GENDER IN TELEVISIONED SPORTS:
NEWS AND HIGHLIGHTS SHOWS, 1989 - 2004

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I. INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth in a series of AAF-sponsored studies, begun in 1989, on gender in televised sport. Although the focus of the reports has changed over the years, each of them has included an examination of the quantity and quality of coverage that sports news shows devote to women’s sports. This most recent study examines sports news on the CBS, NBC and ABC network affiliates in Los Angeles, as well as sports news programs on ESPN’s *SportsCenter* and Fox’s *Southern California Sports Report*.

As with past reports, the findings are both encouraging and discouraging. I am happy to note that the quality of reporting on women’s sports has improved. Women’s sports and female athletes are treated with more respect than when we began studying television fifteen years ago. The practice of portraying women athletes as the objects of humor unfortunately continues to exist, but it is the exception rather than the common practice today. In general, stories about women athletes are serious and respectful.

The bad news is that the quantity of reporting on women’s sport remains at the dismally low levels of 1989. On local Los Angeles sports news shows, only 6.3 percent of all stories deal exclusively with women’s sports. On ESPN’s *SportsCenter*, only 1 in 20 stories is on women’s sports. The continued paucity of women’s stories occurs against the backdrop of significant growth of girls’ and women’s sports nationally and internationally, a development that is simply ignored by television sports news. The willful neglect of women’s sports is an abdication of journalistic responsibility and has the effect of diminishing the significance of women’s sport, while hindering its further growth.

In 1990 I wrote, “This inequity is unfair. It is wrong. It can be changed and it must be changed.” It was true then, and it remains true today.

Anita L. DeFrantz  
President  
Amateur Athletic Foundation
II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Women’s sports still largely ignored in news and highlights shows

- Women’s sports were underreported in the six weeks of early evening and latenight television sports news on three network affiliates sampled in the study. Men’s sports received 91.4% of the airtime, women’s sports 6.3%, and gender neutral topics 2.4%. These numbers indicate a decline in the coverage of women’s sports since 1999, when 8.7% of the airtime was devoted to women’s sports. In 1989 and 1993, women’s sports received 5%, and 5.1% of the coverage, respectively.

- On ESPN’s nationally-televised program *SportsCenter* and on the Fox *Southern California Sports Report*, the proportion of stories and airtime devoted to women’s sports was even lower than on the local Los Angeles sports news shows. Whereas on the Los Angeles news, men’s sports reports outnumbered women’s sports stories by an 9:1 ratio, Fox’s male-to-female ratio was 15:1, and *SportsCenter*’s ratio was a whopping 20:1. The percentage of time devoted to women’s sports was also lower on Fox (3.0%) and on *SportsCenter* (2.1%) compared with the network affiliate news reports (6.3%).

- All of the *SportsCenter* programs, all of the Fox programs, and 96.2% of the network affiliate sports news shows in the sample began with a men’s sports topic as the lead story. Lead stories, especially those on *SportsCenter*, tend also to be the longest stories of the broadcast, containing the highest production values (often including multiple interviews, game footage, musical montage, graphic statistics, etc.).

- Fox, ESPN and two of the network affiliates (KNBC and KABC), continually ran a scrolling ticker text bar at the bottom of the screen, which reported scores and other sports news. For the most part, the proportion of “ticker time” devoted to women’s sports was equivalent to the proportion of airtime devoted to women’s sports in the main broadcast. The exception was *SportsCenter*, which devoted 8.5% of its ticker time to women’s sports, compared with only 2.1% of its main broadcast time.

Silences and spikes in coverage of women’s sports

- There were many broadcasts in the sample that contained no coverage of women’s sports whatsoever. Well over half (58%) of the network affiliate news shows included no women’s sports stories, and 48% of the Fox and ESPN highlights shows included no women’s sports stories. Meanwhile, 100% of the 279 news and highlights broadcasts in our sample included coverage of men’s sports.

- In 1993, we noted that there was almost no network affiliate news coverage of women’s sports on weekdays. We found the 1999 pattern to be similar, but not as extreme. In 2004, the stories on women’s sports were somewhat more evenly distributed across the week, but 43% of them appeared on expanded-format Saturday and Sunday shows.

- There were two notable spikes in the otherwise extremely low level of coverage of women’s sports. In July, KNBC devoted 15.4% of its coverage to women’s sports (compared with 5.4% for KNBC’s combined March and November coverage). This spike was largely due to a surge in KNBC coverage of U.S. women athletes at the Olympic Games, and corresponded with the parent NBC network’s live and...
tape-delayed coverage of the Olympic Games. The second spike was in November, when Fox devoted 6.8% of its coverage to women’s sports (compared with Fox’s 1.3% combined women’s coverage in March and July). This spike was largely due to a surge in coverage of women’s tennis, and corresponded with a series of ads that Fox ran during the program, promoting a local WTA tennis tournament played at Los Angeles’ Staples Center.

- In past studies, we noted that when sports news and highlights commentators did focus on women, they tended to present non-serious “gag features” on marginal sports, or to engage in humorous sexualization of women athletes. In 2004, we saw less frequent trivialization and humorous sexualization of women. With some notable exceptions, the rare women’s sports stories tended to be reported respectfully and professionally.

- News and highlights shows offered up a steady stream of men’s college and professional basketball and football, professional baseball, and an array of other sports. By contrast, coverage of women’s sports was less varied. Stories about women’s tennis made up 42.4% of all women’s sports stories in our sample.

**Racial/ethnic and sex composition of sports commentators**

- The racial/ethnic composition of commentators on sports news and highlights shows demonstrated some diversity: 48.2% of news/highlights anchors were white, 51.8% were men of color. However, 94.4% of the sports news and highlights anchor people were men, suggesting that this is still a highly sex-segregated occupation. No women anchors appeared on any of the three network affiliate news shows. And no women of color news anchors or ancillary reporters appeared in any of the reports in the sample.
III. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS IMPLIED BY FINDINGS

- Televised sports news and highlights shows like *SportsCenter* and Fox *Southern California Sports Report* should provide coverage of existing women’s sports at a level that reflects the actual existence of women’s sports.
- Producers and commentators of televised sports and highlights shows should make a serious attempt to include more than token coverage of women’s sports in every broadcast. This should include regularly placing a key women’s sports story as the broadcast’s lead story.
- Rather than focusing primarily on one women’s sport (professional tennis), producers and commentators of televised sports and highlights shows should commit themselves to showing a range of women’s sports just as they show a range of men’s sports.
- Producers and commentators of televised sports and highlights shows should educate themselves concerning the ways that humorous sexualization of women—especially when set against a backdrop of silence concerning women athletes—contributes to a climate of disrespect for women athletes and for women in general.
- Producers of televised sports news and highlights shows should commit themselves to further desegregating the broadcast booth, to include more women, especially in the central roles of news anchors.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF STUDY: SAMPLE AND METHODS

The study addressed both quantitative and qualitative aspects of television news and highlights shows’ coverage of women’s and men’s sports. As with the 1989, 1993, and 1999 studies, the major questions concerned the quantity and quality of actual coverage of women’s versus men’s athletic events. Unlike previous studies, in 2004 we did not examine play-by-play coverage of tennis and basketball. Instead, we continued and expanded our earlier focus on sports news and highlights shows.

