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Masculine Hegemony in March Madness?: A Textual Analysis of the Gendered Language Used by Newspaper and Online Sportswriters Covering NCAA Women's and Men's Basketball Tournaments

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

MASCULINE HEGEMONY IN MARCH MADNESS? A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF
THE GENDERED LANGUAGE USED BY NEWSPAPER AND ONLINE
SPORTSWRITERS COVERING NCAA WOMEN'S AND MEN'S BASKETBALL
TOURNAMENTS

By
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A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of Sport Management,
Recreation Management and Physical Education
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctorate of Philosophy

Degree Awarded
Summer Semester, 2006

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would first like to thank my chair, Dr. Michael Mondello. He provided the perfect complement of analytical reasoning, encouragement, constructive criticism, and expediency throughout this process. There could not have been a better chair for my dissertation. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Aubrey Kent, my other committee member from the Florida State sport management program. Dr. Kent provided keen insight throughout this project. An eternal optimist, he also provided encouragement and sound advice throughout my three years at FSU. He has shown tremendous leadership skills in directing the FSU sport management program. The field of sport management will no doubt benefit from his recently being elected to serve as president of the North American Society for Sport Management.

My outside committee members were instrumental to the completion of this dissertation. Dr. John Vincent of the University of Alabama served as the methodological expert of my committee and helped immensely throughout the difficult stages of finalizing a prospectus. Dr. Arthur Raney of the Department of Communications at FSU provided input on a multitude of areas, and also came up with the idea of examining both newspapers and online articles. I have spent my entire life around college professors, but I do not know if I have ever met one who combines vast knowledge, gifted oratory skills, and the ability to do high-level research as well as Dr. Raney. Although neither served on my committee, I also wish to thank FSU sport management faculty members Dr. Jeffrey James and Dr. Andy Rudd, both of whom helped me greatly over the last two years.

Finally, I would like to thank my loving parents, Mo and Martie, my brother David, sister-in-law Christy, and nieces, Jessica and Emily. I doubt this would have been possible without the support of my family throughout the years.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was four-fold. The primary goal was to examine the narratives sportswriters used when covering the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I women's and men's basketball tournaments (March Madness). Specifically, this research examined articles from four media outlets published with bylines over a 26-day period in the Spring of 2006 coinciding with March Madness. The four media outlets used in this study were newspapers, *The New York Times* and *USA Today*, and online sport mediums, ESPN Internet and CBS SportsLine. The second purpose was to see if gender-specific stereotypes and descriptors found in studies on television commentary of women's college basketball and men's college basketball (e.g., Billings et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001) were present in print media coverage of March Madness. Third, this research provided an exploratory examination to determine if Internet and newspaper sportswriters used similar narratives when covering women's college basketball and men's college basketball. Finally, this study analyzed the narratives and gendered lenses employed by male and female reporters who wrote about women's college basketball and men's college basketball.

This research drew principally from Hegemony theory (Bocock, 1986; Gramsci, 1971), recognizing that sport serves as a hegemonic institution to preserve the power of men over women (Duncan, 2006; Hargreaves, 1994; Vincent, 2004). The methodology for this study was a textual analysis of the language and references used by sportswriters on March Madness. There were two parts of this methodology: a priori coding and a qualitative data analysis. First, two coders, working independently, each read 508 articles published in the four media outlets and coded them for descriptors from nine specific a priori coding categories that were developed from an extensive literature review before beginning the textual analysis. Coding results were discussed amongst both coders. Any codes not agreed upon by both coders were discarded from the study. After completing the a priori coding process, the researcher immersed himself in the data, writing theoretical and definitional memos on reoccurring concepts that emerged from the coding sheets. The constant comparative method, which involves drawing connections from one

piece of data to another, was employed to decipher and define key concepts from the textual analysis (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Turner, 1981).

The a priori coding results showed sportswriters, in general, used positive narratives in framing March Madness. Online writers were more likely to use narratives that included the writers' personal opinions and human-interest stories. The narratives of newspaper articles included more quotations and statistical information. Interestingly, the a priori coding results of this study contradicted the gender-specific stereotypes found in studies on television broadcast commentary of women's college basketball and men's college basketball (Billings, Halone, & Denham, 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Eastman & Billings, 2001). These findings did not fully support the presence of masculine hegemony in newspaper and online sports articles on March Madness. Most of the articles (76.4%) focused on men's basketball. However, contradicting the past studies cited above, newspaper and online sportswriters were more likely to use descriptors on physical appearances and attire, family roles and personal relationship, and psychological and emotional weaknesses in articles about men's basketball than those on women's basketball. Articles on women's basketball from both newspapers and online sources included more descriptors per article on positive skill level and accomplishments than those on men's basketball.

As expected, males authored the vast majority of articles (86%), although women's basketball was the focus for a higher percentage (64.8%) of articles with female authors. The a priori coding results based on the gender of sportswriters showed notions of masculine hegemony were present in the quality of writing used by male sportswriters. Male writers who covered men's basketball were more likely to use descriptors on athletic prowess and strength than either females who covered men's basketball, or women who authored articles on either men's basketball or women's basketball. However, female writers did not uphold the traditional masculine hegemonic order of sport. Female authors of women's basketball articles averaged using three times as many descriptors for athletic prowess per article than female authors of men's basketball articles.

Masculine hegemony was prevalent in the five themes emerging from the qualitative data analysis: (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a

tomboy; (3) Women still don't have next; (4) The real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else; (5) Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers. In general, references to men's basketball or male athletes were commonplace in stories on women's basketball. In contrast, references to women's basketball were extremely rare in stories on men's basketball, and no male athlete in any of the 388 articles that focused on men's basketball was ever compared to a female athlete.

The findings are discussed in context with the presence of masculine hegemony in sport. Implications of the findings as well as guidelines for future research are included in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The mass media portray the dominant images in societies of the industrialized world and depict life in our society (Creedon, 1998). Almost every person in first-world countries is affected directly or indirectly by the words and images presented by mass media (Coakley, 2004; Creedon, 1994a). Media have the potential to shape, change, and re-enforce values and attitudes (Bandura, 1986; Fink, 1998; Kane, Taub, & Hayes, 2000). Coakley (2004) argued mass media may not be able to tell people how to think, but they definitely tell individuals what issues are important to think about.

Many authors have argued sport helped create and now helps uphold a masculine hegemonic order in society, where men occupy positions of power and masculinity is more cherished than femininity (e.g., Dworkin & Messner, 2002; Sabo & Jansen, 1992; Trujillo, 1991). Historically, sport had always been associated with males and masculinity (Kane, 1989). Schell and Rodriguez (2000) contended sport remains a mostly male domain, despite an increasing number of women participating in sport throughout the world. Elueze and Jones (1998) concluded, "Sport is a powerful institution through which male hegemony is constructed and reconstructed" (p. 48).

