

THE CONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION OF GENDER THROUGH SPORT REPORTING IN SELECTED SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS

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ABSTRACT

Drawing upon the body of knowledge of the sociology of sport and content analysis of media studies, this research focuses on the construction of gender through sports reporting in selected South African newspapers. Methods utilized to determine such constructions, included: i) a quantitative survey in terms of frequency of articles (text) and the scope of photographic images and, ii) a qualitative or content analysis in terms of text and photographic images. Data was collected over a six-month period (1 April 2004 – 30 September 2004) to include all major international sport events. A total of 2 354 images and 5 300 articles were analysed to determine the rationale of the input and throughput phases. Interviews were conducted with three journalists from Beeld, The Star and The Sowetan. The analysis of qualitative and quantitative data conformed patriarchal values in prioritizing men and male sports (86.5%), while marginalizing women and their sport in biased reporting (construction of messages and images). Male sporting success, role models as sport stars and gender stereotyping in terms of masculine versus feminine representations of athletes, devalue the athletic achievements of female athletes by using cultural and sexual innuendos.

Key words: Gender; Sport journalism; South African newspapers.

INTRODUCTION

Patriarchal ideology and resultant gender differentiation are produced and reproduced in all spheres of society, perpetuating the ideology of male superiority and female subordination. In most western countries, men's participation in sport has traditionally been regarded as a 'natural' phenomenon, whereas women's involvement in this traditionally androcentric arena has often been viewed as anomalous (Pirinen, 1997; Theberge, 1996 & 2001).

During the 19th century, female athletes were excluded or discouraged from participating in a variety of sports (Lebuku-Wilderson, 1997). They were excluded because teams and programmes either did not exist, or girls were discouraged and socialized into a "passive, sociable, nurturing, and dependent" role that was reinforced by various socialization agents (e.g. parents and/or educators) and institutions (e.g. schools and/or sport clubs) in society (Sage, 1990). These socialization patterns found expression in gender inequality that pertains to the allocation of resources (Burnett, 2004) and having access to decision-making power within the sporting fraternity (Engelbrecht, 1996; Hargreaves, 1997). Media coverage as a resource of communication is no exception.

Media can be seen as a major source of pervasive influence. All over the world, billions of people, in one way or the other, have access to information through the media. Probably the most frequently read type of media on sport news is the daily newspaper. It is a highly influential medium that has evoked great research interest (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Gender and media studies have focused on the written media's mediation or construction of gender through the presentation of images (pictures) and messages (text) (Coakley, 2007). The analysis of images and texts mostly reflect on the mediation of gender themes or media constructs. Biased reporting and constructions are portrayed in terms of gender stereotyping where women are packaged as being beautiful or sexy and men as being strong and robust. More recent portrayals or media constructions allow for differential images of male and female athletes. In some non-aggressive male sports, men are portrayed as 'agile and versatile' (Pfister, 2006), while still adhering to the 'prowess ethic' compared to women whose media constructions mostly convey an idealized feminine identity (Theberge, 2001).

During the past decade, the majority of gender studies that reported on the media's construction of gender, have reported on the under-representation of women in media reports (Alexander, 1994; Harris, 1997). Others reported on masculine discourses by offering critique on biased gender reporting and the construction of gender stereotyping (Pinheiro, 2003; Pirinen, 1997). In different cultural contexts, researchers have reflected on the print media's adherence to a patriarchal stance of male superiority by male journalists and sport editors in Germany (Hartmann-Tews & Rulofs, 2003). Discursive strategies and their 'engendered subtexts' are exposed as adhering to gender stereotyping (where male athletes are celebrated for the masculinity and male prowess, and women are sexualized), while journalists claim neutrality in the production of what is considered newsworthy for their readers (Knoppers & Elling, 2004).

The focus of critical feminist analysis has increasingly shifted to the process of constructing media reports and selection of images. Recent studies (Hartmann-Tews & Rulofs, 2003; Knoppers & Elling, 2004) exposed a patriarchal gender mindedness evident in various mechanisms of media production in the surroundings of the press and editorial offices. These studies investigated the way in which the media presented biased reporting with a main interest in profits and boosting circulation figures. It was also noted that the texts were not created in a social vacuum, but were the products of sport journalism: "It is their words and images that appear in the coverage" (Knoppers & Elling, 2004: 57).

