To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Gary Stanislav Herman entitled "NBC's Portrayal of Men's and Women's Diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Sports Studies.

Leslee Fisher, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Lars Dzikus

Craig Wrisberg

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges
Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

NBC's Portrayal of Men's And Women's Diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Gary Stanislav Herman
May 2009

Copyright © 2009 by Gary Herman
All rights reserved.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Leslee Fisher for all her help and support during my research process and for being my major professor on my thesis committee team. No matter what stage of the process I was in, she was there to help and keep me going. I would also like to thank Dr. Lars Dzikus and Dr. Craig Wrisberg for being on my thesis committee and reviewing and critiquing my thesis. I would also like to thank Jennifer Spirko for making sure my thesis was in its correct form and for making sure I completed my paperwork to properly submit my thesis. I would also like to thank Cary Springer for being my statistical consultant. Finally, I would like to thank Kelly Hawkins for all her help recording and transferring the Olympic coverage to DVD's and for coding all of the diving coverage.

Abstract

Analysis of NBC's nine-hour coverage of diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games was carried out to determine if gender bias would be found in announcer commentary. Both primetime and non-primetime coverage was examined to see if the amount of time devoted to diving was biased toward male or female divers'. Billings' (2007) coding scheme was used to determine whether differences existed in the way NBC commentators described male and female divers performance during these Olympics. Descriptive phrases used by NBC commentators were coded independently by two coders. An advisor was used when coders disagreed on placement of descriptors in Billings coding scheme. Only descriptors that two out of three coders agreed on were used (n = 1,231) to ensure intercoder reliability. No significant difference was found regarding the amount of coverage devoted to the diving performance of men and women. However, commentators were more likely to discuss male divers' experience levels more than those of female divers during non-primetime hours. These results suggest that gender bias in NBC commentator dialogues during diving competition has diminished some since the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction 1
Brief Literature Review 3
Summary 5
Statement of the Problem 5
Purpose of the Study 6
Delimitations of the Study 6
Definitions of Terms 7
Chapter 2 Literature Review 9
Introduction 9
Gender Differences in Televised Sport Coverage 10
Conclusions 14
Chapter 3 Methods 16
Introduction 16
Sample 16
Coding Procedures 17
Coding Scheme 17
Intercoder Reliability 19
Statistical Analysis 19
Chapter 4 Results 20
Chapter 5 Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion 24
Discussion 24
Gender-marking 26
Nationality 27
Recommendations for Future Research 29
Conclusion 30
List of References 31
Appendix 37
Vita 42

List of Tables

Table 1 Descriptor Categories and Subcategories from Billings, 2007 38
Table 2 Descriptors of the Sample 38
Table 3 Men and Women Diving Times 39
Table 4 Explanation of Success/Failure by Gender 39
Table 5 Personality or Physicality Descriptors by Gender 40
Table 6 Overall Comments by Category for Gender 40
Table 7 Overall Comments by Category for Type of Coverage and Gender 41

Chapter 1

Introduction

During my first year of graduate school at the University of Tennessee I took Dr. Leslee Fisher's Women, Sport, and Culture class. While in this class I had the opportunity to read Messner, Duncan, & Cooky's (2003) article, *Silence, sport bras, and wrestling porn: Women in televised sports news and highlights shows*, which examined the quality and quantity of televised coverage of women's sports on three network affiliates in Los Angeles and on ESPN's SportsCenter. They concluded that "televised coverage of women's sports is quantitatively still very thin, and qualitatively still suffers from lower production values and from some commentator's negative or ambivalent values and women and athleticism" (p. 47). I was shocked at their findings and determined to figure out if this was still happening on television today.

Thus, I began watching television and looking at the quality and quantity of women's sport coverage. While doing this I noticed that ESPN's SportsCenter very rarely covered anything about women's sports. There may have been a little clip about women's tennis or golf; however, nothing compared to the coverage of men's sports. Then, I went through a stage of denial and I thought to myself, "Maybe there just isn't a lot of women's sports' going on at this time of the year".

In Dr. Fisher's class I had to construct a final project on anything related to what we had learned in class. I decided to record and analyze the quantity of women's coverage on ESPN's SportsCenter during the men's and women's NCAA basketball Final Four games. I hypothesized that coverage of the Men's and Women's Final Four

games on ESPN's SportsCenter would be similar because men's and women's college basketball is very popular, especially during championship weekend. I started recording the day before the men's Final Four games (to get preview coverage of the games) and I ended the day after the women's championship (to get post-game coverage of the games). During each ESPN's SportsCenter show (i.e., six shows for approximately six hours and 30 minutes) I compared the amount of time devoted to men's sports, men's NCAA basketball, women's sports, and women's NCAA basketball. The results were very different from my hypothesis. ESPN's SportsCenter devoted 92% of the coverage to men's sports with 48.8% covering the men's NCAA basketball Final Four games. The remaining 8% covered women's sports with 7.9% devoted to the women's Final Four games. Also, the women's Final Four was only mentioned on four of the six days I recorded; these included the day before the men's Final Four game and the day after the men's championship game. I also found that after each championship, ESPN's SportsCenter showed 27 minutes of interviews for the men's game and only 4:36 minutes for the women's game. Another interesting discovery was that even though ESPN aired the women's Final Four games live they only showed one promo for these games during the SportsCenter telecasts. Instead, most of the commercials promoted other ESPN shows (e.g., *Around the Horn* and *Outside the Lines*), major league baseball or the Masters tournament. What surprised me was that on all levels of coverage (e.g., game coverage, interviews, and commercials) the men's Final Four dominated the coverage on ESPN's SportsCenter.

These results only strengthened my curiosity to see if this was happening on all levels of sports. At first, I was going to look at professional sports. However, no major championships were going to occur at the same time for a men's and women's sport. So, I began thinking about analyzing the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. This would be a great opportunity to analyze the coverage of men's and women's sports at the highest and most competitive level. A brief literature review follows.

