Experts

While many of the quotes in the studied articles fit into Clair's (1993) typology, a large number of quotes from female sources both reinforced and challenged the concept women as credible experts on some important sports issues. In the quantitative part of this study, it was found that the few times women were quoted in cover stories, they were quoted most often about professional topics. This section examines these quotes and shows that women tend to be quoted credibly and trivialized at the same time.

One example of women shown as credible experts was in an article about Internet sports gambling and how it is changing gambling in the United States. Although females provided only three of the 35 quotes that appeared in the article, the three quotes were from women in high-level positions who came across as credible, knowledgeable sources. The following quote from Sue Schneider, chairman of the International Gaming Commission and editor of a Web site that reports on and promotes Internet gambling offers an example of a female quoted as an expert. Clair's (1993) denotative hesitancy framing technique also applies since Schneider was described as "chairman," a term developed by the dominant male interest:

"The key question we need to ask is, What is precipitating all this concern among politicians? Has someone been hurt, or are all the horror stories just made up? The reputable sites are regulated by governments around the world. These are legitimate governments that are concerned about who they regulate. How arrogant is it for American politicians to say that those nations aren't good enough to regulate this industry?"

Gyneth McAllister, who is the expeditor of international investments for the Antiguan government, arguably demonstrates a keen understanding of the topic in the following quote:

"The US says it's most interested in the player and that they want to make sure we're not distributing licenses to just anyone. The problem with Senator Kyl's view is that it follows the old American vision of the world as being headed by the United States. But the United States does not control the world. We get at least one request for a license every day. You think of a bookie, you think of back alleys. This is the new breed of bookie. They're often young, computer-savvy entrepreneurs who like sitting behind that lit screen. They don't break kneecaps, they write microcode."

The third example of a credible quote from a female source follows:

"It is really hypocritical when states like Missouri, Minnesota and Wisconsin, which sanction gambling for their own profit, start taking a moral stand against people betting with regulated businesses on the Internet. It seems like their real interest is in protecting their pocketbook, not their citizens."

In the article, "Paternity Ward," two different female lawyers, who represent male athletes, were also found to be quoted in the story as a credible sources:

"The reports that make the sports pages with increasing frequency these days represent only 'the tip of the iceberg.'"

"Child support is not intended as a vehicle to enable kids to maintain the lifestyle of their father. It's intended to reflect the needs of the child, and it's pretty hard to

figure out how a one-year-old needs more than \$1,200 or \$1,500 a month to live on."

"When you talk about investment in a child, it's not just buying the Pampers -- it's all the things that go into producing an adult who's a functioning and productive member of society. You can analogize it to what happens to wives in divorce suits. Should we just look at that amount of support it will take to keep them off the welfare rolls? Or are they entitled to share in the accumulated wealth?"

Although it is interesting to note that while the female lawyer in the second quote may come across as a credible authority on the issues of child-support, she seems to trivialize women and their ability to support themselves at the same time. She does this by comparing the issue of child-support to divorce suits and makes it appear that, unless women receive some sort of support from their husbands, they will be on welfare.

Evidence was found to support females as sources for credible information in stories about baseball, as illustrated in the following quotes from an article about Sammy Sosa of the Chicago Cubs and his role in the well-publicized home run record race in 1998. It seems that this female has worked hard to educate herself about the Chicago Cubs and baseball in general, which is why she appears as such a credible source:

"Because he's so extravagant, so monstrous. It's like he should be on his own team because he doesn't match anyone else. I just want him to break the record, nobody else."

"That's exactly why he's never hit a grand slam. Not one. He can't resist swinging for the fences. He's better about it this year, but still...See that bare spot he dug out with his spikes? That's so he'll remember where to stand. He and [shortstop]

Manny Alexander share a brain. There's why we're always asking Sammy how many outs there are. We're doing it to make sure he knows."

In the article about Muhammad Ali's manager and best friend, Howard Bingham, Ali's wife, Lonnie, was portrayed as both credible and trivial based on analysis of her quotes. Here is an example of one of the credible quotes provided by Lonnie Ali:

"That's hard, too. To say to a personality as powerful and overwhelming as Muhammad--to say, 'No, you're wrong. I don't agree with you!'--that's very difficult. But Howard was never a yes-man. He always tells Muhammad what he feels he has to know."

Female athlete Picabo Street also appeared as both credible and trivial in the following quote. The quote alludes to the importance of focus and practice, but also portrays Street as distracted:

"To see people there like [freestyle skier] Johnny Moseley, who was already done and had been partying with his friends and family for two days, was tough. I couldn't wait to get in the car and get home and focus."

A dichotomy appeared in the March 2, 1998, article about Pat Summitt. She was described on the cover as possibly the best college women's basketball coach since John Wooden, the famous men's basketball coach from UCLA. Wooden holds the coaching record for the most NCAA national basketball championships. This comparison obviously offers enormous credibility with *Sports Illustrated's* predominantly male readership, as does the following quote describing Summitt. Yet, in the same article, Summitt is trivialized by the reporter because her drive and resulting success is credited

to her father's influence in her life. However, in the quotes from Summitt and other people talking about her, she appears credible and driven in her own right:

"She makes you feel there's nothing to be afraid of in life. If you want something, you go after it as hard as you can, and you make no excuses."

"That doctor's crazy as heck if he thinks I'm not going to play ball again!"

[Summitt's response after her doctor told her that her knee injury would end her basketball career. The article points out that Summitt did return to basketball after the injury and her team won a silver medal at the 1976 Olympic games.]

The following quotes also demonstrate Summitt's portrayal as a credible female sports figure by highlighting her serious approach to coaching and crediting her undeniable success to this approach. Summitt's comments are consistent with male NCAA basketball coaches who were also featured in 1998 issues of *Sports Illustrated*.

"But remember, the point guard's an extension of me on the court. You've never been through anything like what you're about to go through."

"Defense? You call that defense, Michelle? I thought you wanted to be a leader. How can I take you to war with me? Don't try to tell me! I've been coaching longer than you've been alive!"

"You don't ever be late! Next time you just bring that toilet with you!"

"I love what I'm doing and this is what I'm here to talk about, and you'll pay attention while I'm talking or you'll leave the room."

"What have you done for your team today?" "Well, uh...I...I don't know."

"That's exactly my point!"

"Now you're going to play the half you didn't play last night!" [Summitt forces her team to practice at 2 a.m. after her team loss on the road in a game Summitt's father saw and told her he'd seen a better game the night before between sixth-graders."]

While the argument could be made that the content in the last quote above demonstrates Summitt's commitment to coaching and determined approach to coaching and winning, it also applies to the trivialization framing device Clair (1993) explicated and that contributes to hegemony. This is because the reporter implies that Summitt called the early morning practice because she was disappointed in the reaction she received from her father.

The underlying message in an article featuring Michelle Kwan was similar to that profiling Summitt. While the following quotes provide examples of Kwan presented as a credible athlete, information contained in the quotes and the tone of the article also tended to trivialize her accomplishments. One such example is when her coach says, "We've only seen the beginning of what this *girl* can do." (emphasis added) No male athlete in the 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories examined for this thesis was referred to as a "boy," including high school athletes.

"Michelle's capable of doing these types of performances more than once. She's mentally strong, she could do it all over again in Nagano."