The aim of this article is to analyse and critically reflect upon the constructions of gender through sport reporting by means of textual and image representations of three of the most influential regional newspapers (Gauteng) in South Africa. Furthermore, to highlight the cultural stereotypes, trivializations and sexual innuendos that are frequently used to devalue the athletic achievements of female athletes.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research design that traced the construction as selected representations of gender through media consisted of three components. The 'input' to the media, the 'through-put' through the media constructions and the 'output' of publications (Hartmann-Tews & Rulofs, 2003).

The 'input' component consisted of the sources of information available to the journalists, as well as events and the performance of athletes. Examples would include media processing in press departments of different sporting organizations, and information about major sporting events such as the Olympic Games, the World Cup Soccer, Wimbledon and gendered ideology from which media formulation stems.

The 'through-put' of the research methodological model consisted of the mechanisms of media production which involved the process by which journalists go about covering sport news, or the 'writing up' of an article about a particular athlete through their use of various images and styles of writing (Hartman-Tews & Rulofs, 2003; Knoppers & Elling, 2004). It is this through-put process that mainly allows for scrutinising the actions that are directed by conservative beliefs of gender.

The 'out-put' relates to the component which represented the printed material and is quantifiable in terms of coverage, the depiction of athletes, the photographs and results printed.

Newspapers were selected from three major publishing houses. Not only were these newspapers' profiles taken into account (circulation figures, readers' profiles, ethnic representation and socio-economic status), but also the thematic analysis of newspapers via a pilot study. All newspapers in the country were analyzed via S.A. Media's electronic database. This database is one of the most comprehensive press cutting services offering access to more than three million newspaper reports and periodical articles which have been indexed on computer since 1978. It includes articles from more than 30 South African national and regional newspapers which are updated on a regular bases. From this database, newspapers which contained the largest frequency of sport coverage, as well as articles relating to gender coverage in sport. The pilot study established the newspapers mentioned below as having the highest numbers of articles relating to sport and gender:

- *Beeld*
- *The Sowetan*
- *The Star*

All these newspapers are daily newspapers and the period of analysis was six months, being from April 2004 to September 2004. A total of two hundred and sixteen (n=216) newspapers was collected. This included 72 copies of each newspaper. A total of two thousand three hundred and fifty four (n=2354) pictures or images and five thousand three hundred (n=5300) articles were collected for analysis which constituted the following spread:

- ninety nine (n=99) photos and 1 562 articles from *Beeld*.
- one hundred and forty six (n=146) photos and 1 646 articles from *The Sowetan*.
- one hundred and sixty two (n=162) photos and 2 092 articles from *The Star*.

The period of analysis was chosen specifically due to the staging of the Olympic as well as Para-Olympic Games held in Athens during the months of June 2004 to August 2004.

The **quantitative data** was coded on a standardized worksheet, taking into consideration article and photograph factors such as the theme, size and layout in the newspaper. The sizes

of the articles, as well as the photographs were measured using pre-sized templates. Templates were designed by analysing sizes of both articles and photographs from the three different newspapers. The most frequent sizes were taken into account and categorized into average range measurements, making up three different sizes.

- Small - [7 cm x 7 cm – 15 cm x 9 cm]
- Medium - [20 cm x 8 cm – 30 cm x 40 cm]
- Large - [34 cm x 45 cm – 40 cm x 60 cm]

The small size occupies twenty percent ($\chi < 20\%$) or less of a standard newspaper's page size, a medium-sized representation covers between twenty to forty five percent ($20 < \chi < 45\%$) of a standard newspaper's page, and the large size occupies anything between fifty percent (50%) to a complete standard page.

The following **qualitative data** was examined from the model.

- The textual and image coverage (content analysis) present the nature or way in which the coverage was portrayed both visually and linguistically (text), excluding advertisements of any nature.
- The production by the media relates to the extent and nature of women and men's involvement in producing coverage of women in sport and their ideological frameworks established through interviewing that followed a semi-structured format.

PROCESS OF REPORTING

This component of the study held special significance for media ideology as it intersects with gender ideology and priorities. It was also difficult to obtain information, merely because accessibility to journalists was limited, due to their lack of willingness to participate in the study. One journalist from each newspaper was interviewed.