Several researchers contended mass media assist in maintaining sport as a masculine hegemonic domain (Duncan & Messner, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Prinen, 1997). Numerous studies have shown sport media provide considerably less and different types of coverage to female athletes and women's sports than to male athletes and men's sports (e.g., Bishop, 2003; Elueze & Jones, 1998; Lee, 1992). Two major themes are prevalent in research on media coverage given to female sports: exclusion and trivialization. The sport media exclude female athletes by rarely covering women's sports (Bishop, 2003; Cunningham, 2000; Eastman & Billings, 2000). In addition, researchers have found when sport media members do cover women's sports, they often trivialize the female athletes by describing them as sex objects, comparing their abilities to men, or minimizing their accomplishments (Kane, 1996; Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003). Furthermore, sport media members are more likely to discuss personal lives and use

humor when describing female athletes. (Billings et al., 2002; Hargreaves, 1994; Prinen, 1997; Vincent, 2004; Weiller & Higgs, 1999). Kinkema and Harris (1998) concluded:

The media trivialize female athletes by devoting a disproportionately smaller amount of time to their performances as well as by highlighting their physical attractiveness or their domestic roles such as wife, mother, or supportive girlfriend of a male. Female athletes are evaluated partially in terms of the extent to which their physical characteristics or domestic roles correspond to dominant notions of femininity. (p. 38)

In nearly every comparative study examining the sport media, men receive more overall coverage than women at all levels of sport (e.g., Eastman & Billings, 2000; Vincent, Johnson, Imwold, & Massey, 2003). These results hold true in numerous studies on newspaper and magazine content, television broadcasts, and Internet coverage, regardless if examining news stories, coverage of events, or features on individual athletes (Bishop, 2003; Eastman & Billings, 2000; Sagas, Cunningham, Wigley, & Ashley, 2000).

Male athletes receive a particularly higher percentage of coverage in sports thought to emphasize traditional masculine qualities such as strength, speed, and endurance (Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; Lee, 1992). Sports where men receive substantially more coverage than females include basketball, weightlifting, and ice hockey (Duncan, Messner, & Williams, 1990; Coakley, 2004). On the other hand, female athletes receive more coverage in a few individual sports thought by some to emphasize more traditional feminine qualities, such as grace, balance, and beauty (Kane, 1988a; Vincent et al., 2003). Weiller and Higgs (1999) noted these sports are considered feminine in nature because there is no physical contact with the opposition. Sports, in which women receive a higher percentage of coverage or even the majority of coverage, include gymnastics, figure skating, swimming, and tennis (Elueze & Jones, 1998; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). In addition, women who participate in sports considered more feminine generally receive far more media attention than those competing in sports construed as more masculine in nature, such as rugby and softball (Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Vincent, Imwold, Masemann, & Johnson, 2002). These results remain consistent in studies on the sport media regardless if analyzing media content via quantitative or qualitative methods.

College women's basketball in the United States may have emerged as an exception to the notion female athletes receive major media coverage only in sports deemed more feminine in nature. Basketball was historically construed as a sport too masculine for women to play (Baroffio-Bora & Banet-Weiser, 2006; Rader, 2004). It is viewed as one of the most aggressive games played by women at high levels of competitive sport (Baroffio-Bora & Banet-Weiser, 2006; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). However, the NCAA Division I women's basketball tournament has reached such popularity that the 2004 national championship game between Connecticut and Tennessee drew the highest Nielsen national television rating of any men's basketball game or women's basketball game from any level ever shown on a cable channel (Reynolds, 2004). An estimated 3.8 million American households tuned in to watch Connecticut win the 2004 NCAA Division I women's national championship (Reynolds, 2004). Unfortunately, no academic studies have examined print media coverage of the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments, a three-week period dubbed "March Madness" by the American media (Billings et al., 2002). The national popularity of March Madness is a major reason why academia needs more studies on these unique tournaments (Billings et al., 2002).

Numerous studies have revealed male and female television sport broadcasters use different language and often reinforce traditional gender stereotypes when covering male and female athletes (e.g., Eastman & Billings, 2000; Halbert & Latimer, 1994; Higgs, Weiller, & Martin, 2003). These stereotypes continually portray female athletes in "...ways that link them to oppressive stereotypes of women's so-called frailty, sexuality, and limited physical capacity" (Kane, 1996, p. 99). However, no published articles have examined whether these trends hold true when print media writers cover the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments.

Internet sport sites are especially popular during the three weeks encompassing the two tournaments (Real, 2006). Nielsen/Net ratings estimated 20 million unique visitors to sports Internet sites for the primary purpose of following March Madness in 2004 (Real, 2006). However, the only published American academic studies on Internet sports media coverage and gender have focused on university-sponsored Web sites (Cunningham, 2003; Sagas et al., 2000).

In addition, there has been little research on how patterns of different coverage provided to men's and women's sports by print media differ or remain similar based on the gender of sportswriters. Pedersen, Whisenant, and Schneider (2003) examined if the sex of the sportswriters at daily newspapers resulted in any difference in the amount of coverage given to male and female sports. The authors hypothesized female high school sportswriters at newspapers in Florida would be more likely to provide coverage to female sports than male high school writers would cover women's sports. However, this hypothesis was not supported in the findings. In fact, the opposite held true, because the female writers were just as likely to cover men's sports as the male writers. In contrast, Urquhart and Crossman (1999) found women sportswriters employed by "Canada's national newspaper" (p. 193), the *Globe and Mail*, wrote a significantly higher percentage of their articles on female athletes than men sportswriters wrote on female athletes. Therefore, there appears to be a gap in the academic literature in that no published research could be found that examined the quality of the content male and female sportswriters use when writing about women's and men's sports, respectively.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was four-fold. The first goal was to provide an examination of the narratives sportswriters used when covering the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments (March Madness). No published academic studies have examined print media coverage of March Madness. Instead, all of the published studies on media coverage of March Madness examining gender have focused on television broadcasts (e.g., Billings et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Eastman & Billings, 2001).

Gender-specific stereotypes of both male and female athletes have been found repetitively in studies on television broadcast commentary of women's basketball and men's college basketball (Billings et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Messner, Duncan, & Wachs, 1996). This research provided an exploratory look to see if gender-specific stereotypes were reinforced through the use of descriptors in print publications' coverage of women's college basketball and men's college basketball.

Third, this study provided an exploratory examination to determine if newspaper and online sportswriters used similar writing styles when covering women's basketball and men's basketball. There have been no published academic articles that examined both newspapers and online sports Web sites.

The final goal was to analyze the nature of the content produced by sportswriters. Specifically, this study examined the writing styles and gendered lenses male and female reporters used when writing about women's college basketball and men's college basketball.

Conceptual Framework

A textual analysis of articles on the 2006 NCAA Division I women's and men's basketball tournaments in two traditional, national newspapers and two popular, online sport mediums drew principally from Hegemony theory (Bocock, 1986; Gramsci, 1971). The two traditional newspapers examined in this study were *The New York Times* and *USA Today*. The online sport mediums were ESPN.com, the official Internet Web site for ESPN, Inc., and CBS SportsLine.com, which is affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). How sport media treat female athletes and women's sports can be examined through a masculine hegemonic perspective (Pedersen, 2000; Prinen, 1997; Trujillo, 1991) by recognizing men have historically dominated sport (Kane, 1996; Rader, 2004) and men have long dominated all levels of sport media (Creedon, 1994b; Hardin, 2005).

A textual analysis is an unobtrusive and non-reactive tool used to measure communication messages (Macnamara, 2003; Vincent, Pedersen, Whisenant, & Massey, in press). This type of methodology is interpretative and subjective (Gunter, 2000; Harris & Clayton, 2002), because "...there is no such thing as a single, 'correct' interpretation of any text" (McKee, 2001, p. 140). However, in forming the research questions and during the examination of the results, it was understood that sport is a hegemonic social institution that "...naturalizes men's power and privilege over women" (Pedersen, 2002, p. 304).

Research Questions

Three overriding research questions guided this study:

1. What types of descriptors and narratives do newspaper and Internet sportswriters use when writing about NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments?
2. Are the gender-specific stereotypes and descriptors found in broadcast commentary of male and female athletes (e.g., women are more likely than male athletes to have their appearances and personal lives described by broadcasters than male athletes, while male athletes are more likely to be praised for their aggressiveness and athletic skills) also found in newspaper and online stories on March Madness?
3. Through what type of gendered lenses do male and female sport journalists write about men's college basketball and women's college basketball?

