

PSU-USM International Conference on Humanities and Social Sciences

The impact of the media on gender inequality within sport

Eoin J. Trolan*

**Division of International Sport and Leisure, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
Seoul, Korea, 449-791*

Abstract

Despite the prolific advancement of women sports and female athletes and the potential for strong women to be positive role models, the portrayal of these athletes in the media has been subjected to objectification and invisibility compared to male athletes or men's sports. Though there has been tremendous growth and popularity of women sports, female athletes are still considered inferior to male athletes and that compared to male athletes there is still an obsession with the body of female athletes rather than on her athletic skills. This inequality within sport will continue to exist until the media re-examines its portrayal of female athletes.

© 2013 The Authors. Published by Elsevier Ltd. Open access under [CC BY-NC-ND license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).
Selection and peer-review under responsibility of Universiti Sains Malaysia.

Keywords: Media; sport; objectification; inequality

1. Introduction

According to Perderson (2002) the media is one of the most influential forms of socialization in today's society in generating gender values. Indeed, the mass media plays a significant role in the transmission of gender differences and inequality through daily visuals within print and television media. Individuals are inundated with magazines, and newspapers containing photographs and narratives of what it means to be a woman or man, and more specifically, the gender imbalance between men and women. These gender role differences are especially apparent in the world of sport. While, women have gained ground in the non-sporting realm, within the confines

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +82-10-5051-2841; fax: +0-000-000-0000 .
E-mail address: joetrolan@hotmail.com

of the court or field, they are still viewed as women first and athletes second, while, their male counterparts have no such concerns.

Early leading researchers such as Messner (1988) and Rowe and Brown (1994) have elaborated on the idea that the sports realm remains a site where gender inequality is accepted as the norm. Patriarchal values which have historically been associated with sport are continually reinforced by the media. Krane, Choi, Baird, Aimara, and Kauer (2004) highlighted that Western culture is the embodiment of masculinity and that the feminine ideal body contrasts with the idea of what it means to be a female athlete. In particular, the authors stated that sportswomen live in two distinctly separate cultures, the sporting culture and their larger culture where they must deal with the continual clash between being an athlete and a woman. This is an important concept within the sport and media context because sport has traditionally been regarded primarily as a male territory and one where the socio-cultural values are reflected and at times created. The media's analysis of sporting events and athletes serves to reaffirm gender differences and the gender order. This paper will show that despite claims that female athletes are now considered equal to their male counterparts there is still a fascination on the female body of an athlete rather than on her athletic skills. In addition, that such "Western" values are now heavily utilized in the sporting realm in Asia.

2. Importance of masculinity:

From an early age men and women are socialized differently. Men are taught to play sports or watch sports by many different agents such as family, peers, and schools, while, predominantly women are taught that sporting activities are only for men. Whisenant, Pederson, & Obenour (2002) stated these agents emphasized that sport was for males and created a situation where sport and masculinity become synonymous. During this period the media further produces, reproduces, and sustains such masculinity with concepts such as the underrepresentation, trivialization, and sexualization of women athletes. In reinforcing masculinity, the media highlights the physical appearance of an athlete, the pose of an athlete, with the written text which accompanies a photograph. Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour (2002) showed that not only are women athletes underrepresented, trivialized and sexualized but the media plays a role in emphasizing the femininity of athletes. Sport media not only avoids covering women athletes, but when it does cover them, those athletes conform to the Eurocentric ideals of what a woman must be as both an athlete and a woman.

Western patriarchal society has historically devalued the concept of women athletes by proclaiming women as inferior to men and it has only been within the last thirty to forty years that women have challenged this myth and made the idea of women athletes in sports a possible reality. Women have been viewed as unequal to males in all components of society, and discrimination has always been apparent in sports, from the exclusion of blacks in baseball, to female athletes in amateur and professional sports. Over twenty years ago, Messner (1988) argued that women are moving into a new era in which women athletes are no longer viewed as sex objects or

sexual deviants and such portrayals by the media appear unfair and transparent. Yet, the recent rise in women sports coverage is happening at the level where those who conform to the traditional values of being a woman are receiving greater benefits than those who do not conform to societal norms. Women who violate traditional gender roles are not covered as much by the media as those who conform. Research has shown that the underrepresentation and the sexualization of women athletes are still prominent. Within each of these themes is an array of ways in which the sports media continues to reinforce and reproduce hegemonic masculinity within sport.