Objectives of sport coverage

Objectives of sport coverage are mainly to entertain readers, to be newsworthy and to provide readers with stories of interest. As a whole, the journalists from the three publishing houses highlighted the fact that their main philosophy was one of adequately capturing the continuous needs of the South African society. This is done by emphasising the advancement of women in sport, either as players (athletes), or as administrators.

A slight deviation in qualitative and quantitative data is visible. The journalists mentioned that it was more interesting to read about how individuals overcame the odds, rather than the report on the build up of an event. However, statistically, the build up/marketing of an event as a theme measured higher than stories that are non-sport related, or personal stories. One journalist mentions that the sport section must portray the new society of South Africa and its continuing metamorphosis. Yet, political restructuring and/or policies in the sporting world measured as the lowest theme covered in newspapers. Upcoming female sport stars are hardly reported on and when a story is covered, it is usually a story that trivializes the achievements and importance of women's sport, or providing unfavourable comment on her personal life.

How editorial offices work

Cumulatively, the three newspapers cover mostly soccer, rugby and cricket (most of the time in that order), as they are ‘their’ main sports. It was highlighted that the readers’ profiles and interests were taken into serious consideration and only what was required and of interest to the readers, is reported on. Local stories are given prominence except if a national team plays abroad or in an international event. Other sport codes will be reported on only if they are mainly international events (golf, tennis and athletics). Simultaneously, it was mentioned that the readers in the community still need to be exposed to other sport codes which are not as traditional as soccer, rugby, cricket and boxing. One journalist explained this focus:

“For us soccer, rugby and cricket are our ‘big’ stories (often in that order), so they get prominence. We also report on other sports such as, tennis, golf, boxing and athletics for example, but mainly when it is international events.”

“In a nutshell, the pre-requisites are that the sport code has to have international and national appeal, and whatever story is reported on, must be newsworthy.”

The criteria that determine what and how a story needs to be covered are different, however also similar, in the three newspapers.

Criteria for the formulating of a sport story

Interviewees agreed that if the opportunity presents itself, female athletes will be reported on. Stories about teams would depend on what happened on the sport scene during a particular day or week. Stories should have a national interest and are prioritized as such. International news and events such as the World Cup, Wimbledon, Olympics and Golf Majors take priority, especially when a South African athlete is performing in such an event. Otherwise, national events and then local events get coverage, when there is space. An exception is *Beeld* where school sport gets prioritized because of *Beeld Trofee* (*Beeld* Trophy) for boys’ rugby.

When it comes to pictures, individual pictures are preferred to those of teams, as stories are mostly about individual athletes. The reader should be able to read about the athlete’s expectations, ambitions, feelings, fears and joys through the expressions depicted in and by a photograph. Such stories bring readers a sense of identification. The decision on photographs is taken in conjunction with the photographic department. When it involves an event, action photos are preferred to portraits (head and shoulder photos). A journalist said that a concerted effort is being made in depicting more female sporting personalities in line with the country’s gender equality programme. The same criterion is used for team photos.

“International events take priority especially when one of our athletes is performing in those kinds of events, local getting occasional coverage.”

“The photographic department goes for pictures that are ‘great’, whereas we are merely looking for a picture to do with a particular story.”

Sports such as rugby and cricket are considered the most interesting sports for readers, and they are therefore placed in prominent sections of the newspapers. The challenge therefore is to search for achievements in other codes or events to report on, for the sake of balance.

“Sports like rugby, soccer and cricket attract more attention in their seasons. It is for this reason that we must focus on them.’

All journalists and newspaper houses have their own criteria that they follow in order to write a sport story. This however is not the only guideline that journalists follow, their own insight, experience and emotions are part of the formulation process. Each journalist will bring to a story that which s/he perceived as a priority.

What the process of writing up an article involves

Firstly, the writer has to sell his story idea to the editor or is assigned to a specific story or an event. The two usually discuss and plan the angle and approach the story needs to take. In this process, it is decided whether a picture is necessary. It is also decided whether to use stock pictures or pictures that are already available on the newspapers’ database, or whether a photographer needs to take a new picture. The journalists will do the research on the subject by checking up on the internet or studying in existing files on the subject. Then the journalist will either go out and conduct an interview with the particular person(s), or cover an event. Upon returning, the journalist usually briefs the sports editor on what transpired so that they can decide what angle (slant) the story should take.