When Kwan came to the 1997 national in Nashville, she was, in her word, "on a roll."

"Most skaters are nervous and tight waiting around before they go out, but Michelle didn't look like that at all. She was completely living in the moment. She

didn't just want to perform--she was reveling in it. I could tell when she stepped on the ice that this was going to be something special."

"She found something out about herself in Philadelphia. She learned she could feel serenity and joy on the ice, in front of a crowd, in an incredibly pressurized moment. And she did it after having been off the ice almost a month from her injury. She knows now that she can deal with anything, good or bad. She's saying, I was good--now how much better can I be? We've only seen the beginning of what this girl can do."

"It was one of the most magnificent short programs I've ever seen. But then to do it again in the long--both those performances have to be said in the same breath--I can't remember anyone doing that."

"I like my schedule to be jam-packed. I didn't want to finish my homework and watch four hours of TV. I wanted to get to the 1994 Olympics."

"She has a unique style. It's ethereal and feminine. She seems to float over the ice. She hovers and skims, so you aren't aware of her digging into the ice to get the height that she does on her jumps. Michelle did one of the most technically difficult programs out there, but that's not what you took away from it. She made the difficult look easy."

In the final quote above, Kwan is depicted as a successful athlete, but at the same time the quotes frame feminine terms to define her style. This is another example of how a quote can be both credible and trivialization at the same time.

Finally, in an article featuring the career of Randy Johnson, a pitcher for the Houston Astros, Nancy Crofts, Executive Director of Player Records for the National

League, appears as a credible source when she responded to a coach's last minute request to trade a player:

"Gerry, I'm looking at my clock right now, and it says 12 o'clock. If you'd called one minute later, I don't know if I could have allowed it."

Although females were depicted as credible sources in quotes appearing in 1998 cover stories of *Sports Illustrated*, the content of their quotes both reinforced and challenged the dominant ideology. Hegemony was seen in every story examined for this thesis in which female quotes appeared. The reinforcement of the dominant male ideology is apparent in the sports world, and females are participating in this ideology. Although it appears that women are making progress professionally in the sports arena, they are not consistently portrayed as credible sources in *Sports Illustrated*.

General Background Information Provided By Family Members and Friends

There were additional quotes examined in this thesis that deserve attention, but these quotes do not fall neatly in the previous categories that have been discussed. These quotes provided by female sources that contained information only a family member, such as a parent or close friend could provide. These quotes did not portray the female source in a negative or demeaning light, but the themes running through these quotes support the hegemonic devices used to maintain the dominant interests of the patriarchal group (Clair, 1993, pp 114).

It is interesting that mothers tended to be used as sources providing retrospective information about an athlete's childhood or early abilities. On the other hand, fathers were often used as sources for quotes that described the athlete's current performance. While fathers were portrayed as important factors in an athlete's success, mothers were

often portrayed as the person responsible for the trivial details in the male athlete's life. This reinforces the dominant ideology evidenced in the sports world because the relationship between the mother and athlete/son is not shown as a mature adult one. Only quotes from female sources have been included:

"I saw a softer, gentler Joe."

"It was funny, He was such a tough guy. Old school. He'd say, 'Get me...' and the boys would be moving before he even said what he wanted. If he said 'do,' they did."

"The only one I didn't worry about was Terrell. The other boys...when they went out the door, I always wondered if they would come back. I never felt that way about Terrell. He always had a maturity about him. He was the youngest, but he was always the most mature."

"They called me to the waiting room. I'd worked at the hospital, so I knew that was the place where they delivered bad news, but I was still hoping. I thought maybe he'd be better and come home, and it was all just a big scare. Everything would work out for the best."

"It's strange, the twists and turns of life. I often wonder what would have happened if Joe had lived. I wonder if things would have been different. I think so."

"Of all the boys, Bobby was the most like his father. He was quiet and shy but also had that anger inside him. I don't know where it came from."

"You hear them talking about your son, and you say, This can't be the same person I know. He's 19 years old."

"I don't worry about the violence in football, not compared to the violence on the streets."

"It's not so bad. Fifteen years and it'll be done. Fifteen years isn't such a long time."

"That was probably worse than jail."

"There was a lot of tension for Allen even driving into the town. But he kept coming."

"All these things you have been given -- you're good-looking, you're loaded with personality and charisma, you've got this incredible athletic ability, marvelous artistic ability, you love people -- it's almost like God made a mistake here, giving one person too much. What are you going to do with all this, Allen? What will you do with it?"

"They also asked me if I thought Mike would ever be a Bear again. I said, 'No, he's a Saint now. Don't be surprised if that halo comes down and chokes him someday.'"

"Jay was the most talented of all the boys. He was more coordinated than Mark at any age."

"The accident kind of put Jay into a spin."

"Absolutely not. I always wanted my children to be able to do what they wanted to do, be able to express their excellence. We sent him to college to learn how to earn a living."

"There's no big living going on here."

"It breaks my heart. When I first got pregnant, I told him about how my father was never there. He talked about how his father was never around, and he said he would always be there."

"That had never been an issue before. Greg was there at the hospital when two of the three kids were born, and he used to show them off to his friends and his mom. Only when he had to pay his fair share was he saying he might not be the dad."

"When I was younger, I would send him letters, and my mom would send him my school pictures and report cards. We would send them certified mail to make sure he received them, but he just didn't respond."

"I went to see the Pacers play earlier this season, and I went down to talk to Dinah [Coach Larry Bird's wife of eight years] and to see their kids. [He] looked over and saw me holding [Bird's daughter, five-year-old] Mariah, but he just kind of smiled awkwardly. I didn't get to talk to him, though."

"It sounds corny, but it kind of made me feel closer to him when I played. I put on of his old high school jerseys in my gym bag as a good-luck charm."

"I've never gotten so mad that I haven't wanted to see him."

"I was really happy to go to the game. Dad seemed interested in what I had to say. He walked me to my car, and he hugged me. I hope I can see more of him now."

"I felt really bad for Gabrielle. With all the people there, she didn't get much direct attention from him at all."

"She talked about that for the longest time, that she watched The Lion King in her daddy's car. He never attempted to see her after that."

"The doctor said to let him go when he does this."

"His mind is playing tricks on him. He thinks he's back in the ring, fighting again."

"In all the time I've known Howard, I've seen him upset only twice. First was when his father died. Then, with Arsenio. I know he was trying not to cry. He just couldn't believe it."

Even in quotes that provide general background information, females tended to be relied upon to provide retrospective information while males were more often relied upon to provide current performance information. This is yet another example of hegemony.

Additional Quotes By Female Sources

Following is a list of quotes from females that appeared in 1998 issues of *Sports Illustrated* cover stories that did not seem to add meaningfully to the interpretative portion of this study. For the most part, these quotes contained limited meaningful content and served primarily to help move dialogue along in the story:

"Hermann! Hey, Hermann!"

"Congratulations"

"Hey, Mike, don't quit your day job."

"Sounds like, sounds like..."

"I have pictures of them [Kobe Bryant with Tauja and Tamika Catchings] walking through Venice with Kobe."

"He would watch those games like they were a movie, and he knew what the actors were going to say next."

"Oh, it must be Howard Bingham."

"The famous Howard Bingham!"

"Pranksters."