Significance and Implications of the Study

This study's significance expands to several areas. This was the first known study on print media coverage of the NCAA women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Therefore, this research provides an exploratory examination on print media coverage of March Madness that can be compared to previous research on broadcast coverage of the women's and men's tournaments (e.g., Billings et al., 2002; Messner et al., 1996). In addition, this is the only known study to look at the narratives and descriptors sportswriters use when covering the NCAA women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Billings et al. (2002) studied gendered commentary by television broadcasters covering the NCAA women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Billings et al. (2002) argued the importance of research in this area by proclaiming:

Perhaps no sport dominates American culture the way college basketball pervades the month of March. Given that the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball tournaments for both men and women happen during the same 3 weeks, the media commentary surrounding this annual rite of "March Madness" also provides an opportunity to take its fans down an athletic path strewn with gendered assumptions (p. 296).

Second, this research provides an exploratory examination on the narratives and types of descriptors used by sportswriters from traditional newspapers versus sport-specific Internet sites. There has been little published research on sports coverage via the Internet and all of the articles in this area produced by American scholars have focused on Internet coverage provided by university-sponsored websites – not private media outlets, such as ESPN Internet and CBS SportsLine (Cunningham, 2003; Sagas et al., 2000).

The textual analysis examined the narratives, descriptors, and gendered lenses male and female sportswriters used when covering college women's basketball and men's basketball. The lack of any quantitative differences between the amounts of gender-related content produced by male and female sportswriters found by researchers (Pedersen et al., 2003; Vincent, 2004) could be attributed to several external factors, including established work routines and assignments being given by superiors (Lowes, 1997; Theberge & Cronk, 1986). Furthermore, sports editors of daily newspapers will likely be apprehensive about changing their content strategies, because their writers already have work routines and sources related to coverage of the more popular male sports (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Lowes, 1997; Theberge & Cronk, 1986). These routines or beat responsibilities create hierarchies in sports departments that appear to ingrain attitudes that the more popular men's sports are what should be covered in newspapers (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Kian, 2005). In addition, most sport media outlets in capitalist societies are profit-based enterprises and media decision-makers usually attempt to meet their consumers' desires, which many gatekeepers evidently believe means focusing coverage on men's sports (Hardin, 2005; Hilliard, 1984). Therefore, quantitative differences on the coverage of women's sports between men and women sportswriters can probably in large part be attributed to managerial decisions, traditions, long-established work routines, and the perceived interests of media consumers.

While all of the aforementioned reasons could help explain quantitative similarities in coverage of women's sports and men's sports by writers of both sexes, none of these four could be used to justify any qualitative differences that emerge in the language and narratives writers use to cover women and men's sports. However, we do

not know if any differences exist, since no known researchers have yet to analyze the narratives and types of descriptors used by both male and female sportswriters.

Although a large portion of the a priori coding section of this research includes findings from a quantitative content analysis, using qualitative methods for part of the textual analysis and the majority of the data analysis helps address a weakness in the overall sport management literature. Slack (1996) and Olafson (1990) are among the prominent scholars who have called for more qualitative research in the emerging academic field of sport management. Quarterman, Jackson, Yoo, Koo, Pruegger, and Han (2006) found less than 8% of all research articles published in the *Journal of Sport Management* from its inception in January 1987 up through October 2004 were qualitative in nature. Kian, Noland, and Phelps (2004) noted only four qualitative-based research articles were published in *Sport Marketing Quarterly* from its first issue in 1992 through 2003, and just three qualitative articles were published in *Sport Management Review* from 1998-2003. However, this research was not conducted just to increase the number of qualitative studies in sport management. Instead, qualitative methods were used for parts of this textual analysis because they are the best means to comprehend the true meanings behind narratives of texts (Patton, 2002). Pedersen et al. (2003), who conducted an in-depth quantitative study in this line of research, suggested:

Future investigations should build on this line of research to determine how the gender of the newspaper personnel affects the qualitative aspects of sports coverage. Determining the quality of coverage (e.g., slant of story, angle of the photograph) would provide additional insight on the issue (p. 390).

Assumptions of the Study

1. Both coders understood coding procedures and the coding sheets were completed accurately by both coders.
2. The two coders are both knowledgeable on the previous research related to gender-specific commentary in the sport media.
3. The two coders are both proficient in English and worked independently of each other throughout the initial coding process.

Definitions of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following terms and definitions were used:

AI: The front page of the first section in a daily newspaper.

Blog: A Web site or part of a Web site where authors can post chronological journals on their thoughts without following any standard format.

Byline: A line or two at the head of articles that lists writers' names and often includes their titles.

Column: An opinion piece written by a specific writer, often accompanied by a head shot of the writer.

Columnist: A writer who is expected to offer his or her opinions, unlike the expectations of traditional news reporters.

Cutline: Copy (words) that provide information and descriptions of photographs.

Discussion Board: An interactive online message board where users post messages and respond to other users' posted messages.

Feature: Stories that have human interest value.

Headline: Display type placed over a story. Also called the title of the story.

Online specific publication: An Internet news site that does not publish its stories in a printed version.

Press release: News information/stories generated by an outside source and then provided to media.

Tagline: A line or two at the bottom of an article that lists writers' names and may include their titles.

Wire services: News services that regularly supply information/stories to newspapers and online publications.

Wire stories: Information/stories provided by news services, such as the Associated Press.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This literature review will open with brief discussions on Hegemony Theory, hegemonic masculinity, hegemonic masculinity in sport, and the correlation many scholars argue exists between hegemonic masculinity throughout the western world and coverage provided by sport media to female athletes. An examination on the statistical representation of men and women in sport media precedes a section on sport journalists' attitudes and experiences. Next, will be discussion on the roles of sport media, followed by an overview of key research on sport media coverage related to gender in newspapers, magazines, photographs in print publications, and the Internet. Finally, this literature review will conclude with a summary of the few research studies that compare media coverage of NCAA women's basketball and men's basketball.

Hegemony Theory

Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) coined the term hegemony to describe the dominance of one social class over others (Gramsci, 1971). Gramsci, who worked as a journalist as a young man, formed an Italian Communist Party and was elected its leader in 1924 (Bocock, 1986). Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini imprisoned Gramsci in 1926 and Gramsci spent the remainder of his life incarcerated. However, his writings from prison have led to many feminist and Marxist scholars using Gramsci's notion of hegemony to explain power by various groups in society (Bocock, 1986). Although from a political standpoint he was a communist, Gramsci's concept of hegemony differs from Karl Marx's ideology in that Gramsci argued the ideas and symbols of dominance by the ruling class could be as powerful or even more powerful in the formation and upholding of hegemony as any economic inequities that exist between classes (Gramsci, 1971; Jarvie & Maguire, 1994; Pringle, 2005). In fact, Gramsci did not determine ruling classes by economic status. Instead, he argued historical blocs tied more by ideological similarities than economic status led to the formation of hegemonic social groups (Gramsci, 1971).

