

RUNNING HEAD: MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND VIEWERSHIP OF WOMEN'S
SPORTS

**“You Throw Like a Girl!”: A Sociological Analysis of Media Representation and
Viewership of Women’s Sports**

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Abstract

Motivated by the sociological theories of Symbolic Interactionism and Contemporary Feminism, this research explores the intersections of gender, the media, and sports on a southeastern college campus. Undergraduate students were recruited from various sections of Introduction to Sociology to complete a 38-question survey administered through Qualtrics. The final sample size was 85 ($n = 85$). Bivariate analyses were conducted using RStudio and SPSS simultaneously, and any relationship that was found to be significant ($p = .05$) was analyzed using a Cramer's V coefficient test to determine the strength of association. Trends that stood out in the research were 1) There are differences in perspective between men and women college students; 2) There are not many differences in opinion between those who participate in sports and those who do not; and 3) There were differences between viewership frequency (this could also be tied to the amount of sports coverage watched by each gender, however, multivariate analysis was not conducted).

Introduction

The aim of this study is to research the intersections of gender, sports, and the media. Analysis of how women (and men) athletes are represented in the media has been a popular area of research in recent years. Research shows that media depictions of female athletes are generally underrepresented, trivializing, and often linked to cultural ideas about women's femininity and sexuality (Jones, 2006; Kane & Lenskyj, 1998). Additionally, sports also provide a cultural space for the development and reinforcement of masculinity and men's capital/authority over women (e.g., Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Sabo & Jansen, 1992). What has been given less research attention, however, is how people consume and interpret these types of media representation, particularly in comparing reception between athletes and nonathletes, and especially in a collegiate setting.

This study investigates how audiences consisting of college students watch sports and make sense of representation disparities between male and female athletes. By representation disparities, I am referring to the exacerbation of an oppositional binary between male and female athletes via the amount of media coverage content. Representation disparities are the byproduct of "frames," or ways that people conceptualize the world by emphasizing certain aspects of an event while ignoring others (Goffman, 1974). The mainstream media simultaneously produces and reinforces dominant belief systems (Gamson et al., 1992); for this reason, attention to media framings of male and female athletes provide useful insight into gender as a "modern social institution" (Lorber, 1994).

Women's sports coverage is an important topic of research as it remains largely marginalized and has for quite some time (Schmidt, 2016). Investigations of media coverage of sportswomen have, and continue to, receive global attraction, primarily because so little appears to have changed in the 35 years since such research began (Bruce, 2016). As found by Cooky et al. (2015), "The slight increase to 3.2% in our 2014 findings indicates that the news shows' coverage of women's sports remains substantially lower than its coverage in 10, 15, 20, and 25 years ago" (Cooky et al., 2015, p 266). The amount of network television and Sportscenter coverage of women's sports has fluctuated between 0 – 9% of coverage, but has actually declined. This topic is not only important due to its historic stagnancy in evolution, but also given its timeliness with the 2019-2020 federal lawsuit brought up by members of the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team against the U.S. Soccer Federation for gender discrimination in terms of pay, work conditions, and promotion/endorsements. Based on a review of the literature, I suspect that any existing disparities are formed from a vicious cycle of unequal viewership as well as unequal media coverage, in both quantity as well as quality. I investigate these questions by studying the opinions and perceptions of both athletes and non-athletes in a college setting. Qualitative and quantitative data was collected from participants to analyze the amount of time participants spent consuming sports media along with responses from participants that shed light into whether their media consumption influences their perceptions of gendered sporting events.

The research is guided by contemporary feminist and symbolic interactionist theories in sociology. These two theoretical approaches are quite complementary to one another: taking a critical lens to micro-level social interactions and understandings allows us to explore the ways that media representation, and our interpretations of media, can be gendered and unequal. For

instance, Kidd (2013, p 553) discusses the utility of a critical feminist framework and argues that such a lens is essential when analyzing sports: "Feminist scholarship has had a profound impact on the study of sports. It has forced us to recognize the gendered nature of these activities and to question the traditional exclusion and marginalization of most females from sport." Additionally, both symbolic interactionist and feminist theories recognize that gender is socially constructed, which is significant for the social sphere of sport because gender is a social construct that has profound implications for the achievement of gender equality, and in this case, in the mediation of elite collegiate sports. The aforementioned theories were utilized to examine hegemonic representations and the meanings humans make about them.

Literature Review

Gendertyping is the modern phrase used to analyze the gendering of sports (Hardin & Greer, 2009). Gendertyping is the process by which a social actor is made aware of their gender and behaves accordingly as a result of this knowledge by assuming the values and attributes associated with members of their identified sex. This process occurs in the realm of athletics through the introduction of "gender-appropriate sports." For example, gendertyping is prevalent in American football, which is dominantly conceived of as a hypermasculine, male-only sport, and dance, which is often discussed as a hyperfeminine, female-only sport, or even a non-sport. The aforementioned sports are presumed to have inherent features that are analogous to gendered dispositions. American football is characterized as a rough and contact-driven sport; similarly, men are characterized as conflict-pursuing, confrontational, loud, and aggressive. Meanwhile, dance is characterized as a calm, disciplined, and graceful sport; similarly, women are characterized as reserved, well-mannered, and agile. From a sociological perspective,

gendertyping demarcates social roles on the accord of gender. Gendertyping reinforces hegemonic masculinity (Sobal, 2005, 2016) as it constructs and reproduces social representations of sports as masculine, feminine, both, or neither (Sobal & Milgrim, 2019).