"Look out!"

"Why, Howard, you didn't stutter."

"Take me there. I want to meet your family and see where you grew up."

"Can't. NCAA won't let me take you. Someday we'll do it, Michelle. When all this is done."

"Stupid! That's the Big Kat!"

"Where are your shoes?"

"Seriously! Seriously! That's my foot!"

"Wait! Ow! Wait! That's good!"

"That was a mess." [Ice cream sent to Michael Jordan in the mail]

"People are getting desperate. They're desperate to get to him before he [Michael Jordan] retires."

"That sweater is not going to fit anybody on this planet." [Sweater knitted by a fan for Michael Jordan with arms 6 feet long]

"I'll call you!"

"Congratulations! Goodbye! Congratulations, Pat!"

"I was just there yesterday!"

"No, what about her?"

"Hold it! Stop! Everyone stop!"

"Lisa!"

"Yes, Pat?"

"Let's run."

"At age 13 he was about 5'6", 230 pounds."

Chapter 5 Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Summary and Conclusions.

Various studies have analyzed different aspects of the popular sports newsmagazine, *Sports Illustrated*, as a means to examine gender bias in sports print media. This study examines one aspect of gender bias in sports reporting by counting reporters' use of sources for direct quotes in cover stories and analyzing the content of the quotes. In many respects, the findings were consistent with previous studies in that a large majority of articles indeed focused on males (Kinnick, 1998; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999) and contained quotes from males that were about males (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Lapchick, 1991; Lee, 1991).

The evidence of this study, which is similar to the findings by Duncan, et al. (1990), clearly suggests that women's sports is underreported and that what coverage does exist is inferior to that afforded men's sports (Duncan, et al., 1990). Specifically, this study examined the number and content of quotes by male versus female sources in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories.

As has been shown before, the proportion of cover stories about women still lags behind women's sports participation rates. Three of the 52 cover stories (86 separate segments written by different authors) examined in this thesis were about women. Another primary finding of this study was that men provided an overwhelming majority of the quotes and typically provided information about males. In the 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories examined in this thesis, 87% of the quotes were from male sources, and 77% of the time a male was the subject of the quote. This finding is

consistent with several previous studies, (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983; Lee, 1991; Lumpkin and Williams, 1991). The fact that most of the quotes were by men and about men reflects the current reality, and is not completely unexpected given that *Sports Illustrated* is targeted to a male audience. This places limits on the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. Still, the current study does shed some light on how and when women are used as sources for sports information and the information they provide. Also, the descriptive analysis of quotes from female sources that were included in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories provides insight into the type of information female sources provide and whether this information is framed in a credible way with regard to sports specifically.

Chi Square analysis found that only one relation was significant. A moderate positive correlation between gender of the subject of the quote and gender of the source of the quote was identified indicating that sources of a particular gender were more likely to provide information about the same gender. Specifically, males were more likely to talk about males. It is important to note that males mostly provide the content, with females and gender-neutral entities providing little input. In fact, gender neutral sources actually provided twice as many quotes as female sources in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. This finding seems to indicate that even gender-neutral entities are used more as sources for sports information than females. This finding seems to support the idea that 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories help to reinforce the socialization towards the male-dominated sports culture that is prevalent in American society today. Since such a small proportion of overall quotes were from female sources, they had little impact on the correlation.

This study also found that quote content in *Sports Illustrated* is mostly professional in nature, with more than 50% of the quotes containing professional or mostly professional content. When quotes from both male and female sources were examined separately in the content analysis, content was mostly professional.

Both the Uses and Gratifications and Modeling theories apply to this study. The theory of Uses and Gratifications is relevant because people “seek content from the media that they anticipate will provide them with certain kinds of experiences” (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 400). It is clear that the writers and editors for *Sports Illustrated* target the magazine for male uses and gratifications.

Modeling Theory is also applicable because studies have found that in some cases the media provide models of behavior that can be imitated, and people who see the action may adopt it as part of their own behavior repertoire (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). These findings seem to show that *Sports Illustrated* reinforces the male model while diminishing the female, an example of patriarchy. It appears that both males and females seem to be modeling this behavior: the latter modeling contributing to hegemony in the sports world.

The results of the descriptive analysis conducted as a part of this study provide evidence of the extent to which cover stories in *Sports Illustrated* help to reinforce socialization towards created the male-dominated sports culture. While the content analysis results showed that when women are quoted, they appear to be credible sports sources, the descriptive findings offered a somewhat paradoxical perspective. In fact, of the 149 quotes from women in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories, 25 quotes were classified as females quoted as credible experts. Conversely, most of the quotes showed

that females were acceptant and reflected the patriarchal dominant interest by trivializing the female voice.

Discussion of Research Questions.

Results with respect to the specific research questions examined in this study are described in this section.

Reporters did quote men more often in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. Results of this study indicate that more than nine out of 10 times males, as opposed to females or gender-neutral entities, are used as sources for quotes in *Sports Illustrated* cover stories, which indicates reporters are continuing to rely almost exclusively on males as sources of sports information in the print media. Similarly, males were much more likely to be the subject of quotes in *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. Ironically, neutral subjects, such as newspaper articles, a fan or the crowd, were more than twice as likely as females to be the subject of quotes. So, in general, females were infrequently relied upon as sources for quotes in *Sports Illustrated* during 1998. The argument could be made that males are quoted more often in *Sports Illustrated* because society expresses limited interest in female sports. Other studies have made the point that female and male viewers alike might express little interest in certain women's sports because they have had so little exposure to them. However, the point must be made that it is impossible to know which came first, relative public disinterest in women's sports or a lack of quality coverage (Duncan, et al., 1990; Tuggle & Owen, 1999).

While this study confirmed that the content of quotes in *Sports Illustrated* is still focused on males, this finding may be a function of the magazine medium and target audience, which is segmented and aimed towards males. On the other hand, this finding

is consistent with what can be described as the male dominated sports culture that prevails in modern American society.

When examining quotes from only male sources, quotes were slightly more likely to contain professional content versus personal or neutral content. When examining quotes from only females, female sources were much more likely to provide professional content versus personal or neutral content. On the surface, these findings seem to support the assumption that both males and females provided relevant, credible information via direct quotations in 1998 *Sports Illustrated* cover stories. However, the number of quotes provided by females was very low, especially in comparison with the number of quotes from male sources examined in this study. Also, the descriptive analysis in this study indicated that this was not entirely true. To better understand this seemingly contradictory result, a descriptive/interpretive approach was used to find various patterns or clusters of attitudes that emerge in the quotes from female subjects included in this study (Hakim, 1987, p. 26). One consequent conclusion was that when women provided information that was used in a quote, they might speak credibly and include professional content, but, often, they also spoke in ways that supported patriarchy. When women do this, the result can be described as resultant hegemony. In this case, females often do not even realize they are participating in perpetuating an oppressive ideology. This conclusion is also supported by Meerten and Pettigrew's (1997) ideas that subtle gender bias is typically hidden from those who adopt these beliefs because the bias is expressed in socially acceptable ways.