3. Underrepresented and Trivialized:

One of the first issues concerning the perception of inequality with sport is the media's underrepresentation and trivializing of women athletes. This theme is apparent not only in the underreporting of women athletes but also of their events. The lack of coverage or acknowledgement of women's sports and athletes leads the sport consumer to believe that women's sports and athletes are not important and not worthy of being covered. The fact that women sports and athletes are continually ignored by the sports media means the media presents the image that it does not value them compared to men's sports and men athletes. In fact, according to Wenner (1998) men represent the norm and women represent the "other." The other is the concept where women are women first and an athlete second, and is a leading component in the trivialization of them as athletes.

There are numerous studies which have focused on the underrepresentation of women athletes (Eastman & Billings, 2000; Vincent, Johnson, Imwold, & Massey, 2003). Kian (2007) stated that the media continually diminishes the accomplishments of women's sports and athletes in such a way that the general public is unaware of the number of women athletes and their accomplishments. Essentially, the media is an institution that preserves the power of men over women (Hargreaves, 1994). One of the most heavily cited papers illustrating the concept of biased reporting was by Boutilier and San-Giovanni (1983), who analyzed *Sports Illustrated* covers over a period of 34 years. The authors found that sportswomen represented less than 5 percent of all covers and that these women engaged in socially acceptable sports. These findings are still prevalent today in many sports magazines and the sport pages of newspapers. This research highlighted the reinforcement and portrayal of stereotypical feminine images of athletes and the idea of what is socially acceptable in women's sports. The idea of "socially acceptable" sports was articulated as the idea that there were certain specific sports acceptable for men and women (Riemer, & Visio 2003). Sports that were generally specific for men were contact sports, such as football or rugby and these types of sports consisted of masculine characteristics such as danger, risk, strength, endurance, and violence (Koivula, 2001). While for women, it was sports which emphasized grace and aesthetic appeal that were considered acceptable for media coverage. According to Vincent (2004) a recurring theme within the symbiotic relationship of sport and media was the idea that the media have perpetuated a reward system for women athletes who conform to gender hierarchy receiving more coverage than those who do not.

The femininity of women is lauded above their athletic ability and this has ramifications for the potential coverage of women's sport and individual athletes.

Another particularly interesting aspect of how the media covers women's sports is in the context of the team versus individual sport. Tuggle and Owen (1999) in their study of the Olympics found that television emphasized individual sports such as swimming and diving and paid no attention to physical contact sports. In fact, the authors found that nearly twice as much airtime went to women's non-contact individual sports compared to team sports. This finding was similar to those by Jones, Murrell, and Jackson (1999) whose results stated that women playing appropriate gender related sports had the highest coverage. As a result of these findings it seems that women who participate in male appropriate sports challenge the traditional sex role stereotype and are therefore excluded from coverage because of their failure to conform. Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) and Kane (1996) also highlighted that masculine sports and team sports are covered in less in both print media and television. Specifically, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) examined basketball, a historically male dominated sport, and the authors found that male athletes were recognized for having more physical skill, knowledge, and strategy, while the women athletes were denied these elements. When compared to male athletes, female athletes were subjected to ambivalent commentaries about their life. When women made mistakes it was down to emotional difficulties, yet when men made mistakes it was down to unfortunate luck. The evidence of ambivalence suggested the print and television media denies power to women sports through exclusionary practices. In general, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) found this ambivalence led to the idea where women's competition was not a real team sport and therefore, not a real game. Additionally, female athletes were continually called by their first names or as "girl" or "young lady" and these inferences suggest an infantilization of the women athlete. This practice of calling men by their last names or "young men" shows a hierarchal of naming, where men are given the dominant role, and women are familiarized. The language used according to Parks and Robertson (1998) diminishes women athletes and denies them adulthood and therefore again reaffirms masculinity within sport.

This type of commentary is still used to denigrate women's sports and particularly in tennis. Tennis is given a higher media coverage because it remains true to the classification of what is socially acceptable. It is a non-contact sport where the athletes maintain strict standards of femininity, yet both print and television media trivialize the women athletes by suggesting they are not real athletes. Vincent (2004) examined coverage of the Wimbledon tennis championships and found that journalists trivialized women athletes' both within their photographic poses and the text that accompanied with them. In particular, the numerous "babes" and "girls" comments mentioned about women athletes propose the idea that men are the dominant gender. The language from the commentators reinforced traditional gender stereotypes where the athletic achievements of women are devalued. It is important to note that language plays a significant role within how the consumers interpret gender

and in reinforcing the consumer's perception of what is feminine and masculine. Duncan (1990) highlighted several other ways through which women's sport is trivialized such as physical appearance, and position of the body. Women athletes who are less glamorous get less attention from the media than those who are. The highlighting of the femininity of athlete focuses on the non-athletic achievement and therefore serves as a trivialization factor in their athletic accomplishments.