The dominance of hegemony is obtained through the creation and use of political, ideological, and cultural norms to help foment consent from the ruling group's members (Hardin, Dodd, & Chance, 2005a). In addition, the ruling group often aligns with other groups to strengthen its hegemonic power (Vincent et al., in press). More important, though, is the ability of the ruling social or economic class to obtain consent of many people from the groups they are ruling (Gramsci, 1971; Pedersen, 2000). This dominance is never total or absolute (Lewis, 1992). Alternative ideologies or oppositional forces always challenge hegemony (Hardin, Lynn, & Walsdorf, 2005b; Lewis, 1992). However, those challenges are often minimal or ineffective, because the "...hegemonic culture exerts considerable influence in prescribing which behaviors and interests are normal (and socially acceptable) and which are considered at the fringe or external to the boundaries of acceptability" (Pedersen, 2000, p. 8). When change does occur, it transpires slowly because the change is carefully designed to slightly redefine the status quo established by the ruling class without significantly altering or hindering the status quo (Gramsci, 1971; Shakib & Dunbar, 2002).

It is important to note hegemony does not include maintaining power by force (Gramsci, 1971). Ruling classes are often able to win and maintain power through peaceful means, which explains the relative stability of cultural and political authorities in capitalist countries (Donaldson, 1993). Therefore, discussions about hegemony usually focus only on free societies (Hardin et al., 2005b) Gramsci's notion of hegemony relies on acceptance by the masses that the ruling class' control of power is inevitable (Pedersen, 2000). Gramsci (1971) argued hegemony is a political power derived from perceived moral and intellectual leadership, as well as having authority over the masses. A ruling class maintains its hegemonic power in a peaceful society from a variety of means, including the use of political parties, as well as assistance from educational institutions, religious groups, and particularly the mass media (Gramsci, 1971; Lewis, 1992).

Hegemonic Masculinity

Pedersen (2002) defined hegemonic masculinity as the "...acceptance of masculinity as the defining characteristic of western society that places women in the

position they are. In a society of hegemonic masculinity, women are considered off limits in certain areas, sport being one of the most obvious” (p. 305). Notions of masculinity vary across cultures but are always evident in institutions where men hold power over women and strive to maintain that power (Connell, 1987; Pedersen, 2000). Donaldson (1993) also notes gay men, in addition to women, are victims in hegemonic masculine societies:

Heterosexuality and homophobia are the bedrock of hegemonic masculinity and understanding of its nature and meaning is predicated on the feminist insight that in general the relationship of men to women is oppressive. Indeed, the term “hegemonic masculinity” was invented and is used primarily to maintain this central focus in the critique of masculinity (p. 645).

Connell (1987, 1990, 1995) has written extensively on hegemonic masculinity. Connell’s theory of gender power relations is based on the notion that there are multiple masculinities and femininities operating in a gendered hierarchy of structured power relations (Connell, 1995, Vincent et al., in press). The most desired form in this gendered hierarchy is hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), which reinforces heterosexuality, aggression, and assertiveness (Connell, 1990, 1995; Donaldson, 1993). Notions of hegemonic masculinity, though, are constantly challenged, but rarely changed without the consent of men (Connell, 1987, 1995; Hardin et al., 2002; Vincent et al., in press). Connell (1995) concludes, hegemonic masculinity “...guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and subordination of women” (p. 77). Masculinity, therefore, becomes the standard by which everything is measured, since masculine traits are those most desired in society (Duncan, 1990; Hardin et al., 2005b; Hargreaves, 1994; Vincent, 2004). Not all men practice masculine hegemony in their daily lives, but heterosexual men who fit masculine ideals benefit from masculine hegemony in society (Donaldson, 1993).

Hegemonic Masculinity and Sport

Numerous scholars have contended sport serves as a hegemonic institution to preserve the power of men over women (e.g., Bennett, Whitaker, & Smith, 1987; Hardin et al., 2005b; Hargreaves, 1994). Sport has long been associated with men and

masculinity in nearly every society in the world (Coakley, 2004; Kane, 1989). The notion of sport being a male domain is instilled during the formative years in childhood (Eccles & Harold, 1991). Adler and Adler (1998) found young boys are more likely to be socialized by their families and peer groups to participate in and follow sports more seriously than young girls. Even as early as grade one, gender-appropriate stereotypes pertaining to sport are taught to both boys and girls (Adler & Adler, 1998; Coakley, 2004). Boys learn the importance of teamwork and success, while girls are taught to exhibit polite manners and care for their physical appearance (Bryson, 1987; Hardin et al., 2005b; Twin, 1979). Eccles and Harold (1991) found young boys are more likely than young girls to believe they are good at sport, place a high value on sport participation, and on performing well in sport. Those trends continue in high school. In a study of high school students' attitudes, Kane (1988b) found boys were four times more likely than girls to desire being remembered as an athletic star, while Todd, Smith, and Kent (2005) found high school boys had a higher level of confidence in their athletic abilities than high school girls.

Bryson (1990) argued, in general, people accept the notion men are considerably better at sport than women due to physical differences between genders. She wrote this notion has negative consequences for all women, including those not affiliated with sport.

Sporting prowess is positively valued and is a basis through which social and economic power are distributed. To be better at sport (by implication even for those men who do not participate in athletics) is symbolically translatable into being better or more capable in other areas of life. Through a dialectical process, who are culturally defined and perceived as incapable of equaling men at sport, are rendered inferior and, by inference, less capable in many areas of life (p. 173).

Women do not have access to certain sports at higher levels in a masculine hegemonic society (Hargreaves, 1994). In addition, competitive sport is often defined in hegemonic masculine language (Vincent et al., in press), which helps uphold the status quo of a male-dominated society (Connell, 1995). Some young athletes obviously learn hegemonic masculine language on the playing fields, but the mass media reinforces to the masses the status quo masculine hegemonic notion that male athletes and men's sports are the norm (Daddario, 1997; Pedersen, 2002; Vincent, 2004).

Hegemonic Masculinity and Sport Media

A plethora of scholars have noted how the institutions of mass media and sport are two of the forces that help preserve masculine hegemony in the Western world (e.g., Duncan & Messner, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Miloch, Pedersen, Smucker, & Whisenant, 2005; Prinen, 1997). Several authors argued mass media have helped reproduce and uphold antiquated definitions of gender (e. g., Hargreaves, 1994; Hilliard, 1984; Kinkema & Harris, 1998). Rintala and Birrell (1984) contended newspapers more often defend the status quo rather than attempt to effect social change. This has been accomplished by emphasizing certain events or persons, while omitting or trivializing other events or persons (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983). Vincent et al. (2003) argued newspapers are conservative institutions more likely to reinforce mainstream societal values than push for social change. Hardin et al. (2005b) wrote:

Mass media are key to the function of cultural hegemony in the United States. The media inculcate individuals with values essential to the institutional structures by adopting dominant assumptions and framing content within them. Hegemonic ideas are presented as universally valid, and alternative views are appropriated into the dominant frame (p. 106).

Elueze and Jones (1998) wrote mass media have reinforced the differences between the sexes by presenting a masculine sports hegemony. This has been accomplished in at least four different ways. The first way media serve to perpetuate a male-dominated sports hegemony is simply by refusing to cover, or very minimally providing coverage to female athletes and women's sports. Second, the limited overall coverage of female athletes in turn results in the general public under-estimating the number of women participating in competitive athletics. Third, sport media often only cover sporting events "...that reinforce stereotypical feminine images of female athletes, such as figure skating and tennis" (Elueze & Jones, 1998, p. 47). Finally, when sports media professionals do cover female sporting events, they often minimize or trivialize women's athletic accomplishments through their use of language or commentaries (Duncan & Messner, 2000; Prinen, 1997; Theberge & Cronk, 1986; Vincent, 2004).