The gendertyping of sports is successfully accomplished through the cognitive processes of 'lumping and splitting' (Zerubavel, 1996). According to Zerubavel, lumping and splitting is the intersubjective process of grouping "like" things together into distinct categories and simultaneously separating "unlike" things as a method of ordering reality. Humans, as social actors, use the process of lumping and splitting to distinguish, and subsequently classify, aspects of the social world, and therein actively construct meaning. Language is a key contributor to the process of lumping and splitting by providing us with seemingly comparable niches for associating things together while simultaneously allowing us to manufacture and embellish seemingly unassociated categories that are neither subjective nor rational. Furthermore, there exists literature showing how sports media (or media in general) uses gendered language about athletes that primes us, as social actors, to gendertype sports in hegemonic ideological ways (Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1993). While many sports have been assigned a gendertype that is dominant and hegemonic (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), such representations of hegemony may fail to acknowledge the intricacy and variation of how gender is actually practiced in sport (Moller, 2007), especially in modern environments of more dynamic and inclusive perspectives regarding masculinities and femininities in sport (Anderson & McGuire, 2010).

"Doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) is the practice of displaying characteristics in a social setting that are exclusively associated with either femininity or masculinity in an

effort to portray that one's sex equates to their gender. An example of this is "manspreading," a practice wherein men spread their legs out and occupy a large amount of space. On the contrary, women typically cross their ankles or press their knees together in order to occupy a minimal amount of space. The aforementioned methods of sitting, albeit accomplishing the same task, are exemplary of "doing gender" as the completion of an action is assessed as relating one's sex and gender, for instance, because a social actor who appears to be female sits with her legs closed, she identifies as a woman and not a man. "Doing gender" and heteronormativity are connected as doing gender in accordance to heterosexuality is a form of heteronormativity. The primary narrative is that it is normal for one's sex to correspond with their gender, thus aligning with heteronormative values. The processes of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) are intricate and often difficult to separate from the continuation of heteronormativity; in daily life as well as in sports. How people respond to noncompliance with homogenized attitudes about gender can highlight the operations behind the everyday actions of doing gender along with doing heteronormativity (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). This research questions the gendertyping of sports by the mass media and how those prominent ideologies are produced as well as reinforced.

The mass media are a prominent socialization tool, providing and reinforcing social constructions of reality (Gamson et al., 1992), and particularly regarding the conceptualization of gender. Therefore, the consumption of sport media facilitates the development of gendertyped cognitive schema among media consumers (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). The hegemonic narrative of male athletic superiority that the media portrays (Adams, Ashton, Lupton, & Pollack, 2014; Cooky et al., 2015) has a strong influence on the conception and perception of

gender in relation to athleticism, creating a gendertyped cognitive schema among its respective consumers (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). The hegemonic narratives of male superiority/dominance are displayed through the prioritization of male athletic discourse over female athletic discourses (Adams, Ashton, Lupton, & Pollack, 2014; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This is accomplished through gendered headlines, negative commentary, inequivalent comparisons, and disproportionate coverage time, amongst other tactics, thereby providing and reinforcing hegemonic social representations of gender and sport (Adams, Ashton, Lupton, & Pollack, 2014). It has further been argued that gender discourses are embodied and reproduced through sports and the media, even by sportswomen (internalizing and reproducing these hegemonic gender discourses) (Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017).

Similar to gendertyping are rituals of subordination, first introduced by Goffman in his 1979 book *Gender Advertisements*. Rituals of subordination are the practices by which humans, as media viewers and interpreters, are told that what our culture has established as feminine is inferior to that which is established as masculine via the placement of visual imagery (in ads). An example of rituals of subordination includes how women are never positioned facing the camera directly in ads, but rather are placed in physical positions that suggest passiveness and submissiveness. Gender displays and the positioning of women by the media reinforce dominant ideas of femininity (Goffman, 1979). These practices are commonplace in the media representation of women athletes in publications such as *GQ* and *Vanity Fair*, as well as on social media platforms. Male athletes are typically portrayed and discussed in terms of strength and physical abilities, whereas female athletes are typically portrayed and discussed in relation to attractiveness and sometimes in terms of their sexualized bodies (Messner, Duncan, & Jensen,

1993). This is consistent with Goffman's notion of rituals of subordination by showing how men and women are positioned differently in mainstream publications.

The symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 2000), or the nonexistence of representation and/or underrepresentation, of women from the predominant sport media via gendertyping may influence involvement and engagement: if a sport is highly gendertyped as feminine, those who do not gender identify as feminine may be reluctant to become, or remain, involved (Coakley & White, 1992; Klomstein et al., 2005; Lee, Macdonald, & Wright, 2009; Matteo, 1988; Pederson & Kono, 1990; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006).

A study conducted by Klomstein, Marsh, and Skaalvik (2005) found that interviewed boys are potentially less concerned with what sports are appropriate for boys or girls, whereas girls had firm beliefs about what sports are more appropriate for girls than boys. The same research concluded that "boys and girls appear to be stereotyped in sport participation, in masculine and feminine values, and also in how they express sports appropriateness for boys and girls" (Klomstein et. al, 2005, p 634). Research conducted by Coakley and White (1992) found that gender constraints were influential in British adolescents' decisions to participate in sports via the way traditional definitions of gender had become ingrained in their social identities (e.g. distinct physical education curricula). Specifically, if an adolescent female athlete does not identify as feminine they might be less likely to stay in their feminized sport (e.g. tennis).

