

COMPARISON OF THE COVERAGE OF WOMEN
ATHLETES IN THE 1992 AND 1996
SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES BY TWO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS AND TWO
WEEKLY MAGAZINES

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This content analysis study examines gender biased coverage during the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games in two daily newspapers and two weekly magazines. Content analysis is used to establish numbers, roles and other characteristics of the portrayal of women and men in other various media.¹

This study replicates Beth Chlouber's 1989 study which examined the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games.² The theoretical framework for the Chlouber study was based upon the social responsibility theory developed by the Hutchins Commission. The social responsibility theory states that freedom of the press carries the obligation to be responsive to society's needs.³ The Hutchins Commission stated that the press should give a "representative picture of the constituent groups in society."⁴

Before the mid 1970s research on the portrayal of women in sports was limited. Today, many research studies include the portrayal of gender roles and the messages disseminated by the media. The Chlouber study hypothesized that there

would be less gender bias in the coverage of women athletes in the 1988 Summer Olympic Games than in the 1984 Summer Olympic Games. The Chlouber study concluded that the data did not show a significant difference in the portrayal of women athletes, indicating that gender bias did not decrease in 1988 Summer Olympic Games coverage.

This study replicates the Chlouber study by measuring four categories of gender bias: physical appearance, stereotyped action, personal information and language. The sample selection consists of two daily newspapers, the Daily Oklahoman and the Washington Post and two weekly magazines, Sports Illustrated and Newsweek. The sample includes all sports news articles that mention one or more women athletes who participated in the Summer Olympic Games in 1992 and 1996.

Statement of the Problem

This research study examines whether or not gender bias exists in the coverage of women athletes in the Summer Olympic Games of 1992 and 1996. Chlouber's 1989 study found no significant difference regarding gender bias in each category between 1984 and 1988. This indicates that the media did not decrease the instances of gender biased coverage from 1984 to 1988 when covering women athletes.

The objective of this study is to determine if the media has continued to uphold the social responsibility theory in news reporting. In 1975 the American Psychologist set up guidelines to prevent gender bias in news writing.⁵ The American Psychologist editors believed that it was important to consider people in general and especially not to gender stereotype social roles. In 1977 the Associated Press developed its own guidelines to eliminate gender bias in news reporting.⁶

In response, in 1978 some of the media made special arrangements to eliminate gender biased coverage but they were unable to enforce this policy nationwide. Policy changes were not enough to eliminate gender bias, especially since other areas such as education, the work force and the military continued to ignore women's roles in society.

The media must be aware of the effects of gender bias in news reporting to eliminate this type of coverage. The coverage of women athletes in the mass media could have an impact on the way women are perceived as athletes and as women. Researchers must continue to evaluate the progress of women and ensure that women's images will be portrayed accurately to prevent gender stereotyping.

This study will benefit the media by examining the coverage of women's sports in print media. This study will also benefit scholars and researchers in the areas of women's issues and demonstrate how media portrayals might affect the perceptions of women in our society.

Assumption

The assumption is that there will be less gender bias in the 1996 coverage of the Summer Olympic Games than in the 1992 coverage of the Summer Olympic Games. According to the cultivation theory the media have the ability to shape opinions of society.⁷ According to the Hutchins Commission and the Media Codes, the media has a social responsibility to report with truth and accuracy; therefore, the media must eliminate gender bias. The portrayal of women in the media, free from gender bias, could help eliminate some misperceptions about women and their abilities.

Importance of the Study

This study examines instances of gender bias in four categories to determine if there has been a change in the coverage of female athletes over time. Feminist media

scholars have conducted research about stereotypical images in the media and their effects. The functionalist feminist media theory states that the media reflect society, dominant social values, and symbolically denigrate women, either by not showing them at all or by depicting them in stereotypical roles.⁸ These types of studies have been conducted all over the world and concluded that Western, Eastern, and developing cultures have the same underrepresentation of women in the media.⁹

Research studies show that there is an underrepresentation of women's sports and the coverage women do receive is not concerned with their athletic abilities.¹⁰ U.S. culture changed during the past 25 years for women athletes, but have the media changed their coverage of women athletes?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based upon the social responsibility theory. In the late 1940s the Hutchins Commission stated that freedom carries the obligation to be responsive to society's needs. The Hutchins Commission stated that the duty of the press is to provide "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day events in a context which gives them meaning."¹¹

This theory applies to the coverage of women athletes to make sure women's sports are treated fairly and accurately in the media. The Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi states that, "...news reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue."¹²

According to feminist researcher Ann Hall, feminists need to develop a sound theoretical component for their political practice to liberate women.¹³ Such a theory would attempt to define the reason for male supremacy and why it persists. Feminism itself has been defined as a theory of power and its distribution.¹⁴

Since the mid-1960s, sociologists have focused on the importance of feminist research and politics. There are several feminist theories which have been developed, but much of the feminist effort has been to examine society as a patriarchy.¹⁵ Patriarchy is a system in which men have power over women. According to Hartman, the crucial elements of patriarchy are: 1) heterosexual marriage; 2) childbearing and housework; 3) women's economic dependence on men; and 4) the state of numerous institutions based on social relations among men's clubs, sports, unions, professions, universities, churches, corporations, and armies.

Feminist researchers have studied cultural roles and the portrayal of female athletes in the media. Feminist researcher Linda Borish wrote *Women at the Modern Olympic Games: An Interdisciplinary look at American Culture*, an analysis of women's roles in the Olympics investigating the interrelationships between gender, the sporting culture and American culture.¹⁶ This study concludes that the media are able to construct and communicate gender roles through sports coverage. The Olympic Games are able to reflect the patriarchal world view of sports and the dominance of male sporting activities in the presentation of the Olympic phenomenon and portraying the power and elitism of men and the male domination of women.¹⁷

Creedon suggests that research in sports communication may provide a good opportunity to incorporate a feminist perspective on sport and sociocultural values so that the effects of media and sports coverage can be studied.¹⁸

Sports can be perceived as what cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz has termed "a model of society" and "a model for society," signifying values, behaviors, conflicts and ideology in American society.¹⁹ Cultural research studies about the Olympics have covered gender themes that examine gender role perceptions in the Olympics.²⁰ The Victorian viewpoint was developed by Coubertin's belief that

sports made women appear indecent, ugly, and improper and his resistance to women's participation in events was because of their "delicate" nerves and constitution.²¹

According to Coubertin, the Games were a display of male competitiveness to be transformed from the sporting landscape to the political landscape; strength, virility, courage, morality and manliness were cultivated in the male body through action. Thus, men must preserve power in their domain by means of athletic games and public celebration of male physical powers.²²

Female researchers have presented studies in the power struggles of women in sports which focus on the sociological theoretical perspectives of women's sports. According to Creedon, "...sports is a microcosm of gender values in American culture, and gender values exist at the core of the media system."²³ Theberge identifies sports as reinforcement for women's liberation rather than their oppression.²⁴

Methodology

This study uses content analysis to examine gender bias in two daily newspapers and two weekly magazines in the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games. Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences about the sender of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message.²⁵

The dependent variable is the treatment of women athletes in the reporting of the Summer Olympic Games. The independent variables are the years 1992 and 1996. The use of gender bias is examined within these articles. The term gender bias is defined by beliefs that both men and women have developed in society about the proper social roles for each gender. There are four categories used to measure gender bias as defined in two vocational publications.

1. Physical description/Appearance--inappropriate or irrelevant reference to physical appearance or dress; example: "...their first female gold medalist in Olympic history, the green-eyed blond with the pixie smile..."²⁶
2. Stereotyped Action--attributing stereotyped or belittling attributes of character or personality to women; example: "Mary Smith doesn't look the part, but she's an authority on..."²⁷
3. Personal Information--mentioning personal relations when not relevant to the story; example: "...off to one side Bob Kersee was asked when they plan to start the family that Jackie sometimes mentions..."²⁸
4. Language--not using parallel treatment for men and women. Referring to women as "girls" or "ladies" in a sense that is degrading. Referring to women

by their first name when it is usually not the practice. Example: "Bob took Jackie and Devers to the bullfights the Sunday before their events."²⁹

Assumption: There will be less gender bias in women's sports coverage between 1996 Summer Olympic Games than in 1992 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. This hypothesis is based on Chlouber's 1989 research study which examined the coverage of the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games.