The sport media strengthens masculine hegemony in society by creating and reflecting societal attitudes that are negative of female athletes, particularly those of women who compete in what are deemed as historically masculine sports. (Pedersen,

2002; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999; Vincent et al., 2003). Pedersen (2002) argued mass media "...reproduce and reinforce the dominant ideology of gender order in society" (p. 305).

Other scholars contended that by not providing coverage of female athletes or at least minimizing coverage of women's sports, the sport media have failed to take into account the increasing number of American girls and women competing in organized sport (Creedon, 1994b; Hardin, 2005). Since the passage of Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments, the number of girls participating in high school sports has increased 847%, while the number of female college athletes in organized sports has multiplied by five (Cole, 2003; Harrison & Lynch, 2005). However, similar increases have not been evident in the amount of media coverage given to female athletes and women's sports, even though 27% of women who read daily newspapers say they regularly read the sports section (Hardin, 2005).

In terms of sports coverage for female athletes, Hargreaves (1994) noted media portrays to the public a "...very limited and partial view because attention is given almost exclusively to top-level, competitive and 'feminine-appropriate' events, or to the sporting events or aspects of the lives of sportswomen that are deemed to be unusual, spectacular, controversial or newsworthy" (p. 193). But most sports – regardless of competed in by male or female athletes – have a difficult time receiving media coverage, because major media outlets are usually limited by space or time constraints.

However, a number of sports, particularly major-revenue-producing team sports in America, such as professional and major college football and men's basketball, and professional baseball, receive a great deal of media coverage. Many sporting events and teams now employ media relations, public relations, and marketing departments, all of which attempt to obtain more media coverage for their teams, events, and athletes. Hilliard (1984) asserted, "Sports and the media form a symbiotic relationship. Each depends on the other and economic interests govern both. In this view, neither the media nor the athletes are willing to challenge the assumptions upon which their economic success depends" (p. 202). Some scholars contended this symbiotic relationship between sport and mass media enables men to dominate both domains (Daddario, 1997). It is important to note, though, that the common distinction in the studies and examples cited

above is the media are for-profit outlets, excluding those from the not-for-profit sector. Non-profit media outlets and sport still form a symbiotic relationship. However, unlike for-profit media outlets, the not-for-profit sector is not as concerned about economic profits, since the survival of these outlets is not dependant upon generating revenues. Therefore, it is important to account for resource dependence in studies on media coverage of women's sports. (Cunningham, Sagas, Satore, Amsden, & Schellhase, 2004).

Coakley (2004) postulated the media and sports depend on each other for economic and social success, but that commercial sports are extremely dependent on the media for coverage to arouse interest in and provide knowledge about their products. For example, when the National Football League (NFL) held its first Super Bowl in 1966, the event did not sell out and received little media attention. The Super Bowl, however, is now the biggest single-game sporting event in the United States in terms of media coverage (MacCambridge, 2004). Despite lofty ticket prices, the game always sells out and the network that negotiates the rights to broadcast the game is able to charge extremely high rates to advertisers, who want to reach what annually ranks among the largest television audiences of any show (MacCambridge, 2004). The NFL has sport media to thank for the success of the Super Bowl, since the vast amount of attention media annually bestow upon the game has undoubtedly played a major role in the Super Bowl evolving into its present magnitude (McDonough et al., 1999).

However, scholars have argued the vast media attention given to popular sports, such as professional football in America, help maintain and even strengthens masculine hegemony in sport and society (Hardin, Lynn, Walsdorf, & Hardin, 2002; Miloch et al., 2005; Pedersen, & Whisenant, 2003; Schell & Rodriquez, 2000). Since media members are alleged to help uphold masculine hegemony in sport, it is important to examine female representation in the sport media profession, as well as sport media members' attitudes and experiences. This next section will discuss some of the research in this area, with a focus on print sport media members.

Gender of Sportswriters: Female Representation

The lack of women in the sport media profession, particularly in positions of power (i.e., editors, producers, managers) supports the notion the sport media is a

masculine hegemonic institution (Hardin, 2005, Pedersen, 2000; Trujillo, 1991). Back in the early 1970s, the Associated Press estimated only about 25 women were employed as full-time sportswriters at American daily newspapers (Creedon, 1994b). The Association for Women in Sports Media (AWSM), which represents female sports journalists from a variety of fields, estimated in the early 1990s that women comprised just 3% of the United States' roughly 10,000 professional and print broadcast sports journalists (Creedon, 1994b). More recently, AWSM estimated there might now be up to 500 female sports journalists, although that figure could include some women who work in media/public relations, marketing, and other fields not thought of as traditional journalism (Ricchiardi, 2005).

Etling (2002) found males comprised 94% of the members of the Associated Press Sports Editors. Salwen and Garrison (1998) learned participating sports editors ranked diversity issues last among the nine major problems facing the field of sports journalism, while Hardin (2005) discovered only 59% of surveyed sport editors felt they had any obligation to have female representation on their staffs. Hardin (2005) did find, though, female sports editors may be slightly more likely to include coverage of women's sports in daily newspapers, although the sample size of five female editors out of 283 responding sports editors was too low to generalize. Pedersen et al. (2003) found female editors did not provide more equitable coverage of women's sports than male editors.

Thomas (1990) learned females make up less than 5% of the reporters in sports departments of newspapers and major sports magazines, while Eberhard and Myers (1988) found only 9% of all newspaper sports department employees (including copy editors and designers) at 69 surveyed major metropolitan American newspapers were women. Those figures, though, appeared to have increased slightly in more recent studies. A 1998 survey of the top-rated newspaper sports sections by the Associated Press Sports Editors (APSE) showed that papers with larger circulations generally had a higher percentage of females on staff in their sports departments. For the top-10 rated papers with daily circulations under 50,000, 9.2% of sports employees were women (Etling, 2002). Those figures increased to 13.5% for circulations between 50,000-175,00 and 18.5% for the top-10 highest rated papers with circulations of more than 175,000. In addition, sports editors at newspapers with smaller circulations have been more likely to

report difficulty in keeping women on their staffs (Etling, 2002). In the most recent study on female representation in newspaper sports departments, Lapchick, Brenden, and Wright (2006) surveyed more than 300 daily newspapers, finding women made up 12.6% of newspaper sport staff employees. However, women were most represented in lesser positions. Women made up 24% of the support staff and clerks, many of who are part-time employees. Lapchick et al. (2006) found men comprised 95% of sports editors, 87% of assistant sports editors, 93% of columnists, 93% of reporters, and 87% of copy editors/designers in newspaper sports departments.

In recent years major newspaper corporations have made attempts to diversify their staffs, which includes the hiring of women in sports departments. However, there is a small talent pool being developed to choose from even when newspapers do make a conscientious effort to hire female sportswriters. Wann, Schrader, Allison, and McGeorge (1998) discovered females wrote only 3% of sports articles in selected college newspapers. When they learn that sports sections of college newspapers are almost entirely comprised of males, the authors contended potential female sports journalists may be swayed to work for another section of the student newspaper or simply lose interest in sport journalism (Wann et al., 1998). In their interviews of female undergraduate college students who aspire careers in sport journalism, Staurowsky and DiManno (2002) wrote, "...even as undergraduates, these women have to deal with, and make sense of sexual objectification and sexism in the workplace" (p. 127).