4. Sexualized and encouraged heterosexualization:

When the media emphasizes women as attractive and feminine this shifts attention from their skills to their looks and minimizes the threat these women pose to the male dominance of sport. Social definitions of gender have characterized the sexual polarization and inequality (Hargraves, 1994). The polarization of the sexes has been a dynamic component in the inferior status given to women athletes. Theberge (1993) discussed how the athletic body makes sport a particular powerful setting for the construction of gender ideologies and this becomes the basis for gender ideology and masculine superiority. Though women have always been physically active throughout the centuries they have constantly been restricted by society. Examples of this have been the classification of athletics as potentially dangerous to women's procreative ability (Oglesby, 1990). In early eras such as the strict Victorian age, women were seen as fragile, frail, and sickly, and being aggressive and athletic was not part of their ideology. Men viewed females as sexual objects:

“...beauty of face and form is one of the chief characteristics (for women), but unlimited indulgence in violent, outdoor sports, cricket and most odious of all games for women – hockey, cannot have an unwomanly effect on a young girl's mind, no less on her appearance...let young girls ride, skate, dance in moderation, but let them leave field sports to those for whom they were intended for – men.” (Mangan, 1987, 158)

Today, modern sports have evolved to foster the socialization of males in line with previous eras of what constitutes masculine identity and attitude. A sport that is considered masculine functions in society to reinforce the sense of separation between men and women and such ideas lead to the construction of the ideologies concerning the female body and the polarization of the sexes. Ideologies such as women having softer and weaker bodies than men increase the belief that women's bodies are not suitable for sports which require physical contact, and women who do participate in these sports are not “real” women. Athleticism, according to Koivula (2001), is often linked to, and interpreted, as muscularity, and therefore often equated with power and masculinity. Therefore, the idea of women having a biologically inferior body has been extensively used to justify the exclusion of females in certain sports and influence the idea that women who chose masculine sports are promoting lesbianism and other unfeminine traits. The female body continues to be identified as an object

within sport and women often experience significant conflict with the negotiation of being an athlete and being a woman (Harrison and Lynch, 2005).

The media plays a prominent role in the sexualization of women athletes. In the 1950's a woman's identity was suppressed in all areas of society and especially in athletics. Women who participated in sports were viewed with contempt by the media. Knight and Guilanno (2003) stated being a successful athlete contradicted a woman's prescribed societal gender role and therefore, women were required to overcompensate for their masculinity as an athlete. Women athletes often find themselves in the double bind of maintaining traditional standards of femininity while their sport demands they overcome them or overemphasizes them. According to Mary Jo Kane, director of research on females in sport at the University of Minnesota, "if you are a female athlete and you want to get attention, the way to do that is play the sex card, the problem with that strategy is whether it translates into success over time." (O'Keefe, 2000)

The first context of sexualization is the concept of appearance. Numerous studies (Harris, 2005; Messner, Duncan & Jenson, 1993; Vincent, 2004; Rowe and Brown, 1994) observed that print media focused on the physical appearance of women athletes much more than their athletic skills and abilities. These studies referenced hair, make-up, and body shape for the women but rarely if ever focused on the same things for men. The references on their physical appearance and aesthetic appeal highlighted the idea that gender inequalities are common place within the media. Vincent (2004) emphasized heterosexism as an important part of the hierarchal gender order and women can excel athletically providing they are heterosexually attractive. In his study of print media coverage of Wimbledon, the extensive coverage given to former tennis star Anna Kournikova highlighted this concept. With her scantily clad figure and Eurocentric features she was the most photographed athlete. Throughout the text accompanying the photographs there were numerous references to her family life, boyfriends, nightlife and not her skill or athletic ability. Despite Kournikova never winning a major tennis tournament she is still worth more money than any other tennis player, past or present. Maria Sharipova is another young blonde tennis star who has garnered an immense amount of media attention because of her body. Unlike Kournikova, Sharipova has won major tournaments and is a phenomenal athlete but yet the media remains focused on her body and continues to refer to her using language such as beautiful young girl, soft skin and flowing locks of hair, all of which have nothing to do with her skills as an athlete. The exploitation of women athletes in nothing new, the only thing different is this generation of women athletes has been co-opted into believing it is good for them (O'Keefe, 2000). The overt heterosexuality which accompanied Kournikova highlights what Hall (1988) stated as femininity being a code word for heterosexuality and the fear of women being portrayed as a lesbian.