The media also reproduces a hegemonic narrative through its portrayal of female athleticism, or lack thereof (Deering Crosby, 2016; Frisby, 2017; Litchfield et. al, 2018; McKay & Johnson, 2008; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). For example, Wensing and Bruce (2003) found that

Cathy Freeman, an Australian track and field athlete during the 2000 Olympics, was frequently gendered throughout the national media coverage, both written and visual, prior to the media utilizing her as a national symbol (Wensing & Bruce, 2003, p 389). Years of 'conventional' representations, primarily those grounded in the sexualization and minimization of female athletes in the sports media, has become the expectation for fans, rendering these practices invisible (Tuchman, 2000). The invisible practices in reference are those by which the mass media exclude, minimize, or admonish certain groups that are not socially valued; in this case, that group is female athletes (Tuchman, 2000). The limited times wherein "women's sport" receives media attention, female athletes are chronically aestheticized, eroticized, and minimized (Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017). When discussing the decline of women's sports coverage in the last 25 years, Cooky, Messner, and Musto (2015) observed how "the sports media covers women's sports when it can do so in ways that conform to conventional gender norms that position women as either objects of men's (hetero)sexual desire or mothers, wives, or girlfriends" (Cooky et al., 2015, p 280).

The theories of contemporary feminism and symbolic interactionism have been incorporated in order to examine hegemonic representations and the meanings humans make about them. Common themes in the literature regarding gender/sexuality and their intersections with sport include: gender questioning (speculating about an athlete's gender based on their athletic performance), gender marking and appropriate femininity as ascribed by the media (Hardin & Greer, 2009; Litchfield et. al, 2018; Sobal, 2005, 2016; Wensing & Bruce, 2003); compulsory heterosexuality (Wensing & Bruce, 2003); infantilization (Wensing & Bruce, 2003); trivialization (Bruce, 2016; Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017); subordination or erasure on the

basis of gender (Bruce, 2013, 2015; Cooky et al., 2015; Tuchman, 2000); the accreditation of athleticism to hidden factors (Bruce, 2016; Deering Crosby, 2016; Frisby, 2017; Litchfield et. al, 2018; McKay & Johnson, 2008; Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017) and the establishment of an oppositional framework ('pretty or powerful') by the media (Bruce, 2016; Litchfield et. al, 2018). These methods of portrayal reinforce gender disparities and simultaneously validate masculine privilege in sport by situating women athletes as subordinate to a male standard (Bruce, 2013, 2015).

Thorpe, Toffoletti and Bruce (2017) engaged with three types of feminist critique to analyze the self-representation of female athletes, with a specific focus of U.S. professional surfer Alana Blanchard's use of social media. They found that when analyzing Blanchard's Instagram platform using second- and third-wave feminist lens, her posts prioritized her aesthetic appearance over her physical skill as a surfer, which was then reinforced by the media (Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017, p 366, 369). The authors also noted that the capitalization upon self-representation paired with the widespread distribution of images of the physical body (Baer, 2016) may be increasing the demands of hegemonic femininity (Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017, p 376). The work done by Thorpe, Toffoletti and Bruce (2017) exemplifies how nuanced and complex representation of sportswomen can be and how humans are in a new media landscape (i.e. social media) beyond just traditional media (and how dominant messages of femininity can be internalized, embodied, and/or part of one's own self-presentation). On the same note, Bruce (2016) seems to suggest that within a third-wave framework, self-presentation

on social media might be a possible way to break down or complexify the "pretty or powerful" binary.

Based on my review of the literature, I suspect that any existing disparities are formed from a vicious cycle of unequal viewership as well as unequal media coverage, in both quantity and quality. There is very limited or scarce research on collegiate sports, sports media viewership, and perception, therefore, this is a pertinent and necessary study. These questions are investigated in this research by studying the opinions and perceptions of gendered sports and athletes from both athletes and non-athletes in a college setting. Quantitative data was collected from participants to analyze the amount of time participants spend consuming sports media along with responses from participants that shed light into whether their media consumption influences their perceptions of gendered sporting events.

Methods

Research Design and Procedures

This research aimed to identify the connections between the media, perception of female athletes, and viewership preferences among college students. An underlying assumption of the research is that increased media viewership will be directly related to a negative perception of female athletes and a viewership preference of male-dominated sporting events.

The research design of this study was exploratory and consists of viewership analysis, which was carried out through a survey. The primary variables examined in the study were gender, athletic involvement (measured in two ways), medium for media reception, frequency of

watching sports (measured in two ways), and opinions about gendered sports (measured multiple times in different responses). All data was obtained via self-report¹.

In order to gather information, this research utilized a survey distributed to a sample of college students. The population focused on for the present study consists of registered undergraduate students in a medium-sized, private four-year university located in the southeastern United States. The survey was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board prior to administration. A cross-sectional study was conducted using a clustered convenience sampling. Survey participants were recruited by distributing the survey to several course sections of Introduction to Sociology during the spring, summer, and fall 2020 semesters. Prior to taking the survey, participants were required to review and agree to a consent statement.

Survey participants were asked questions about their general preferences regarding watching sporting events and their opinions on women's sports as well as female athletes, specifically. The survey was administered through Qualtrics, a survey processing company. It contained 38 questions and consisted of a series of both open-ended and closed questions. This research implemented a quasi experimental design. Participants were given three statements about male athletes in relation to female athletes and were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement using a Likert-style response scale. They were then prompted to watch a video news clip about the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team and the gender pay gap. The video was

¹ In order to obtain a better understanding of the sample composition, participants were given several demographic questions. Respondents were asked to type in their own ages. This ensured that participants under the age of 18 would not be included in the final sample as I did not have approval to include participants under the age of 18. Participants were able to choose the race/ethnicity they identified as by selecting "Non-Hispanic White," "Black or African American," "Hispanic or Latino," "Native American or American Indian," "Asian or Pacific Islander," or "Other" where they could enter their own response. Respondents were asked whether or not they were international students, and were able to respond with "Yes," or "No."

viewed on Youtube.com and posted by the news outlet *The Washington Post*. Participants were then given the same three statements they had responded to prior to the video, and were asked to indicate their level of agreement using the same Likert-style response scale. For a complete list of the survey questions used, see Appendix A.