This study also found that men are more often the subject of direct quotations than females or gender-neutral subjects. Male athletes received an overwhelming amount of

coverage compared to female athletes (Kane, 1989; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). Only three articles included a female subject, with two of those articles solely profiling a woman. Of course, direct comparisons are unfair because of the unbalanced number of stories about women versus men. Still, it is interesting to note that almost half of the stories about women included no quotes, while less than 3% of the stories about men contained no quotes. One role of the media is to reflect society and give it a voice. Because women received relatively little sports coverage, the visibility of a female athlete role model was minimized. Urquhart & Crossman (1999) noted that, without role models, there may be fewer female competitors, and fewer female competitors may result in less sports coverage. The potential cycle is disheartening when the goal of advocacy groups for women's sports is to realize equality of opportunity for women athletes (Urquhart & Crossman, 1999).

Out of 33 cover story authors, only one author was female, and her byline appeared as one of eight reporters covering a single cover story about each of the top 25 teams in college basketball for 1998. It appears the trend described by Lumpkin and Williams (1991) that mostly males cover sports stories is continuing (p. 26).

The quantitative research combined with the qualitative/interpretative design complimented each other in this study. The quantitative results made females appear at least somewhat credible as sources of quotes in that females provided mostly professional information. However, the interpretative perspective found that female sources often provided information that was framed in ways that did not enhance the credibility of the female sources. For example, in many *Sports Illustrated* quotes, women were often depicted as what is commonly referred to as "trophy wives" of famous, powerful,

successful male athletes and coaches, whose only function is to serve their husbands. In the following quotes, the wives and mothers of athletes come across as unintelligent and even incompetent, out of touch with reality, or in a passive role in the relationship.

"You can get a degree in ballet, in vocal music, sculpture--even tuba. Maybe you should be able to get a degree in football" (Murphy, 1998, August 31, p. 76).

"We get letters from countries I never heard of" (Reilly, 1998, May 11, p.50).

"I don't understand sports, really. I've never been a fan" (Reilly, 1998, May 11, p. 52).

Because females tended to frame themselves in ways that were not always credible, it appears that men are not entirely to blame for the gender bias shown in *Sports Illustrated*. This study helps to show how some female language use itself can function to perpetuate the dominant male ideology, thus engendering and advancing hegemony in the sports world.

Overall, this study confirms previous findings that *Sports Illustrated* is obviously a male stronghold (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Kinnick, 1998; Lapchick, 1995; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). Because sports print media authors are predominantly male, the long-term implications could be far-reaching (Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). The media directly and indirectly influence people, and, if females are not adequately represented, then their noteworthy athletic accomplishments may be ignored in the future. Lack of coverage may contribute to lack of successful females as role models and mentors for girls and professional women (Lopiano, 1995). This is a critical issue because the fact remains that, regardless of the increase in female participation in sports

since the introduction of Title IX, it is the media's treatment of women in sport that will help determine women's success in the industry (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983).

Suggestions for Future Research.

In this study, male authors wrote the majority of articles examined. One consideration for future research would be to compare how male and female journalists use sources in reporting sports stories in publications that have a better balance of male and female journalists. For example, in the first 1999 issue of *Sports Illustrated for Women*, almost half of the stories were written by female reporters. One research recommendation is to compare the content of quotes in sports stories written by females to stories written by males. Also, it would be interesting to determine if men continue to be relied upon more heavily as sources of information when only sports articles about females are examined.

Another future study recommendation is to compare the quotes the reporter did not choose to use with the quotes that were included in certain stories. This might help provide an understanding of the type of questions reporters ask males versus females and if the questions tend to be more professional or personal in nature for each gender.

Although there are similar studies using television as the medium (Duncan, et al., 1990; Tuggle, 1997; Tuggle & Owen, 1999), another consideration for future research would be to determine if women's sports that receive more television coverage, such as gymnastics, ice skating, and women's basketball, receive more and/or favorable coverage in *Sports Illustrated* and/or other print media.

An additional future research suggestion is to compare the relationship of the source of the information for the quote to the subject of the quote, such as coach, player,

owner, or parent or family member. Findings could provide additional insight to this study because the research could compare if quotes provided by a coach, player, owner, or parent or family member offer more professional or personal information.

Finally, a modified version of this thesis that examines how women are used as sources of sports information in sports television coverage is another recommendation for further study. By looking at the content of quotes from women on ESPN or CNN Sports Tonight, one could see if the results of this study of *Sports Illustrated* are also prevalent on television.

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Appendix A

Quantitative Coding Definitions

Source Gender (Who or what is speaking)

- Male = Male; Team of male players
- Female = Female; Team of female players
- Mixed = Attributed to crowd or fans in general
- Neutral = Hypothetical subject; game; athletic move

Subject Gender (Who or what is spoken about, not spoken to)

- Male
- Female
- Mixed
 - An organization, such as the Department of Justice, where no gender is specified but both males and females are a part of the organization
 - Unidentified subject who could be male or female, i.e. photographer
- Neutral
 - Idea, event, financial matters

Quote Content

Coded “Personal Information”

- References made to marital status, dating habits, domestic roles
- Evaluations are made in terms of traditional standards of feminine beauty; sexual references made to body shape, body size and/or body parts; references to hair style and color, and eye color
- References to male and female athletes conforming to the emotional stereotype; references to tears in success and defeat, passiveness, nerves, dispositions, unfulfillment, and role conflict
- References to differences between men and women based on anatomy emphasized: height, weight, muscle mass, lung capacity, fat distribution, etc. to justify limitations in performance levels achieved in all sports in which women participate, but especially in mixed events (i.e. track events)
- Personality characteristics unrelated to a person’s skill as an athlete, coach or sports executive
- Information about an athlete from family members who are not in a position to offer a professional opinion
- Information that has nothing to do with sports career

Coded “Professional Information”

- Information that relates directly to athletic performance or skill as an athlete
- A description of the sporting event
- Quotes related to an athlete’s skill, team’s performance (outside of information described in Personal Information section), including team preparation, individual preparation, performance, records
- Information relates directly to an athlete as part of a team or sport
- Personality characteristics related to a person’s skill as an athlete
- References to appearance as it relates to athletic performance
- College athletes: references to school grades as they relate to eligibility
- Career: Both has an athlete or otherwise

Coded “Neutral Content” (Content is neither professional nor personal and contains content that is not meaningful to the purpose of this study)

- Dialogue is coded as neutral when content is lacking, such as “Yes.”
- In dialogue, content coded as neutral if subject is neutral
- Coded as neutral if dialogue doesn’t provide information but helps the flow of the story
- Hypothetical quote
- Termination notice

Coded “Mixed Content”

- Subject of quote is coded as mixed when quote describes non-gender specific groups or organizations, such as an incident with police
- If quote contains both neutral and mixed subject, then subject is coded as mixed
- If quote content is a generalization to both sexes, content is coded as mixed

Coded “Other”

- Generalization to gender specific sport or event, coded to fit gender of sport

Appendix B

Appendix B provides a full reference list of the 1998 Sports Illustrated cover stories examined in this study.

Rushin, S. (1998, January 5). The year in sports – moments of truth. Sports Illustrated, 87(26), 75-96.

- King, P. Happy Ending, 76.
- Montville, L. Rising to the occasion, 78.
- Bamberger, M. Seeing was believing, 80.
- Farber, M. Scotty's icecapade, 82.
- Taylor, P. Never say die, 85.
- Layden, T. Star burst, 86.
- Hoffer, R. Grisly requiem, 88.
- Price, S. L. Fond farewell, 90.
- Callahan, G. Rocket's red glare, 92.
- Wolff, A. Gender bender, 94.
- Swift, E. M. Little heroes, 96.