According to Cahn (1994), women's entrance into sports was an unsettling, unwelcome intrusion into the realm of masculinity and women who played sports were viewed as "manly" or lesbians. The beauty and

grace of the athlete was fundamental to the athletes overall experience and therefore to be a women athlete in our society is to act in a manner considered contrary to traditional gender roles (Lenskyj, 1994). When women athletes were successful and athletic they were labeled as lesbians. Blinde (1991) stated that by labeling powerful women as lesbians, is an attempt to ostracize and dis-empower them. This threat and the resulting stigma leads many athletes to disassociate themselves from things associated with lesbians (Blinde, 1991). To reinforce the negativity of being associated with lesbianism, Lenskyj (1994) mentioned how a volleyball coach required all his players to grow their hair and wear it in a ponytail tied with ribbons, to emphasize their femininity and sell the sport. This example perpetuated the fear associated with lesbians and lesbianism and reinforces the idea that women athletes should be feminine to succeed. Such examples illustrate the idea of constructed femininity, where dress codes and appearance are often imposed by coaches, sponsors or the media (Jex, 2000).

Women athletes do not get that much attention, that is until they use their body for attention. To illustrate this, before the 2007 Women's football World Cup, members of the Australian national team appeared in a men's magazine naked. They did this to highlight their participation in the world cup and to promote the World Cup. Four years later, just before the 2011 women's soccer world cup, the German National team posed naked in *Playboy* and again they stated that they did this to promote the World Cup. The trend today is not to emphasize athletic accomplishments but in fact to over emphasize poses which are provocative and sexually alluring. Athletes use male orientated magazines such as *Maxim* and *For Him Magazine (FHM)* to highlight their sports. This type of promotion is not uncommon. Rowe and Brown (1994) explained the popularity of many sports and women athletes lies in the use of their glamour to promote their sport. Sports have utilized shorter skirts, tighter tops, encouraged weight loss and grooming to sell women's sports as sexually appealing to the general public. Such proposals according to Rowe and Brown (1994) are self defeating as they continually reproduced the status quo of male hegemony. The poses that accompanied the athletes in these magazines only reaffirmed their exploitation with the camera of both the print press and television focused in on female body parts. Women wore fragments of clothing, reduced to bikinis, and showed their breasts, bottoms, and thighs (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). On average female athletes are more likely than male athletes to be portrayed in the media in sexy and suggestive poses. Reeder (2001) though stressed that "she does not think of the images as sexual, they are a statement that a woman can be powerful, feminine and confident."

What is clear is the print media marginalizes these athletes through the photographs and commentary within the text. When women are actually shown in active poses in newspapers, magazines, or the internet, usually the text would portray them as passive and decorative objects (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988). The rules of femininity are transmitted through the visual images we see on a daily basis and we learn through the images what is appropriate and not appropriate. One must remember that journalists are not objective, they are there to

sell newspapers and therefore, the photographs and texts are laced with subjectivity even when they are put forward as being equal.

5. Asian Female Athletes:

While research has been conducted extensively in the Western hemisphere, research on the perception of female athlete images in Asia has been lacking. With the rise in the participation of Asian athletes at the national and international level and the increasing success of Asian athletes, it is important to explore how these ‘sport superstars’ are evaluated by society and in particular the media. As in the West, many of these athletes are held in high esteem by people and their every action is emulated by those same people. Therefore, the images portrayed by the media can have a lasting sociological effect on those who are fans. Indeed, as more female athletes become successful the more influence they will have on general society and as such will play an important role in equal opportunity.