So that we might comment on change and continuity over time, we replicated the 1989, 1993 and 1999 studies. First, we studied three two-week segments (a total of six weeks) of televised sports news coverage on each of three local (Los Angeles) network affiliates. Second, we studied ESPN’s *SportsCenter*, replicating our focus on this sports highlights show that we began in 1999. And for the first time, we added the Fox *Southern California Sports Report* to our study.

In recent years, television news and highlights shows have introduced visual techniques (e.g., split screens and scrolling tickers) of conveying information that invite viewers to listen, view images, and read text that refer simultaneously to two or more stories. In 2004 most of the sports news and highlights programs in our sample included a continual running “ticker” at the bottom of the television screen. The ticker uses written text to report game scores, headlines, and breaking sports news that may or may not be reported through the main conventional verbal reporting and visual
images. We wondered what the gender breakdown of ticker coverage was, so we analyzed the quantity of ticker coverage devoted to women’s and to men’s sports.

SAMPLE

Televised sports news
We analyzed six weeks of television sports news (both the 6:00 p.m. segments and the 11:00 p.m. segments) on the three local network affiliates (KNBC, KCBS, and KABC). As in the 1989, 1993 and 1999 studies, in order to sample different time periods when different sports were being played, we analyzed three, two-week periods: March 14-27; July 11-24; November 7-20. In all, we examined 236 sports news broadcasts on the three network affiliates, totaling nearly 17 hours of airtime. Amounts of airtime devoted to men’s versus women’s sports were measured. The scrolling ticker at the bottom of the screen (in cases where it was present) also was timed, to determine the proportion of ticker reports devoted to women’s versus men’s sports. In addition to the quantitative measures, we analyzed the quality of coverage in terms of visuals and verbal commentary.

ESPN SportsCenter
We analyzed three weeks of one-hour 11:00 p.m. ESPN SportsCenter shows. These three weeks corresponded with the first week of each of the three network news segments: March 14-20, July 11-17, and November 7-13. In all, we examined 21 SportsCenter broadcasts, totaling about 15.6 hours of airtime. SportsCenter was a new addition to the study in 1999 so we can now compare our 2004 findings with the 1999 findings. Amounts of airtime devoted to men’s versus women’s sports were measured. The scrolling ticker at the bottom of the screen also was timed, to determine the proportion of ticker reports devoted to women’s versus men’s sports. In addition to the quantitative measures, we analyzed the quality of coverage in terms of visuals and verbal commentary.

Fox Southern California Sports Report
The Fox Southern California Sports Report is a regional competitor in the sports highlights genre. For the first time in our study, we taped and analyzed three weeks of the evening Southern California Sports Report shows. These three weeks correspond with the same week during which we studied SportCenter: March 14-20, July 11-17, and November 7-13. In all, we examined 21 Southern California Sports Report broadcasts, totaling about 7.4 hours of airtime. Since this is a new addition to the study, we have no base-line Fox data with which to compare our 2004 findings; however, the Fox data provides a useful comparison with the SportsCenter and the network news 2004 data. We measured the amounts of airtime devoted to men’s versus women’s sports. The scrolling ticker at the bottom of the screen also was timed, to determine the proportion of ticker reports devoted to women’s versus men’s sports. In addition to the quantitative measures, we analyzed the quality of coverage in terms of visuals and verbal commentary.
RESEARCH METHOD

The research design and methods of data collection and analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) were identical to those of the 1989, 1993 and 1999 studies.

In Stage 1 of the research, the Amateur Athletic Foundation taped all of the sports news and highlights segments.

In Stage 2, a research assistant viewed all of the tapes and compiled a written preliminary analysis.

In Stage 3, one investigator independently viewed all of the tapes and added her written analysis to that of the research assistant.

In Stage 4, the data were compiled and analyzed for this report by the two investigators, using both sets of written descriptions of the tapes, and by viewing portions of the tapes once again.

In Stage 5, one investigator wrote up the research report.

V. DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

1. Six weeks of televised sports news on three network affiliates

Unequal reporting of women’s and men’s sports continues: In the 1989 and 1993 studies, we noted that female athletes rarely received coverage on the televised sports news. The 1999 study revealed a small but encouraging increase in the proportion of sports news devoted to coverage of women’s sports and women athletes. As Figure 1 illustrates, the 2004 study indicated a decline in coverage of women’s sports, compared with the 1999 study, and a return to numbers that are closer to those of fifteen years ago. In all, these data indicate that the proportion of news time devoted to women’s sports has not changed since 1989.
In past studies, the three network affiliates showed very similar patterns of coverage. These similarities continue with the 2004 study, but as Table 1 shows, there were also differences among them, with KNBC showing the highest proportion of coverage of women’s sports, and KCBS the lowest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KNBC</th>
<th>KABC</th>
<th>KCBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Sports</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>94.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Sports</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both/Neutral</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Three Weeks of ESPN *SportsCenter* and Fox *Southern California Sports Report***

The network affiliate sports commentators have only a few minutes of time each night to report on what they decide are the key sports events of the day. By contrast, ESPN’s *SportsCenter* producers have a full hour, and Fox’s producers a full half-hour or more of programming to work with (minus time devoted to commercials). As Table 2 illustrates, *SportsCenter* and the Fox *Southern California Sports Report* ran proportionately less coverage of women’s sports than did the network affiliates’ news...
shows. Whereas on the Los Angeles news, men’s sports reports outnumbered women’s sports stories by a 9:1 ratio, Fox’s male-to-female ratio was 15:1, and *SportsCenter*’s ratio was a whopping 20:1. The percentage of time devoted to women’s sports was also lower on Fox (3.0%) and on *SportsCenter* (2.1%) compared with the network affiliate news reports (6.3%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ESPN</th>
<th>FOX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Sports</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
<td>96.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Sports</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both/Neutral</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of coverage that ESPN’s *SportsCenter* devoted to women’s sports is nearly identical to what we found in our 1999 study, when *SportsCenter* devoted 96.7% of it’s time to men’s sports, 2.2% to women’s sports, and 1.1% to gender neutral sports topics. We did not gather data for Fox in 1999, so we have no base-line comparison for the *Southern California Sports Report*.