Murphy, A. (1998, January 12). Friendly fire. Sports Illustrated, 88(1), 54-57.

Silver, M. (1998, January 19). Second to none. Sports Illustrated, 88(2), 30-33.

Crist, S. (1998, January 26). All bets are off. Sports Illustrated, 88(3), 82-92.

Silver, M. (1998, February 2). Seven up. Sports Illustrated, 88(4), 50-65.

Swift, E. M. (1998, February 9). Into the light. Sports Illustrated, 88(5), 114-118.

Taylor, P. (1998, February 16). Hang in there. Sports Illustrated, 88(6), 36-43.

Layden, T. (1998, February 23). Street fighting. Sports Illustrated, 88(8), 40-45.

Smith, G. (1998, March 2). Eyes of the storm. Sports Illustrated, 88(9), 88-106.

Reilly, R. (1998, March 9). Counter point. Sports Illustrated, 88(10), 82-95.

Wolff, A. (1998, March 16). Danger zone. Sports Illustrated, 88(11), 62-71.

Verducci, T. (1998, March 23). Man on a mission. Sports Illustrated, 88(12), 76-84.

Wolff, A. (1998, March 30). Let's get physical. Sports Illustrated, 88(13), 34-40.

Wolff, A. (1998, April 6). Comeback cats. Sports Illustrated, 88(14), 36-43.

- Layden, T. (1998, April 13). Masters plan. Sports Illustrated, 88(15), 62-67.
- Callahan, G. (1998, April 20). Rocket redux. Sports Illustrated, 88(16), 38-45.
- Thomsen, I. (1998, April 27). Showtime. Sports Illustrated, 88(17), 40-50.
- Wahl, G. and Wertheim, L. J. (1998, May 4). Paternity ward. Sports Illustrated, 88(18), 62-71.
- Reilly, R. (1998, May 11). Last call? Sports Illustrated, 88(19), 32-52.
- Verducci, T. (1998, May 18). Kick start. Sports Illustrated, 88(20), 38-43.
- Bamberger, M. (1998, May 25). Playin' the Dodger blues. Sports Illustrated, 88(21), 32-42.
- Montville, L. (1998, June 1). Good old boys. Sports Illustrated, 88(22), 36-41.
- Taylor, P. (1998, June 8). Winded city. Sports Illustrated, 88(23), 40-46.
- Taylor, P. (1998, June 15). The tangled web. Sports Illustrated, 88(24), 56-59.
- Deford, F. (1998, June 22). One of a kind. Sports Illustrated, 88(25), 48-50.
- Verducci, T. (1998, June 29). The education of Sammy Sosa. Sports Illustrated, 88(26), 37-44.
- Verducci, T. (1998, July 6). All-stars . . . so far. Sports Illustrated, 89(1), 30-41.
- Deford, F. (1998 July 13). The best of friends. Sports Illustrated, 89(2), 82-94.
- Bradley, J.E. (1998, July 20). Da saint. Sports Illustrated, 89(3), 50-59.
- Garrity, J. (1998, July 27). Double major. Sports Illustrated, 89(4), 42-47.
- Smith, G. (1998, August 3). Home run fever. Sports Illustrated, 89(5), 40-50.
- Verducci, T. (1998, August 10). We have lift off. Sports Illustrated, 89(6), 33-37.
- King, P. (1998, August 17). One play. Sports Illustrated, 89(7), 64-67.
- Nack, W. (1998, August 24). The colossus. Sports Illustrated, 89(8), 58-70.
- Murphy, A. (1998, August 31). Kataclysm. Sports Illustrated, 89(9), 72-76.
- Reilly, R. (1998, September 7). The good father. Sports Illustrated, 89(10), 32-45.

Verducci, T. (1998, September 14). Making his mark. Sports Illustrated, 98(11), 28-33.

Smith, G. (1998, September 21). The race is on. Sports Illustrated, 89(12), 48-51.

Montville, L. (1998, September 28). Mama's boy. Sports Illustrated, 89(13), 58-71.

Verducci, T. (1998, October 5). The greatest season ever. Sports Illustrated, 89(14), 38-52.

Verducci, T. (1998, October 12). Masterpiece theater. Sports Illustrated, 89(15), 42-47.

Callahan, G. (1998, October 19). Moody blues. Sports Illustrated, 89(16), 42-46.

Silver, M. (1998, October 26). Dirty Dogs. Sports Illustrated, 89(17), 46-57.

Verducci, T. (1998, November 2). Crowd pleasers. Sports Illustrated, 89(18), 46-56.

King, P. (1998, November 9). Smart money. Sports Illustrated, 89(19), 37-50.

Layden, T. (1998, November 16). Austin power. Sports Illustrated, 89(20), 42-45.

(1998, November 23). Scouting Report. Sports Illustrated, 89(21), 88-114.

- Anderson, K. 1. Stanford, 90.
- Crothers, T. 2. Duke, 92.
- Anderson, L. 3. Connecticut, 93.
- Crothers, T. 4. Maryland, 94.
- Wahl, G. 5. Michigan State, 96.
- Davis, S. 6. Kentucky, 97.
- Schecter, B.J. 7. Temple, 97.
- Anderson, K. 8. Washington, 98.
- Anderson, L. 9. Massachusetts, 99.
- Crothers, T. 10. North Carolina, 99.
- Anderson, K. 11. UCLA, 102.
- Davis, S. 12. Georgia, 102.
- Anderson, K. 13. Utah, 104.
- Wahl, G. 14. Oklahoma State, 104.
- Davis, S. 15. Tennessee, 105.
- McCallum, J. 16. Syracuse, 106.
- Davis, S. 17. Rhode Island, 105.
- Schecter, B.J. 18. Xavier, 108.

(1998, November 23). Scouting Report. Sports Illustrated, 89(21), 88-114.

- Crothers, T. 19. New Mexico, 108.
- Crothers, T. 20. Arkansas, 109.
- Wertheim, L.J. 21. Indiana, 109.
- Wahl, G. 22. Kansas, 110.
- Schecter, B.J. 23. Miami (Ohio), 110.
- Wahl, G. 24. TCU, 112.
- Anderson, K. 25. UNLV, 112.

Hoffer, R. (1998, November 30). Picture perfect. Sports Illustrated, 89(22), 38-43.

Murphy, A. (1998, December 7). Second coming. Sports Illustrated, 89(23), 36-41.

McCallum, J. (1998, December 14). Hard man, hard job. Sports Illustrated, 89(24), 98-112.

Verducci, T. and Smith, G. (1998, December 21). Sportsmen of the year. Sports Illustrated, 89(25), 40-72.

Deford, F. (1998, December 28). Best years. Sports Illustrated, 89(26), 90-112.

Note: Volume 88, Number 7 is a special issue of *Sports Illustrated*, the “Swimsuit Edition,” and was not included in this study because it did not contain any sports news.

Appendix C

Appendix C provides a complete listing of the quotes from female sources examined in this study.

Crist, S. (1998, January 26). All bets are off. Sports Illustrated, 88(3), 82-92.