Although I took an inductive exploratory approach to this research, I proposed three general sets of hypotheses to explore:

- I. H1: There is a relationship between Gender and Perspectives on Media Coverage of Women's Sports.
- II. H2: There is a relationship between Watching Televised Sport Content and Perspectives on Media Coverage of Women's Sports.
- III. H3: There is a relationship between Athlete Status and Perspectives on Media Coverage of Women's Sports.

The final sample size was 85 ($n = 85$). Participants ranged from ages 18 to 34. 5.88% of the sample self-identified as NCAA student athletes at the university where the study took place.

Sample & Data

Since the sample was a sample of convenience, it included more females (72.94%) than males (27.06%), with no participants identifying as "other." The ages ranged from 18 to 34 with the mean being 19.87 years old and a median of 20 years. The racial breakdown was non-Hispanic white (78.82%), Black or African American (3.53%), Hispanic or Latino (12.94%), Asian or Pacific Islander (2.35%), and other (2.35%).

The college grade levels of the participants were Freshman (22.35%), Sophomore (40.00%), Junior (24.71%), and Senior (12.94%). The nationality breakdown of participants was the United States (91.76%), and international students (8.24%). Some participants identified as being NCAA student athletes (5.88%), but most participants did not (94.12%).

72.94% of participants selected "Social Media" as their primary method of receiving news and information, followed by "Television." When asked "How often do you consume sports-related media?" 28.24% of participants responded "Frequently (daily or almost daily)," 23.53% responded "About once a week," composing more than half of the sample. 16.47% responded "Almost never to never" to the same question.

42.35% of participants responded "No preference" when asked if they preferred to consume men's sports media, whereas 51.76% of participants responded "No preference" when asked if they preferred to consume women's sports media.

Operationalizing Key Variables

Several independent variables were analyzed in this study. The primary independent variable analyzed was Gender, based on the options of "Male," "Female," and "Other" where participants could specify their gender identity.

Another independent variable analyzed was NCAA athletic status, which was captured with the response options: "No," and "Yes," which then prompted participants to indicate which sport they were currently involved in. Athletic history was also analyzed as an independent variable. Participants were asked: "Regardless of whether you are currently an athlete, were you

active in sports before enrolling at the University of Tampa? (i.e., Did you ever play a sport in elementary, middle, or high school?)” Response options were “No,” or “Yes,” which then prompted participants to specify which sport(s) they were involved in.

Methods of receiving news and information were observed as a single independent variable. This was measured in a 6-point rating scale that asked respondents to order how they received information from (1) primary source to (6) least likely source with options of Television, Newspaper, News Websites, Social Media, Radio, and Word-of-Mouth.

Finally, frequency of watching sports was measured as an independent variable via two questions. Participants were asked the following questions separately: “How often do you watch televised sports?” and “How often do you watch live sports (in person)?” Using a Likert-style 6-point response scale, participants were able to respond with: “Frequently (daily or almost daily),” “About once a week,” “About once a month,” “A couple times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the Super Bowl, Olympics, NBA Final Four, etc.),” or “Almost never to never.”

The dependent variables observed during this research were: 1) feelings about sports coverage in the media, 2) opinions about male athletes in relation to female athletes, and 3) preferences of sports media coverage by team (i.e. men's team or women's team) . All of the dependent variables were attitudinal.

To measure the first dependent variable, participants were asked the following question: “How do you feel about sports coverage in the media? Specifically, do you think that women's

sports receive _____?" Respondents were able to answer this question by selecting either "Too much attention," "About the right amount of attention," "Too little attention," or "Unsure."

To measure the second dependent variable, participants were given three statements and asked to specify to what extent they agreed or disagreed. The first statement was: "Men are generally better athletes than women." The second statement was: "Men are physically better suited for sports than women." The third statement was: "Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally (e.g., the U.S. women's soccer team should be paid equally to the U.S. men's soccer team). Respondents were able to respond to these statements by using a Likert-style 5-point response scale that ranged from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree. These three questions were also asked a subsequent time following the screening of the video clip.

To measure the third dependent variable, participants were asked two questions. The first question was: "In general, do you prefer to consume sports-related media (e.g., news, game highlights, updates, etc.) involving men's sporting teams?" The second question was: "In general, do you prefer to consume sports-related media (e.g., news, game highlights, updates, etc.) involving women's sporting teams?" Respondents were able to answer both questions by selecting either "Yes," "No," or "No preference."

Statistical Methods & Bivariate Analyses

I conducted bivariate analyses to explore relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Specifically, most bivariate tests consisted of examining cross tabulations and chi-square. Additionally, any relationship that was found to be significant ($p = .05$) was

analyzed using a Cramer's V coefficient test to determine the strength of association. All commands were run simultaneously using the latest versions of RStudio and SPSS.

Results

These analyses were used to determine the level of significance between the independent and dependent variables. Those variables that were deemed as significant on their own were analyzed using a Cramer's V coefficient test.

Findings on Hypothesis #3: Athletic Involvement

The impact of athletic involvement was assessed by: 1) history of athletic involvement (whether or not a participant was ever involved in a sport), and 2) current NCAA athletic status.