The three research questions to be examined are:

1. What category of gender bias was most prevalent in 1988, 1992 and 1996?
2. Is there a change in the predominance of categories of gender bias between 1988, 1992 and 1996?
3. Is there a difference in the degree of gender bias between newspapers and magazines in 1988, 1992 and 1996?

The guidelines for coding were derived from the *Guidelines for Sex-Fair Vocational Education Materials* and *Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes*.³⁰ These publications demonstrate the types of language used to refer to and describe women.

The coding of gender bias is broken into four categories which are:

1. Physical description/Appearance
2. Stereotyped actions/Attitudes
3. Personal Information
4. Language

The tabulation of gender bias used in the coverage of women athletes will be examined on the average instances per article, the average instances per 100 words, and the average words per article. This allows the researcher to make valid comparisons between the categories of gender bias used, the types of media, and time. The researcher will select two coders who will be given an inter coder reliability test in pairs.

The statistical tests to be used will be simple chi square to measure the difference between the categories for each medium for each year, and complex chi square to determine the difference between media and the categories of gender bias used by the different media. Tables are used to give an overview of the statistical tests and results.

ENDNOTES

¹ Liesbet Van Zoonen, Feminist Media Studies (London, England: Sage Publications, 1994), 127.

² Beth Ann Chlouber, Comparison of the Coverage of Female Athletes in the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games by Two Daily Newspapers and Two Weekly Magazines, Thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1989.

³ William L. Rivers, Wilbur Schramm, and Clifford G. Christians, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 44-45.

⁴ Ibid., 45.

⁵ Norm Goldstein, ed., The Associated Press Stylebook & Libel Manual (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co, 1994), pg.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Melvin L. Defleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication (White Plains, New York: Longman, 1989), 262-264.

⁸ Nancy Theberge and Peter Donnelly, Sports and the Sociological Imagination (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1984), 85.

⁹ Linda J. Borish, "Women at the Modern Olympic Games: An Interdisciplinary Look at American Culture," Quest (1996): 44.

¹⁰ Pamela J. Creedon, Women Media and Sport (London, England: Sage Publications, 1994) 33.

¹¹ Rivers, Schramm, and Christians 44-45.

¹² Rivers, Schramm, and Christians 293.

¹³ Theberge and Donnelly, 85.

¹⁴ Theberge and Donnelly, 85.

¹⁵ Nancy Theberge and Peter Donnelly, Sports and the Sociological Imagination (Fort Worth, Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 1985), 88.

- ¹⁶ Borish, 43.
- ¹⁷ Borish, 45.
- ¹⁸ Borish, 46.
- ¹⁹ Borish, 45.
- ²⁰ Borish, 44.
- ²¹ Borish, 44.
- ²² Borish, 44-45.
- ²³ Creedon, 4-5.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Weber, 9.
- ²⁶ Margot Hornblower, "Underdogs' Day," Time, 5 August 1996, 46.
- ²⁷ Norm Goldstein, ed., The Associated Press Stylebook & Libel Manual (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1994)
- ²⁸ Kenny Moore, "Track & Field," Sport Illustrated, 29 July 1996, 23.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 22.
- ³⁰ U.S. Department of Education, Resources and References for Sex-Fair Vocational Education, Office of Vocational and Adult Education (August 1981, Washington, D.C.), 30.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW
Introduction

This research study is a continuation of Beth Chlouber's 1989 study *Comparison of the Coverage of Female Athletes in the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games by Two Daily Newspapers and Two Weekly Magazines*. The assumption is that there will be less gender bias in women's sports coverage between 1996 Summer Olympic Games than in 1992 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. The literature review examines the role of women in sports and the coverage of women athletes in the media. A review of research studies is presented here on the coverage of women in the media and the influence of language and sexism in U.S. culture.

Background

Feminist and other media research scholars have long conducted research about stereotyping images in the media and their effects. The functionalist feminist media theory states that the media reflect society, dominant social values, and symbolically denigrate women, either by not showing them at all or by depicting them in stereotypical roles.¹ During the past

2,500 years, Western culture has taught that women by nature are different from men, inferior and dependent.² The man is seen as naturally aggressive and active.³

The participation of women in sports has been criticized as not being feminine. In 1973 a Sports Illustrated article stated that women who play sports will "lose" their feminine bodies to a more muscular structure and this change in their appearance will affect their sexual behavior.⁴ The Victorian attitude still persists that women who play sports are considered indecent, ugly and improper, and women should not participate in sports because of their delicate nerves and constitution.⁵

The athletic interest of feminism of the 1970s concentrated on the development of laws in the pursuit of equal rights for women athletes.⁶ Modern feminism developed through the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s which emphasized equality in the search for legal solutions. This led women to pursue court cases invalidating sex segregation in Little League, and to the Title IX and the 1975 Health Education and Welfare (HEW) directives prohibiting sex discrimination in sports programs conducted by federally funded institutions and organizations.⁷ Since the majority of U.S. schools and colleges receive some federal assistance, Title IX applied to many educational institutions across the country.

The law providing legal rights for women may have changed, but the old stereotypes remained. In 1975, a Little League program in Michigan required a girl to wear an athletic supporter because it was in the rules.⁸

The participation of women in sports has been gradually increasing over the past century. The first Olympic Games did not allow women to watch, under the penalty of death.⁹ The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s took a more "liberal" approach, stating that women should have equal opportunity in all areas of life.¹⁰ The liberal feminists believe that, through legal and political change women can achieve gender justice.¹¹

The women's movement in sports made strides when Kathy Switzer won the Boston Marathon in 1967, Billie Jean King beat Bobby Riggs in a 1973 tennis match, and The Title IX Higher Education Act was passed in 1972.¹² Title IX of the Education Amendment prohibits sex discrimination in schools and colleges receiving federal funds.¹³ Therefore, students of both genders and all races were to have equal access to and treatment in sports. Title IX is credited with expanding women's interscholastic competition and providing scholarships for women. Before the passage of Title IX only seven percent of girls participated in high school sports; by 1982 it was

thirty-five percent.¹⁴ The only colleges that offered athletic scholarships for women prior to Title IX were historically black colleges.

In 1967 Tennessee State College, which Wilma Rudolph and Wyomia Tyus attended, offered five athletic scholarships to women athletes.¹⁵ In 1984 there were more than ten thousand scholarships available to women nationwide. Colleges and universities were then devoting sixteen percent of their budget to women's sports compared to the two percent before Title IX.¹⁶

Previous Research Studies

There was a limited amount of research published on gender equity before the 1960s. Since the second women's movement feminist researchers have argued that resisting women's entry into sports has been through the messages socially constructed by the mass media.¹⁷ There have been several research studies that documented the underrepresentation of women athletes in the media.¹⁸ Researchers also show that women's sports are often reported and depicted in stereotypical ways.

In the 1960s women's magazines were accused of creating and reinforcing a distorted image of women as housewife and mother. In 1963, Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique explored

the portrayal of sex roles in women's magazines. Friedan's book also advanced the theory that women's magazines first set out to keep women happy at home.¹⁹ However, other researchers agreed that the glorification of domesticity dominated the women's magazines long before Friedan's book.²⁰ Gale Stolz and her colleagues compared the images of women's magazines before and after the women's movement. They found that there had been no change in the images of women in magazines between 1940 and 1972.²¹

Studies in the 1970s concentrated on the images and sex-role stereotyping in the media by using quantitative and qualitative content analysis to measure content. The results of these studies show that stereotypical roles are portrayed by both men and women in the media. Men are portrayed in a dominant, active, authoritative role, while women are portrayed in submissive and passive roles.²² In media sociology Janus and Tuchman criticized the dominant portrayal of women using stereotypical images.²³ They believed that the media should reflect the changing roles of women in society and not use distorted images of women to perpetuate stereotypical roles.