Brief Literature Review

Research analyzing the quantity and quality of women's sports coverage includes magazines (Fink & Kensicki, 2002), newspapers (Eastman & Billings, 1999; King, 2007), and television (Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1993). Television analysis can be broken down into collegiate (Billings, Halone, & Denham, 2002), professional (Billings et al, 2006) and Olympic levels of sport (Billings, 2007; Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Tuggle & Owen, 1999; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Each of these studies has shown that there is a discrepancy between the quality and quantity of women's sports coverage compared to men's. However, research analyzing Olympic and international events has shown less discrepancy between female and male athletics; these studies suggest that nationalism is a greater factor in the media coverage at these levels of competition.

For example, Wensing & Bruce (2003) reviewed the Australian media's representation of Australian native Cathy Freeman during the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. These authors stated that women's media coverage of non-international events tends to focus on non-sport-related aspects of female athletes' lives (e.g., appearance, family relationships, personal life, and personality) and women's sports are primarily

seen as inferior to male sporting events. The only times this was not true was when nationality came into play in international events (Christopherson, Janning, & McConnell, 2002; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Kinnick, 1998; Tuggle & Owen, 1999). Wensing & Bruce (2003) found that Cathy Freeman's nationality was the main identity factor, not gender. Freeman was marked as a female Australian who could bring together a nation by winning gold for her country which set her apart from other female athletes at the Olympics. One drawback to Wensing & Bruce's (2003) study was that they did not look at media representation of other women athletes who were not medal winners to see if nationality was the main identity factor in their coverage.

Billings (2007) found that women's media representation at international events did not depend on nationality but on the sport athletes participated in. Billings (2007) analyzed NBC's prime time coverage of the "Big Four" sports (i.e., track and field, swimming, gymnastics, and diving) at the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. He reported that gymnastics was the most-"gendered marked" sport within NBC announcer dialogue followed by diving, swimming, and track and field, respectively. He concluded that subjective assessment sports (i.e., judges) contained more gender biases than objective assessment sports (i.e., speed and distance).

The current study drew directly from Billings (2007). This study was designed to use the coding system that Billings (2007) used to determine if there were still gender differences in NBC announcer dialogue in Olympic coverage of one sport- men's and women's diving. Diving was chosen because it involves subjective assessment and Billings (2007) found very little difference in reporting with objective assessment sports

(i.e., track and field and swimming). Gymnastics was also considered; however, it involved different sporting events for men and women (i.e., men participated in parallel bars, horizontal bar, rings, and pommel horse while women participated in uneven parallel bars and balance beam). The difference in events for men and women was also stated by Billings (2007) as a potential reason why he found a high level of NBC announcer dialogue differences in gymnastics. In 2008 Beijing Olympic diving, men and women competed in the same four events: 3m springboard, 10m platform, synchronized springboard, and synchronized platform making the analysis more comparable.

Summary

While there is literature analyzing the content of men's and women's sporting coverage, no research has examined the entire broadcast (e.g., prime time coverage and non-prime time coverage) of an Olympic sport while looking at specific descriptors used by reporters. By using Billings' (2007) design and coding scheme, I was able to determine if the NBC announcer dialogue for the sport of diving had changed in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games as compared to the 2004 Athens Olympic Games coverage.

Statement of the Problem

Since the Olympics have been televised they have been a highly viewed event by people around the world (Billings, 2007). When viewing the Olympics via NBC, audiences can hear and see how NBC views men's and women's sports. NBC network executives program the Olympics with events that they perceive cast the widest net of viewer interest. Therefore, if there is a difference in quantity and quality of coverage between men's and women's sports, viewers could conclude that NBC wants their

coverage to be this way and feels this is how sports should be represented by media coverage (Higgs & Weiller, 1994). In addition gender bias has been found in previous research examining differences in the televised coverage of male and female athletes during Olympic Games (Alexander, 1994; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Tuggle, Huffman, & Rosengard, 2002; Higgs, Weiller, & Martin, 2003).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to compare the quantity and quality of NBC media coverage of male and female Olympic Diving during the 2008 Olympic Games. Four research questions were developed for the study. The first research question focused on whether there were differences in the quantity of diving coverage shown on NBC for male and female divers. The second and third research questions focused on whether there were differences in announcer comments for successful or failed dives as well as announcer comments related to personality and physicality of male and female divers (Billings, 2007). The fourth research question focused on whether there were differences in announcer comments toward male and female divers with regard to type of coverage (i.e., primetime or non-primetime).

Delimitations of the Study

The following were delimitations of the current study:

1. Only one 2008 Olympic sport (i.e., diving) was analyzed.
2. Only NBC coverage was analyzed.
3. Only NBC employee comments were analyzed.

Definitions of Terms

The following definitions are provided to ensure uniformity and understanding of terms used in this document.

GENDER: "Generally agreed upon meanings, performances, and forms of social organization expressing what is considered masculine and feminine in a social world" (Coakley, 2009, p. 661).

GENDER-APPROPRIATE SPORTS: "Sports that are consistent with prevailing gender stereotypes" (Disch & Kane, 2000, p. 127).

GENDER-MARKING: Language used by media commentary to differentiate male and female athletes, including their event, performance outcomes, personality, and physicality.

INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (IOC): "Founded in 1894, the IOC is an international non-governmental non-profit organization with a primary responsibility to supervise the organization of the summer and winter Olympic Games" (International Olympic Committee, 2009a).

MEDIA: "Forms of communication that provide information, interpretation, entertainment, and opportunities for interactivity to collections of people" (Coakley, 2009, p. 668).

NATIONALITY: Belonging to a particular nation by birth (Coakley, 2007).

NBC: National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is an American television network (Andrews, 1998).

OLYMPIC ATHLETE: An athlete who competes in the Olympic Games

OLYMPIC GAMES: International sporting event sanctioned by the IOC that occur every two years alternating from summer and winter seasons. (International Olympic Committee, 2009b).

OLYMPIC DIVING: An Olympic sport that features eight events, with men and women competing in 3m springboard, 10m platform, synchronized springboard and synchronized platform (“Inside the Sport”, 2008).