One's athletic history had a significant influence on the extent to which participants agreed with the statement that "men are generally better athletes than women" ($\chi^2 = 13.863$, $p = .008$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.404$). Table 1.1 shows that that one-third (33.3%) of participants who never played sports "Agree" that men are generally better athletes, whereas 15.1% of those who played a sport either agree or strongly agree. 41.7% of those who never played sports "Strongly Disagree" that men are better athletes, compared to 26% of those who played a sport "Strongly Disagree" with this statement.

Table 1.1- “Were you ever involved in sports” and “Men are generally better athletes than women”

	No	Yes
Strongly Agree	0.0%	9.6%
Agree	33.3%	5.5%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	0.0%	26.0%
Disagree	25.0%	32.9%
Strongly Disagree	41.7%	26.0%

However, there was no statistically significant difference found between NCAA athlete and non-athlete responses regarding the aforementioned statement. Similarly, the relationship between NCAA athletic status and opinions on women's sports coverage was not found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 11.142$, $p > .05$). The relationship between NCAA athletic status and the extent to which participants agreed with the statement that “men are physically better suited for sports” was also not found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 9.432$, $p > .05$).

Despite the one significant test, this hypothesis is not supported by the data on most measures.

Findings on Hypothesis #2: Media Viewership

The impact of media was assessed by analyzing the frequency at which participants watched televised sporting events.

There was a statistically significant relationship between frequency of watching televised sports and preference on consuming sports-related media involving men's sporting teams ($\chi^2 = 21.689$, $p = .017$) (Table 2.1). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.357$).

Table 2.1- "How often do you watch televised sports" and "Do you prefer to consume sports-related media involving men's sporting teams"

	Frequently (daily or almost daily)	About once a week	A couple of times a month	About once a month	A couple of times a year	Almost never to never
Yes	90.9%	45.5%	33.3%	40.0%	26.9%	11.1%
No	0.0%	9.1%	8.3%	20.0%	30.8%	33.3%
Unsure	9.1%	45.5%	58.3%	40.0%	42.3%	55.6%

Frequency of watching televised sports and opinions of media attention on women's sports was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 26.430$, $p = .034$). 63.6% of participants who watched televised sports frequently (daily or almost daily) felt that women's sports received "About the right amount of attention," meanwhile 76.9% of participants who watched televised sports a couple of times a year (e.g. only during major sporting events) felt

that women's sports received "Too little attention" (See Table 2.2). The strength of association for the relationship between frequency of watching televised sports and opinion of media attention on women's sports was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.322$).

Table 2.2 - "How often do you watch televised sports" and "Do you think that women's sports receive ____ attention"

	Frequently (daily or almost daily)	About once a week	A couple of times a month	About once a month	A couple of times a year	Almost never to never
Too Much Attention	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	11.1%
About the Right Amount of Attention	63.6%	18.2%	41.7%	20.0%	7.7%	11.1%
Too Little Attention	34.4%	72.7%	50.0%	80.0%	76.9%	44.4%
Unsure	0.0%	4.5%	8.3%	0.0%	11.5%	33.3%

The relationship between televised sports viewership and the extent to which participants agreed with the statement that "men are generally better athletes" showed to be significant ($\chi^2 = 39.573$, $p = .006$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.341$).

The relationship between the frequency that participants watched televised sports and the extent to which participants agreed with the statement that "men are physically better suited for sports" was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 32.808$, $p = .035$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.311$).

The extent to which participants agreed with giving male and female athletes equal pay showed to be a statistically significant factor ($\chi^2 = 33.432$, $p = .030$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.314$).

Therefore, based on these bivariate analyses, my hypothesis is supported.

Findings on Hypothesis #1: Gender

The impact of gender was assessed by assessing dependent variables across male and female participants.

There was a statistically significant relationship between gender and preference on consuming sports-related media involving women's sporting teams ($\chi^2 = 6.150$, $p = .046$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be weaker (Cramer's $V = 0.268$).

Opinions of media attention on women's sports showed to be a significant factor ($\chi^2 = 15.174$, $p = .002$) (Table 3.1). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderate (Cramer's $V = 0.423$).

Table 3.1 - Gender and “Do you think that women’s sports receive ____ attention”

	Male	Female
Too Much Attention	4.3%	3.2%
About the Right Amount of Attention	52.2%	12.9%
Too Little Attention	34.8%	74.2%
Unsure	8.7%	9.7%

The relationship between gender and the frequency of watching televised sports was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 23.984$, $p = .000$). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be high (Cramer's $V = 0.531$).

Prior to screening a video by *The Washington Post* on the pay gap within the U.S. Soccer Federation, there was a statistically significant relationship between gender and the extent to which participants agreed with the statement that “men are generally better athletes” ($\chi^2 = 29.458$, $p = .000$). 52.2% of male respondents agreed (“Agree” and “Strongly Agree”) with the statement, 4.8% of female respondents agreed, 21.7% of male respondents disagreed (“Disagree” and “Strongly Disagree”), and 74.2% of female respondents disagreed (see Table 3.2). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be moderately strong (Cramer's $V = 0.589$). Following the video, 39.1% of male respondents agreed with the statement, 1.6% of female respondents agreed, 26.0% of male respondents disagreed, and 77.4% of female participants disagreed ($\chi^2 = 28.838$, $p = .000$) (see Table 3.3). The strength of association for this relationship was found to be high (Cramer's $V = 0.582$). Both pre- and

post-video questions were found to be significant; even after watching the video, opinions shifted, but not enough to render the relationship between gender and this opinion not significant.