"The key question we need to ask is, What is precipitating all this concern among politicians? Has someone been hurt, or are all the horror stories just made up? The reputable sites are regulated by governments around the world. These are legitimate governments that are concerned about who they regulate. How arrogant is it for American politicians to say that those nations aren't good enough to regulate this industry?" (Page 88)

"The US says it's most interested in the player and that they want to make sure we're not distributing licenses to just anyone. The problem with Senator Kyl's view is that it follows the old American vision of the world as being headed by the United States. But the United States does not control the world. We get at least one request for a license every day. You think of a bookie, you think of back alleys. This is the new breed of bookie. They're often young, computer-savvy entrepreneurs who like sitting behind that lit screen. They don't break kneecaps, they write microcode." (Page 88)

"It is really hypocritical when states like Missouri, Minnesota and Wisconsin, which sanction gambling for their own profit, start taking a moral stand against people betting with regulated businesses on the Internet. It seems like their real interest is in protecting their pocketbook, not their citizens." (Page 91)

Silver, M. (1998, February 2). Seven up. Sports Illustrated, 88(4), 50-65.

"I kept waiting for him to snap at me, to end a conversation abruptly, but he's still so loose and happy. That's not like him; he usually saves his happiness for afterward. One of his former teammates, Keith Bishop, was looking for Super Bowl tickets, and a radio station in Texas was giving away tickets to whoever could get the most famous person to call. So John called the radio station for Keith, and Keith won the contest because John's probably the most famous person there is this week." (Page 65)

"Not in our family it's not. But if he wins, I'm sure he'll deserve any favor he wants." (Page 65)

Swift, E. M. (1998, February 9). Into the light. *Sports Illustrated*, 88(5), 114-118.

"Most skaters are nervous and tight waiting around before they go out, but Michelle didn't look like that at all. She was completely living in the moment. She didn't just want to perform--she was reveling in it. I could tell when she stepped on the ice that this was going to be something special." (Page 114)

"It was one of the most magnificent short programs I've ever seen. But then to do it again in the long--both those performances have to be said in the same breath--I can't remember anyone doing that." (Page 116)

"I was crying during her long program, sure. The people around me were crying, too. That's what you hope to do with a program. They were enraptured by what Michelle was doing on the ice." (Page 116)

"She has a unique style. It's ethereal and feminine. She seems to float over the ice. She hovers and skims, so you aren't aware of her digging into the ice to get the height that she does on her jumps. Michelle did one of the most technically difficult programs out there, but that's not what you took away from it. She made the difficult look easy." (Page 116)

"Michelle was going faster than anyone. We'd go to Lake Arrowhead for the weekend, which was inspirational, since there was always someone famous skating there, and every weekend she'd learn a new jump. To her it was like walking. We had no vacations. No days off. We skated on Christmas Day. One day I'd be tired. The next day Michelle would be tired. But Dad would tell us, It's your responsibility to do it even when you don't want to. He taught us we had to commit." (Page 116)

"I like my schedule to be jam-packed. I didn't want to finish my homework and watch four hours of TV. I wanted to get to the 1994 Olympics." (Page 117)

"Skating takes up 70 percent of my time. School about 25 percent. Having fun and talking to my friends, five percent. It's hard. I envy other kids a lot of things, but I get a guilt trip when I'm not training." (Page 117)

When Kwan came to the 1997 nationals in Nashville, she was, in her words, *"on a roll."* (Page 118)

"Michelle lost her confidence after the nationals. That was her first bad skate in two or three years, and it didn't help that other people began comparing her to Tara. Michelle had never been compared to anyone before. She'd always be the one who was coming up." (Page 118)

Continued...

Continued...Swift, E. M. (1998, February 9). Into the light. Sports Illustrated, 88(5), 114-118.

"I'm glad last year happened. Everything happened so fast, I didn't appreciate what I'd already done. I didn't enjoy it. I was so worried about winning, it was as if I was caught up in my own web. I kept asking myself, Why am I here if I don't love it? Why am I torturing myself? It's supposed to be fun, and I thought I'd die if I didn't win." (Page 118)

She described herself as *"the happiest silver medallist ever."* (Page 118)

"We'd focused on the dramatic side of her personality. Frank and I had seen that peaceful quality of hers in practice. We just hadn't given her a vehicle to express it." (Page 118)

"Michelle's capable of doing these types of performances more than once. She's mentally strong, she could do it all over again in Nagano." (Page 118)

"She found something out about herself in Philadelphia. She learned she could feel serenity and joy on the ice, in front of a crowd, in an incredibly pressurized moment. And she did it after having been off the ice almost a month from her injury. She knows now that she can deal with anything, good or bad. She's saying, I was good--now how much better can I be? We've only seen the beginning of what this girl can do." (Page 118)

Layden, T. (1998, February 23). Street fighting. Sports Illustrated, 88(8), 40-45.

"Hermann! Hey, Hermann!" (Page 42)

"Congratulations." (Page 42)

"I had this flutter in my stomach when I saw him. So did my dad, I mean if this isn't full circle..." (Page 44)

"To see people there like [freestyle skier] Johnny Moseley, who was already done and had been partying with his friends and family for two days, was tough. I couldn't wait to get in the car and get home and focus." (Page 45)

"We vibrate on a high level in our family." (Page 45)

"Everybody wants to make things perfect for me. They're thinking, Do I talk to her? Do I leave her alone? It's tough for them." (Page 45)

"I had a master plan, but I didn't have the confidence to execute in these conditions, because I didn't want to go into the fence. I don't know. Maybe I won that gold medal in the Super G so I wouldn't injure myself today." (Page 45)

Continued...

Continued...Layden, T. (1998, February 23). Street fighting. Sports Illustrated, 88(8), 40-45.

"When I think back to Dec. 4, sitting on the snow in Vail with a blown-out knee, I feel like I'm lucky to even be here. I don't like to think that way, it doesn't become me. But it's real. Long week, long year." (Page 45)

Smith, G. (1998, March 2). Eyes of the storm. Sports Illustrated, 88(9), 88-108.

"Mickie, we have to go. Now." (Page 90)

"I'll call you!" (Page 90)

"I love what I'm doing and this is what I'm here to talk about, and you'll pay attention while I'm talking or you'll leave the room." (Page 91)

"No, what about her?" (Page 91)

"That can't be true! I was just there yesterday!" (Page 91)

"If she didn't really want me, why did she go through all that, Mom?" (Page 91)

"Maybe this means I was meant to go with her. I almost feel like I'm the godmother of this baby." (Page 91)

"Congratulations! I can't believe this! Thanks so much for calling me! Goodbye! Congratulations. Pat!" (Page 91)

"You don't ever be late! Next time you just bring that toilet with you!" (Page 92)

"Hold it! Stop! Everyone stop!" (Page 93)

"Lisa!" (Page 93)

"Yes, Pat?" (Page 93)

"What have you done for your team today?" (Page 93)

"Well, uh...I...I don't know." (Page 93)

"That's exactly my point!" (Page 93)

"Look me in the eyes!" (Page 96)

Continued...

Continued...Smith, G. (1998, March 2). Eyes of the storm. Sports Illustrated, 88(9), 88-108.