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

Every two years millions of viewers turn on their television and watch their country compete in the Olympics. During this time, television could consume one's life entirely for two and a half weeks. Over 100 times as many people observe the Olympics through mass media than they do in person (Billings, 2007). With the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) having the rights for the United States market for both the 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games (Tuggle & Owens, 1999), they have direct control over what we as viewers watch. As Duncan & Brummett (1987) pointed out, televised narratives of sporting events can influence our understandings about sport and can do so in a way that alters our thinking in other areas of life. Further, Higgs and Weiller (1994) suggested that media coverage of significant events "such as the Olympic Games can be influential in shaping inaccurate perceptions of women and men and their roles in sport and society" (p. 234).

When broadcasting such important events as the Olympic Games, NBC creates narratives that draw the viewer in and help create higher ratings for the broadcasting company (Duncan & Brummett, 1987). These narratives are intended to cause viewers to become emotionally attached to the event and maintain a focus so they will return for the next chapter of sporting competition (Harris & Hills, 1993). However, previous sport researchers have discovered that sportscasts have underrepresented women in media coverage and have favored male athletes (Duncan, 1986; Messner, Duncan, & Jensen,

1993; Billings & Angelini, 2007). Even as the media increases its coverage of women competing in sport, this coverage often tends to be gender-marked, shorter, edited, and provides fewer comments about strength and more about appearance (Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Tuggle & Owen, 1999; Tuggle, Huffman, & Rosengard, 2002; Higgs, Weiller, & Martin, 2003; Billings, 2007). Alexander (1994) found the same results internationally while looking at British television coverage of the 1992 Olympic Games. Sabo (1985) believed it is very important for media coverage which focuses on women's sports to stop stereotyping women as less important and begin to show them in leadership and decision-making positions. In addition Crolley and Teso (2007) state that the beliefs regarding masculinity and femininity are slowly changing and the gender gap in the coverage of the Olympic Games in Spain is narrowing. However, if the balance of power in sport continues to remain with men then the rate of this change will be slowed.

Gender Differences in Televised Sport Coverage

In terms of Olympic analysis, Higgs & Weiller (1994) and Higgs, Weiller, & Martin (2003) reviewed a random sampling of 60 hours of NBC's coverage of the 1992 and 1996 Olympic Games. Higgs & Weiller (1994) found that both ambivalent and sexist comments were used when describing women competing in individual sports. In addition, women were shown in shorter time segments for four of the ten sports analyzed. And, the six sports where they were featured more prominently than males consisted of individual non-contact sports that have been considered "appropriate" for females. Women's games were also gender-marked by "U.S. Women's Team" and "women athletes" whereas the men were identified as "athletes" and "U.S. Olympic Teams."

These findings were interpreted by Kane (1996) to mean that women who participated in "socially acceptable" sports were much more likely to attract coverage from *Sports Illustrated* versus women who participated in contact and team sports. As Higgs & Weiller (1994) concluded:

> With the sole exception of diving, women in individual events were marginalized and trivialized in their depiction in television coverage. Narratives focused heavily on their personal lives or on diminishing their acceptability as strong effective athletes. Male athletes, however, were framed as competitive and powerful (p. 244).

These findings were also supported by Daddario's (1994) analysis of the 1992 Winter Olympic Games. Daddario found that women were marginalized through reporter commentary via: (a) condescending descriptors that belittled women's achievements; (b) blaming women when they failed while making excuses for men when they failed; (c) describing women athletes as "little girls" despite their chronological age; and (d) presenting women as being cooperative while competing instead of competitive like their male counterparts. Higgs, Weiller, & Martin (2003) also did a follow-up study to Higgs & Weiller's (1994) study by analyzing the 1996 Olympic Games NBC coverage. They found that in contrast to 1992, coverage of the 1996 Olympic Games featured a large amount of women's team sports. In addition, sexist commentary was not found in track and field as it had been in 1992. They concluded that, overall, narrative analysis revealed a solid focus on the athleticism of the female athlete; however, for both male and female athletes, an intense focus on personal information was noted. Of interest is that these

results could be the result of NBC utilizing a programming strategy that served to build emotional identification with the athletes and that highlighted women as their target audience for the 1996 Olympic Games (Andrews, 1998). Limitations of Higgs & Weiller's (1994) and Higgs, Weiller, & Martin's (2003) studies were that they only looked at 60 hours of random coverage for each Olympics while NBC televised 86 hours during the 1992 Olympics and 150 hours during the 1996 Olympics. This means that a great deal of coverage was missed, especially during the 1996 Olympics.

In addition to the two previous studies, Tuggle & Owen (1999) and Tuggle, Huffman, & Rosengard (2002) analyzed NBC's primetime coverage of the 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games. Tuggle & Owen's (1999) results supported Higgs & Weiller's (1994) findings that NBC only focused on physically attractive and "gender-appropriate" female sports (i.e., gymnastics, diving, and swimming) while giving almost no attention to "gender-inappropriate" female sports (i.e., shot put, discus, field hockey, judo, and rowing). However, unlike Higgs & Weiller's (1994) study, Tuggle & Owen did not find a difference in women's events edited for time compared to men's events. They did find that males were more likely to be interviewed on camera-especially male coaches-and that there were a significantly larger number of male announcers compared to female announcers. Tuggle, Huffman, & Rosengard's (2002) follow-up study revealed almost the same results. The only difference was that the 2000 Olympic Games coverage included more "gender-appropriate" sports and less team sports compared to the 1996 Olympic Games. An exception was men's and women's U.S. basketball where both

teams won gold. However, the men's team received 98% of the coverage while the women's team barely received any coverage during primetime hours.

Finally, Eastman & Billings (1999) compared the gender parity of the 1994, 1996, and 1998 Olympics by analyzing the primetime coverage of each of those games. Their results showed that: (a) men's names were mentioned two times more than women's; (b) 17 of the top 30 names mentioned were male; and (c) men's sports were mentioned more than women's sports. They concluded that the verbal text controlled by NBC staff overwhelming favored men over women. As previously mentioned, these findings are not surprising when compared to those of other studies examining the Olympics Games (Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Tuggle & Owen, 1999). In a follow-up study Billings & Eastman (2002) found a similar pattern of results for the 2000 Olympic Games. They found that men's successes were more often attributed to athletic skill and commitment and their failings to a lack of concentration compared to women. They also found that commentators described the size/parts of the body of men more often than women and that hosts provided more gender equity comments than on-field reporters. They concluded that this could be due to the fact that hosts had scripted commentary whereas reporters provided more "spur of the moment" commentary.