Table 3.2 - Gender and “Men are generally better athletes than women” (Pre Video)

	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	26.1%	1.6%
Agree	26.1%	3.2%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	26.1%	21.0%
Disagree	12.0%	38.7%
Strongly Disagree	8.7%	35.5%

Table 3.3 - Gender and “Men are generally better athletes than women” (Post Video)

	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	21.7%	0.0%
Agree	17.4%	1.6%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	34.8%	21.0%
Disagree	13.0%	37.1%
Strongly Disagree	13.0%	40.3%

Opinions on equal pay for male and female athletes were found to be statistically significant prior to the video ($\chi^2 = 27.278$, $p = .000$) (Table 3.4). The strength of

association for this relationship was found to be high (Cramer's $V = 0.566$). Following the video, there was no longer a statistically significant relationship between gender and opinions on equal pay ($\chi^2 = 4.554$, $p > .05$) (Table 3.5), which potentially suggests that the news clip may have significantly shifted viewer's opinions on this topic, especially the opinions held by male viewers.

Table 3.4 - Gender and "Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally." (Pre Video)

	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	39.1%	69.4%
Agree	17.4%	16.1%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	8.7%	4.8%
Disagree	30.4%	8.1%
Strongly Disagree	4.3%	1.6%

Table 3.5 - Gender and "Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally." (Post Video)

	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	47.8%	62.9%
Agree	26.1%	19.4%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	4.3%	8.1%
Disagree	17.4%	4.8%
Strongly Disagree	4.3%	4.8%

Therefore, my hypothesis regarding the influence of gender on perspectives of women's sports is supported by the data.

Conclusion

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to better understand the attitudes of American undergraduate students regarding the media coverage of male and female athletes and sports teams. This study was conducted as exploratory research. The results indicate that the attitudes of undergraduate students regarding male and female sporting teams, athletic capabilities, and media coverage varies depending on gender, athletic involvement, and media frequency.

Trends that stand out in the research are 1) There are differences in perspective between men and women college students; 2) There are not many differences in opinion between those who participate in sports and those who do not; 3) There were differences between viewership frequency (this could also be tied to the amount of sports coverage watched by each gender, however, multivariate analysis was not conducted).

People who watch televised sports frequently (daily or almost daily) were found to prefer sports media involving men's sporting teams (90.9%). These findings are consistent within the broader theory of contemporary feminism when considering the prevalent symbolic annihilation of female athletes and women's sports by sports media. Interestingly, the relationship between the frequency of watching televised sports and preference of sports media (involving men's sporting teams) was found to be statistically significant ($p = .017$), however, the relationship

between the frequency of watching televised sports and preference of sports media (involving women's sporting teams) was not found to be statistically significant ($p = .418$). From a contemporary feminist perspective, it is known that the media lack framing of women's sporting events, thus, these findings are consistent within the broader theory.

Even though the relationship between gender and opinions on equal pay was not found to be statistically significant following the video, the measure was impacted by watching the video as there was significant movement in the post-test. Prior to the video, 34.7% of male respondents disagreed ("Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree") with the statement: "Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/ compensated equally" and 34.8% were indifferent ("Neither Agree nor Disagree"); following the video, 21.7% disagreed and 4.3% were indifferent. The relationship between gender and opinions on equal pay lost its statistical significance with the implementation of the video, however, this is because opinions shifted away from "Disagree" and "Neither Agree nor Disagree" and toward "Agree" and "Strongly Agree." These findings are consistent with a symbolic interactionist perspective as the way ideas are framed within language can shape behaviors and outlooks. By introducing media explaining the pay gap within the U.S Soccer Federation and framing it as problematic, participants' attitudes on equal pay shifted in a positive direction.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that college students are not a good proxy of the general population as they are not an accurate representation of the general population. College students are typically younger, work different hours, and share similar socioeconomic statuses with other

students in their college campus, rendering them a non-representative sample of the general population. The ages of participants in this study ranged from 18 to 34 years old. Thus, these findings cannot necessarily be generalized to the entire U.S. population.

A second limitation of this study was COVID-19, commonly referred to as coronavirus. This study initially intended to conduct a focus group with undergraduate student athletes at the same university in addition to a survey. Due to the global pandemic, physical restrictions eliminated the option of effectively recruiting and conducting a focus group. To view the focus group guide that was intended to be used by the lead researcher, see Appendix B.

A third limitation of this study was the lack of operationalization for the term “better.” Participants were asked to specify the extent to which they agreed with the statement: “Men are generally better athletes than women.” Although the term “better” was operationalized in the following statement, the answers to that statement could be skewed due to the vagueness surrounding “better.”

A fourth limitation of this study was my graduation timeline. When I first embarked on my research journey, I intended on graduating in the spring of 2021. In light of COVID-19, I decided in September 2020 to graduate in December 2020. With the unforeseen decrease of time left to complete this research, survey distribution was forced to conclude early.

Directions for Further Research

Further research could be done by conducting a focus group in addition to a survey with undergraduate student athletes at the same university. In order to achieve a representative sample

of the university's student athletes, students should be randomly selected from an alphabetical list of all undergraduate student athletes. One method of achieving this is to select every third student and invite them to participate in the focus group.

Future studies could expand upon this research by diversifying the age of the sample. This study consisted of an age-specific cohort as a result of conducting the research on an undergraduate campus. By broadening the age demographics, future research could analyze the impact age, as a variable, has on viewership and opinions.

Finally, a future direction for research may include expanding the survey to further analyze the impact media sources have on opinions about gendered athletes and sports. This study did ask participants to rank their primary sources of obtaining information, however, the output was not structured in the survey such that it could be easily assessed in either RStudio or SPSS. Future research could circumvent this by asking individual questions which specify each media source as opposed to placing all of the selected media sources in a single, ranked variable.