### 3. Silences and spikes in coverage of women’s sports

There were many broadcasts in the sample that contained no coverage of women’s sports, as Table 3 indicates. Among the three network affiliates, KCBS broadcast a higher proportion of its shows with no women than the other two network affiliates. Well over half (58%) of the combined three network affiliates news shows had no coverage of women’s sports. There were zero sports news or highlights shows in our sample that had no coverage of men’s sports.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KNBC</th>
<th>KABC</th>
<th>KCBS</th>
<th>ESPN</th>
<th>FOX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of broadcasts with at least one women’s sports story</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ESPN’s *SportsCenter* appears to be the one exception to this pattern, as nearly two-thirds of its broadcasts in the sample contained at least one women’s sports story. At first glance, this fact does not seem to square with our observation that *SportsCenter* devoted the lowest proportion of its airtime to women’s sports. This apparent anomaly is explained by the fact that *SportsCenter* is, by far, the longest show in our sample (one hour, minus commercials). So when a women’s sports story did appear on *SportsCenter*, it was nearly always the only women’s sports story, embedded in a broadcast made up otherwise of all men’s sports stories. So for instance, on July 11,
In 2004, about 44 minutes into the broadcast, *SportsCenter* ran a story on Olympic track star Marion Jones. The only story on women’s sports in the broadcast, the Jones story ran for 20 seconds, and constituted 0.8% of the total broadcast time.

The coverage of women’s sports on the news and highlights shows that we sampled was almost uniformly low, but we did note two spikes, or small increases in the coverage of women’s sports. The first mini-spike was by KNBC during March, and the second, less dramatic spike was during the November sample of the Fox *Southern California Sports Report*.

**KNBC carries the torch for women in the Olympic Games.** In July, KNBC devoted 15.4% of its sports news time to the coverage of women’s sports. This was far more time than KNBC devoted to women’s sports in the March sample (5.7%) or in the November sample (5.1%). In July, KNBC also devoted 20.8% of its ticker time to women’s sports, far more than the 4.6% and 1.6% of ticker time devoted to women’s sports in March and November, respectively. KNBC ran a total of 36 women’s sports stories in July, far more than its 15 and 11 women’s sports stories in March and November, respectively. And three times in July, KNBC led off a broadcast with a women’s sports story. KNBC did not have a lead women’s sports story in any of the other two time periods sampled in the study. Twenty of KNBC’s 36 women’s sports stories in July focused on U.S. women’s sports in the Olympic Games, and all three of the lead women’s sports stories were Olympic stories. By comparison, neither of the other two network affiliate news shows, nor the sports highlights shows in our sample evidenced such a dramatic expanded focus on women’s sports during the Olympic Games (KCBS had two women’s Olympic stories during the March sample, KABC had six, ESPN three, and Fox three). KNBC’s expanded coverage of the Olympic Games on its news reports corresponded with the parent network NBC’s live and taped coverage of the Games. Interestingly, KNBC’s news coverage of Olympic events tipped towards coverage of women’s events. Only eight KNBC news stories during the July sample were devoted to men’s Olympic sports, compared with twenty women’s Olympic stories.

**Fox Southern California Sports Report serves women’s tennis.** In the November segment of our sample, Fox devoted 6.8% of its *Southern California Sports Report* coverage to women’s sports (compared with Fox’s 1.3% combined women’s coverage in March and July). This spike in women’s sports coverage was largely due to a surge in coverage of women’s tennis. Five of Fox’s six women’s sports stories during the November sample were women’s tennis stories. This expanded coverage of women’s tennis corresponded with a series of ads that Fox ran during the program, promoting a local WTA tournament, played at Los Angeles’ Staples Center.

### 4. Lead stories, tickers, and teasers

In addition to the overall proportions of time that news and highlights shows devote to women’s and men’s sports, we measured other indicators of quantity of coverage devoted to women’s versus men’s sports.
Lead Stories
As Table 4.1 shows, only 8 of the 228 (3.5%) news shows that we examined began with a lead story on a women’s sport. This is roughly the same proportion of news shows that begin with women’s sports reports in our 1999 sample (2.9%). None of the 42 ESPN or Fox highlights shows in the 2004 sample began with a lead story on a women’s sport. Lead stories are significant: they set the tone for each broadcast; they show up-front what is considered to be the most important story. Also—and this is most evident on ESPN and Fox—they are usually the longest stories, containing the highest production values (graphics, an interview, or sometimes even multiple interviews, game footage, musical montage, etc.). July *SportsCenter* usually began with a baseball story, including taped game footage, on the spot coverage from ESPN reporters, interviews, etc. March openers usually included long NBA or men’s NCAA basketball sequences. November openers usually included long NFL or NBA sequences. These opening sequences were routinely at least two minutes long, and sometimes ran over six minutes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1</th>
<th>2004 Lead Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>KNBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Sports (96.8%)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Sports (2.9%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both/Neutral (0.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temporal placement and type of sport that appeared in the few women’s lead stories followed two patterns. First, corresponding with its spike in coverage of women’s sports in July, KNBC’s three lead women’s sports stories in July (compared with zero in March or November) were all Olympic stories. Second, the remaining lead women’s sports stories (three by KCBS and two by KABC) were all women’s tennis stories.

Tickers
In recent years, television news and highlights shows have introduced visual techniques (e.g., split screens and scrolling tickers) of conveying information that invite viewers to listen, view images, and read text that refer simultaneously to two or more stories. We noticed in 2004 that most of the sports news and highlights programs in our sample had introduced a continual running ticker at the bottom of the television screen. The ticker uses written text to report game scores, headlines, and breaking sports news that may or may not be reported through the main conventional verbal reporting and visual images. We wondered if, since women’s sports are still rarely focused on in the main sports news and highlights shows, perhaps the producers
see the ticker (literally at the margins of the television screen) as a kind of ghetto in which to devote some degree of attention to women’s sports. For the most part, as Table 4.2 illustrates, this did not turn out to be the case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2</th>
<th>Main broadcast coverage and ticker coverage devoted to women’s sports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KNBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main coverage</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticker coverage</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KABC did not run a ticker during our sampling periods. For those who did use a ticker, *SportsCenter* is the only one that devoted a notably higher proportion of coverage to women’s sports on the scrolling ticker (8.5% of which focused on women’s sports stories), than it did in it’s main coverage (2.1% focused on women’s sports).

**Teasers**

During non-sports parts of news shows, and before commercial breaks during ESPN’s *SportsCenter* and Fox’s *Southern California Sports Report*, the announcers gave previews of what they would cover after the commercial break, or later in the show. These previews are often known as “teasers,” as they are intended to hold an audience through a commercial break, in anticipation of an exciting or important report. As Table 4.3 shows, previews for the sports news segments followed a similar pattern to the proportions of regular coverage allotted to men’s and women’s sports. ESPN’s *SportsCenter* was the only show in our sample that utilized almost no teasers to preview upcoming women’s sports stories. This corresponds with the fact that *SportsCenter* ran, proportionately, fewer women’s sports stories than the other news or highlights shows in the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.3</th>
<th>Teasers (previews) devoted to men’s and women’s sports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KNBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s sports</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s sports</td>
<td>14 (6.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Gag features and sexualization of women athletes**

In our previous studies, we observed that when sports news or highlights shows did place women in the picture, there were certain patterned ways that women appeared. First, we noted that news and highlights shows, while largely ignoring most of the actual women’s sports that were occurring daily, tended to focus periodically on a non-serious gag feature, or a story on a marginal, but entertaining pseudosport (e.g., a long feature on a woman’s nude bungee jump in 1999). We also noted in past studies...
that women appeared in the sports shows when they were seen as opportunities for commentateurs (and presumably viewers) to engage in sexualized humor and voyeurism. For instance, in 1999, news and highlights shows frequently focused stories on tennis player Anna Kournikova, usually accompanied by visual footage and some sexually suggestive joking by the commentators. A third pattern that we saw in past studies was a tendency during July men’s baseball stories for commentators to make suggestive/sexually humorous comments as cameras presented close-ups of women spectators in skimpy bathing suits.