More recently, these results (Billings & Eastman, 2002) were supported when Billings (2007) analyzed the "Big Four" sports at the 2004 Olympic Games (i.e., track and field, gymnastics, swimming, and diving). Billings examined NBC employee commentary as they described attributions of success/failure of a dive and personality/physicality toward male and female athletes. According to these attributions,

male gymnasts succeeded because of superior concentration, strength, and courage while female gymnasts succeeded because of their athletic ability and experience. In diving, reporter attributions suggested that males succeeded because of their superior experience while females succeeded because of their strength and commitment. Further, male gymnasts failed because they lost their composure and male divers failed because they lacked the athletic ability necessary to succeed while female divers failed because they lost their concentration and female swimmers failed because they lost their composure. However, Billings found no gender differences in comments regarding success and failure or personality and physicality in the characterization of male and female track and field athletes. Analyzing reporter comments about personality and physicality yielded attributions that male gymnasts were more emotional than female gymnasts; while female divers were more emotional than male divers. No gender differences were found for swimming. Billings (2007) concluded that sports requiring judges' ratings were more likely to yield differential treatment of men and women athletes while sports with objective performance assessments rendered few gender differences.

Conclusions

Many studies have analyzed media portrayals of male and female athletes at the Olympics and have suggested that female athletes in subjective, individual gender-appropriate sports receive ambivalent and belittling comments. However, most of the research has only looked at primetime coverage of the Olympics. With NBC continually increasing the amount of media coverage for each Olympic Games it is difficult to view all of the Olympics in primetime hours. Therefore, in the present study the portrayals of

male and female divers at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games were analyzed by reviewing all primetime and non-primetime coverage on NBC. The next chapter describes the methods for the current study.

Chapter 3

Methods

Introduction

As stated previously I used Billings' (2007) research protocol as a guideline to analyze the media's portrayal of men's and women's diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The rationale for only focusing on the sport of diving was twofold; (a) Billings' (2007) findings showed almost no differences existing in NBC coverage of track and field and swimming; however gymnastics and diving were the most gendered-marked of the four sports; (b) unlike gymnastics there are no differences in male and female events for diving. For this study, a content analysis of NBC's coverage of men's and women's diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games was performed and compared to the results of Billings' (2007) analysis of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

Sample

The entire NBC coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games was recorded. Total hours taped (n = 9) represented 100% of NBC's primetime coverage over 17 Olympic evenings (i.e., August 8 through August 24, 2008). This coverage involved NBC's primetime (i.e., 8-12:30pm EST Monday through Saturday and 7-midnight Sunday) and non-primetime hours (i.e., 1-2:30am and 10-1pm Monday through Friday and 8-5pm Saturday and Sunday). There was also a repeat of the primetime coverage from 2-5:30am Monday-Sunday. All recordings were of re-broadcasts except for Round Four of the women's 10m platform final, which was recorded live. While NBC aired coverage on many of its affiliate channels (i.e., MSNBC, USA, NBC HD), broadcast

network coverage emphasized what the host network had predetermined to be the most popular events that would gather the highest number of viewers. Data were categorized by event, total hours, primetime hours, and non-primetime hours for both men's and women's diving.

Coding Procedures

As in Billings' (2007) previous study, only commentary by network-employed individuals was analyzed to determine proportions of descriptors ascribed to male and female divers. Eastman, Brown, & Kovatch (1996) found that on-air speech by NBC employees was scripted and seemingly supervised by NBC editors and producers. In their study, network employees' speech could always be redirected by notes or scripts, whereas guests could speak more freely. Thus, remarks from athletes, coaches, medical personal, family, and spectators were excluded from their database of descriptors, as was the case in the current study. The network employees who were included were host commentators, special assignment reporters, on-site reporters, and all play-by-play announcers. As done in previous research (Billings, 2007) situations where an NBC employee interviewed a non-NBC employee, only half of the discussion was included in the analysis.

Coding Scheme

To determine athletic depictions, two graduate students/coders located and transcribed all descriptors applied to male and female Olympic divers. Descriptors were defined as any adjective, adverb, adjectival phrase, descriptive phrase, or adverbial phrase. Prior to coding, the advisor and these two coders spoke with Billings and then

completed a two-hour detailed instruction and practice session involving the identification of descriptors. During this session, multiple rewinding and replaying of videotaped coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games that did not include diving was undertaken. Both the advisor and two coders also independently coded an international diving event and compared their results. Then, the two coders independently coded commentary related to diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Following Billings' (2007) study, the two coders recorded: (a) the sport being discussed (i.e., men's diving or women's diving); and (b) the word-for-word descriptor or descriptor phrase. Billings (2007) utilized 12 classification categories containing comments specific to the athletic performance (i.e., attributions of success or failure) and descriptions of the athlete(s) themselves (i.e., dialogue regarding the physicality or personality of the athlete not directly attributed to affecting the outcome of the athletic performance). Descriptors were graded within a three-part structure that included determining: (a) whether the attribution was of either success/failure (i.e., describing the direct athletic performance) or a description of the athlete's physicality or personality (i.e., describing external variables beyond the direct athletic performance); (b) which category (i.e., success or failure) the first level of broad descriptors were attributed to; and (c) which subcategories of taxonomical classification each descriptor fit most suitably into. Table 1 shows each subcategory and an example of each. Each descriptor either pertained to the athletic performance (i.e., play-by-play) or depicted the athlete within a larger storytelling framework (i.e., commentary). No descriptor fit more than one categorical distinction.

Intercoder Reliability

Using Cohen's (1960) formula, intercoder reliability (presented in the next chapter) was checked for the following twelve subcategories of word-for-word descriptors: (a) concentration; (b) strength-based athletic skill; (c) talent/ability-based athletic skills; (d) composure; (e) commitment; (f) courage; (g) experience; (h) outgoing/extroverted; (i) modest/introverted; (j) emotional; (k) attractiveness; and (l) size/parts of body. Reliability checks were conducted after the two coders viewed and analyzed the videotapes independently. Descriptors that were coded differently by the two graduate students were given to the advisor/coder to code independently. Only descriptors that two out of the three coders agreed on were included in the analysis.