Appendix A

1. How do you gender identify?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Other (please specify)
2. What is your current age?
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*
3. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - a. Non-Hispanic White.
 - b. Hispanic or Latino.
 - c. Black or African American.
 - d. Native American or American Indian.
 - e. Asian / Pacific Islander.
 - f. Other, please specify.
4. What is your grade status for the Spring 2020 Semester?
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Other (please specify)
5. Are you an international student (a student enrolled at a university residing outside of their home country)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. Are you a NCAA student athlete?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
7. If you answered “yes” to the previous question, which sport did/do you participate in?
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*
8. Rank where you get your information from:
 - a. Television
 - b. Newspaper
 - c. News Websites
 - d. Social Media
 - e. Radio
 - f. Word of Mouth

9. How often do you consume sports-related media (e.g. watch sporting events, read about sporting events, follow social media accounts that are sports-driven)?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the NBA finals or US Open)
 - f. Almost never to never
10. In general, do you prefer to consume sports-related media (e.g., news, game highlights, updates, etc.) involving men's sporting teams?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No preference
11. In general, do you prefer to consume sports-related media (e.g., news, game highlights, updates, etc.) involving women's sporting teams?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No preference
12. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on men's soccer?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the FIFA World Cup)
 - f. Almost never to never
13. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on women's soccer?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the FIFA World Cup)
 - f. Almost never to never

14. Are you more likely to watch ____
- Men's soccer
 - Women's soccer
 - Both men's and women's soccer
 - Neither men's nor women's soccer
15. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
- *participant fills in answer here*
16. How often do you consume sports-related media involving tennis?
- Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - About once a week
 - A couple of times a month
 - About once a month
 - A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - Almost never to never
17. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on men's tennis?
- Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - About once a week
 - A couple of times a month
 - About once a month
 - A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - Almost never to never
18. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on women's tennis?
- Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - About once a week
 - A couple of times a month
 - About once a month
 - A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - Almost never to never
19. Are you more likely to watch ____
- Men's tennis
 - Women's tennis
 - Both men's and women's tennis
 - Neither men's nor women's tennis
20. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
- *participant fills in answer here*
21. What is your favorite sport to watch?
- *participant fills in answer here*

22. When watching your favorite sport mentioned above, do you have a preference as to which team you watch?
- a. Yes, I prefer to watch the men's team.
 - b. Yes, I prefer to watch the women's team.
 - c. No, I do not have a preference,
 - d. No, I do not have a favorite sport.
23. How often do you watch televised sports?
- a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the Super Bowl, Olympics, NBA Final Four, etc.)
 - f. Almost never to never
24. How often do you watch live sports?
- a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year
 - f. Almost never to never
25. Do you attend on-campus sporting events?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
26. If you attend on-campus sporting events, which is your favorite to attend?
- a. *participant fills in answer here*
27. Are you more likely to attend:
- a. A men's sporting event
 - b. A women's sporting event
 - c. Both men's and women's sporting events
 - d. Neither
 - e. Depends on the sport
28. Regardless of whether you are currently an athlete, did you ever play a sport growing up in elementary, middle, or high school?
- a. *participant fills in answer here*

29. How do you feel about sports coverage in the media? Specifically, do you think that *women's* sports receive ____
- a. Too much attention
 - b. About the right amount of attention
 - c. Too little attention
 - d. Unsure

Specify to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

30. Men are generally better athletes than women.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
31. Men are physically better suited for sports.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
32. Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally. (e.g., the U.S. women's soccer team should be paid equally to the U.S. men's soccer team)
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

Watch the following video. <https://youtu.be/k33MXVaJhLc>

Specify to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements after watching the video:

33. Men are generally better athletes than women.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
34. Men are physically better suited for sports.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
35. Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally. (e.g., the U.S. women's soccer team should be paid equally to the U.S. men's soccer team)
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
36. Any additional thoughts or comments?
- a. *participant fills in answer here*

Appendix B

Focus Group Discussion Guide

I. Consent Process

Thank you for agreeing to participate. I am very interested to hear your thoughts and opinions about gendered sports and media representation. In a moment we will discuss a few topics and watch a clip, but remember that I am here to learn from you all.

- *The purpose of this study is to learn how gender and the media can be meaningful in the realm of sports and how we make sense of certain sports commentary.*
- *I understand how important it is that this information is kept private and confidential. The information you provide me will be kept completely confidential, and I will not associate your name with anything you say in the focus group or write on your iPad or computer.*
- *I will also ask participants to respect each other's confidentiality. Because of the group setting, absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. However, I ask that you keep what is discussed during the group confidential and not disclosed to others outside of the group. If you would like to make a comment that you do not wish to share with others in the focus group, please use your iPad or computer to make that comment. Your written comments will also be kept confidential.*
- *The focus group session will be videotaped so that I can make sure to capture the thoughts, opinions, and ideas heard from the group, but the video will never be played for anyone other than me and the faculty helping me with this project. No names will be attached to the focus groups and the tapes will be destroyed as soon as my project is completed. Your written comments will also be kept confidential and destroyed after the completion of my project.*
- *You may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time.*
- *If you have any questions now or after you have completed the questionnaire, I'm happy to address your questions. You may also contact me after the focus group has concluded by using my contact information provided below.*
- *Please review and sign the informed consent form if you agree to participate in this focus group.*

II. Introductions and Getting Started

1. Explanation of the process

Ask the group if anyone has participated in a focus group before. Explain that this focus group is being used to explore student interpretations of gendered sports and related media.