Gender of Sportswriters: Attitudes and Experiences

Some researchers have placed the blame for the disparities in coverage directly upon members of the sport media. Coakley (2004) concluded there appears to be a "gender logic" assumed by decision makers in sport media that it is not exciting to watch or read about female athletes because their ability does not measure up to males in the same sports. Cohen (1993) argued members of sport media are acting out their own personal beliefs when women's sports are given considerably less coverage than men's sports:

Sport and the media have both served society as conservators of convention. They function to reinforce traditional values rather than to challenge or lead in the transformation of enlightened thinking...In recent

years, ambivalence toward women athletes has taken the form of symbolic denial of power to women through exclusionary and denigrating tactics. (p. 172)

However, few researchers have examined media members' attitudes toward women's sports. Most of these studies have either focused entirely on the attitudes and responses of female sport journalists or media members in positions of power, such as newspaper editors. Until recently, Cramer (1994) was the only researcher to explore female sport journalists' beliefs and attitudes towards media coverage of women's sports. Cramer (1994) found "...because women's sports on the whole receive the least amount of coverage, being deemed not newsworthy, having a women's sports beat carries almost no weight for professional advancement" (p. 168). Therefore, many female sports journalists do not seek to cover women's sports, in large part due to a lack of career enhancement opportunities and a perceived lack of interest in women's sports from newspaper readers. Hardin and Shain (2005c) and Kian (2005) found similar results in recent interviews with female sport journalists. Hardin and Shain (2005c) concluded newspaper female sportswriters have "...bought in to the idea that women's sport is less valuable than that of men. They have been socialized into this from every angle, including the hierarchy of beat assignments within their own newsrooms" (p. 816).

Kian (2005) is the only researcher known to have interviewed both male and female sportswriters about their gender-specific experiences and attitudes toward the sport media profession. In fact, this is the only known study that interviewed male sportswriters about their gender-related experiences or attitudes toward covering women's sports. This would appear important due to the overwhelming statistical representation of male writers in newspaper sports departments (Etling, 2002; Hardin, 2005; Lapchick et al., 2006).

In his phenomenological inquiry of sportswriters, Kian (2005) found the socialization process of attitudinal formation toward men's and women's sports is similar for all sportswriters, as all of the reporters interviewed grew up as fans of men's sports far more than women's sports. Furthermore, there was a general perception among the writers that attitudes favoring men's sports are ingrained into the general culture. Many of the female sportswriters interviewed in focus groups by Hardin and Shain (2005c)

acknowledged some women receive preferential hiring into newspaper sports departments. Veteran male sportswriters interviewed by Kian (2005) offered complaints about this perceived female advantage in hiring. Several studies, though, have shown female sportswriters report they are often victims of discrimination in the workplace by employers, colleagues, subjects they interview, and readers (Hardin & Shain, 2005a; Kian, 2005; Miller & Miller, 1995; Miloch et al., 2005; Smucker, Whisenant, & Pedersen, 2003; Walsh-Childers, Chance, & Herzog, 1996).

Ironically, all of the male and female writers interviewed by Kian (2005) – including two veteran male reporters who were passed over for jobs landed by female candidates whom they perceived as less qualified – said that overall men are advantaged and women are disadvantaged in the profession of newspaper sportswriting. Finally, Kian (2005) found an overall negative attitude exists toward covering women’s sports in newspaper sports departments, and that a perception is prevalent among writers and editors that readers want to see mostly coverage of men’s sports, because these sports are deemed more important to the masses. This implies female sportswriters help uphold masculine hegemony in sport. Other researchers have reached similar conclusions (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Pedersen et al., 2003). Hardin and Shain (2005c) argue, “Hope for more equitable coverage of women’s sports cannot lie with women who have been socialized into sports-media practice – who have apparently consented to their oppression” (p. 816). Pedersen et al. (2003) concluded, “...hegemonic masculinity is entrenched in the sports media regardless of the gender of the persons making the decisions, writing the stories, or taking the photographs” (p. 388).

It is difficult and unjustified to blame exclusively sportswriters for the lack of coverage of women’s sports in daily newspapers because those in managerial positions often make decisions regarding which sports receive coverage. Hardin (2005) found the participating sports editors mostly determined content decisions based on their own sense of audience interests and not on any scientific process. In addition, she argued these sports editors’ decision-making was impacted by a masculine hegemonic ideology about women’s sports.

Hardin’s (2005) research adds credence to the notion that placing more women in the managerial ranks of daily newspapers could increase the amount of coverage

provided to women's sports. Kian's phenomenology of sportswriters, though, implies the major problems associated with the lack of coverage of women's sports appear to be society's favoritism of men's sports and the resulting socialization patterns in the attitudinal formation stages for nearly all newspaper sports departments' employees, both of which result in the sport media's upholding a masculine hegemonic social order in sport.

Researchers (Hardin & Shain, 2005b; Kian, 2005; Smucker et al., 2003) found female sport journalists expressed a high amount of overall job satisfaction but were frustrated by a lack of promotion opportunities. Women may also be less likely to try to alter the norms of a newspaper sports staff, since a high number of women believe their gender helps them initially get hired at some newspapers (Hardin & Shain, 2005b), while some veteran male sportswriters also believe many female journalists are hired due to their minority status in sports departments and not their talents (Kian, 2005). Hardin and Shain (2005b) noted most female sport journalists described a lack of respect directly related to their gender from male colleagues and fans as a regular part of their work experience. In addition, most female journalists feel they have to prove themselves as competent more than their male colleagues. This would be difficult to do through primarily covering women's sports, which are not generally held in high esteem by most employees in newspaper sports departments (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Kian, 2005). Female sportswriters are more likely to be pigeonholed into covering women's sports or writing human-interest stories (Miloch et al., 2005), while men are more likely to cover men's sports and write hard news stories (Cramer, 1994). This could hinder career advancement opportunities for female sportswriters, because Gamst, Sutherland, and Evans (1993) found regular sports section readers are far more interested in reading hard sports news than non-regular readers.

Hardin and Shain (2005c) found 58% of surveyed female sport journalists disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, "If more women worked in the sports media, women's sports would get more coverage" (p. 813). All of the female sportswriters interviewed by Kian (2005) said they prefer covering and following men's sports to women's sports. In addition, all of these women also claimed to have grown up as fans of men's sports more than women's sports. This was surprising to the author,

since all of the interviewed women were born in the post Title IX era (after 1972) and all had participated in competitive sports through high school.

Before examining specific research that demonstrates how sport media uphold and strengthen masculine hegemony in sport, it is important to first discuss various roles of the sport media.

Roles of the Sport Media

Mass media is a term used to describe all non-print journalism, such as television, radio, and the movies, as well as more traditional print journalism, like newspapers, magazines, and books (Cohen, 1993). Mass media perform three major functions for society: informing the public, interpreting events, and entertaining (Coakley, 2004). Media have long been recognized as playing a key role in shaping public opinion (Larson, 1964). Boutilier and San Giovanni (1983) argued, “It is the media's interpretation of (an) event that shapes our attitudes, values and perceptions about the world and about our culture” (p. 184). Menzies (1989) made a similar point by contending, “...what is seen on television, heard on the radio or read in the newspapers, sanctions what is acceptable or expected. What does not appear in those forums can end up being trivialized (or) ignored” (p. 220).

Editors of newspapers and magazines must decide the newsworthiness of events because space limitations constrain the number of stories that can fit into a single publication. Newspapers and magazine editors, as well as directors of television and radio stations, claim to decide what events to cover based on their perceptions of the desires of their audiences. Editors in print journalism and managers in broadcast journalism often analyze how many news elements an event or story contains to determine whether it deserves coverage. Tuchman (1978) identified six major news elements that journalists believe make events more newsworthy: proximity, timeliness, prominence, consequence, human interest, and the unusual. The more of these six news elements that an event or story contains, the more likely it is to receive media coverage.