In 1972 the Northern Virginia Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) studied eight newspapers, including the Washington Post. The study found that most of the hard news stories about women were published in the women's

pages. Women appeared in thirty percent of the photos, while men appeared in eighty-one percent, and the other eleven percent included men and women. The total number of photos of men and women exceeds 100 percent. The placement of articles was also examined. The study also found that men were on ninety percent of the front pages, inside the news section eighty-six percent, ninety-four percent of the business and sports sections as well as seventy-eight percent of the entertainment section. However, men and women appeared equally in the "style" section of the newspaper.²⁴

In 1972 the Washington D.C. chapter of NOW sponsored a study of television using quantitative content analysis called Women in the Wasteland Fight Back. The study monitored WRC-TV during a composite week and used the data as evidence in a challenge to deny the station its license renewal. While some might disagree with their results because the coders were feminist women, this study did find that women were stereotyped in television commercials and television programming.²⁵

In 1974 Susan Miller analyzed the roles of women in news photos published in the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times. The results concluded that there were more men in news photos than women. The Washington Post photos showed men three times more often than women while the Los Angeles Times photos showed men twice as often as women. The majority of women's

photos were published in the "style" section of the newspaper.²⁶ The Miller study was replicated in 1981 by Blackwood, and the study found that both newspapers had increased the number of photos of men in comparison to those of women.²⁷ Therefore, over seven years there had been no increase in the number of women's photos printed in the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times.

In the spring of 1974, The Journal of Communication concentrated on issues pertaining to women's news coverage in media content and the effect of print and broadcast media. Tuchman labeled, "...the mass media's treatment of women as symbolic annihilation, in that the media underrepresents and trivializes women."²⁸ When women do appear in the media they are portrayed in stereotypical ways. According to Chafetz, the media appear to be gradually changing their portrayal of women. However, the rate at which women's images have changed seems to be considerably slower than the rate that women's lives have changed.²⁹

The majority of newspaper coverage about women was placed in the women's pages. Molotch wrote in 1978 that, "men have no need for information that might cause women to wish to abandon their traditional social roles altogether."³⁰ He also wrote that, "Serious treatment of the women's movement has been difficult to come by in the media because of this lack of interest to men."³¹

The 1979 coverage of the New York Marathon in the Sunday New York Times was on page nine. The headline read "Grete Waitz Sets Record in Park Run" in the Sports section, but there was no mention of the broken record, what the new record was or that it was a marathon event, not a park run.³²

In 1972 an unpublished study by Corrigan used content analysis to examine the presentation of women athletes in Sports Illustrated. The study found that every article contained one or more descriptions of physical appearance and most of the comments were directed to the women's physical appearance such as hair color, eye color, height, and weight.³³

Sports Illustrated's twenty-fifth anniversary edition published a twenty-six page retrospective article about magazine covers dating from August 1954 through 1978. A content analysis of 1,250 covers dramatically illustrates both symbolic annihilation and trivialization of women in sports.³⁴ Women were featured on the cover 115 times out of 1,250, and only 55 were women athletes.³⁵ Women athletes appeared eight times in 1955 and six times in 1976, but only in sports that are considered socially acceptable for women to compete. In 1967 Kathy Switzer won the Boston Marathon yet no women were featured on the cover of Sports Illustrated that year.³⁶ In 1972 Billie Jean King was the first women to win recognition in

Sports Illustrated's Sportswomen of the Year. In 1977 and 1978 Nancy Lopez and Chris Evert were the only two women athletes to appear on the cover of Sports Illustrated.³⁷

There have been several research studies that have examined Sports Illustrated because of its circulation size and its prominence among sports magazines. A 1994 study examined the covers of Sports Illustrated during four-three year intervals: 1957-1959, 1967-1969, and 1987-1989. The covers were coded by the identifiable person, gender, athlete or non-athlete status, and active and non-active poses (meaning athletes playing the game). The results show that there were fewer women than men on the covers, 55 women compared to 782 men during three decades. More women appeared on the covers in the 1950s than in the 1980s. Women were featured on four percent of the covers of Sports Illustrated, and there was no increase over time. There was also no increase in active poses of women athletes on the covers. Women were more likely to be shown in non-active poses because of the different sports men and women play. Women's photos included more non-contact sports such as tennis, track and field, golf, snow skiing and swimming. Men's photos included more contact sports such as football, baseball, basketball, golf and boxing.³⁸

The researchers gave several reasons for the findings of this study. The 1960s to 1980s was a period in which women were portrayed more often as adornment figures in sports and not participants. In 1964 the first Sports Illustrated annual swimsuit edition appeared.³⁹

By the end of the 1980s a conservative family lifestyle was portrayed. On August 28, 1989, the Sports Illustrated cover featured Chris Evert from the waist up with her racket over her shoulder and her wedding ring prominently displayed with the caption: "I'm going to be a full-time wife."⁴⁰ According to Salwen and Wood, "if sports journalism does not improve its coverage of women and girls, it runs the risk of becoming a bastion against change and progress in the field of journalism."⁴¹

Need for Study

According to Alice Sargent's in Beyond Sex Roles, in a male-dominated society women have not been permitted to participate in sports. Women who viewed the Olympic Games of ancient Greece were put to death.⁴² The social context and descriptions of women in the mass media newspapers, magazines, radio and television generally reinforce the sex-role

stereotypes with messages portraying women as sex objects, housekeepers, mothers and menial workers.⁴³ There have been a limited number of stories about women athletes printed in newspapers and magazines. The stories that were printed often included discussions of social events or housekeeping.⁴⁴

In "Sexism and the English Language: The Linguistic Implications of Being Women," Adams and Ware wrote that being aware of sexism in language is important because language reflects social values and attitudes and reinforces sexist language.⁴⁵ The reinforcement of sexist language in the media perpetuates sexist attitudes and practices in society.⁴⁶ The continuation of sexist language in the media leads women to believe what they see as a reality about themselves.

Greenwald conducted 15 studies on the portrayal of women in newspapers from 1973 to 1988. The analysis found that there was a pattern of unequal treatment of women in newspapers although the treatment in newspapers appeared to improve slightly. In the mid-1970s more women were entering the work force, and women were receiving more media coverage because of the women's movement and women's rights. Greenwald also noted a study of business section editors that said "even when women are equally represented on the editorial staff or head of the editorial department the representation of women within the pages is still not equal to that of men."⁴⁷

In a 1989 study Wanta and Leggett examined the quantity of coverage and the media's depictions of women's sports. The researchers compared the Associated Press photos of the Wimbledon tennis tournament with photos selected by sports editors of eight newspapers. The results show the number of both women's and men's photos appeared in the same percentages, but men were found in more emotional poses than women.⁴⁸ This study suggests that gender stereotypes are not always found. The photos examined in this study were in one sport, tennis, which is considered socially acceptable for women. Tennis was one of the first Olympic events women could compete in at the Olympics Games.