About focus groups

- I am here to learn your views (positive and negative)
 - Not trying to achieve consensus or group agreement, but rather, just gathering information about your perspectives
- For this project, I will be looking at both online questionnaires and focus group discussions. The reason for using both of these tools is that I can get more in-depth information from both the group and individuals within the small group

Logistics

- Focus group will last about one hour
- Feel free to move around, but please do not attempt to read what anyone else in the room is typing
- Where is the bathroom? Exit?
- Help yourself to refreshments

2. Ground Rules (time for this? Brainstorm, and make sure the following are on the list)

Ask the group to suggest some ground rules. After they brainstorm some, make sure the following are on the list.

- Everyone should participate
- Information provided in the focus group must be kept confidential
- Stay with the group and please don't have side conversations
- Turn off cell phones if possible
- Have fun

3. Turn on Video Recorder

4. Ask the group if there are any questions before we get started, and address those questions.

5. Introductions

- Go around the table: Give us a nickname we may call you. Who are some of your favorite athletes?

III. Background Questions:

For this portion of the survey, participants will be handed a printed version of the following questions to be completed on their own.

1. How do you gender identify?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Other (please specify)
2. What is your current age?
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*
3. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - a. Non-Hispanic White.
 - b. Hispanic or Latino.
 - c. Black or African American.
 - d. Native American or American Indian.
 - e. Asian / Pacific Islander.
 - f. Other, please specify.
4. What is your grade status for the Spring 2020 Semester?
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Other (please specify)

5. Are you an international student (a student enrolled at a university residing outside of their home country)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. As an NCAA athlete, which sport do you participate in?
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*
7. Rank where you get your information from:
 - a. Television
 - b. Newspaper
 - c. News Websites
 - d. Social Media
 - e. Radio
 - f. Word of Mouth
8. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on men's soccer?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the FIFA World Cup)
 - f. Almost never to never
9. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on women's soccer?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the FIFA World Cup)
 - f. Almost never to never
10. Are you more likely to watch ____
 - a. Men's soccer
 - b. Women's soccer
 - c. Both men's and women's soccer
 - d. Neither men's nor women's soccer
11. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*

12. How often do you consume sports-related media involving tennis?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - f. Almost never to never
13. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on men's tennis?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - f. Almost never to never
14. How often do you consume sports-related media focused on women's tennis?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the US Open)
 - f. Almost never to never
15. Are you more likely to watch ____
 - a. Men's tennis
 - b. Women's tennis
 - c. Both men's and women's tennis
 - d. Neither men's nor women's tennis
16. Please explain your answer to the previous question.
 - a. *participant fills in answer here*
17. How often do you watch televised sports?
 - a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the Super Bowl, Olympics, NBA Final Four, etc.)
 - f. Almost never to never

18. How often do you watch live sports?
- a. Frequently (daily or almost daily)
 - b. About once a week
 - c. A couple of times a month
 - d. About once a month
 - e. A couple of times a year (e.g. only during the major events like the Super Bowl, Olympics, NBA Final Four, etc.)
 - f. Almost never to never
19. Do you attend on-campus sporting events?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
20. Are you more likely to attend:
- a. A men's sporting event
 - b. A women's sporting event
 - c. Both men's and women's sporting events
 - d. Neither
 - e. Depends on the sport
21. How do you feel about sports coverage in the media? Specifically, do you think that *women's* sports receive ____
- a. Too much attention
 - b. About the right amount of attention
 - c. Too little attention
 - d. Unsure

Specify to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

22. Men are generally better athletes than women.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
23. Men are physically better suited for sports.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

24. Professional male and female athletes deserve to be paid/compensated equally. (e.g., the U.S. women's soccer team should be paid equally to the U.S. men's soccer team)
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Neutral
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree

IV. Guiding Questions:

1. How often do you consume sports-related media (e.g. watch sporting events, read about sporting events, follow social media accounts that are sports-driven)? What motivates you to consume sports-related media?
2. Do you watch any of the men's/women's equivalent sports games on campus?
3. What do you think of the men's/women's equivalent sports games on campus in terms of skill, capability, and popularity?
4. Have you received negative comments relating to being a male/female athlete? Please elaborate if you feel comfortable doing so.
5. Have you received negative comments relating to being a male/female athlete from your male/female counterparts? Please elaborate if you feel comfortable doing so.
6. Have such negative comments made you question your athletic capabilities? Please elaborate if you feel comfortable doing so.

7. How do you imagine a male/female athlete participating in your sport to look? Do you feel that your exterior appearance aligns with the assumed look of a male/female athlete participating in your sport?
8. How do you imagine a male/female athlete participating in your sport to be sexually oriented? Do you feel that your sexual orientation aligns with the assumed sexual orientation of a male/female athlete participating in your sport?
9. Do you think there are any common themes circulating throughout sports media (i.e. ESPN)?
10. How often do you watch men's sporting events on television or online? What comments do you notice being made about male athletes?
11. How often do you watch women's sporting events on television or online? What comments do you notice being made about female athletes?
12. In general, do you prefer to consume sports-related media (e.g., news, game highlights, updates, etc.) involving women's or men's sporting teams?
13. How do you feel in your sport about the treatment of men and women (i.e. is it equal?)

V. From "<https://youtu.be/k33MXVaJhLc>":

1. What do you all think of this video?

2. Do you think any of the commentator's remarks are true?
3. Do you think there are any particular societal commentaries made in the video?

Probes:

- a. Shared experiences: Is the commentator tapping into shared experiences on the basis of gender?
 - b. Gendered Narratives: Is the commentator challenging or reinforcing our notions of gender?
4. Did any particular comments or phrases stand out to you the most? Why?

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