Statistical Analysis

Once descriptors were classified within the taxonomy, a one-way chi-square (χ^2) analysis was employed as is standard in content analyses of this type (Billings, 2007; Billings & Eastman, 2003; Billings, Angelini, & Eastman, 2005). This was to determine whether the findings were statistically significant. Results were compared to previous research using this coding scheme. Beyond Billings' (2007) analyses, we ran a two-way (gender and timeslot) ANOVA to evaluate time aired and a two-way (gender and timeslot) chi-square test to examine comment frequency. Results are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of this study was to compare male and female Olympic Diving coverage at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games by looking at the quantity and quality of NBC's media coverage. We specifically looked at four research questions. The first research question focused on whether there were differences in the quantity of diving coverage shown on NBC for male and female divers. The second and third research questions focused on whether there were differences in announcer comments related to successful or failed dives as well as personality and physicality of male and female divers. The fourth research question focused on announcer comments about male and female divers with regard to type of coverage (i.e., primetime or non-primetime).

A grand total of 1,322 descriptors were entered into the database for analysis purposes. Of these, 202 (15%) represented disagreements between the first two coders and subsequently coded by the third coder. Ninety one of the 202 (41%) of these were not used because two out of the three coders did not agree on the category or subcategory for those descriptors. The remaining 1,231 descriptors were then used in subsequent analyses. The level of initial agreement between the first two coders was 85% and final agreement between all three coders was 94%. Descriptors were separated by time aired (e.g., primetime versus non-primetime hours), event, nationality, and gender. Table 2 in the appendix shows the percentages of each descriptor in each category. For example, the percentages for descriptors of a dive or of variables not dealing directly with the athletic performance were 51.6% for male divers and 48.4% for female divers.

A total of 549.85 minutes of NBC's coverage was devoted to men's and women's diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The first research question focused on whether there were differences in the quantity of diving coverage shown on NBC for men and women. A two-way ANOVA was used to determine whether quantity of coverage differed by gender or type of coverage (i.e., primetime, non-primetime, and replay). Table 3 in the appendix depicts the number of segments (e.g., highlights, previews, and rounds shown) and minutes of coverage with regard to gender and type of coverage. Inspection of this table indicates very little difference in the amount of coverage devoted to men's and women's diving during any of the types of coverage. For example, men's diving received 51% of total coverage compared to women's. The results of the ANOVA revealed no significant effects of gender, F (1, 156) = .04, p = .84, type of coverage, F (2, 156) = 1.21, p = .30, or the gender x type of coverage interaction, F (2, 156) = .25, p = .78. Thus, the quantity of diving coverage for men and women divers was virtually the same in these Olympic Games.

The second research question focused on whether there were differences in the frequency of announcer's comments for successful or unsuccessful dives between men and women divers. Table 4 in the appendix depicts these differences. Of the 1,231 descriptors, 702 (57%) were classified as attributions for success and 394 (32%) as attributions for failure. A total of 135 (11%) comments pertained to the personality or physicality of divers.

A significant level of dependency between announcer comments and diver gender was obtained for four categories. The success of male divers was attributed to

commitment more frequently than expected while that of females was attributed to commitment less frequently than expected ($\chi^2 = 4.00$, df = 1, $p = .046$). Conversely, the success of female divers was attributed to concentration more frequently than expected while that of males was attributed to concentration less frequently than expected ($\chi^2 = 4.55$, df = 1, $p = .033$). A higher than expected frequency of announcers' comments about failure were made for male divers compared to a lower than expected frequency for female divers ($\chi^2 = 5.37$, df = 1, $p = .020$). In addition, announcers attributed failure of male divers to a lack of ability more frequently than expected and to female divers less frequently than expected ($\chi^2 = 5.84$, df = 1, $p = .016$). Examples of this type of failure attribution included "non-vertical entries" and "improper toe points".

The third research question focused on whether gender differences existed in commentators' remarks about the personality and physicality of the athletes. Table 5 in the appendix highlights these findings. The results revealed no significant dependence between gender and comments about either athletes' personality or physicality ($p > .05$). For example, similar frequencies of commentators' comments dealt with male and female divers' "smiles." Emotional descriptors and those referring to size/parts of body were mentioned more frequently than comments about divers' outgoing/extroverted and modest/introverted behaviors. However, in all cases the frequency of reference was similar for male and female divers.

Table 6 in the appendix contains the overall comments of announcers by category and diver gender. Inspection of this table suggests that the frequencies of the various types of comments by NBC announcers were similar for male and female divers. The

percentages of comments in all categories were within two percentage points except for the category of experience, which was 8.4% for women and 6.3% for men. The highest percentage of comments pertained to athletes' ability; 65.5% for male divers and 63.6% for females.

The final research question focused on whether the types of comments made about male and female divers were dependent on type of coverage. Table 7 in the appendix contains the overall comments by category for male and female divers for the different types of coverage. The only significant dependence between type of coverage and gender was found for non-primetime coverage and the category of experience (χ^2 = 4.36, df = 1, p = .037). Specifically, a higher than expected frequency of comments dealing with experience during that time were made about male dives (43% compared to a lower than expected frequency for females (22%). These results are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion

Discussion

Previous studies have shown that coverage of women sports tends to be shorter, edited, and provide fewer comments about strength and more about appearance than that of men's sports (Eastman & Billings, 1999; Tuggle & Owen, 1999; Tuggle, Huffman, & Rosengard, 2002; Higgs, Weiller, & Martin, 2003; Billings, 2007). However, this trend was not found in the present study. No significant differences were found regarding the number of segments, overall minutes shown, or the time that the events were shown on NBC for men's and women's diving. In addition, there was less than a one and a half percent difference in the amount of commentary related to male and female divers' strength or appearance.