The editor (the person responsible for laying out the page or page design) will then decide how much space to allocate to the story (usually done in terms of the number of words required). The journalist will then write his/her piece, which will go through to the copy editors who in turn, will ensure that the story meets the basic requirements in terms of language and style. The copy editors will then come up with an appropriate and sometimes provocative headline for the story.

One journalist refers to the process of writing up a story as finding “credible facts and exciting details”. It is thus clear that the construction of media articles and pictures involve a variety of angles, as well as team effort.

Composition of media staff

There are no researchers hired in media offices. Each journalist is required to conduct his/her own research for sports writing. In *Beeld*, there are (n=4) full time sport staff and (n=3) regular sport freelancers – all male. The sport department of *The Star* comprises one female and 15 male journalists. *The Sowetan* has eight male and one female sport journalists. All (n=3) sport editors are male.

In analysing the gender representation of sport journalists and sport editors of the three publishing houses, the hypotheses of (a) male journalists being in the majority in editorial offices, and (b) female journalists being absent in decision-making roles in the editorial offices, becomes and is accepted.

Ideology in action

One of the main roles of the media reporting on sport in newspapers is perceived to be the countering of other news such as crime and politics, and to provide entertainment and a sense of hope. Other viewpoints relate to the function of informing the public on what their favourite

sport stars and teams have achieved and what they live like. This relates to newsworthy occurrences and to report on matches, including previews (build up to matches), profiles (revealing the people behind the sport stars) and player movements between clubs as well as the economics (sponsorship deals) and politics (elections of member in sporting structures). As one journalist said: “Our role is to inform the public of all this”.

The reasons offered for the viewpoint that male athletes are relatively more exciting than female athletes, even in similar sports, include the following:

“In soccer and rugby, the pace (of women) is boring and slow.”

“Boxing is definitely interesting as it is great fun watching two men bloodying each other’s faces and knocking each other senseless.”

“Soccer – even though women have made gigantic strides in the game, they’re still not a pretty sight running after the round leather ball as compared to men.”

The criteria applied to preferring male sport, then relates to the perceived excitement of the game (fast-paced), violence and pre-conditioned cultural perceptions of appropriated male and female participation in terms of feminine and masculine values. The fact that women doing sport “are not a pretty sight” clearly indicates cultural values and patriarchal ideology.

The various stakeholders, whom the journalists and editors are taking into account, relate to the ‘public’, sponsors and decision makers. The readers or public is the main concern for the media. Their perceived interests are prioritized, yet female readers and feminist groups are not directly consulted.

These findings corroborate the conclusions drawn by Hartmann-Tews and Rulofs (2003) and Knoppers and Elling (2004) who argue that the selection process in itself is an action inspired by patriarchal ideology. It reflects a discourse of masculine hegemony in which journalists defends the reproduction of gender stereotyping, camouflaged as being in the best interest of the newspapers as required by the readership. This however, may partially be true as the same gender discourse is reflected in societal beliefs that reciprocally reinforce and are being reinforced by media constructions that are gender related.

GENDER REPRESENTATION

Prioritizing male and marginalizing female sports and athletes

It was found that over the six-months research period (1 April 2004 – 30 September 2004), the overall coverage of articles (n=5300) showed that newspapers were greatly biased towards male sport coverage (n=4585, 86.5%) compared to female sport coverage (n=715, 13.5%). The overall depiction of athletes (n=2354) showed that newspapers were biased towards male athletes, (n=1947, 82.7%) compared to female athletes (n=407, 17.3%) in their visual quantity ($\chi^2=4.479$, $df=2$, $p=.106$).

The prioritizing of ‘success stories’ and creating excitement in the ‘build up’ to the event are the two major themes reported on in the three newspapers. The ‘success theme of superior

performance' is represented in 1 667 articles over the research period. It is constructed by a storyline relating to the physical performance of the athletes or teams, records set and winning in local and international competitions, especially test series or international events such as the Olympic Games. The second most prevalent theme (n=1467) relates to storylines in which a forthcoming event of importance is reported on. Interest is created by publishing statistics and issues that may have a bearing on the potential success of a team or athlete. Experts' opinions are represented by quoting players, ex-players, commentators or coaches.