In 2004, we saw less of this kind of trivialization of women athletes, and generally less sexualization of women than in past studies. Most of the (still rare) stories on women’s sports in 2004 were straightforward, respectful stories, rather than gag features, stories on marginal sports, or opportunities for sexual voyeurism and humor. However, this is not to say that there were no instances of this kind of reporting.

**Gag features**

Sports news and highlights shows are often peppered with humor. This tends to make the reports more entertaining for viewers. Gag features—often on marginal sports or pseudo-sports, are one form that this humor tends to take. For instance, on a March 24 report that included no coverage of women’s sports, during a report on Dodgers’ spring training camp, KABC showed video for a few seconds on middle-aged women who had been invited to take batting practice at the camp. Rob Fukuzaki jokingly said to the news anchors, “Now we know the Dodgers are looking for a high-priced hitter, the way these ladies are hittin’ the ball, hey, who knows, Marc and Michelle?” A second example of a gag feature is *SportsCenter*’s 13-second March 18 story on a “weightlifting granny.” Accompanying visuals of a woman lifting weights, Steve Berthiaume quipped, “We’ve been waiting forever for a sequel to the governor of California’s hit, *Pumping Iron*. We have it: here she is, the star of the show, the weight-lifting grandmamma. Granny, you made us proud.” No information was offered on the woman’s name, or where the weightlifting event occurred. This was the only coverage of a “women’s sport” during this broadcast of *SportsCenter*.

Sometimes serious women’s sports events are focused on in a news report because an unusual occurrence has created the opportunity for some humor. For instance, on March 27, KNBC ran a 42-second story on a disruption of Michelle Kwan’s warm-up during the World Figure Skating Championships in Germany. KNBC showed footage of the disruption, as Mario Solis reported, “. . . a man came out on the ice and started shedding his clothing in the middle of the rink. Kwan quickly skated off, not knowing what in the world was going on. Well, surprise, the guy stripped down to a tutu; that’s one ugly ballerina.” Solis went on to note that Kwan “got a kick out of it, and went on to capture third place. . . ” the visual footage that was shown was of the disruption, not of the actual skating competition.

Gag features did not focus exclusively on women, or on women’s sports. There were several instances of joking about men during the sample. For instance a KABC NBA report on March 19 showed video of celebrities Jack Nicholson and Billy Crystal kissing on the big screen at Staples Center in Los Angeles. The humorous story took
up 32 seconds of a 229 second sports report that included only three seconds on women’s sports—a short verbal report of some women’s tennis results. Gag stories—whether they focus on women or on men—clearly take up time that might otherwise be devoted to serious coverage of women’s sports.

**Sexualization themes**

In 2004, sports news and highlights shows had largely replaced Anna Kournikova with Maria Sharapova as their featured young sex symbol. Several times during the sample, WTA stories focused on Sharapova (only Serena Williams approached the amount of coverage devoted to Sharapova). This focus on Sharapova was legitimate. She recently had won Wimbledon, and had become a highly ranked player. But the fact that commentators rarely seemed to report on Sharapova without also commenting (often jokingly) on her appearance indicated a continuation of the sexualization themes from past studies. For instance, on November 11, KABC’s Rob Fukuzaki introduced the day’s only women’s sports story—a 56 second feature on the WTA—with this teaser: “They slapped her on a billboard that read ‘the closer you get the hotter it gets.’ Seventeen year old Maria Sharapova may have the same appeal as Anna Kournikova, but the young Russian can actually play tennis…Sharapova is a poster girl for the event.” The next day, Fox devoted 84 seconds of its report to women’s sports—all on WTA—and introduced the coverage with a teaser about Sharapova: “She’s young, she’s talented, and very beautiful, but could Maria Sharapova stay focused tonight at Staples Center?” On one occasion, the Fox commentators went beyond mere reference to Sharapova’s sex appeal. On their July 12 broadcast, a 33-second long story on Sharapova accompanied by footage of her win at Wimbledon, Barry LeBrock paused during his commentary on Sharapova as Van Earl Wright peppered the report with lusty howls: “In tennis news tonight…seventeen year old Wimbledon champ Maria Sharapova—[HOWL]—who has withdrawn from the tournament citing need for rest and recuperation—[HOWL]—now you know why—the Chase Open was to have been Sharapova’s first tournament since beating Serena Williams in the Wimbledon final. Sharapova did add though that she plans to rejoin the tour on July 26—[both commentators together HOWL].”

Though she was the most frequently sexualized athlete in our sample, Maria Sharapova was not the only female used by commentators for sexual humor. On November 15, during a sports report that ran no coverage of conventional women’s sports, KABC ran a story on a promotional “football game” in which the women players would compete while wearing lingerie. But even when there was an opportunity to report on the highest level of accomplishment by actual women athletes, commentators at times found ways to make a sexual joke. For instance, on March 23, the national champion University of Southern California women’s volleyball team visited the White House and the president, along with the national champion USC football team. KNBC devoted 28 seconds of its report to the men’s football team’s visit with the president, and only six seconds to the women’s volleyball team. Previous to this report, KNBC used a promotional teaser that showed the president kissing a USC volleyball player on the cheek, as sports anchor Fred Roggin quipped, “Coming up: President Bush scoring with the USC women’s championship volleyball team.”
Scantily clad women sometimes provide a visual backdrop for the reporting of men’s sports. We saw fewer instances than in past studies of commentators joking about bikini-clad women at baseball games during the July segment of our sample. But we did note a pattern of the use of visual shots of women cheerleaders during reports on various men’s sports. For instance, on March 20, KNBC’s report on NCAA men’s basketball included a 2-3 second shot of Alabama’s female cheerleaders shaking their pom-poms. This was a common part of the package of visual imagery during March reports on men’s college basketball, on the three network affiliates, ESPN, and Fox. In fact, Fox promoted their own programs using various shots of college cheerleaders (often wearing local USC and UCLA outfits) doing bump and grind dances, wearing short skirts, with exposed midriffs in tight fitting cropped tops, accompanied by a voice over saying, “The only sports network where Southern California fans come first. You’re watching Fox Sports Network.” Images of sexy female cheerleaders represent Fox as a network, but images of women athletes are largely absent in its coverage.