In 1991 the Amateur Athletic Foundation sponsored a survey of four major newspapers that examined the amount of news coverage dedicated to women's sports. The results show that stories mostly focused on men's sports, outnumbering women's sports coverage 23 to 1. There were 218.8 times as many column inches devoted exclusively to men's sports. There was a total of 301 exclusively women's sports stories in the four newspapers examined, and 43 percent of those appeared in USA Today.⁴⁹

In 1991 Duncan, Messner, and Williams studied trends in the coverage of women's sports by major daily newspapers. The researchers used content analysis to examine the number, length

and placement of stories and the photos in print media. The results showed 23 exclusive stories about men in sports for every story about women, while 92% featured photos of men in sports photos. In 1991 there was a surge of one-sport magazines that devoted less than half of their news coverage to women's sports Volleyball Monthly (38%), Tennis (40%) and Runners World (37%).⁵⁰

The media needs to be aware of gender bias in print media coverage. According to Greenwald, women in the media profession may not be sensitive to the use of gender bias just because they are women. Women professionals have grown up in a society in which stereotypes are perpetuated and for them the stereotypes have become the truth. Research in gender bias can help bring attention to this problem for media professionals, students and the public. She wrote that there has been progress in creating standards of news reporting and this is a practice that journalists should continue.⁵¹

This research study is a replication of Chlouber's 1989 study which will allow researchers to evaluate the progress, if any, of the selected magazines and newspapers in the coverage of women athletes. According to Boutilier and SanGiovanni, "Regardless of what is actually happening, it is the media's interpretation of that event that shapes our attitudes, values and perceptions about the world and about our culture."⁵²

Cultural Stereotypes

According to George Gerbner, culture is the system of messages that cultivates the images fitting the established structure of social relations.⁵³ An image is a projective device used to make it easy to behave toward people in socially functional ways.⁵⁴ When women are portrayed in the media as independent, adventurous, or powerful, they are perceived as enforcing their right rather than challenging the laws that oppress them.⁵⁵ The media has resisted the women's movement by not portraying the changes occurring in society.⁵⁶

A 1977 study by Drew and Miller examined whether journalism students apply gender biased interview questions to both men and women journalists. The study found that journalism students were more likely to mention the qualifications of a male journalist rather than a female journalist.⁵⁷ The students questioned women journalists about how they cope with career and family.

A group of researchers from Texas Tech University using content analysis in late 1994 and early 1995 showed that stereotyping in the portrayal of women continues. The study found that the same portrayals of women in the media persist as in the 1970s. Some researchers had believed that promoting women into higher positions would help balance news reporting

in the media. By 1994 and 1995 there were more women employed in executive positions with decision-making power. This study found that women were 20 times more likely than men to be portrayed as parents and homemakers which were the traditional roles of the 1970s.⁵⁸

Sexism in Language

The word sexism is used to refer to the prejudice against the female sex, "...over thousands of years, the sexual caste system has created a sexist language that no speaker or writer can evade."⁵⁹ According to Copperud, feminist groups argue that using the word "man" as referring to both men and women reinforces sexism with the assumption that the person is male.⁶⁰

According to linguist Robin Lakoff, women experience linguistic discrimination by the way they are taught to use language and the way language treats them.⁶¹ The way language is taught and used tends to portray women as sex objects or servants.⁶² This shows the importance of changing the way language is used to eliminate sexist language and images of women in society.

The 1970s brought attention to the use of sexist language in news reports; therefore, news organizations began to develop

guidelines for their staff to understand the importance of reporting with fairness, accuracy, and balanced treatment of both men and women.

The McGraw-Hill publishing company developed guidelines to make writers and editors aware of gender biased writing in publications to create equal treatment for women. McGraw-Hill believed that men and women should be treated with the same respect, dignity and seriousness.⁶³ The use of generic terms should be used to refer to both men and women, such as doctor and nurse, not the terms "lady doctor" and "male nurse."⁶⁴

A 1972 research study by Schneider and Hacker examined college students and found that the word man, used in the generic sense meant different things to men and women. One group of students examined headings such as "Industrial Man" and "Political Man" to identify gender specific headings while the other group examined non-gender specific headings such as "Industrial Life" and "Political Behavior."⁶⁵ The results show that gender specific headings developed male images only and the non-gender specific headings developed both male and female images.⁶⁶

In 1975 President Gerald Ford appointed the National Commission on the Observation of International Women's Year (IWY) to evaluate the role of women in the media. This organization compiled the Ten Guidelines for the Treatment of Women in the Media. The recommendations were that the media

should employ women in all job levels especially women who are knowledgeable about and sensitive to women's changing roles. There should be more news coverage of women's activities locally, nationally, and internationally. Women's bodies should not be exploited in the media. Terms incorporating both genders should be applied such as fire fighter instead of fireman, business executive instead of businessman, letter carrier instead of mailman.⁶⁷

Benjamin Spock revised the text for his 1976 Baby and Child Care expressed the need to revise the text because of the gender biased references in the book. It was not Spock's intention to give priority to men in the text. The book made several gender language revisions in each edition printed and by 1983 the book had eliminated gender bias.⁶⁸

In 1977 the International Business Association produced Without Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication, a booklet that included gender neutral language in context writing, visuals and interpersonal contact, such as meetings.⁶⁹

The broadcasting industry also began to evaluate the use of language and images in programs, especially children's programs. Action for Children's Television (ACT) commissioned an analysis of stereotyping on television. Communications

researchers and journalists began looking at the language used in news reporting and evaluating the relationship of word to reality.⁷⁰

The sensitive issue of gender bias has reached the church as well. In 1989 the United Methodist Church published a new hymnal that revised the language used to include women, minorities and people with handicaps. The hymnal was revised to include non-European culture to reflect all members of the Methodist community.⁷¹ The references to people as "men" or "brother" or "son" was changed to gender-neutral terms; "Good Christian Men Rejoice" became "Good Christian Friends, Rejoice, for example."⁷²

According to Eberly's 1990 observation, the Associated Press Stylebook gave women low status or no status. The AP Stylebook states that women should be treated equally to men, but includes some stereotypical examples.⁷³

Sports

There has been some improvement in the quality and amount of coverage of in women's sports. In the 1980s Miller and Swift wrote in The Handbook of Non-sexist Writing that there has been more coverage in women's sports and the language of sports writing has improved over the years.⁷⁴ In 1984 Rintala and

Birrell's survey found that 15 percent of the newspaper was devoted to women's sports. Boutilier and SanGiovanni argued that the amount of coverage and the quality of sports coverage collectively led to "symbolic annihilation" of women.⁷⁵ During the 1980s, television programs reflected this in the ABC Network program "The Battle of the Sexes" which showed men and women divided on the playing field, stating that one gender was better than the other in sports.⁷⁶

Sports has been defined as something both men, women and children can participate in, even though men participate more than women.⁷⁷ The participation of women in sports has been studied around the world and numerous studies have found that men outnumber women in sports participation.⁷⁸ A study sponsored by Australia's Capital Territory Health Commission surveyed the participation of boys and girls in sports. The survey found that the gap between boys' and girls' participation begins in the late teenage years.⁷⁹ Rintala and Birrell found that the presence of women in sports gave other women athletes role models and encouraged young women to continue in sports.⁸⁰

The importance of closing the gap between boys and girls is not only necessary for balancing the playing field, but for good health. A 1983 study sponsored by the National Heart Foundation found that only half as many women as men, aged

between twenty-five to sixty-four, meet the minimum exercise required for heart and lung fitness in the surveyed period.⁸¹

Some researchers believe that the limited and biased coverage of women has been because of the lack of women in sports writing and editing positions. Anderson found that two percent of editors in sports departments are women. Boutilier and SanGiovanni suggested that women sports writers and editors should be sensitive to gender bias and work to improve the quality and quantity of coverage in women's sports. Sexism in the media comes from the individual beliefs about the make-up of the news and the practices used to cover the news.⁸²

Rintala and Birrell wrote that it is necessary to balance social responsibility and economic rationale in sports coverage. Sporting events which generate the most money have been traditional men's sports such as football, basketball and baseball. However, there are a few women's sports that draw large advertising dollars such as tennis, golf and figure skating. Their pioneering study suggested that the improvement of women in the media does not lie in the newsroom, but in the sports world. The dominance of men's commercial sports influences the beliefs of media professionals about what is newsworthy.⁸³

Olympics

The first modern Olympic Games in 1896 did not allow women to participate in the Games, but women have competed in every Olympic Games since then.⁸⁴ There was controversy with women's participation in the Olympic Games, especially at the Antwerp Session of the International Olympic Committee in 1920 when Pierre Baron de Coubertin made several proposals to eliminate women's events. The session members voted to keep all women's events in the Olympic Games. Count Justinien de Clary of France responded by saying, "Strong women will strengthen the human race, and many of them can already compete alongside men".⁸⁵

In 1921 Alice Milliat of France founded the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale (FSFI) which gave women the opportunity to compete in track and field events. In 1922 the FSFI organized the first Women's World Olympic Games in Paris. These Games were modeled after the Olympic Games to take place every four years. Over thirty nations participated in the first four Women's World Olympic Games and the Games received a positive response from the athletes and the press.⁸⁶