"Defense? You call that defense, Michelle? I thought you wanted to be a leader. How can I take you to war with me? Don't try to tell me! I've been coaching longer than you've been alive!" (Page 96)

"Take me there. I want to meet your family and see where you grew up." (Page 97)

"Can't. NCAA won't let me take you. Someday we'll do it, Michelle. When all this is done." (Page 97)

"That doctor's crazy as heck if he thinks I'm not going to play ball again!" (Page 100)

"What did my dad say?" (Page 100)

"Now you're going to play the half you didn't play last night!" (Page 100)

"She's all yours now, Pat." (Page 101)

"But remember, the point guard's an extension of me on the court. You've never been through anything like what you're about to go through." (Page 102)

"You don't think we can win it all with me playing like I am, but I...I don't think we can win it all with your coaching like you are. You've got to back off me now, especially in front of other people. You can't do that to me anymore." (Page 102)

"Doesn't mean I won't criticize you anymore, do you understand? But I'll try." (Page 102)

"As if we were two people in a room with boxing gloves who finally both come out with our hands up." (Page 102)

"She makes you feel there's nothing to be afraid of in life. If you want something, you go after it as hard as you can, and you make no excuses." (Page 108)

"Let's run." (Page 108)

Reilly, R. (1998, March 9). Counter point. Sports Illustrated, 88(10), 82-95.

"That was probably worse than jail." (Page 92)

"There was a lot of tension for Allen even driving into the town. But he kept coming." (Page 92)

"The more of his family here, the better. We're working on Brandy to come live with us now." (Page 92)

"All these things you have been given -- you're good-looking, you're loaded with personality and charisma, you've got this incredible athletic ability, marvelous artistic ability, you love people -- it's almost like God made a mistake here, giving one person too much. What are you going to do with all this, Allen? What will you do with it?" (Page 95)

Wolff, A. (1998, April 6). Comeback cats. Sports Illustrated, 88(14), 36-43.

"He had been struggling, and all these people were putting pressure on him, asking if he was going to be drafted or not. Before the last home game I told him the NBA stuff doesn't matter to me, but that he wouldn't be happy if he wasn't playing the way he's capable of playing. Then against Auburn he really broke out. Ever since then he's been a totally different player." (Page 40)

"When I became something of a scandal, Donna said, 'You know what? Four old ladies picked that dress out. You're doing what we can't.'" (Page 43)

Thomsen, I. (1998, April 27). Showtime. Sports Illustrated, 88(17), 40-50.

"I have pictures of them [Kobe Bryant with Tauja and Tamika Catchings] walking through Venice with Kobe." (Page 47)

"He would watch those games like they were a movie, and he knew what they actors were going to say next." (Page 47)

"I was sad because Kobe was sad. I never imagined feeling that way about somebody I'd never met. It hurt him as if it was a family member. For a week he was missing meals. It was really, really hard for him." (Page 48)

Wahl, G. and Wertheim, L. J. (1998, May 4). Paternity ward. Sports Illustrated, 88(18), 62-71.

"I've done my very best so no one can find me. I've just kind of dropped off the face of the earth." (Page 64)

Continued...

Continued... Wahl, G. and Wertheim, L. J. (1998, May 4). Paternity ward. Sports Illustrated, 88(18), 62-71.

The reports that make the sports pages with increasing frequency these days represent only "the tip of the iceberg." (Page 64)

"It was, like, every other day somebody was delivering a total bomb to him." (Page 65)

"For [his last] two years [in Seattle] he had a really bad problem. I know it takes two to tango, but he met some bad women. [Shawn told me that] they said, 'Marry me, or you don't see your kid, and I will cause hell in your life.' He told them, 'Listen, I pay you all that child support. I want to see my children.'" (Page 65)

"Child support is not intended as a vehicle to enable kids to maintain the lifestyle of their father. It's intended to reflect the needs of the child, and it's pretty hard to figure out how a one-year-old needs more than \$1,200 or \$1,500 a month to live on." (Page 66)

"When you talk about investment in a child, it's not just buying the Pampers -- it's all the things that go into producing an adult who's a functioning and productive member of society. You can analogize it to what happens to wives in divorce suits. Should we just look at that amount of support it will take to keep them off the welfare rolls? Or are they entitled to share in the accumulated wealth?" (Page 66)

"Mr. Howard's initial response...was that the birth was [my] choice and therefore he should not have to pay child support." (Page 67)

"They'll say, 'I don't mind paying for my kids, but I don't want to pay for her too.' Also, sometimes the woman has had a kid with another father, so the athlete says, 'Why am I going to be supporting another child that's not mine?' Which, at \$10,000 a month, he's going to be doing. The law recognizes that possibility and essentially says, Too bad." (Page 67)

"There's no big living going here." (Page 67)

"It breaks my heart. When I first got pregnant, I told him about how my father was never there. He talked about how his father was never around, and he said he would always be there." (Page 69)

"That had never been an issue before. Greg was there at the hospital when two of the three kids were born, and he used to show them off to his friends and his mom. Only when he had to pay his fair share was he saying he might not be the dad." (Page 70)

"When I was younger, I would send him letters, and my mom would send him my school pictures and report cards. We would send them certified mail to make sure he received them, but he just didn't respond." (Page 70)

Continued...

Continued... Wahl, G. and Wertheim, L. J. (1998, May 4). Paternity ward. Sports Illustrated, 88(18), 62-71.

"I went to see the Pacers play earlier this season, and I went down to talk to Dinah [Bird's wife of eight years] and to see their kids. [He] looked over and saw me holding [Bird's daughter, five-year-old] Mariah, but he just kind of smiled awkwardly. I didn't get to talk to him, though." (Page 70)

"It sounds corny, but it kind of made me feel closer to him when I played. I put one of his old high school jerseys in my gym bag as a good-luck charm." (Page 70)

"I was really happy to go to the game. Dad seemed interested in what I had to say. He walked me to my car, and he hugged me. I hope I can see more of him now." (Page 70)

"I felt really bad for Gabrielle. With all the people there, she didn't get much direct attention from him at all." (Page 71)

"She talked about that for the longest time, that she watched The Lion King in her daddy's car. He never attempted to see her after that." (Page 71)

"[Kemp]...is an exceptional dad. He loves her, he sees her, he takes care of her. He makes a valiant effort to try to see his children." (Page 71)

Reilly, R. (1998, May 11). Last call? Sports Illustrated, 88(19), 32-52.

"Seriously! Seriously! That's my foot!" (Page 48)

"Wait! Ow! Wait! That's good!" (Page 48)

"People are getting desperate. They're desperate to get to him before he retires." (Page 50)

"Oh, lord. That was a mess." (Page 50)

"We get letters from countries I never heard of." (Page 50)

"Tell everybody, Michael Jordan does not need another portrait of himself." (Page 52)

"That sweater is not going to fit anybody on this planet." (Page 52)

"I don't understand sports, really. I've never been a fan." (Page 52)

Bamberger, M. (1998, May 25). Playin' the Dodger blues. Sports Illustrated, 88(21), 32-42.

"Hey, Mike, don't quit your day job." (Page 35)

Deford, F. (1998 July 13). The best of friends. Sports Illustrated, 89(2), 82-94.