However, results did indicate gender differences in commentary by NBC announcers related to successful and failed dives; men's success was attributed to their commitment to diving more frequently than expected and women's success to their concentration while diving. In addition, announcers attributed unsuccessful dives to a lack of athletic skill/ability more frequently than expected for males and less frequently than expected for females. NBC announcers also commented on athletes' experience in the sport of diving during non-primetime coverage more frequently than expected for male divers' and less frequently than expected for females.

No differences in NBC announcer comments toward divers were found for the categories of personality and physicality. There were also no differences found in time

devoted to airing men's and women's diving during either primetime or non-primetime hours. Overall, then, the results indicated that the frequencies of general comments made by announcers were consistent between men's and women's diving although some differences existed in the frequencies of specific comments made within each category.

The findings of the current study of the 2008 Beijing Olympic divers differ in many ways from those of Billings (2007) study of diving commentary at the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Billings (2007) found that comments by announcers for success of female divers related to strength and commitment while their comments for failure focused on concentration losses. This was not the case for commentary related to male divers. Commentary by NBC announcers for success of male divers related to their experience, whereas comments for failure focused on the inability to perform a dive. Frequency of announcer comments regarding male divers' athletic inability to perform a dive was the only finding that was similar to Billings (2007). Billings (2007) also reported that a higher than expected frequency of comments about female divers were related to emotions and modest/introverted personalities compared to male divers.

In contrast, the results of the current study revealed that announcer comments about 2008 Olympic female divers' success focused more on concentration compared to male divers, although no gender differences in comments were found for unsuccessful dives. In addition, no differences were found with regard to announcer comments about athletes' personality or physicality. However, announcers portrayed male divers as succeeding because of their commitment to the sport and failing because of their inability

to perform the dives more frequently than expected and attributed females success/failure to these factors less frequently than expected.

Gender-marking

The only subcategory of announcer commentary that suggested gender-marking was that dealing with the composure of an athlete. Commentators attributed male divers' success to confidence in themselves or in executing a dive, while they attributed female divers' success to patience and control of the dive. The other subcategories revealed no gender-marking for either male or female divers. For instance, commentators gave both male and female divers multiple comments about how "powerful" they were and how each had "a lot of strength". Commentators also critiqued both male and female divers on the inability to reach vertical during entries into the water when failing and on having great "body lines" when they succeeded with a dive. Adjectives regarding the speed of entry for male divers differed slightly than female divers but all were powerful; male divers "knifed" and "speared," the water while female divers "rocketed" or "bulleted" the water. Comments referring to divers' experience were also equally made to highlight their places in previous Olympic Games.

In addition, no gender-marking was found with regard to announcer comments about athletes' physicality or personality; the frequency of physicality and personality comments was very even in every category. Announcers commented on how both male and female divers had a "beautiful smile" and displayed "emotion" after performing a good dive. The frequency of male and female divers being labeled as "boys" or "girls" was the same during coverage. Comments included "golden girl," "young girl," "go with

the big boys," and "headline boy". The body size of male and female divers was also equally mentioned. For example, NBC announcers discussed male and female divers as having a "small" body size and not a lot of "body fat".

Gender-marking did occur, however, in terms of event. Announcers often made a point to differentiate events by gender, stating that "The *Women's* 3m springboard final" or "The *Men's* 10m platform semifinal" was coming up next. In addition, when the event was not gender-marked it turned to be a Men's event. For example, during a preview for the Men's 10m platform final, the announcer said, "Coming up the 10m platform final in diving". The frequency of events being gender-marked in the present study differs from that obtained in Higgs & Weillers (1994) study of the 1992 Olympic Games, which revealed that women's events the only ones that were gender-marked.

Nationality

Unlike previous studies (see Higgs & Weiller, 1994, for example) where commentators marginalized and trivialized female athletes, commentators in the current study seemed to focus more on differences in nationality. Similar results were found in Wensing & Bruces' (2003) study analyzing media coverage of Cathy Freeman in Australia during the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games; writers primarily labeled Freeman an "Australian" rather than a woman in their coverage. While no systematic analysis of announcers' comments by divers' nationality was performed in the present study, it appeared that NBC commentators spent more time discussing non-Chinese diver's coaches and their reactions to the dives while for the Chinese divers, athletes residing in the country that was hosting these Olympic Games, announcers seemed to focus more on

the divers themselves. On numerous occasions, announcers attributed the success of the dive of a non-Chinese diver to his/her coach. For example, after a diver completed a poorly performed dive an announcer stated, "She was so nervous the entire day. (Coach) said he pulled out every trick in the book and didn't know what to tell her". Once the diver completed a successful dive, the same announcer stated, "Her last round dive looks as relaxed as I have ever seen her. Maybe her coach finally figured out something to say that worked". In contrast, Chinese divers' coaches were never mentioned in terms of helping, educating, or coaching their athletes. Instead, comments were directed towards the athletes themselves. For instance, after a successful dive the announcers said, "They did what they were supposed to do", "He has worked so long and hard", "They [the pair] certainly have a handle on this", or "They continue to show no signs of weakness".

NBC's coverage of diving also focused on the family lives of divers from four of the top five most commented upon nations (USA, Russia, Canada, and Australia) but did not comment on the family lives of Chinese divers. On numerous occasions, commentators discussed other nations' divers' families and how, "They (family) are all here cheering her on (United States)", "He has a baby girl back at home (Russia)", "Diving in the country where her paternal grandparent are from (Australia)", and "His parents looking on and applauding (Canada)". In contrast, when announcers commented on Chinese divers they mentioned the huge crowd watching the Olympics and how much the fans knew about the sport: "They (fans) really do know this sport and they love it". While NBC did a personal interest story on one of China's top divers - Guo JingJing, they never mentioned anyone from her family. This could be related to the Chinese early

identification of talent program; perhaps when young Chinese children are taken from their families and put into sport schools after they show athletic ability at an early age (Macur, 2008) their families do not play as much in a role of their sporting experience.

Recommendations for Future Research

The current study represents just one piece of research in the sport media-gender relations puzzle. Results indicated that gender-marked announcer comments toward male and female divers were less frequent than in the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. However, it appears that some biases still remain. Future research should continue to focus on quantitative and qualitative assessment of announcer commentary during multiple events at the Olympic Games in both primetime and non-primetime coverage to see if gender bias continues to diminish. Researchers should also look at commentary of NBC's affiliate channels to see if any of the biases found here are found in commentary on those channels.