In 1923 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) agreed to encourage the international federations governing Olympic sports to assume responsibility for women's sports. The International Amateur Athletics Federation agreed to sponsor

women's track and field, but they decided not to include women in the 1924 Games. A two-year negotiation between the IAAF and the FAFI ensued which ended with Milliat agreeing to drop the word "Olympic" from the Women's World Olympics and the IAAF agreeing support women's events at the 1928 Amsterdam Games.⁸⁷

The coverage of the women's 800 meter race at the 1928 Amsterdam Games received the most attention because this was the first time women ran this distance in the Olympics.⁸⁸ Journalist John Tunis reported on, "...eleven wretched women, five of whom dropped out before the finish, while five collapsed after reaching the finish line."⁸⁹ There were several witnesses to confirm that the report was false. There were nine runners who competed and all the runners finished the race. After the 1928 Games the IOC believed that women should participate in events appropriate for women. During this time women did not hold membership on the IOC decision-making committee.⁹⁰

Constantin Andrianov of the Soviet Union proposed that Rule 29 be changed to state that, "...women are allowed to compete in sports included in the Programme of the Games according to the Rules of the events."⁹¹ The approval of Rule 29 meant that women's competition would be recognized if the sport was recognized as a women's world championship sport.⁹² Andrianov's proposal was sent to the Executive Board for

further consideration where it was tabled until 1958. Rule 29 was not voted on until the 1960 Rome Games. Rule 29 failed in the Athens Session in a 26 to 2 vote.⁹³ The IOC approved additional events during the 1960s and 1970s which included women's archery, basketball, luge, rowing, volleyball, team handball, shooting, and speed skating.⁹⁴

Lord Killanin of Ireland, the IOC president in 1972 proposed that women should be recommended for membership at the Varne Session in 1973. It was not until 1981 that two women were elected, Flor Isava-Fonseca of Venezuela, and Pirjo Haggman of Finland.⁹⁵ The 1981 president of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, challenged all other members of the International Federation to consider women's participation and to provide opportunities to those who have no women administrators.⁹⁶ In 1995 there were seven women who served as IOC members alongside 107 men in the IOC. The International Federations did not greatly increase in women's participation; however, women's membership was seven percent.

The 1994 Centennial Olympic Congress made eleven recommendations to improve the status of women and to offer incentives to those who do elect women to the Committee. The Working Group on Women and Sport revised the recommendations, creating more defined goals. These proposals were submitted to the 1996 Session in Atlanta:

1. The National Olympic Committee must reserve for women, by December 31st, 2000, at least 10% of the offices in all their decision making structures (in particular all legislative or executive organs), such proportion to reach 20% by December 31st 2005.
2. The International Federations, the National Federations and the sports organizations belonging to the Olympic Movement are strongly invited to include, by December 31st, 2000, at least 10% of the women in all their decision making structures, such proportion to reach 20% by December 31st, 2005.
3. The subsequent stages to reach a strict enforcement of the principle of equality of men and women shall be determined from the year 2001.
4. The Olympic Charter will be amended to take into account the need to keep the equity between men and women.⁹⁷

This is a new area of policy for the IOC and the consequences for not complying have not been established. However, changes by the International Federation and the National Olympic Committee must meet the goals established by the IOC by the year 2000.⁹⁸

The number of women's events in the Summer Games has doubled from 1972 to 1996 while men's events have increased by eighteen percent.⁹⁹ The events for women in the 1970's were measured by time, weight, or distance. The events have been expanded to currently include those measured by strength or stamina like ice hockey, judo, tae kwon do, softball and soccer. The 1996 Summer Olympic Games featured 271 events, more events for both men and women than in any previous Olympic Games.¹⁰⁰

TABLE I
PARTICIPATION IN OLYMPIC GAMES

DATE	SITE	#NATIONS	MEN	WOMEN
1896 (April 6-15)	Athens	14	200	0
1900 (May 14- Oct. 18)	Paris	26	1,206	19
1904 (July 1- Nov. 23)	St. Louis	13	681	6
1908 (April 27- Oct. 31)	London	22	1,999	36
1912 (May 5- Jul. 22)	Stockholm	28	2,490	57
1920 (July 7- Sept. 12)	Antwerp	29	2,591	77
1924 (May 4- Jul. 27)	Paris	44	2,956	136
1928 (May 17- Aug. 12)	Amsterdam	46	2,724	290
1932 (July 30- Aug. 14)	Los Angeles	37	1,281	127
1936 (August 1- Aug. 16)	Berlin	49	3,738	328
1948 (July 29- Aug. 14)	London	59	3,714	385
1952 (July 19- Aug. 3)	Helsinki	69	4,407	518
1956 (November 22-Dec.8)	Melbourne	67	2,813	371
1960 (August 25- Sept. 11)	Rome	84	4,736	610
1964 (October 10-24)	Tokyo	93	4,457	683
1968 (October 12-27)	Mexico City	112	4,749	781
1972 (August 26- Sept. 11)	Munich	121	6,065	1,058
1976 (July 17- Aug. 1)	Montreal	92	4,781	1,247
1980 (July 19- Aug. 3)	Moscow	80	4,043	1,124
1984 (July 28- Aug. 12)	Los Angeles	140	5,230	1,567
1988 (September 17- Oct. 2)	Seoul	159	6,279	2,186
1992 (July 25- Aug. 8)	Barcelona	169	6,657	2,707
1996 (July 19- Aug. 4)	Atlanta	197	6,000	4,000

Source: Mary Sutherland and Michael T. Wise, Chronicle of the Olympics 1896-1996 (New York, NY: A DK Publishing Book, 1996), 213-309.

Summary

The past studies have shown that there are underrepresentations of women in the media and that gender bias exists in the coverage of women's sports. In a 1996 study Katherine Kinnick uses content analysis to compare the coverage of men and women in the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in five major daily newspapers. The study examines gender bias in reporting and photos in feature stories. The content analysis showed that there was no gender bias found "...in terms of quantitative representation of women athletes or in the placement and prominence of stories, use of martial language, or hierarchical naming practices."¹⁰¹ Therefore, in this study it appears that the treatment of women's sports has improved in the media. Kinnick states, "these findings should not be interpreted as a cause for celebration."¹⁰² Researchers should continue to examine the treatment of women in sports to determine if this is a trend in the acceptance of women athletes or if it is for economic gain.

This literature review demonstrates that there is an underrepresentation of women in the media and gender bias exists in the mass media. The feminists of the 1970s believed that, through public policies and laws, women's rights would improve. The media has a social responsibility to report with

truth and accuracy and this study attempts to discover if gender biased news coverage has decreased for women in sports. The third chapter explains how gender bias will be studied.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study examines gender bias in the news coverage of women athletes in the Summer Olympic Games. This content analysis draws from previous research studies on women's sports, the women's movement, feminist theories, and studies about the portrayal of women in the media. This study is a replication of Beth Chlouber's 1989 study which examined the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. Chlouber's study concluded that there was not a significant difference in the amount of gender bias coverage of women athletes from 1984 to the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. Therefore, the media did not uphold the social responsibility which was advocated by the Hutchins Commission.

The researcher selected content analysis to determine if there has been a change in the amount of gender bias used in print media. The research examines two daily newspapers and two weekly magazines. According to Krippendorff, content analysis is a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specific characteristics within the text.¹ Quantitative content analysis has often been used to

establish numbers, roles and other characteristics of the portrayal of women and men in the various media.²

Scope of the Study

This study is based on Beth Chlouber's 1989 research study which is a comparison of gender bias between two daily newspapers and two weekly magazines. This study examines gender bias in the coverage of women athletes in the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games.

Various media codes state that "news should be free from opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue."³ Women athletes have been subject to stereotypical terms in the media. The social responsibility theory states that freedom carries the obligation to be responsive to society.⁴

Media Selected

This study examines gender bias in the coverage of women athletes in two daily newspapers and two weekly magazines. The newspaper selections are from The Daily Oklahoman and The Washington Post. The magazine selections are from Sports Illustrated and Newsweek. Chlouber's study selected these publications because of the diversity of news articles.