If it’s women’s sports, it must be tennis
TV news and highlights shows delivered to viewers a steady staple of men’s college basketball and football, professional basketball and football, and professional baseball, peppered with generous doses of men’s ice hockey, auto racing, golf, tennis, boxing and occasional reports on other sports. Together, these reports made up an almost continuous stream of information, images, and commentary on men athletes and men’s sports. Women’s sports reports, by contrast, were occasional, and seemed to interrupt the steady flow of reporting on men’s sports. Not only were reports on women’s sports far less frequent, they were less varied. As Table 5 shows, when women’s sports stories did appear in our sample, 42.4% of them were tennis (WTA) stories. Track and field stories were a distant second, accounting for 16% of all women’s sports stories, and all of these were July Olympic stories (nearly half of which ran on KNBC). In fact, if we subtract all of the July Olympic stories from the total sample, WTA stories made up 54.7% of all of the remaining women’s sports stories. The range of available women’s sports events that were available to be reported on during our sampling period is listed in Appendix A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Women’s sports stories, by sport</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Women’s sports stories, by sport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KNBC</td>
<td>KABC</td>
<td>KCBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis (42.4%)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track &amp; field (16%)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College basketball (11.3%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNBA (9.9%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf (6%)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming (3.3%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sports (11.3%)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KCBS was most extreme in their focus on women’s tennis: 18 of 24 (75%) of their women’s sports stories were WTA stories. ESPN’s *SportsCenter* was the one exception to this pattern. The program ran no stories on women’s tennis during the sample period. Seven of the *SportsCenter* women’s sports stories focused on basketball, and the remaining eleven stories spanned eight other sports.

### 6. Instances of fair and respectful reporting on women’s sports

We have noted above that the amount of coverage of women’s sports on the news and highlights shows remained very low in 2004. And, we have noted that reporters still tended at times to sexualize women athletes, used sexy images of women cheerleaders as a backdrop to promote men’s sports, and employed gag features on women’s and men’s sports to add humorous entertainment value to their shows. However, when reports were done on women athletes and coaches, they usually were treated respectfully and seriously, in much the same way that men athletes and coaches were routinely treated. More than once, we observed that KNBC announcer Mario Solis delivered solid and respectful reports on women’s sports. For example, on March 14, Solis presented a story on the women’s NCAA basketball tournament that focused on the surprising success of the Loyola Marymount University team. Solis delivered the 62-second report straightforwardly and enthusiastically, and included visual play footage, short interviews with two LMU players and a coach, and a preview of the team’s next game. A second example of good reporting on women’s sports was a July 23 report on KCBS. The lead story on their 6:00 p.m. report was an 81-second report on a women’s tennis match between Serena Williams and Lindsay Davenport, which included visual footage. This report was followed by a ten-second story on men’s
Major League Baseball, 21 seconds on men’s cycling, 31 seconds on men’s golf, followed by a final six-second story on women’s tennis. Granted, that day’s women’s professional golf (LPGA) and professional basketball (WNBA) stories were relegated to the ticker. And KCBS’ sole focus on a WTA story fit with the larger pattern of devoting nearly all of its already small amount of women’s sport coverage to tennis. Still, we found KCBS’ devoting its lead spot to a long and respectful story on women’s sports to be a welcome break from the norm. If KCBS that evening had added even a short verbal LPGA and/or WNBA report to this show, it would have created a more gender-symmetrical news report.

7. Race and sex of sports commentators
The racial/ethnic composition of commentators on sports news and highlights shows demonstrated some diversity. As Table 7.1 shows, 53.8% of news/highlights anchors were white men and women, while 46.3% were men of color. However, 94.4% of the sports news and highlights anchor people were men, suggesting that this is still a highly sex-segregated occupation. All of the women anchors in our sample appeared on ESPN or Fox. No women anchors appeared on any of the three network affiliate news shows. The paucity of women commentators in sports news and highlights shows echoes the small proportion of these shows that are devoted to coverage of women’s sports. The levels of racial and sexual diversity we found among news and highlights anchors were similar to our findings in the 1999 study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>LM</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th>WF</th>
<th>BF</th>
<th>LF</th>
<th>AF</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KNBC 67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KABC 25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCBS 25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESPN 36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOX 27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS 140</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[WM=White Males; BM=Black Males; LM=Latinos; AM=Asian-Pacific Males; WF=White Females; BF=Black Females; LF=Latinas; AF=Asian Pacific Females]

As Table 7.2 shows, the race and sex composition of ancillary reporters (e.g., live remote or taped reports shown on the news and highlights shows) show similar patterns with the in-studio anchor people.
Table 7.2

| Race and sex of ancillary announcers on sports news and highlights shows |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| WM  | BM  | LM  | AM  | WF  | BF  | LF  | AF  |
| KNBC| 3   | 0   | 6   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   |
| KABC| 20  | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   |
| KCBS| 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   |
| ESPN| 82  | 32  | 1   | 0   | 9   | 0   | 0   |
| FOX | 34  | 3   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   |
| **TOTALS**| **140** | **36** | **7** | **0** | **19** | **0** | **0** |

[WM=White Males; BM=Black Males; LM=Latinos; AM=Asian-Pacific Males; WF=White Females; BF=Black Females; LF=Latinas; AF=Asian Pacific Females]

Women are somewhat better represented as ancillary reporters (9.4%) than as news or highlights anchor people (5.6%). But just as among news and highlights anchor people, women ancillary reporters in our sample all appeared on ESPN or Fox; no women sports reporters appeared in any capacity on any of the three network affiliates. Ancillary reporters were more likely in our sample to be white (78.7%) than were anchor people (53.8%). Women of color are notably absent from all of the anchor and announcer categories. No women of color news anchors or ancillary reporters appeared in any of the broadcasts in the sample.

VI. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

On March 24, 2004, the male KCBS news anchor introduced the sports report and passed the anchor to Jim Hill, who was reporting live, courtside from Staples Center before a Lakers game, by saying, “Well, if you’re like me, these are going to be three great days. We got the Lakers tonight, we’ve got March Madness on Thursday and Friday. Jim, it doesn’t get any better than this!” As predicted, the day’s sports news report focused entirely on men’s college and pro basketball, with a short interlude for men’s hockey. The reports over the next few days followed the same pattern: The KCBS Thursday, Friday, and Saturday news reports each offered a steady stream of men’s NBA and men’s NCAA basketball stories, each with a single token men’s hockey story. Women’s sports were ignored in all of these reports (save for LPGA tournament results that appeared on the scrolling ticker during the Friday and Saturday broadcasts). Apparently, neither the LPGA tournament nor women’s NCAA basketball nor any other women’s sport was deemed important enough to interrupt the excitement of “three great days” of men’s basketball and hockey.

The KCBS example is indicative of the larger patterns of non-coverage and media ghettoization of women’s sports that we found in our 2004 sample. And, we find the news anchor’s apparent throwaway opening comment, “If you’re like me…” to be
especially telling. Nearly all of the sports anchors and ancillary reporters (and 100% in the three network affiliates) are *just like him*, in that they are men. And these men continue to offer up a steady stream of verbal reporting and visual images that focus on men’s sports, while largely ignoring women’s sports.