In addition, while there is previous research examining gender-marking in sport, there is limited research on announcer comments regarding nationality (Daddario, 1994; Higgs, Weiller, & Marton, 2003). Results of this study suggested that there may be differences in the ways announcers comment on athletes from different nations. Future research should examine announcer comments related to both diving and other sports at the international level to see if this is just an NBC announcer bias or if it exists in the commentary of broadcasts throughout the sporting world.

There were also some limitations to using Billings' (2007) coding scheme to place descriptor comments from NBC announcers into twelve subcategories. While placing the

descriptors in their respective category the coders realized that there were some descriptive phrases that did not fit into one of Billings' subcategories. For instance, the phrase, "S/he is a rock star in his/her home country" was used very frequently to describe Olympic athletes; however, there was no descriptor in any of the subcategories in Billings' (2007) coding scheme that captured this idea of sport "celebrity". We also found multiple descriptors related to athlete confidence that could not be slotted into the coding scheme. Future research could expand upon Billings' (2007) coding scheme by adding categories related to confidence, "celebrity", etc, and also as announcers change their dialogue for each Olympic Games.

Conclusion

Announcer dialogue and coverage related to gender-marking of diving at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games was analyzed in the current study. Even though a few differences were observed NBC's commentary relating to male and female divers and ideologies related to gender-marking appeared to be considerably less than in previous Olympic diving commentary. It appears that nationality would be a fruitful category for future analysis of announcer commentary. Billings' (2007) coding scheme also needs to be expanded to include concepts like "celebrity, "confidence" and other descriptors that commentators use to describe athletes.

List of References

Alexander, S. (1994). Newspaper coverage of athletics as a function of gender. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 17, 655-662.

Andrews, D. L. (1998). Feminizing Olympic reality: Preliminary dispatches from Baudrillard's Atlanta. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 33(1), 5-18.

Billings, A. C. (2007). From diving boards to pole vaults: Gendered athlete portrayals in the "big four" sports at the 2004 Athens summer Olympics. *Southern Communication Journal*, 72(4), 329-344.

Billings, A. C. & Angelini, J. R. (2007). Packaging the games for viewer consumption: Gender, ethnicity, and nationality in NBC's coverage of the 2004 Summer Olympics. *Communication Quarterly*, 55(1), 95-111.

Billings, A. C., Angelini, J. R. & Eastman, S. T. (2005). The hidden gender biases in televised golf announcing. *Mass Communication & Society*, 8(2), 155-171.

Billings, A. C., Craig, C. C., Croce, R., Cross, K. M., Moore, K. M., Vigodsky, W., & Watson, V. G. (2006). Just one of 'the guys': An analysis of Annika Sorenstam at the 2003 PGA Colonial golf tournament. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 30(1), 137-143.

Billings, A. C. & Eastman, S. T. (2002). Selective representation of gender, ethnicity, and nationality in American television coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(3-4), 251-370.

Billings, A. C. & Eastman, S. T. (2003). Framing identities: Gender, ethnicity, and national parity in network announcing of the 2002 Winter Olympics. *Journal of Communication*, 53(4), 369-386.

Billings, A. C., Halone, K. K., & Denham, B. E. (2002). "Man" that was a "pretty" shot: An analysis of gendered broadcast commentary of the 2000 Mens' and Womens' NCAA Final Four basketball tournaments. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), 295-315.

Coakley, J. J. (2009). *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies* (10th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

Coakley, J. J. (2007). *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies* (9th ed.). Boston: McGraw Hill.

Cohen, J. A. (1960). Coefficient for agreement of nominal scales. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 20, 37-46.

Christopherson, N., Janning, M. and McConnell, E. D. (2002). Two kicks forward, one kick back: A content analysis of media discourses on the 1999 Women's World Cup Soccer Championship. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 19(2), 170-188.

Crolley, L., & Teso, E. (2007). Gendered narratives in Spain: The representation of female athletes in Marca and El Pais. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 42, 149-166.

Daddario, G. (1994). Chilly scenes of the 1992 Winter Games: The mass media and the marginalization of female athletes. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11, 275-288.

Disch, L. & Kane, M. J. (2000). When a looker is really a bitch: Lisa Olson, sport, and the Heterosexual matrix. In S. Birrell and M. McDonald. *Reading sport: Critical essays on power and representation*. (p. 127). Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Duncan, M. C. (1986). A hermeneutic of spectator sport: The 1976 and 1984 Olympic Games. *Quest*, 38(1), 50-77.

Duncan, M. C., & Brummett, C. (1987). The mediation of spectator sport. *Research Quarterly*, 58, 168-177.

Eastman, S. T., Brown, R. S., & Kovatch, K. J. (1996). The Olympics that got real? Television's story of Sarajevo. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 24, 366-391.

Eastman, S. T. & Billings, A. C. (1999). Gender parity in the Olympics: Hyping women athletes, favoring men athletes. *Journal of Sports & Social Issues*, 23(2), 140-170.

Fink, J. S. & Kensicki, L. J. (2002). An imperceptible difference: Visual and textual constructions of femininity in *Sports Illustrated* and *Sports Illustrated for* Women. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), 317-340.

Harris, J., & Hills, L. A. (1993). Telling the story: Narrative in newspaper accounts of a men's collegiate basketball tournament. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 64, 108-121.

Higgs, D. T. & Weiller, K. H. (1994). Gender bias and the 1992 Summer Olympic Games: An analysis of television coverage. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 18, 234-246.

Higgs, D. T., Weiller, K. H., & Martin, S. B. (2003). Gender bias in the 1996 Olympic Games: A comparative analysis. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 27, 52-64.

Inside the Sport. (2008). Retrieved November 24, 2008, from NBC Universal: http://www.nbcolympics.com/diving/index.html.

International Olympic Committee. (2009a). Retrieved on February 10th, 2009, from the Olympic Movement: http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/ioc/index_uk.asp.