Time Frame

The 1992 Summer Olympic Games were held July 25 through August 8, 1992. The newspapers were collected from July 15 until August 12 for 1992 and 1996. The 1996 Summer Olympic Games were held July 19 through August 4, 1996. The newspaper articles included the Sunday edition of both newspapers.

The 1992 articles examined in Newsweek were July 27, August 3, August 10, August 17, August 24, and August 31. The 1992 articles examined in Sports Illustrated were June 29, July 6, July 13, July 22, July 27, August 3, August 10, August 17 and the Olympic Preview issue.

The 1996 articles examined in Newsweek were June 10, July 15, July 22, July 29, August 5 and August 12. The 1996 articles examined in Sports Illustrated were June 24, July 1, July 8, July 15, July 22, July 29, August 5, August 12, and the Olympic Preview issue.

Items of Selection

In Chlouber's study the articles were selected if they had one or more specific references to the Games and included a reference to a women athlete. The sample size is the total

population of articles about women athletes in the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games.

Research Design

This study uses content analysis to measure the categories of gender bias used in the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games. The independent variable of the study is time and the dependent variable is gender bias.

The Hypothesis: There will be less gender bias in women's sports coverage in the 1996 Summer Olympic Games than in the 1992 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games.

The three research questions to be answered are:

1. What type of gender bias, if any, was most prevalent in 1988, 1992 and in 1996?
2. Has there been a change in the predominance of the categories of gender bias from 1988, 1992 and 1996?
3. Is there a difference in the degree of gender bias, if any, between newspapers and magazines between 1988, 1992 and 1996?

This study is a replication; so, it is necessary to make a comparison of statistical results found in 1988, 1992 and 1996.

Coding

The coding of gender bias in news articles is based on Chlouber's 1989 research study. The guidelines for coding were derived from the *Guidelines for Sex-Fair Vocational Educational Materials* and *Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes*.⁵

The coding of gender bias is broken into four categories with their definitions and examples listed below:

1. Physical description/Appearance--inappropriate or irrelevant reference to physical appearance or dress; example: "...their first female gold medalist in Olympic history, the green-eyed blond with the pixie smile...."⁶
2. Stereotyped Action--attributing stereotyped or belittling attributes of character or personality to women; example: "Mary Smith doesn't look the part but she's an authority on..."⁷
3. Personal information--mentioning personal relations when they are not relevant to the story; example: "...Off to one side Bob Kersee was asked when they plan to start the family that Jackie sometimes mentions."⁸

4. Language--not using parallel treatment for men and women; referring to women as "girls" or "ladies" in a sense that is degrading or referring to women by their first name when it is usually not the practice; example: "Bob took Jackie and Devers to the bullfights the Sunday before their events."⁹

The tabulation of gender bias toward women athletes will be examined on the average instances per article, the average instances per 100 words, and the average words per article. This allows the researcher to make valid comparisons between the categories of gender bias used, the type of media, and time. To determine if gender bias exists, three coders were used, including the researcher. One coder was a female college graduate in elementary education and the other was a male graduate student in mass communications and political science. The coders were trained on the guidelines of gender bias and a inter coder reliability test was administered to determine their understanding of gender bias.

One of the statistical tests used is simple chi square to measure the difference between the categories for each medium for each year. The complex chi square is used to determine the difference between media and the categories of gender bias used by the different media. Tables will be used to give an overview of the statistical tests and results.

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CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This study examines whether the coverage of women athletes in the Summer Olympic Games changed with regard to gender bias in Newsweek, Sports Illustrated, The Daily Oklahoman, and The Washington Post. The hypothesis focused on whether there would be an overall change in the coverage of the 1996, 1992, and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. The research questions focused on the differences in the types of gender bias among newspapers and magazines.

Two coders were selected to identify gender bias in news articles. The four categories are: physical description/appearance, language, personal information, and stereotyped action.

Articles were included in the study if they contained a reference to a women athlete involved in an event and a reference to the Games themselves. Some of the articles contained information on other aspects of the Olympics but also mentioned a women athlete so they were included in the study. In all, 303 articles were analyzed for this study.

Of those articles, The Washington Post published the most 176 (58%), The Daily Oklahoman published 66 (22%), Sports Illustrated 39 (13%) and Newsweek 22 (7%). Some of the

differences in the number of articles in the two media can be attributed to the different formats of the newspapers and magazines. Newspaper articles tend to be shorter while magazine articles are more in-depth.

To give a more accurate representation of the data analyzed, the number of words per article was tabulated by using the average of the number of words per sentence in the article. Table II shows the number of articles with gender bias, and the frequency of gender bias categories by publication in 1992.

The data in Table II indicate that the average number of words per article for 1992 was 495. This was calculated by dividing the total number of words for 1992 by the total number of articles for 1992. The average number of instances of gender bias per article was 5.3. This was calculated by dividing the total instances of gender bias by the total number of articles in 1992. For 1992 there was an average five instances of gender bias per article. The average number of instances per 100 words was .01.

Table III illustrates the breakdown of the media for 1996 with the number of words for each medium. Table III shows the number of articles with gender bias, and frequency of gender bias by categories and by publication in 1996.

The data in Table III indicate that the average number of words per article for 1996 was 655. This was calculated

TABLE II

NUMBER OF ARTICLES WITH GENDER BIAS, AND FREQUENCY OF GENDER
BIAS BY TYPE, BY PUBLICATION IN 1992

<u>Newsweek</u> (12 articles)	Words	Physical	Stereotype	Personal	Language
	7,432	21	11	25	90
<u>Sports Illustrated</u> (13 articles)	13,958	13	9	61	17
<u>The Daily Oklahoman</u> (20 articles)	7,901	12	6	8	17
<u>The Washington Post</u> (58 articles)	21,729	48	24	126	6
Totals (103 articles)	51,020	94	50	220	191

Note: Average words per article= 495; average instances per
article= 5.3; average instances per 100 words= .01

TABLE III

NUMBER OF ARTICLES WITH GENDER BIAS, AND FREQUENCY OF GENDER
BIAS BY TYPE, BY PUBLICATION IN 1996

<u>Newsweek</u> (10 articles)	Words 5,893	Physical 19	Stereotype 20	Personal 29	Language 27
<u>Sports Illustrated</u> (26 articles)	55,395	28	9	101	70
<u>The Daily Oklahoman</u> (46 articles)	19,579	16	19	78	55
<u>The Washington Post</u> (118 articles)	50,203	53	35	203	83
Totals (200 articles)	131,070	116	83	411	235

Note: Average words per article 655; average instances per article 4.2; average instances per 100 words .006

by dividing the total number of words for 1996 by the total number of articles for 1996. The average number of instances of gender bias per article was 4.2. This was calculated by dividing the total instances of gender bias by the total number of articles in 1996. For 1996, there were instances of gender bias per article. The average number of instances per 100 words was .006.

This research study proposed and answered three research questions:

1. What category of gender bias was most prevalent in 1988, 1992 and 1996?

TABLE IV
THE FREQUENCY OF GENDER BIAS BY YEAR

CATEGORIES	1988	1992	1996
Physical/Appearance	19	94	116
Stereotyped Action	33	50	83
Personal Information	18	220	411
Language	17	191	235

The most prevalent category for 1988 was stereotyped action, while in 1992 and 1996 it was personal information. In 1992 and 1996 stereotyped action ranked last in the categories of gender bias.

2. Has there been a change in the predominance of categories in 1988, 1992 and 1992?

TABLE V

NUMBER OF ARTICLES WITH GENDER BIAS, AND FREQUENCY OF
GENDER BIAS BY TYPE, BY PUBLICATION AND YEAR

<u>Newsweek</u>	Yrs	Words	Physical	Stereotype	Personal	Language
13 articles	88	19,467	1	1	1	9
12 articles	92	7,432	21	11	25	90
10 articles	96	5,893	19	20	29	27
<u>Sports Illustrated</u>						
39 articles	88	49,785	10	0	3	7
13 articles	92	13,958	13	9	61	17
26 articles	96	55,395	28	9	101	70
<u>The Daily Oklahoman</u>						
52 articles	88	26,021	3	5	4	1
20 articles	92	7,901	12	6	8	17
56 articles	96	19,579	16	19	78	55
<u>The Washington Post</u>						
105 articles	88	74,048	19	17	18	33
58 articles	92	21,729	48	24	126	6
118 articles	96	50,203	53	35	203	83

There has been a change in the predominance of categories in 1988, 1992 and 1996.