Alternatively, Belliotti (1983) and Coakley (2004) identified other factors that impact editors' and managers' coverage decisions. Coakley (2004) took a pragmatic and arguably more capitalistic approach by noting editors and managers decide what events to

cover based on five criteria: generating profits for the network or publication, shaping values, providing services that are in the best interests of the public, building their own reputations, and allowing journalists to express themselves artistically through their writings or commentaries. Belliotti (1983) argued sports editors and directors determine their viewers' interest in an athletic event by the number of spectators attending the event, the skill-level of the athletes, and comments or letters that viewers present in response to previous coverage. Coakley (2004) pointed out the media personnel who decide what events get covered "...are influenced by social, political, and economic factors - including dominant ideologies related to gender, race and class" (p. 442). In a survey of newspaper sports editors, Hardin (2005) found the vast majority of sports editors did not systematically ascertain readers' interests, although the majority of editors surveyed were confident their sections met the primary interests of their readers. But most sports – male or female – have a difficult time receiving media coverage, because major media outlets are usually limited by space or time constraints (Coakley, 2004). However, this does not hold true for the Internet, where there are seemingly few restrictions on the length of stories or video clips.

One of the key questions researchers are left with is does this inequitable coverage of women's sports exist because of gender-biased attitudes held by sports editors and sportswriters, or are the media professionals simply meeting an apparent public thirst for coverage of high-profile men's sports? More directly, Belliotti (1983) wrote, "...do the media cover female athletes less because there is less fan interest in their activities or is there less fan interest in their activities because the media cover female athletes less?" (p. 99). The most expansive media study in this area supported the former contention. Over a six-year study, Creedon (1994b) found students at The Ohio State University and residents of Columbus, Ohio, preferred media coverage of men's sports, and believe women's sports are not as exciting as men's sports and are inferior when compared to men's sports. However, it should be noted this study was on television coverage and did not include print publications. Even if readers prefer coverage of men's sports that does not mean they have no interest in women's sports. This includes male readers. A 1999 Harris poll showed more than half of the men who watched male sports on television also watched female sports (Hardin, 2005).

But even if the vast majority of sport media personnel in the United States suddenly decide they have a social responsibility to provide more coverage of female sports, implementing major changes would seemingly be difficult because the editors and directors would have to balance that social responsibility with economic rationality (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). As noted previously, newspapers and most magazines are limited in what they can cover by available space, while television and radio stations face time constraints. Therefore, if sports editors of daily newspapers decide to allot significantly more space to women's sports, then some coverage of men's sports must be eliminated. That would be difficult because the majority of the more popular American sports leagues involve male athletes, such as the NFL, the National Basketball Association (NBA), Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Hockey League (NHL), and the NCAA's Division I-A college football and Division I men's basketball (Coakley, 2004). If coverage were reduced in these sports, some newspaper readers may cancel their subscriptions and buy other newspapers.

Plus, sports editors will likely be resistant to change, since most newspaper sports department have routines and beat responsibilities that favor the more popular men's sports (Hardin, 2005; Lowes, 1997; Theberge & Cronk, 1986). The most coveted beats are those perceived to have the most readers, which are the most popular men's sports at most American newspapers. Thus, writers who break news or write interesting stories on the more popular men's sports may be more likely to receive praise and potential rewards from their own superiors or management from rival papers, who may offer them jobs. Therefore, these beats are the most desired in sports departments and individuals in lower-profile beats, such as someone who has a primary responsibility of covering women's sports, will likely aspire to move into a beat covering more popular sports (Cramer, 1994; Hardin & Shain, 2005b; Kian, 2005; Miloch et al., 2005).

As previously noted, Sabo and Jansen (1992) found the sports section is the most widely read portion in the majority of most American newspapers. Many newspaper followers have long assumed men comprised the majority of the readers of this section (Lowes, 1997). In 2004, the Newspaper Association of America found 58% of male readers claimed to read the sports section, while only 27% of female readers did likewise (Hardin, 2005). Therefore, some scholars contended sport media are doing a disservice

by not providing coverage of women's sports for these female readers (Cramer, 1994). But the aforementioned longitudinal study by Creedon (1994b) showed the majority of women preferred following men's sports. They also apparently prefer to receive their sports news from male journalists. Ordman and Zillmann (1994) tested audiences' perceived competence of male and female sportswriters and broadcasters. The results were the same across all tests: Both male and female media consumers rated the women broadcasters and writers as less competent, less persuasive, and less knowledgeable about sports than their male counterparts even when the content was identical. Overall, women in the sample expressed more negative stereotypic responses toward female reporters than did the men. Surprisingly, this gender difference in the perceived competence of journalists was even more pronounced in reporting on the feminine-appropriate sport of gymnastics (Ordman & Zillmann, 1994). Therefore, it appears media consumers have predispositions or attitudes to react negatively to women's sports when compared with men's sports and female sportswriters when compared to their male counterparts. This provides evidence that masculine hegemonic views about sport transfer all the way down to the attitudes of fans toward sport journalists.

This apparent audience preference for media coverage of men's sports provided by mostly male sports journalists will likely not change at least until media offer more coverage of women's sports. However, media members may not feel a need to promote women's sports. Surprisingly, this attitude at least partly holds true for female sportswriters as well (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Kian, 2005).

Now, it is important to discuss research that shows how various outlets of sport media help reinforce and maintain a masculine hegemonic social order in sport.

Newspaper Coverage of Female Athletes

Numerous studies have shown the sports section is either the first or second most widely read part of most metropolitan daily newspapers in the U.S. (e.g., Greendorfer, 1983; Hardin, 2005; Sabo & Jansen, 1992; Wanta, 2006). In the 1880s, the *New York Sun* and the *New York World* began devoting a page or more to sports news on a daily basis (Stevens, 1987; Wanta, 2006). By the turn of the century, sports news had become nearly as important a part of daily newspapers as it is today and by the 1920s nearly every major

American newspaper included a sports section (Bryant & Holt, 2006; Lever & Wheeler, 1984; Stevens, 1987). However, coverage of female sports was virtually non-existent at that time and progress has been extremely slow (Lever & Wheeler, 1993).

In an important contribution to sport media and gender research, Duncan, Messner, and Williams (1991) studied the amount of coverage given to male and female athletes by four large United States' newspapers: *The Boston Globe*, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Orange County Register*, and *USA Today*. Their findings showed that articles exclusively on men's sports outnumbered those pertaining to women's sports by a ratio of 23 to 1 in all sports articles published in the four newspapers over the period of the study. In each of the four newspapers examined, less than 5% of all sports articles were exclusively on women's sports or female athletes. Lee (1992) studied media portrayals of athletes in the 1984 and 1988 summer Olympic Games by major newspapers in the United States and Canada, finding that men received more coverage than women, particularly in sports traditionally thought of as exhibiting more masculinity. Women did receive more coverage in what the author noted have traditionally been thought of as "feminine-appropriate" sports, such as gymnastics and horseback riding.

Bryant (1980) studied sports articles in two major daily newspapers for two consecutive years. Bryant (1980) discovered *The Denver Post* devoted 9.4% of its sports articles in 1979 to women's sports but only 2.7% in 1980. Meanwhile, the other major daily newspaper in Denver, *The Rocky Mountain News*, devoted 3.6% and 1.9% of its sports articles to women's sports and female athletes during those same two years. In a comparative content analysis of women's Olympic sports, Vincent et al. (2003) found women competing in what have historically been deemed gender-appropriate sports received nearly twice as many articles as women or teams in what have historically been thought of as more masculine sports by the masses. Crossman, Hyslop, and Guthrie (1994) found male professional athletes were given 18 times more print space than female professional athletes in Canada's national newspaper. Studies in Great Britain (Alexander, 1994; Vincent, 2004) and Australia (Menziés, 1989) have yielded similar gender disparities in sports coverage by newspapers.