Similar results were reported by Pirinen (1997) and Pinheiro (2003) who argued that the prominence given to male athletes and their stories is a reflection of ideology, where masculine attributes and values are celebrated as part of the sport ethos at the cost of perceived female attributes that exist in juxtaposition of what is widely accepted as the 'sport ethos' (Coakley, 2007).

The empirical results of this study find contextual expression in the following two dominant themes which make out the majority of sports reporting in the selected South African newspapers, namely:

- *Results* (n=478): This theme merely included all articles that furnished a result of a match, race, competition, medal counts, records and/or league score line – (excellence).
- *Rising star/potential* (n=232): Future and potential champions were highlighted for their tremendous talent and budding career in this theme – (hero).

When analysing the themes between male and female athletes, only two themes measured any statistical significance, namely, the 'results' and 'rising star' themes. The analysis showed that (n=124, 25.9%) articles represented female sport results, whereas 354 (74.1%) articles reported on male sport results. This highlights the fact that more male sport events were covered in comparison to woman sport. More storylines were recorded of male athletes (n=212, 91.4%), where they were praised for their potential and budding career, compared to that of their female counterparts (n=20, 8.6%). Concerning the other themes, little significant difference was reported with Kramers' V test measuring at 0.117. Interestingly enough, it is evident that the most predominant themes for both male and female sport storylines, are those of performance excellence, being (n=311, 18.7%) for females and (n=1356, 81.3%) for males. With regard to the 'build up' theme, (n=199, 13.6%) was measured for female athletes compared to (n=1268, 86.4%) for male athletes.

Male sports and athletes are mostly reported and speculated on. In accordance with the 'national importance' of male sporting teams and athletes being successful in international or national events, future sport stars are identified who would uphold the sporting prestige in a society. This conclusion is not only evidenced by the number of articles and images presented in the newspapers, but also the prominence of placing and scoping of the 'constructions' in term of layout and size.

Taking the actual count of articles found in the front section of the newspaper (as the most prominent section) into consideration, the outcome pointed towards male bias (n=1294, 24.2%) compared to female coverage (n=245, 4.6%). The same trend was evident when analysing which gender's articles were more prominent in the mid section of the newspaper. An ordinary count of articles showed that male stories (n=1303, 24.4%) were distinctly more

in the mid section than female stories ($n=275$, 5.1%). The back section was different to the above sections, as mostly male sport stories were covered ($n=1986$, 37.2%) compared to those of women ($n=239$, 4.5%) stories.

A similar trend was observed concerning the layout of photos or images. It was noted that there was not a significant bias towards any gender concerning the placement of photographs (Kramer's V test = 0.088). A slight indication showed that more photos of men were found at the end of newspapers (46.6%), compared to those of females (35.5%). The front section placed more photos of women as their subjects (34.6%), compared to men (26.8%). When it came to the middle sections of the newspapers, female photos (29.9%) were more prominent than male photos (26.6%).

In terms of scoping expressed in the length of articles or size of images, the more comprehensive article size would inevitably draw the readers' attention, and it thus seemed apparent that only the most important or interesting stories, events and/or athletes would 'earn' bigger coverage in size. More important and interesting stories were allocated a bigger space compared to less prominent ones.

No major statistical significance was reported with Kramer's V test measuring at .044, signifying that gender had little to do with the representations of sizes. However, when analysing the count, it was evident that male sports were allocated comparatively larger space (20.9%) than female sports (16.3%). Medium sized articles were equally taken up by male (32.3%) and female stories (31.8%). The small article size showed a reverse trend with female sports comprising (52%), compared to that for male sports (46.8%).

According to Pearson's Chi Square measure ($\chi^2=14.006$, $df=2$, $p=.001$), there tends to be a slight connection between gender and the sizes of photos, (Kramer's V test measure =.076). When comparing the photos of the genders and their respective sizes in units, there is a significant difference. However, taking Kramer's V test measure into consideration, and due to the large data set ($n=2403$), the percentage within gender measures was used to identify the relation between the two variables. When coding the photo sizes, it was noted that female athletes were placed in small photos (49.3%), compared to men being placed in medium (38.9%) or large photos (11.8%). If a comparison had to be drawn between female-sized photos and male-sized photos, it would be seen that female photos, sized small and medium, are relatively more than those allocated to men (small=44.1% and medium=36.5%). The exception exists for the large-sized photos, where the percentage within gender measure is higher for men (19.5%) than for women (11.8%).