While sport participation and interest has long been seen as not important to Asian women, and viewed as going against the stereotype of passive and sacrificing Asian women (Chia, 2009). Today, women are now becoming increasingly involved in sports and as such it is important to examine the images that they generate. The sporting power is shifting from the West to the East and it is interesting to see what other aspects of sporting society moves with the power, such as discrimination, inequality, and sportsmanship. As such, many of the traits of Western sport are infiltrating Eastern sport culture. In particular, winning at all costs has become prevalent as sport is now viewed as a business rather than pleasure. Therefore, athletes are commercialized and publicized. For this paper, the researcher is focusing on female athlete images in the media. Specifically, as the researcher is based in Korea, a sample of Korean newspapers both in Korean and English was examined to explore if there were signs of sexualization and trivialization in the Asian media similar to that of Western Media. The researcher had two students examine newspaper articles from the Guangzhou Asian games (2010) and had them translated into English. The newspapers examined were daily newspapers and well respected newspapers such as the Korean language papers *Jung Ang Daily*, *Cho Sun Daily* and the English language papers the *Korea Times* and *Korea Herald*.

The results highlighted a significant focus on the physical and non-sporting features of female athletes in Korea. The 2010 Asian Games in Guangzhou showcased many fantastic athletes yet the papers focused exclusively on the “Guangzhou five.” The Guangzhou five were viewed as the five most beautiful female athletes in Korean from sports such as Billiards (Cha Yu Ram), gymnastics (Son Yeon Jae), Swimming (Jung Da Rae), Baduk (Yiseul Ah), and volleyball (Han Songi). The newspapers reported many times on the facial beauty of all the athletes and used words such as “sexy,” “cute” (Chosun.com). In one instance, Han Songi was described as “tall and slim” and is the “best dressed” athlete. Certainly, being a talented volleyball player and one of the best in the nation should warrant more than being described as the best dressed athlete

(Hankyung.com). Other examples highlighted the beautiful “Western” features of the athletes and fantastic bodies that the athletes had. Son Yeon Jae, is a world class rhythmic gymnast and ranked in the world’s top 10, yet in both the Cho Sun daily and Hangyure sports the majority of stories focused on her personal life and physical features. Though only 18 years old, the images of her are highly sexualized and she has now become a mainstay in many commercials showing her beauty. This is similar to the leading female athlete in Korea – Kim Yuna. Kim Yuna is the best figure skater in the world and yet many stories in both the English and Korean press focuses on her physical features rather than her athletic accomplishments. She has now become one of the most highly paid sports stars in Asian through endorsements. In comparison, Jang Mi Ran, again, one the leading athletes in the world has very little endorsements. The reason being that Jang Mi Ran is a weightlifter and is perceived as not as “feminine” as Kim Yuna.

These exploratory findings support research from Western media by Tuggle and Owen (1999) in relation to competitive sport and Duncan and Hasbrook (1998) on the concept of gender appropriate sport. Thus, it appears that in addition to the view of sport being a business, the view of female athletes as women first and athletes second has been transplanted into Asian society. Yet, despite these stereotypes, the participation of Asian women in sports has been steadily increasing and such participation may now contribute to social change and greater opportunity for women in general society.

6. Future Research

The findings concerning the images of female athletes in Asia are quite similar to that of Western society and yet there has been a dearth of literature on understanding how to combat such stereotypes. The researcher plans to examine in greater detail the role of women coaches in Asian sport to explore their experiences as athletes and what changes they have seen over the decades. Additionally, a more in-depth and scientific analysis will be conducted to explore the types of images and wording used in both old media (newspapers, television) and new media (internet and social media). As sport becomes more popular in Asian countries and more money is infused in the sport industry it will be important to examine the sociological implications of sport and athletes within society. After Kim Yuna won the Gold medal at the Winter Olympics, many Korean parents became infatuated with figure skating and wanted their daughters to grow up like Kim Yuna but yet the same cannot be said for Jang Mi Ran. The only difference is that Kim Yuna was seen as beautiful and feminine and thus perpetuated the stereotype of success equals beauty in women sports and not talent.

7. Conclusion

Examining the relationship between gender and the sport media has created a substantial body of research in the sport sociology field (Kennedy, 2001). Much of this research has relied on content analysis dealing with the stereotyped images of sportswomen, language, and textual commentary that has provided a

framework that sexualizes, trivializes, and devalues women's sporting abilities and accomplishments. This devaluation is apparent across all sports. Sport is not merely some objective institution, but rather it has the potential influence the norms, values, and beliefs of the larger social practices. The media and sports symbiotic relationship constructs and utilizes gender stereotypes to maintain gender inequality and gender differences, both actively through written words and passively through photographs. Sport sells mass media and media sells sport, therefore, the media has biased coverage because it assumes its consumers are men and aligns its coverage to suit its potential customers. Pederson (2002) eloquently stated the symbiotic relationship fosters the acceptance of masculinity as the defining character of Western society and the media create and reflect this hegemonic masculinity.