More instances of gender bias were found in news articles in 1996, but there were more articles published and more than double the total number of words in 1996 and 1992. However, the raw data scores indicate that more gender bias was found in 1996 than in 1992.

Table V shows the number of articles analyzed for each medium for 1988, 1992 and 1996, including the number of words and the instances of gender bias for each category.

Hypothesis

The raw data scores alone do not support the hypothesis that predicts less gender bias in 1996 than in 1992. To statistically test the differences between 1992 and 1996, a chi square analysis was conducted on all the media combined using figures shown in Tables II and IV.

The hypothesis predicted that there would be a change for the better in the degree of gender bias from 1992 to 1996. The total number of instances of gender bias in each category was compared for 1992 and 1996. The critical value at 3 degrees of freedom (df) .05 confidence level is 7.8 for all chi squares. The overall combined chi square at 3=df was 13.56, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence, but the strength

of the relationship between all categories of gender bias is very weak at $C=.09$. Therefore the degree of gender bias decreased between 1992 and 1996, although there is a very weak relationship between time and gender bias.

A simple chi square was used to examine where the differences exist between 1992 and 1996. There was a significant difference at the .05 level of confidence for all gender bias categories between 1992 and 1996. Therefore, coverage of the Summer Olympic Games in both 1992 and 1996 included gender bias from all four categories.

TABLE VI

THE TOTAL INSTANCES OF GENDER BIAS IN EACH CATEGORY BY YEAR

1984-1988	1992-1996
$\chi^2=2.93$	$\chi^2=13.56$

The complex chi-square for 1984 and 1988 showed no significant differences in gender biased coverage. The complex chi-square for 1992 and 1996 shows that there was a significant difference in the use of gender bias supporting the hypothesis. This means that there was less gender bias in 1996 than in 1992.

Newspapers vs. Magazines

Newspapers and magazines were compared for each year using complex chi square to determine if there was a relationship between media type and gender bias categories.

When comparing the overall totals of gender bias between newspapers and magazines for 1992, the combined chi square at df of 3 is 15.85, which is a statistically significant result at the .05 level of confidence, but the strength of the relationship is very weak at $C=.16$. Therefore, it can be said that the 1992 newspapers and magazines differ in the instances of gender bias. However, the relationship between year, media type and gender bias categories is very weak.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist in newspapers and magazines. There was a significant difference for all gender bias categories. This means that newspapers and magazines differ in the instances of gender bias found in physical appearance, stereotyped action, personal information, and language. The newspapers had more instances of personal information than the magazines, while the magazines had more instances of language.

When comparing the overall totals between newspapers and magazines for 1996, the combined chi square at $df=3$ is 7.42 is not a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence. Therefore, it can be said that newspapers and magazines did not differ in 1996, indicating that whether the article was in a newspaper or magazine was not sufficient to determine if the article would contain certain instances of gender bias.

TABLE VII
THE TOTAL INSTANCES OF GENDER BIAS BETWEEN NEWSPAPERS AND
MAGAZINES BY YEAR

1988	1992	1996
$\chi^2=15.85$	$\chi^2=15.85$	$\chi^2=7.42$

These results help answer research question number three: is there a difference between newspapers and magazines for 1988, 1992 and 1996?

The complex chi-square was used to determine the results for 1988 and 1992 which showed that instances of gender bias decreased in both newspapers and magazines. The results for 1996 showed that gender bias did not decrease in both newspapers and magazines. Therefore, there were significant differences between 1988 and 1992, but no significant differences were found between 1992 and 1996. The contingency coefficient was .16 which indicates that there is a relationship between media type and category of gender bias, although it is not a strong one.

Magazines

A complex chi square was used to determine if there was any significant difference between the overall magazine coverage between 1992 and 1996.

In comparing magazines of 1992 and 1996 the combined chi square at $df=3$ is 11.82, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence, but the strength of the relationship is very weak at $C=.16$. Therefore, magazines did decrease in instances of gender bias between 1992 and 1996.

A simple chi square was used on each magazine to determine where the differences exist. The differences exist in all four categories of gender bias. The results of the simple chi square are shown below:

1992

Newsweek $\chi^2 = 105.5$

Sports Illustrated $\chi^2 = 70.4$

1996

Newsweek $\chi^2 = 3.14$

Sports Illustrated $\chi^2 = 98.9$

The critical value at $df=3$.05 confidence level is 7.8. There are significant differences in 1992 Newsweek articles with regard to stereotyped action and language. There is no significant differences between the categories of gender bias in the 1996 Newsweek articles. There are significant differences in the 1992 and 1996 Sport Illustrated articles. In 1992, differences exist in stereotyped action and personal information. In 1996 Sports Illustrated differences exist in

physical appearance, stereotyped action and personal information.

A complex chi square was used to see if there was any difference between the two years for each magazine.

In comparing the two years of Newsweek, the combined chi square at $df=3$ is 50.9, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence, but the strength of the relationship is moderate at $C=.41$. Therefore, there is a significant difference between the 1992 and 1996 instances of gender bias for Newsweek.

A simple chi square was used on each year for each to determine where the differences exist. The differences exist in physical appearance, stereotyped action, personal information and language. The 1992 issues of Newsweek had more instances of language than the 1996 issues of Newsweek, while the 1996 issues of Newsweek had more instances of personal information.

In comparing the two years for Sports Illustrated, the combined chi square at $df=3$ is 11.08, which is a significant difference at the .05 level, but the strength of the relationship is very weak at $C=.18$. Therefore, there is a significant difference between the 1992 and 1996 coverage for Sports Illustrated. This means that Sports Illustrated did decrease in the instances of gender bias coverage of women athletes from 1992 to 1996.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist. The differences between 1992 and 1996 coverage in Sports Illustrated can be attributed to physical description, stereotyped action, and personal information. The 1992 and 1996 issues of Sports Illustrated had more instances of personal information for both years.

A complex chi square was used to determine if there was any significant relationship between magazines and categories of gender bias for each of the two years.

In comparing the two magazines for 1992, the combined chi square is 60.1, which is a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence, but the strength of the relationship is moderate at $C=.40$. Therefore, for 1992 there is a significant relationship between the categories of gender bias and magazine type in Newsweek and Sports Illustrated.

A simple chi square was used to determine where differences exist. The differences between Newsweek and Sport Illustrated in 1992 can be attributed to physical description, stereotyped action and language. The issues of 1992 Newsweek had more instances of language than Sports Illustrated, while Sports Illustrated had more instances of personal information.

In comparing the two magazines for 1996, the combined chi square is 26.8, which is a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence; but the strength of the relationship is small at $C=.28$. Therefore, for 1996 there is a significant relationship between the categories of gender

bias and magazine type in Newsweek and Sports Illustrated.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist. The differences between Newsweek and Sports Illustrated in 1996 can be attributed to physical description, stereotyped action and personal information. The 1996 issues of Newsweek and Sports Illustrated had more instances of personal information.

Newspapers

A complex chi square was used to determine if there were any differences between gender bias in 1992 and 1996 for the two newspapers.

In comparing the two newspapers between 1992 and 1996 the combined chi square is 53.2 at $df=3$, which is a significant difference at the .05 level of confidence. The strength of the relationship is definite but small $C=.23$. Therefore, there was a significant difference between years and the categories of gender bias. This means that newspapers did show significant differences from 1992 to 1996 in the types of gender bias used in the coverage of women athletes.

A simple chi square was used to determine if there were any differences between the categories in each year for each newspaper. The results of the test are shown below. The degrees of freedom are 3 at the .05 level of confidence.