"*Oh, it must be Howard Bingham.*" (Page 85)

"*That's hard, too. To say to a personality as powerful and overwhelming as Muhammad—to say, 'No, you're wrong. I don't agree with you!'—that's very difficult. But Howard was never a yes-man. He always tells Muhammad what he feels he has to know.*" (Page 87)

"*Ali, Halle Berry is here.*" (Page 88)

"*The famous Howard Bingham!*" (Page 88)

"*Good, Muhammad likes blondes.*" (Page 88)

"*He's flirting and doesn't think I can see.*" (Page 88)

"*Pranksters.*" (Page 88)

"*The doctor said to let him go when he does this.*" (Page 89)

"*His mind is playing tricks on him. He thinks he's back in the ring, fighting again.*" (Page 89)

"*Look out!*" (Page 90)

"*Why, Howard, you didn't stutter.*" (Page 90)

"*In all the time I've known Howard, I've seen him upset only twice. First was when his father died. Then, with Arsenio. I know he was trying not to cry. He just couldn't believe it.*" (Page 91)

"*He can't keep a secret.*" (Page 91)

"*Mr. Bingham, are you married?*" (Page 94)

"*Good. Could I introduce you to my mother?*" (Page 94)

Bradley, J.E. (1998, July 20). Da saint. Sports Illustrated, 89(3), 50-59.

"We have lots of confidence in you, Mike. Please don't tell us you're leaving anymore." (Page 53)

"Mike? Please don't do that again." (Page 53)

"Coach Mike, you know we have a lot of St. Jude's altars in New Orleans. You know who St. Jude was?" (Page 55)

"You ever pray to St. Jude, Coach Mike?" (Page 55)

"We're not a hopeless cause!" (Page 55)

"I went to Bourbon Street a few times at night. I had to cover my nose." (Page 55)

"Kids everywhere, why do they let them live there? Make them go to work or something. Get the off the streets. It's totally disgusting." (Page 56)

"The money makes him look like a pimp." (Page 58)

"They also asked me if I thought Mike would ever be a Bear again. I said, 'No, he's a Saint now. Don't be surprised if that halo comes down and chokes him someday.'" (Page 58)

"If I suck on something, it's not going to be a crawfish." (Page 58)

"Menopause will be absolutely wonderful in this car." (Page 59)

Garrity, J. (1998, July 27). Double major. Sports Illustrated, 89(4), 42-47.

"Mark didn't have anything to prove. This is just something nice than happened to us." (Page 47)

Smith, G. (1998, August 3). Home run fever. Sports Illustrated, 89(5), 40-50.

"Because he's so extravagant, so monstrous. It's like he should be on his own team because he doesn't match anyone else. I just want him to break the record, nobody else That would make it even more special." (Page 45)

"That's exactly why he's never hit a grand slam. Not one. He can't resist swinging for the fences. He's better about it this year, but still...See that bare spot he dug out with his spikes? That's so he'll remember where to stand. He and [shortstop] Manny Alexander share a brain. There's why we're always asking Sammy how many outs there are. We're doing it to make sure he knows." (Page 50)

Verducci, T. (1998, August 10). We have lift off. Sports Illustrated, 89(6), 33-37.

"Gerry, I'm looking at my clock right now, and it says 12 o'clock. If you'd called one minute later, I don't know if I could have allowed it." (Page 33)

Murphy, A. (1998, August 31). Kataclysm. Sports Illustrated, 89(9), 72-76.

"At age 13 he was about 5'6", 230 pounds. He weighed 230 pounds for about six years. He would grow laterally, and then he would grow vertically." (Page 75)

"Absolutely not. I always wanted my children to be able to do what they wanted to do, be able to express their excellence. We sent him to college to learn how to earn a living." (Page 76)

"You can get a degree in ballet, in vocal music, sculpture--even tuba. Maybe you should be able to get a degree in football." (Page 76)

"Stupid! That's the Big Kat!" (Page 76)

Reilly, R. (1998, September 7). The good father. Sports Illustrated, 89(10), 32-45.

"I can remember lying in bed in the middle of the night and Mark saying, 'I can't hit the baseball anymore. I'm done. I've lost it. I've got to quit.'" (Page 35)

"Where are your shoes?" (Page 38)

"Jay was the most talented of all the boys. He was more coordinated than Mark at any age." (Page 38)

"I think there were too many things calling Mark's name. Women, fame, glamour." (Page 38)

"The accident kind of put Jay into a spin." (Page 38)

Montville, L. (1998, September 28). Mama's boy. Sports Illustrated, 89(13), 58-71.

"I was 16 years old when I got married. I didn't know anything. I thought I'd have a house full of kids and we'd all go to church on Sunday and I'd cook dinner every night and my husband would say, 'Hi, honey, I'm home.' Well, Joe Davis wasn't exactly the hi-honey-I'm-home type." (Page 62)

"I saw a softer, gentler Joe." (Page 63)

"It was funny. He was such a tough guy. Old school. He'd say, 'Get me ...' and the boys would be moving before he even said what he wanted. If he said 'do,' they did." (Page 63)

"The only one I didn't worry about was Terrell. The other boys...when they went out the door, I always wondered if they would come back. I never felt that way about Terrell. He always had a maturity about him. He was the youngest, but he was always the most mature." (Page 63)

"They called me to the waiting room. I'd worked at the hospital, so I knew that was the place where they delivered bad news, but I was still hoping. I thought maybe he'd be better and come home, and it was all just a big scare. Everything would work out for the best." (Page 63)

"It's strange, the twists and turns of life. I often wonder what would have happened if Joe had lived. I wonder if things would have been different. I think so." (Page 63)

"Of all the boys, Bobby was the most like his father. He was quiet and shy, but also had that anger inside him. I don't know where it came from." (Page 64)

"You hear them talking about your son, and you say, This can't be the same person I know. He's 19 years old." (Page 67)

"The life went out of me. The feeling started at the top of my head and drained right to my feet. I cried for two days." (Page 67)

"I don't worry about the violence in football, not compared to the violence on the streets." (Page 69)

"I remember being really happy when Terrell graduated from high school. Terrell and Jamaul graduated together. Terrell was going off to Long Beach. Jamaul had enlisted in the Navy. I remember feeling they had survived. They had come through it all, and they were safe." (Page 69)

Continued...

Continued...Montville, L. (1998, September 28). Mama's boy. Sports Illustrated, 89(13), 58-71.

"It's not so bad. Fifteen years and it'll be done. Fifteen years isn't such a long time." (Page 69)

"I think he likes it that I'm here in Denver. He called me the other night. He was all concerned. Some kids were walking around his lawn. They'd found out where he lived. He wanted me to come over and get them out of there. I said maybe he should call the police. He said, 'I'm calling you.'" (Page 69)

Verducci, T. (1998, October 5). The greatest season ever. Sports Illustrated, 89(14), 38-52.

"There was only one thing we wanted from him. That was a good hug. And it was a good hug." (Page 50)

"And really, if you count the home run in Milwaukee, that's what it was." (Page 50)

Hoffer, R. (1998, November 30). Picture perfect. Sports Illustrated, 89(22), 38-43.

"Sounds like, sounds like..." (Page 43)

McCallum, J. (1998, December 14). Hard man, hard job. Sports Illustrated, 89(24), 98-112.

"Wasn't that nice of coach Cahill to console you like that." (Page 106)

Vita

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