The dominant finding in our 2004 study is the lack of change in the amount of coverage over the past fifteen years. Our data show that, with the exception of a slight and apparently temporary increase in 1999, there has been virtually no change in the proportion of network affiliate sports news shows’ reporting on women’s sports since we began collecting data in 1989. We think that this is stunning. Since our 1989 study (Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles 1990), girls and women’s sports participation has continued its dramatic growth that began in the 1970s. Each year, millions of girls enthusiastically participate in youth soccer, softball, and other community sports. High school sports are no longer totally dominated by boys. In 1971, only 294,000 U.S. high school girls played interscholastic sports, compared with 3.7 million boys. In 1989, the first year of our sports media study, high school boy athletes still outnumbered girls, 3.4 million to 1.8 million. By 2004, the high school sports participation gap had closed further, 4.0 million boys to 2.9 million girls (National Federation of State High School Associations 2005). This trend is echoed in college sports participation rates. In 1972, the year Title IX was enacted there were only a little over 2 women’s athletics teams per school at the college level. By 2004, the number had risen to 8.32 teams per NCAA school. From 2000-2004, 631 new women’s teams were added in U.S. universities, and in the last six years, a total of 1155 new women’s teams have been added (Carpenter & Acosta 2004). Women’s participation rates in the Olympic Games have risen dramatically over the past three decades, while women’s professional sports have grown, albeit unevenly.

In short, the world of sports is no longer a “male preserve,” in which boys and men enjoy privileged and exclusive access to participation opportunities, and to community and school resources. Though girls’ and women’s sports are still generally under-funded, and girls and women still too often have to fight for full and equal access, it is also true that in the past three decades we have witnessed an historic sea change in sport’s gender dynamics (Acosta & Carpenter 2005; Cahn 1994). But one would never know this, if one simply got one’s sports information from the network affiliates’ evening and late-night news shows, or from the sports highlights shows on ESPN and Fox. To be sure, there is an expanding array of media sources of sports information, including Internet web sites, which fans of women’s sports can tap for news about their favorite athletes or teams. But television—especially the major networks and sports cable outlets like ESPN and Fox—remain an extremely important form of sports information (Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles 1999). The mass media’s continued tendency to ignore or marginalize women’s sports maintains the myth that sports are exclusively by, about, and for men (Messner, Dunbar & Hunt 2000; Sabo & Janson 1998).

Against this backdrop of near-silence concerning women’s sports, it is especially important to examine how women are shown and talked about, on the rare occasion that they do come into focus on sports news and highlights shows. In our previous
studies, we found that commentators quite commonly made women (both athletes and spectators) the brunt of sexualized jokes (Messner, Duncan & Cooky 2003). In 2004, we saw less sexual trivialization of women, but there were still some notable instances. The producers of these shows seem to assume that their viewers are predominantly heterosexual men who (a) do not want to see or hear much about women’s sports, and (b) find pleasure in sexual voyeurism and sexualized jokes about women (Duncan & Brummett 1989). However, and this is especially true of the network affiliate news shows, we wonder how this narrow approach to sports news reporting may cause many viewers of these evening and late-night news shows simply to tune out when the sports reports begin. In other words, we suspect that the lack of coverage of women’s sports, along with the sometimes insulting treatment of women might contribute to a dramatic narrowing of what could be a more diverse audience for televised sports news shows.

**Sports highlights shows as male preserves**

If sport, as an institution, is no longer an exclusive preserve for men, the particular realm of televised sports highlights shows still appears to be. Our finding that ESPN’s *SportsCenter* and Fox’s *Southern California Sports Report* devoted an even lower proportion of coverage time to women’s sports than did the network affiliate news shows was consistent with previous research (Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles 2000; Eastman & Billings 2000). These shows consistently offer up a standard staple of men’s baseball, men’s basketball, men’s football, with occasional smidgens of men’s hockey, auto racing, and some golf and tennis. Women’s sports are rarely included, and if they are, they usually appear as an afterthought. These sports highlights shows offer viewers the most consistent, almost seamless vision of sport as an exclusive territory set up by and for men.

*SportsCenter’s* ironic, often snide humorous style has successfully set the tone for the growth of other sports highlights shows like Fox’s *Southern California Sports Report* (Farred 2000). This relatively new genre of televised sports entertainment meshes neatly with broader trends in contemporary popular culture that aim to entertain (and sell products to) a young-to-middle-aged male demographic. Men’s traditional privileges, along with the cultural meanings of masculinity have been destabilized in recent decades, resulting in new insecurities, especially among younger men. Television shows like *The Man Show*, new soft-core porn magazines like *Maxim* and *FHM*, radio talk shows like the nationally syndicated Tom Leykus Show, and many sports radio and television sports talk shows share similar themes and are targeted to similar audiences of young males (Nylund 2004). These magazines and television and radio shows typically present sports as a realm apart from women, where men can connect with each other “as men.” This media genre depicts and encourages a young male lifestyle that is saturated with images of, and explicit talk about sexy women as objects of consumption. A range of consumer products that includes—often centrally, as in *The Man Show*—consumption of beer as part of the young male lifestyle stitches together the bonds among men (Messner & Montez de Oca 2005).

Strong, competent, decisive women (like most women athletes) have no legitimate space in this cultural field. Those kinds of women are either ignored or disparaged.
The treatment of women on *SportsCenter* and on Fox’s Southern California Report meshes neatly with this broader cultural trend. These programs are a “male space” (despite the occasional appearance of a woman announcer). For the most part, they refrain from talking about or depicting the athletic accomplishments of real sportswomen. Women appear on these shows too often as jokes, as sexual objects that prop up the men (e.g., Fox’s use of dancing cheerleaders in its ads), or as athletes who fit conventional stereotypes of heterosexual femininity, like tennis players Ana Kournikova or Maria Sharapova (Harris & Clayton 2002; Kennedy 2001).

**Gender and race/ethnicity of commentators**

Sports commentary remains a world dominated by men. Sports news shows in our sample were especially so: 100% of the sports new anchors and ancillary reporters in the three network affiliates news shows were men. ESPN’ and Fox’s sports highlights shows allowed some space for women’s voices, but 86% of the news anchor and ancillary reports were delivered by men. Clearly, sports news and highlights reporting is viewed as a male occupation. The almost unbroken chorus of men’s voices meshes thematically with producers’ decisions to focus almost exclusively on men’s sports. The form and the content of these shows together serve to buttress the myth that sports is an exclusive male realm.

Together, the sports news and highlights shows demonstrate substantial racial-ethnic diversity. Nearly half of news/highlights anchors were African American, Latino, or Asian American commentators, while about one-fifth of ancillary reporters were people of color. When we look at the racial-ethnic composition of reporters on each of the network affiliates, an interesting pattern becomes evident. While each program may regularly feature one ethnic minority sports news anchor (e.g., KABC’s Asian American Rob Fukuzaki, KNBC’s Latino Mario Solis, and KCBS’s African American Jim Hill), all of these stations also employ a white male sports anchor. Another pattern emerges when we examine together the race and gender composition of the news and highlights reporters: all of the commentators of color were men, and all of the women were white. Women of color are entirely absent from these positions. These patterns tend to reflect and reinforce what is seen as legitimate “news” for these shows: racially diverse men’s sports. And they tend to reflect and reinforce the idea that, when it comes to sports, men are the voices of authority, and the repositories of sports knowledge.