Research has found that across women sports there was not only a difference in the amount of coverage given to women athletes and sports when compared to men but also in the quality of the coverage. The main themes that occurred within the research materials were underrepresenting, trivializing, sexualizing, and heterosexualizing women's bodies within the context of sport. This type of reporting has profound effects on both genders at a young age. The symbolic annihilation and dominance attributed by Wenner, (1998) leads to ambivalence towards women's sports and athletes. Therefore, individuals, specifically men, can then embrace hegemonic masculinity as a form of superiority over women. When this happens women are denigrated through physical weakness and emotions and therefore are not viewed as real athletes because they are seen as women first and athletes second.

The media wants to sell papers and in a consumption-orientated society, men's continued attempts to retain power starts with the objectification of the female body and sport is a ground where such attempts are viewed and reproduced by the consuming public. Women athletes must still conform to the 'male ideal' of what an athletic woman should be. In this 'ideal' female athlete, society has tried to increase the eroticism and heterosexual aspects of the woman's body, specifically, men viewed these idealized women and other women athletes as subordinate and more often concentrated on their physical form than on their athletic abilities. Therefore, by concentrating on the physique of the women athlete, men have objectified women's bodies as being similar to soft-core pornography. So, by aligning women's athletics with soft-core pornography men can oppress women as athletes. The media sets this ideal, in order to move women's sports into a more highly commercialized format, and the media have actually further emphasized the "feminine" aspects of the athletes. It will take an ideological and symbolic change in society, and not only in sport, for women to truly have control of their bodies. This change is needed at all levels of society and in relation to sport; change will occur when more programs are created to encourage women to participate in sports at all levels. Also, importantly is the inclusion of women in high level administration of the sports, when more women coaches are hired, when more women are hired in media as reporters and analysts. These changes can only happen if those at the highest level believe that change

must happen and while these recommendations are only several of what needs to be implemented to change the perception of female athletes. It is important that all of us become involved in changing the way sport is perceived and valued. Without doubt sport is still viewed as a “man’s” world and change will be slow but can occur.

References

- Blinde, M.E. (1991). Differential media coverage of men’s and women’s intercollegiate basketball: Reflection on Gender ideology. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 15, 75-98.
- Boutilier, M. A., & San Giovanni, L. (1983). *The sporting women: Feminist and sociological dilemmas*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Cahn, S. (1994). *Coming on Strong: gender and Sexuality in twentieth-century women’s sport*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Chia, Chen Yu. (2009). A content analysis of news coverage of Asian female Olympic athletes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 44, 283-305
- Choson Daily. (2011). *Sexy cruise, Pure darae, Guangzhou 5 looking attractive*. Retrieved August 30th, 2011 from <http://sports.chosun.com/news/news.htm?id=201011130100128310007471&ServiceDate=20101112>
- Coakley, J. J. (2004). *Sports in society: Issues and controversies (9th ed.)*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Duncan, M.C. (1990). Sport photographs and sexual difference: images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7, 22-43.
- Duncan, M.C., & Hasbrook, C.A. (1988). Denial of power in televised women’s sport *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5, 1-21.
- Eastman, S.T., & Billings, A.C. (1999). Gender parity in the Olympics. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23(2), 56-72.
- Hall, A. (1988). The discourse of gender and sport: from femininity to feminism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5, 330-340.
- Hankyung News. (2010). *Guangzhou 5-looking ``chayura - sonyeonjae - jeongdarae-a-iseulah, beauty, even gold Medals sense*. Retrieved August 30th, 2011 from <http://www.hankyung.com/news/app/newsview.php?aid=2010111249087>
- Hargraves, J. (1994). *Sporting Females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women’s sports*. London: Routledge Press.
- Harris, J. (2005). The image problem in women’s football. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 29(2), 184-197.
- Harrison, L.A., & Lynch, A.B. (2005). Social role theory and the perceived gender role orientation of athletes. *Sex roles*, 52(3), 227-236.
- Jex, Maya. (2000). *Playing out Identities. Women in Sports*. Retrieved August 16, 2006 from the WorldWide Web. <http://journalism.fas.nyu.edu/wis/bizjournal/sexuality12.html>.
- Jones, R., Murrell, A.J., & Jackson, J. (1999). Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages: Print media coverage of U.S. women’s Olympic gold medal winning teams. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23(2), 183-192.
- Kane, M. J. (1996). Media coverage of the Post Title IX female athlete: A feminist analysis of sport, gender, and