International Olympic Committee. (2009b) Retrieved on April 12th, 2009, from the Olympic Games: http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/index_uk.asp.

Kane, M. J. (1996). Media coverage of the post title IX female athlete: A feminist analysis of sport, gender, and power. *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, 3, 95-127.

King, C. (2007). Media portrayals of male and female athletes: A text and picture analysis of British national newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games since 1948. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 42(2), 187-199.

Kinnick, K. N. (1998). Gender bias in newspaper profiles of 1996 Olympic athletes: A content analysis of five major dailies. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 21(2), 212-237.

Macur, J. (2008). In China's medal factory, winners cannot quit *New York Times.* [Electronic version]. Retrieved on March 26th, 2008 from http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/21/sports/olympics/21athlete.html.

Messner, M. A., Duncan, M. C., & Cooky, C. (2003). Silence, sports bras, and wrestling porn: Women in televised sports news and highlights shows. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 27(1), 38-51.

Messner, M. A., Duncan, M. C., & Jensen, K. (1993). Separating the men from the girls: The gendered language of televised sports. In D. S. Eitzen (Ed.), *Sport in contemporary society* (pp. 219-233). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sabo, D. (1985). Sport, patriarchy and male identity: New questions about men and sport. *Arena Review*, 9(2), 1-30.

Tuggle, C. A., Huffman, S., & Rosengard, D. S. (2002). A descriptive analysis of NBC's coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), 361-375

Tuggle, C. A. & Owens, A. (1999). A descriptive analysis of NBC's coverage of the centennial Olympics. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 23(2), 171-183.

Welch, P. & Costa, M. (1994). A century of Olympic competition. In M. Costa and S. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary* Perspectives(p. 123). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Wensing, E. H. & Bruce, T. (2003). Bending the rules: Media representations of gender during an international sporting event. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38(4), 387-396.

Appendix

Table 1 Descriptor Categories and Subcategories from Billings, 2007

Category	Subcategory	Example
Success/Failure	Athletic Skill—Strength	Explosive
	Athletic Skill—Ability	Entered the water smoothly
	Commitment	Could have worked harder
	Composure	Kept it together
	Concentration	Focused
	Courage	Gutsy
	Experience	2004 gold medalist
Personality/Physicality	Attractiveness	Easy on the eyes
	Emotional	In tears
	Outgoing/Extroverted	Likes to be the spotlight
	Modest/Introverted	Shy
	Size/Parts of Body	Tiny

Table 2 Descriptors of the Sample

Category	Subcategory	Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	635	51.6
	Female	596	48.4
Type of Coverage	Prime Time	946	76.8
	Non-Prime Time	285	23.3
Event	Synchronization	373	30.3
	Single	858	69.7
Meters	3m Springboard	575	46.7
	10m Platform	656	53.3
Nationality	United States	464	37.7
	China	362	29.4
	Russia	131	10.6
	Canada	94	07.6
	Australia	61	05.0
	Great Britain	33	02.7
	Other (4 Nations)	33	02.7
	Mexico	31	02.5
	Germany	22	01.8

Table 3 Men and Women Diving Times

Category	Type of Coverage	Number of Segments	Minutes
Male	Prime Time	50	170.63
	Non-Prime Time	20	62.43
	Replay	13	49.60
	Total	83	282.67
Female	Prime Time	49	174.25
	Non-Prime Time	18	45.48
	Replay	12	47.45
	Total	79	267.18

No significant differences

Table 4 Explanation of Success/Failure by Gender

	Gender					
	Success		Failure		Ratio of success to failure	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Athletic Skill—Strength	30	20	3	2	10.0	10.0
Athletic Skill—Ability	220	228	196[a]	151[a]	1.12	1.51
Commitment	12[b]	4[b]	1	1	12	1
Composure	36	34	11	17	3.27	2
Concentration	6[c]	16[c]	2	1	3	16
Courage	7	7	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Experience	34	48	6	2	5.67	24
Total	345	357	220[d]	174[d]	1.57	2.05

[a]$\chi^2 = 5.84$, df = 1, $p = .016$; [b]$\chi^2 = 4.00$, df = 1, $p = .046$; [c]$\chi^2 = 4.55$, df = 1, $p = .033$; [d]$\chi^2 = 5.37$, df = 1, $p = .020$

Table 5 Personality or Physicality Descriptors by Gender

	Men	Women
Attractiveness	14	11
Emotional	31	31
Outgoing/Extroverted	1	3
Modest/Introverted	2	0
Size/Parts of Body	22	17

No significant differences

Table 6 Overall Comments by Category for Gender

	Men	%	Women	%
Athletic Skill—Strength	33	5.2	22	3.7
Athletic Skill—Ability	416	65.5	379	63.6
Commitment	13	2.0	5	0.8
Composure	47	7.4	51	8.6
Concentration	8	1.3	17	2.9
Courage	8	1.3	7	1.2
Experience	40	6.3	50	8.4
Attractiveness	14	2.2	11	1.8
Emotional	31	4.9	31	5.2
Outgoing/Extroverted	1	0.2	3	0.5
Modest/Introverted	2	0.3	0	n.a.
Size/Parts of Body	22	3.5	17	2.9
Total	635	100	596	100

Table 7 Overall Comments by Category for Type of Coverage and Gender

	Primetime		Non-Primetime	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Athletic Skill—Strength	20	13	13	9
Athletic Skill—Ability	337	305	79	74
Commitment	4	3	9	2
Composure	29	36	18	15
Concentration	4	11	4	6
Courage	7	4	1	3
Experience[a]	23	39	17	11
Attractiveness	10	7	4	4
Emotional	25	27	6	4
Outgoing/Extroverted	1	3	1	3
Modest/Introverted	2	0	0	0
Size/Parts of Body	17	16	5	1

[a] $\chi^2 = 4.36$, df = 1, $p = .037$

Vita

Gary Herman is currently working as a graduate assistant certified athletic trainer for the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He received a master's degree in sports studies with an emphasis in sport psychology. Mr. Herman was born in St. Louis, Missouri and is the fourth of five children in his family. He went to Missouri State University and received a bachelor's of science degree in sports medicine and athletic training.