This finding contributes to the wider gender discourse of female under-representation and rendering women and their sports relatively invisible over time as reported by Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) and Sage (1990). Stories about female athletes and their achievements were mostly placed in the middle section of the newspaper compared to that of their male counterparts who received prominent coverage on the front and back sections of newspapers. A further differentiation was observed in size where pictures of male athletes are presented in bigger (large- sized) pictures compared to women, who received their share (49.3%) when it came to small-sized images. This does not only render them relatively invisible, but also makes a gender statement in term of what is considered important or indeed relevant to the readers.

Concerning article placement and size, the hypothesis of trivializations of female sport achievements being evident in South African media, became vivid and holds true. Women's achievements are placed in the least prominent section of the newspapers and allocated the least amount of space compared to their male counterparts, highlighting the marginalization and trivialization of women's sport.

Articles about professional sport participants are inevitably those referring to male athletes as debates mainly centre around economic and political issues evident in the imbalance of socio-economic prominence and gender power relations in society and the sporting fraternity. These two bases of power are reflected in the majority of media reports.

Articles about resources (n=527) report on the following: financial resources (job status, sponsorships, salaries, rewards) and physical ones (equipment, facilities, and training facilities). Any story that had to do with the hiring or sacking of a manager, coach or player, transfer of a player from one club, or country to another, prize money, salaries of sports people, the latest sponsors of a team, individual as well as the latest equipment or facilities, inaugurated, needed or lacking were accounted for -(economic).

Articles about political involvement or 'political clout' relate to reports on the value of rugby, soccer and cricket, major winnings, the association of politicians with sport, policy, issues of transformation and editorials that are mainly concerned with male sport and athletes.

- *Policies, planning and structures of sport codes* (n=91): This theme took into consideration all the political news regarding national as well as international sporting structures such as policies, restructuring, visions and strategic planning – (political).

These themes represent a deepening of gender stratification within the South African society as expressed by Engelbrecht (1996), Hargreaves (1997) and Burnett (2004). This provides tangible evidence of gender inequality as women have far less access to political power, decision-making positions and resources than their male counterparts. This discourse of gender inequality thus finds expression in also marginalizing female athletes and their sports as a reflection of what is happening in the wider society.

Gender stereotyping

Sport photographs represent an account of how the world is viewed through the eyes of the newspaper photographers. Photographs are composed and placed in such a way that they present a subjective message with a 'facade' of objectivity in a vivid, memorable, easy to decipher, format (Duncan, 1990). Such subjective messages are captured by the appropriation of gender constructions according to male hegemonic practices (Theberge, 2001).

The presentation of women as 'beautiful and submissive' relates to the total number of posed or non-sport related photos, to that of sport action photos, was (n=866, 36.4%) and (n=1515, 63.6%) respectively. Female athletes were far more represented as passive (40.4%) and motionless subjects, compared to (35.5%) for male athletes under the 'pose setting'. In photographs of male athletes or teams, it was noted that in marginally more (64.5%) of the cases, male athletes were photographed during their active play than their female counterparts

(59.6%). These pictures are backed up by textual constructions of realities permeating the dominant discourses (Sparkes, 1992).

Borrowing from the textual analysis methodology used by Lumpkin and Williams (1991), all headlines, article adjectives descriptors, and metaphors about female or male athletes that related to their physical appearance reflected the celebration of masculinity as imbedded in the sport ethos (Coakley, 2007). A total of 527 articles report on the physicality, injury-related retirements and comebacks of athletes.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study revealed that all three selected newspapers were biased towards male sport coverage, as well as their depictions of male athletes. South African sport women and girls are significantly underrepresented in the newspapers. They were thus largely rendered invisible in text and images, being reported on in smaller articles and pictures placed in the middle section of newspapers, compared to their male counterparts who mostly occupied the front and back sections in larger text and pictures.

Similar inequalities exist in the dominance of male journalists and sport editors who create stories around prominent themes of male dominance, commercial values and political power relations. Gender inequality found further expression in the celebration of male physical prowess compared to images of passivity and beauty represented in posed photographs and text with sexual innuendos. These gender constructions have as their root the conceptual framework firmly imbedded in patriarchal values of the wider society that condones, camouflages and perpetuates male hegemony as media discourse.

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