**Building audiences for women’s sports**

When asked why they don’t cover more women’s sports, producers, editors and sports reporters will often say that they would really like to do so, but that they are just “giving the audience what they want.” Our observation of the two spikes in the coverage of women’s sports suggests that something more complicated is going on. Though our content analysis can not show how producers decide what to show or what not show, we suspect that it is not coincidental that KNBC’s March surge in the coverage of women’s Olympic sports coincided with the parent NBC network’s live and taped coverage of the Olympic Games. Similarly, Fox’s small burst of coverage of women’s tennis in November corresponded with the network’s running of advertisements for a local WTA event.
We think that KNBC’s July surge in coverage of women’s Olympic sports is especially noteworthy. While 20 of KNBC’s 36 July women’s sports stories focused on women’s Olympic stories, there was not an equivalent surge in coverage of men’s Olympic stories. During this time period, KNBC mixed only eight men’s Olympic stories into its normal stew of men’s baseball and other men’s sports stories. Why more women’s Olympic stories than men’s Olympic stories, given the normal dearth of women’s sports coverage? Kerry White (2004) notes that “…the Olympic games are a two-week oasis in the midst of a historical lack of coverage of women’s sports.” However, her analysis of NBC’s coverage of the Olympic Games indicates that despite the huge successes of U.S. women’s teams (gold medals in basketball, beach volleyball, soccer and softball), very few of the women’s marquee events received coverage during primetime on NBC. And despite some notable failures by men’s teams—the baseball and soccer teams failed to qualify, and the basketball team won the bronze—men’s sports in general received far more primetime coverage. However, KNBC’s news coverage reversed this asymmetry: while the parent network’s live primetime coverage favored men’s sports by a wide margin, the local network affiliate’s news coverage tended to put the spotlight on women Olympians significantly more than on men.

We can only speculate as to why KNBC ran more women’s Olympic Games stories than men’s stories. Perhaps it’s an instance of “fair reporting,” given the U.S. women’s success, and the men’s lower levels of success in team sports. Regardless, when compared with the KABC, KCBS, ESPN and Fox, KNBC’s surge in Olympic news stories puts into relief the more general claim by producers of sports news and highlights shows that their usual programming choices are based simply on responding to audience demand for men’s sports. Sometimes, it seems, when they perceive it to be in their interests, producers of television sports news and highlights shows give us not what they think we want, but what they want us to want. The producers’ party line asserts that the daily stream of stories and images of men’s sports is simply the programmers’ rational response to audience demand for men’s sports. This supply-and-demand line obscures a more complicated reality: producers of sports news and highlights shows actively and consciously attempt to build audience demand for events in which they have a vested interest.

Audience-building, grounded in interlocking interests between television networks, news and highlights shows, commercial sponsors, and athletic organizations is routinely built in to men’s sports (Messner, Duncan & Wachs 1996). Audience-building appears to happen for women’s sports, though, only when the producers of a show see a direct link between their interests and the promotion of a particular women’s sporting event. The interlocking interests in women’s sports appear to be linear, and bi-modal: when there is a direct interest in promoting a particular women’s sports event (as KNBC did with the Olympic Games, and Fox did with WTA), then we see a surge in news or highlights coverage of this particular women’s sports event. But this kind of surge is both temporary and local (confined to the particular network with the direct interest in promoting the women’s sports event). By contrast, the interlocking interests in the men’s sports/media/commercial complex
permeate the mass media in a seemingly organic, multi-nodal, manner (Messner 2002). As such, these promotional efforts are more easily taken for granted and, ironically, may be less visible as promotion. News and highlights shows are two important links in an overall apparatus of audience-building for men’s sports. But they rarely operate this way for women’s sports. The spikes in coverage of women’s sports that we observed in our sample are unique exceptional moments of local and temporary promotion of women’s sports events that serve to illustrate the rule.

How can this “rule” be broken or changed? Clearly, the longitudinal data from our studies, and other research on the media treatment of women’s sports shows that there is no “evolutionary” growth in media coverage of women’s sports that just automatically happens (Bernstein 2002; Bishop 2003; Duncan & Sayaoong 1990; Duncan & Messner 1998; Eastman & Billings 2000; Fink & Kensicki 2002; Kane & Lenskyj 1998). Our research shows that the proportion of coverage of women’s sports on televised news over the past fifteen years is absolutely flat, and there is no reason to believe that this will change in the next fifteen years, unless producers decide that it is in their interests to do so. For this to happen in a large way, power relations and perceptions of gender will have to continue to change within sport organizations, within commercial sponsors who promote and advertise sports, and within the mass media. These shifts in perception will not come about by themselves, but will involve changes and pressures from a number of directions.

One important source of such change within the mass media would involve an affirmative move toward developing and supporting more women sports reporters and commentators. Sports organizations too can contribute to change by providing the sports media with more and better information about women athletes. Indeed, a recent longitudinal study shows that in recent years, university sports information departments have vastly improved their presentation of women’s sports in their annual media guides (Kane & Buysse 2005). Sports fans can also be an active part of this loop to promote change: audience members can complain directly to the producers of sports programs—to tell them that they do not appreciate sexist treatment of women in sports news and highlights shows, and to tell them that they want to see more and better coverage of actual women’s sports. There is some evidence that producers and sports anchors listen to their audiences. For instance, on November 19, 2004, KNBC’s Fred Roggin ended a broadcast that had otherwise included only stories on men with an 18 second report on women’s golf that included game footage, with this commentary: “And finally: got a call from a viewer last hour, [asking] why don’t we show women’s golf very often? Well, your wish is our command. Annika Sorenstam, the leader after two rounds of the ADT Championships. The Swedish superstar who was seeking her eighth win of the year fired a 4-under 68 to grab a three-shot lead heading into the weekend. You call, we listen: there you go!”
VII. REFERENCES


Selected list of sports events in which women competed during the taping periods March 8-21, July 11-24 and November 7-20.