- power. *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Public Policy*, 3(1), 95-127.
- Kennedy, E. (2001). She wants to be a sledgehammer? Tennis femininities on British television. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 25(1), 56-72.
- Kian, E.M. (2007). Gender in sports writing by the print media: An exploratory examination of writers' experiences and attitudes. *The SMART Journal*, Fall 2007
- Knight, J.L., & Giuliano, T.A. (2003). Blood, sweat, and jeers: The impact of the media's heterosexist portrayals on perceptions of male and female athletes. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 26(3), 272-284.
- Koivula, N. (2001). Perceived characteristics of sport categorized as gender-neutral, feminine and masculine. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 24(4), 377-393.
- Krane, V., Choi, P.Y.L., Baird, S., Aimar, C.M., & Kauer, K. (2004). Living the paradox: female athletes negotiate femininity and muscularity. *Sex Roles*, 50(5), 315-329.
- Lenskyj, H. J. (1994). Sexuality and femininity in sport contexts: issues and alternatives. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 18(4), 356-376.
- Mangan, J.A & Park, R.J. (1987). *From 'fair sex' to feminism: Sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial Eras*. London: Frank Cass Publishing.
- Messner, M.A. (1988). Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5, 197-211.
- Messner, M.A., Duncan, M.C., & Jensen, K.(1993). Separating the men from the girl. The gendered language of televised sports. *Gender and Society*, 7(1), 121-137.
- Oglesby, C. A. (1990). *Women and sport: From myth to reality*. Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Febiger.
- O'Keefe, M. (2000). *Sexpolitation or Pride? Female Olympians' Revealing Poses stir debate*. Newhouse News Service. Retrieved March 16, 2011 from the World Wide web. <http://www.newshousenews.com/archive/story1a091500.html>.
- Parker, W. (2002). *Women's Soccer: Sex Sells*. Cox News Service. Retrieved March 13, 2011 from the World Wide Web. <http://www.coxnews.com/newsservice/stories/2002/0820-SOCSEX.html>
- Parks, J.B., & Robertson, M.A. (1998). Influence of age, gender, and context on attitudes towards sexist/nonsexist language: Is sport a special case. *Sex Roles*, 38(5), 477-494.
- Pederson, P.M. (2002). Examining equity in newspaper photographs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(3), 303-318.
- Riemer, B.A., & Visio, M.E. (2003). Gender typing of sports: An investigation of Metheny's classification. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 74(2), 193-204.
- Rowe, D, & Brown, P. (1994). Promoting women's sport: Theory, policy and practice, *Leisure Studies*,13, 97-110.
- Reeder, K. (2001). *The Playboy Athlete. Women in Sports*. Retrieved March 16, 2011 from the World Wide Web. <http://www.shethinks.org/articles/an00109.cfm>
- Spencer, N.E. (2003), "America's sweetheart" and "Czech-mate": A discursive analysis of the Evert-Navratilova rivalry. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 27(1), 18-37.
- Theberge, N. (1993). The construction of gender in sport: Women, coaching, and the naturalization of difference.

Social Problems, 40(3), 301-313.

- Tuggle, C.A., & Owen, A. (1999). A descriptive analysis of NBC's coverage of the centennial Olympics: the "games of the woman"? *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23(2), 171-182.
- Vincent, J. (2004). Game, sex, and match: The construction of gender in British newspaper coverage of the 2000 Wimbledon championships. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 21, 435-456.
- Vincent, J., Imwold, C., Masemann, V., & Johnson, J. T. (2003). A comparison of selected serious' and 'popular' British, Canadian, and United States newspaper coverage of female and male athletes competing in the Centennial Olympic games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(3-4), 319-335.
- Wenner, L.A. (1998). *Mediasport*. New York, NY: Rutledge Press.
- Wensing, E.H., & Bruce, T. (2003). Bending the rules: Media representation of gender during an international sporting events. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38(4), 387-396.
- Whisenant, W.A., Pederson, P.M., & Obenour, B.L. (2002). Success and gender: determining the rate of advancement for intercollegiate athletic directors. *Sex Roles*, 47(9), 485-491.