1992

The Daily Oklahoman $\chi^2 = 6.5$

The Washington Post $\chi^2 = 85.9$

1996

The Daily Oklahoman $\chi^2 = 63.3$

The Washington Post $\chi^2 = 183.5$

From the results, the 1992 coverage of The Daily Oklahoman did not show a significant difference at the .05 level of confidence. There was a significant difference in the 1992 coverage of The Washington Post, and in the 1996 coverage of The Daily Oklahoman and The Washington Post. This means that there were significant differences in the categories of gender bias.

A complex chi square was used to determine if there were any significant relationship between the years for each newspaper.

When comparing the two years for The Daily Oklahoman, the combined chi square is 15.63, which is a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence; the strength of the relationship is definite but small $C = .26$. Therefore, in the Daily Oklahoman there was a significant relationship in the instances of gender bias between 1992 and 1996. This means that the Daily Oklahoman did decrease in the instance of gender bias coverage of women athletes from 1992 to 1996.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist. The differences between the 1992 and 1996 Daily Oklahoman are found in all four gender bias categories. The 1992 Daily Oklahoman had more instances of language than the 1996 Daily Oklahoman, while the 1996 Daily Oklahoman had more instances of personal information.

In comparing the two years for The Washington Post, the combined chi square is 3.525, which is not significant at the .05 level of confidence with a $df=3$. Therefore, there was not a significant difference in the coverage with regard to gender bias in the 1992 and 1996 Washington Post.

A complex chi square was used to determine if there were any significant differences between the gender bias used in the two newspapers for both years.

In comparing the newspapers for 1992, the combined chi square is 12.7, which is a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence; the strength of the relationship is very weak at $C=.19$. Therefore, there is a significant relationship in the 1992 coverage of the two newspapers.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist. The differences between the 1992 Daily Oklahoman and Washington Post exist in regard to stereotyped action and personal information. The Daily Oklahoman had more instances of language than the Washington Post, while the Washington Post had more instances of personal information.

In comparing the two newspapers for 1996, the combined chi square is 8.855, which is a significant relationship at the .05 level of confidence; the strength of the relationship is very weak at $C=.12$. Therefore, there is a significant difference in the 1996 coverage of the two newspapers.

A simple chi square was used to determine where the differences exist. The differences between the 1996 Daily Oklahoman and Washington Post can be attributed to physical description, stereotyped action and personal information. The Daily Oklahoman and the Washington Post both had more instances of personal information.

Another objective of this study is to compare the results of 1988 to 1992 and 1996. The importance of a replication study is to evaluate gender bias over time to see if there is evidence of improvement in the coverage of women athletes in the Summer Olympic Games. The final chapter compares the 1988 results to the 1992 and 1996.

Chapter V

Conclusion

Summary

This study is a replication of Chlouber's 1989 study Comparison of the Coverage of Female Athletes in the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games by Two Daily Newspaper and Two Weekly Magazines. This study used content analysis to examine the 1992 and 1996 Summer Olympic Games to see if gender bias existed in the coverage of women athletes. The media selected are The Washington Post, The Daily Oklahoman, Newsweek and Sports Illustrated.

The study examined four categories of gender bias: physical description/appearance, stereotyped action, personal information and language. Three coders were selected to determine the presence of gender bias in the coverage of women athletes. The coders were given a inter coder reliability test to determine the accuracy of the data. The intercoder reliability test for coders A and B was .85, for coders A and C .93, and for coders B and C was 1.07.

A simple chi square test was used to determine where the differences exist in gender bias categories. The complex chi

square was used to determine if there any differences with regard to media type, categories of gender bias, and year. The use of raw data scores was used to determine which category of gender bias was most prevalent between media and year.

The hypothesis: There will be less gender bias in women's sports coverage in the 1996 Summer Olympic Games than in 1992 and 1988 Summer Olympic Games. In Chlouber's study the raw data scores for 1984 and 1988 supported this hypothesis. The raw data scores for 1992 and 1996 did not support the hypothesis. However, statistically the data in 1988 did not support the hypothesis. In 1992 and 1996 the data statistically supported the hypothesis, indicating that the instances of gender bias have decreased since 1988.

Chlouber examined 464 articles while this study examined 303 articles. The decrease in coverage of women in the Summer Olympic Games could be due to the political situation. In 1980 the Olympic Games were held in Russia, marking the first time the Olympic Games were held in a communist country. The 1980 Soviet Games were boycotted by Japan, West Germany, and the United States because of the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Los Angeles Games in 1984 were boycotted by the Soviets and their allies, who stated that they were not satisfied with the security provided by the United States;

this boycott was viewed as a retaliation for the 1980 boycott. The Seoul Games in 1988 were the first time the Soviets and the Americans competed together in the Olympic Games since Montreal in 1976.

The raw data scores indicate the results for the average number of words per article, instances of gender bias and instances of gender bias per 100 words for 1988, 1992 and 1996.

Table VIII

Year	Average # of words per article	Average instances of gender bias per article	Average instances of gender bias per 100 words
1988	810	.42	.05
1992	495	5.3	.01
1996	655	4.2	.006

The most words were published in 1988, followed by 1996, and 1992. The average instances of gender bias per article occurs more often in 1992, followed by 1996, and 1988. The average instance of gender bias per 100 words is greater in 1988, than in 1992, and 1996. The raw data scores do not show a pattern for an increase or decrease of gender bias, although the average of gender bias per 100 words indicates that there is a decrease in gender bias. However, the complex chi square was used to determine any statistical differences between 1988, 1992 and 1996. The complex chi

square for 1984 and 1988 showed no significant difference in gender biased coverage. The complex chi square for 1992 and 1996 shows that there was a significant difference in the use of gender bias, supporting the hypothesis. This means that there was less gender bias in 1996 than in 1992.

This study proposed and answered three research questions:

1. What category of gender bias was most prevalent in 1988, 1992 and 1996?

The most prevalent for 1988 was stereotype, while in 1992 and 1996 it was personal information. In 1992 and 1996 stereotyped action ranked last in the four categories of gender bias.

2. Has there been a change in the predominance of the categories of gender bias between 1988, 1992 and 1996?

There has been a change in the predominance of categories in 1988, 1992 and 1996. In 1988 the most prevalent category was stereotyped action. In 1992 and 1996 the most prevalent category was personal information.

3. Is there a difference in the degree of gender bias between newspapers and magazines for 1988, 1992 or 1996?

The complex chi square was used to determine the results for 1988 and 1992. This test shows that the instances of gender bias decreased in both newspapers and magazines. The results

for 1996 shows that gender bias did not decrease between newspapers and magazines. Therefore, there were significant differences between 1988 and 1992 but not in 1996.

The replication of studies is necessary to evaluate the changes in society over time. This study will allow researchers to examine the progress of the selected magazines and newspapers in gender bias that might exist in the coverage of women athletes. The awareness of bias language has resulted media organizations to establish guidelines for news coverage of women.

According to Boutilier and SanGiovanni, the media's interpretation of events shapes the attitudes, values and perceptions about the world and our culture.¹ If gender biased writing persists in women's sports stories, people will believe what they read. The media need to reflect the changes in society in order to portray the news with truth and accuracy. Other research studies have demonstrated the underrepresentation of women in the media, especially in sports. Rintala and Birrell state that the presence of women athletes will give other women athletes role models and encourage young women to continue to participate in sports.²

The importance of this replication study was to examine the progress of the media in maintaining the social responsibility theory to report with truth and accuracy.

Recommendations

Future studies should include the coverage of both men and women in order to give a comparison of gender bias coverage as a whole. The coverage of women should be examined on several levels: high school, college and amateur sports. Researchers should examine gender bias in sports that are considered socially acceptable for women sports that are not considered socially acceptable. Women's sports throughout the year should be examined for gender bias coverage.

ENDNOTES

¹ Greta L. Cohen, Women in Sport: Issues and Controversies (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 178.

² Susan Birrell and Cheryl Cole, Women, Sport, and Culture (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 289.

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