INTERCOLLEGIATE SPORTS

March 10 - 13, NCAA MEN/WOMEN’S SKIING CHAMPIONSHIPS – FINALS, Truckee, CA
March 12 - 13, NCAA DIVISION I INDOOR TRACK & FIELD CHAMPIONSHIPS – FINALS, Fayetteville, AR
March 18 - 20, NCAA DIVISION I WOMEN’S SWIMMING & DIVING CHAMPIONSHIPS, College Station, TX
March 25 - 28, NCAA MEN/WOMEN’S FENCING CHAMPIONSHIPS – FINALS, Waltham, MA
March 26 - 28, NCAA WOMEN’S ICE HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIPS – FROZEN FOUR, Providence, RI
March 27 - 29, NCAA DIVISION I WOMEN’S BASKETBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS – EAST REGIONAL, Hartford, CT
March 27 - 29, NCAA DIVISION I WOMEN’S BASKETBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS – WEST REGIONAL, Seattle, WA
March 28 - 30, NCAA DIVISION I WOMEN’S BASKETBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS – MIDWEST REGIONAL, Norman, OK
November 19 - 21, NCAA DIVISION I FIELD HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIPS – FINALS, Winston Salem, NC

GOLF

March 11 - 14, WELCH’S/FRY’S CHAMPIONSHIP, LPGA Tour, Tucson, AZ
March 18 - 21, SAFETY INTERNATIONAL PRESENTED BY COCA COLA, LPGA Tour, Superstition, AZ
March 25 - 28, KRAFT NABISCO CHAMPIONSHIP, LPGA Tour, Rancho Mirage, CA
July 8 - 11, BMO FINANCIAL GROUP CANADIAN WOMEN’S OPEN, LPGA Tour, Niagara Falls, Ontario
July 16 - 18, GIANT EAGLE LPGA CLASSIC, LPGA Tour, Vienna, OH
July 21 - 24, EVIAN MASTERS, LPGA Tour, Evian-les-Bains, France
November 5 - 7, MIZUNO CLASSIC, LPGA Tour, Shiga, Japan
November 11 - 14, MITCHELL COMPANY TOURNAMENT OF CHAMPIONS, LPGA Tour, Mobile, AL
November 18 - 21, ADT CHAMPIONSHIP, LPGA Tour, West Palm Beach, FL
December 18 - 19, WENDY’S THREE-TOUR CHALLENGE, LPGA Tour, Henderson, NV
TENNIS

March 1 - 7, ABIERTO MEXICANO DE TENIS, WTA Tour, Acapulco, Mexico
March 8 - 21, PACIFIC LIFE OPEN, WTA Tour, Indian Wells, CA
March 22 - April 4, NASDAQ-100 OPEN, WTA Tour, Miami, FL
July 10 - 11, FED CUP QUARTERFINALS (U.S.A. at Austria, Russia at Argentina
France at Italy, Belgium at Spain)
July 12 - 18, BANK OF THE WEST CLASSIC, WTA Tour, Stanford, CA
July 12 - 18, INTERNAZIONALI FEMMINILI DI PALERMO, WTA Tour, Palermo,
Italy
July 19 - 25, JP MORGAN CHASE OPEN, WTA Tour, Carson, CA
November 10 - 15, WTA TOUR CHAMPIONSHIPS, Los Angeles, CA
November 1 - 7, ADVANTA CHAMPIONSHIPS, WTA Tour, Philadelphia, PA
November 1 - 7, BELL CHALLENGE, WTA Tour, Quebec City, Quebec

OTHER SPORTS

March 12 - 15, NATIONAL WEIGHTLIFTING CHAMPIONSHIPS, Merrillville, IN
March 12 - 14, WORLD SINGLE DISTANCE SPEEDSKATING
CHAMPIONSHIPS, Seoul, Korea
March 13 - 14, ADULTS NATIONALS, USCCA CLIMBING (Rock Climbing)
Miami, FL
March 13 - 14, WORLD TEAM SPEEDSKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS, St.
Petersburg, Russia
March 15 - 21, U.S. OPEN, U.S. SKI AND SNOWBOARD ASSOCIATION,
Stratton, VT
March 16 - 23, CHEVY TRUCK U.S. ALPINE CHAMPIONSHIPS, U.S. SKI AND
SNOWBOARD ASSOCIATION, Alyeska, AK,
March 17, LOS ANGELES MARATHON XIX, Los Angeles, CA
March 17 - 19, KIA CLASSIC, U.S.A. SOFTBALL, Fullerton, CA
March 19 - 21, WORLD SHORT TRACK CHAMPIONSHIPS SPEEDSKATING,
Gothenburg, Sweden
March 20, RODEOHOUSTON, PROFESSIONAL RODEO COWBOY
ASSOCIATION Houston, TX (one women’s event, barrel racing)
March 20 - 21, OLYMPIC QUALIFIER – SENIOR WOMEN’S FREESTYLE,
U.S.A. WRESTLING, Madrid, Spain
March 20 - 21, U.S. SNOWBOARD ALPINE FINALS, U.S. SKI AND
SNOWBOARD ASSOCIATION, Breckenridge, CO,
March 20 - 21, IAAF WORLD CROSS COUNTRY CHAMPIONSHIPS, Brussels,
Belgium
March 24 - 29, WORLD TEAM TRIALS, U.S.A. GYMNASTICS, Crosby, TX
March 26 - 28, CHEVY TRUCK U.S. FREESTYLE CHAMPIONSHIPS, U.S. SKI
AND SNOWBOARD ASSOCIATION, Heavenly Valley, CA,
March 26 - 28, NORTH AMERICAN SHORT TRACK SPEEDSKATING
CHAMPIONSHIPS, Cambridge, Ontario
U.S. March 26, 28, U.S.A. MASTERS INDOOR TRACK & FIELD
CHAMPIONSHIPS. Boston, MA
March 27, RODEOAUSTIN, PROFESSIONAL RODEO COWBOY, ASSOCIATION, Austin, TX (one women’s event, barrel racing)
July 18, REEBOK WOMEN’S TRIATHLON SERIES, St. Petersburg, FL
July 19 - 22, AVA/USAE NATIONAL VAULTING, CHAMPIONSHIPS, U.S. EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION, Lexington, VA
July 19 - 24, B14 CLASS WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP, INTERNATIONAL SAILING FEDERATION Circolo Vela Torbole, Italy
July 19 - 23, IFAA WORLD FIELD ARCHERY CHAMPIONSHIPS, Watkins Glen, NY
July 19, IODA WORLD TEAM RACING CHAMPIONSHIP, INTERNATIONAL SAILING FEDERATION, Salinas, Ecuador
July 19 - 21, PAN AMERICAN CHAMPIONSHIPS, TRAMPOLININE AND TUMBLING, Tampa, FL
July 20 - 25, U.S. NATIONAL DIVING CHAMPIONSHIPS, Mission Viejo, CA
July 20 - 22, WOMEN’S 20 & UNDER NATIONAL WATER POLO CHAMPIONSHIPS, San Carlos, CA
July 21 - 23, USPC NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIPS, U.S. EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION, Lexington, VA
July 23 - 25, WOMEN’S NATIONAL WATER POLO CHAMPIONSHIPS, San Carlos, CA
July 23 - 26, WOMEN’S PLATINUM NORTH AMERICAN ROLLER HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIPS, Cincinnati, OH
July 25 - 31, ASICS/VAUGHN NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIPS - JUNIOR GRECO-ROMAN, FREESTYLE, WOMEN, U.S.A. WRESTLING, Fargo, ND
November 3 - 7, PEBBLE BEACH EQUESTRIAN CHAMPIONSHIPS Pebble Beach, CA
November 7, NEW YORK CITY MARATHON, New York, NY
November 11 - 14, AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA NHRA FINALS, Pomona, CA
November 16 - 20, UPHA/AMERICAN ROYAL NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP, U.S. EQUESTRIAN FEDERATION, Kansas City, MO