Although not nearly as prevalent in the research as traditional quantitative content analyses, qualitative studies of the content in newspapers have shown the

accomplishments of female athletes are devalued and trivialized, while these women athletes are often described in sexual overtones. In contrast, male athletes – particularly those who play what are deemed as more masculine sports – are often glorified for their athleticism and physical strength (Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; Urquhart & Crossman, 1998).

Vincent (2004) analyzed British newspaper coverage of men and women tennis players who competed at the 2000 Wimbledon tennis championships. Specifically, he conducted a qualitative content analysis of all tennis-related articles published in three major British newspapers in the two-week period during the Wimbledon Championships held annually each summer in Great Britain. He found no significant difference in the amount of coverage based on the gender of the sportswriter, but his qualitative analysis showed content produced by the mostly male journalists typically devalued and trivialized the accomplishments of professional women's tennis players by using negative cultural stereotypes and sexual innuendo.

Another qualitative textual analysis of newspaper coverage revealed patterns of masculine hegemony in the content of articles on a popular women's sport. The women's sporting event that captured the most American media attention in recent years was the 1999 women's World Cup soccer championships, won by the United States on Brandi Chastain's dramatic and clinching score on penalty kicks that lifted the U.S. women to a win over China in the final. Chastain, who ripped her shirt off after scoring the goal and thus was left wearing a sports bra and shorts, was subsequently featured on the cover of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Sports Illustrated*. Many sport journalists framed this event as new age for women's sport, noting that women's sport had finally attained popularity with the masses, although it appears that popularity has since faded. But even with the mostly positive coverage and much more coverage than usual, research on print media coverage of the event by Christopherson, Janning, and McConnell (2002) showed reporters still wrote about the athletes through a "...gendered lens that highlighted and reinforced gender stereotypes about women" (p. 183). In their qualitative content analysis of 576 newspaper articles, Christopherson et al. (2002) surmised writers depicted most American female soccer players as feminine, patriotic, and heterosexual. This led to their conclusion that "...even as women break new ground through sports, inequality

continues. Women can be successful, but they still must conform to expectations about femininity that, at a macro level, serves to reinforce patriarchy” (pp. 182-183).

In conclusion, newspapers produce far more stories on men’s sports than women’s sports throughout the Western world (Lee, 1992; Vincent et al., 2003). Furthermore, newspapers often use language that reinforces gender-specific stereotypes (e.g., males are masculine and aggressive, while females are attractive and graceful) and help uphold masculine hegemony in sport (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent et al., in press).

Magazine Coverage of Female Athletes

Coverage of female athletes and women’s sports is more widespread in magazines, although this is primarily because of sport-specific magazines that cover sports where females enjoy mainstream popularity, such as tennis and gymnastics (Cohen, 1993). Coverage of female athletes and women’s sports is minimal in the more popular general sports magazines, which cover a variety of sports at multiple levels of competition. *Sports Illustrated* is by far the most widely read sports magazine in the United States (Bishop, 2003; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991). *Sports Illustrated* has brought about many advancements in the field of sports writing, such as becoming the first sports periodical to regularly engage in investigative journalism, while also attempting to convey the human element in its stories. Both practices are now commonly found in other sports magazines and the sports sections of major daily newspapers. However, enhancing coverage of female sports has not been an advancement *Sports Illustrated* can proclaim.

Lumpkin and Williams (1991) found from 1954-1987, 90.8% of all *Sports Illustrated* articles were devoted to male athletes or men’s sports. The qualitative component of this research also found that blatantly chauvinistic terminology was present in many of the 3,723 articles examined. Males authored 91% of those articles, but the authors did not examine to see if female writers provided different coverage to women’s sports. Reid and Soley (1979), as well as Bishop (2003), all hypothesized that coverage of female athletes by *Sports Illustrated* would peak during Olympic years. However, the data were inconsistent. The percentage of *Sports Illustrated* feature articles on women’s sports tallied 9.1% in 1992 and 9.6% in 1994, both of which were considerably higher

than the previous high of 6.9% for 1976. Coverage of women's sports, however, dropped to 3.3% in 1996, the lowest single percentage for any Olympic year from 1956-1996. In addition, Kane and Parks (1992) found the coverage of female tennis players in *Sports Illustrated* was far more likely to focus on the athletes' appearances, attire, and their significant others than the stories on male tennis players. Davis' (1997) in-depth qualitative analysis of the history of *Sports Illustrated* revealed notions of hegemonic masculinity were prevalent in the magazine's annual swimsuit issue. Even the now defunct *Sports Illustrated for Women* depicted female athletes in stereotypical feminine ways that superseded descriptions of their athletic accomplishments and skills (Fink & Kensicki, 2002).

In sum, research on sport magazines' coverage of female athletes mirrors research on newspaper sports sections. In general, males receive far more coverage than females in most sports, while women are depicted in "stereotypical feminine ways" (Fink & Kensicki, 2002).

Print Media Photographs of Female Athletes

Male athletes are also less likely than females to appear in sports photographs in both newspapers and magazines. When female athletes do appear in photographs, their athletic ability is often trivialized. The bodies of female athletes in photographs are often seemingly displayed in an attempt to arouse heterosexual males, since it is common to see female athletes in "sexy" or even sexually suggestive poses (Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990). Male athletes are more likely than female athletes to be shown in action shots, while female athletes are more likely to be photographed in portrait shots in non-sport settings (Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Duncan (1990) went so far as to contend that at least for feature stories, female athletes are occasionally photographed in poses that are similar to those seen in soft-core pornography.

Men have been featured on 90% of the covers of *Sports Illustrated* and roughly half of the women that have appeared on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* were not even athletes, thanks in large part to the magazine's popular swimsuit issue (Coakley, 2004). Fink and Kensicki (2002) found female athletes accounted for only 10% of the published photographs in *Sports Illustrated* from 1997-99 and – reinforcing earlier research – most

of these women participated in what have been socially constructed as traditionally feminine sports, such as gymnastics, tennis, and ice skating. Cuneen and Sidwell (1998) even found males are far more likely to be used as models in advertisements that appear in *Sports Illustrated for Kids*, which could potentially affect how children will learn to perceive the roles of males and females in athletics.

Hilliard (1984) found traditional male characteristics, such as masculinity and strength, are emphasized when male athletes are photographed in magazines. At the same time, qualities like grace and beauty traditionally deemed as feminine are displayed in photographs of female athletes. Hilliard (1984) argued these "...character portrayals serve to reinforce traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity" (p. 260).

Research on newspaper photographs in sports sections of daily newspapers has revealed similar disparities between genders. In their study of four major daily newspapers in the United States, Duncan et al. (1991) found 92% of the photographs appearing in the sports pages were of men. In a study on newspaper coverage of the 1996 summer Olympic Games in three countries, female athletes competing in gender-appropriate sports were more than three times as likely to have photographs published than other female athletes (Vincent et al., 2003).

Newspaper and magazine photographs of female athletes both support the status quo of masculine sports hegemony by sexualizing and/or feminizing female athletes, and by primarily providing photographs of women in gender-appropriate sports.

Internet Coverage of Female Athletes

Research of sport coverage provided on the Internet – also called the World Wide Web – is in its infancy (Real, 2006). In fact, there is not set standard as to what qualifies as sport media coverage on the Internet. Beck and Bosshart (2003) noted the many different types of content the Web offers sports fans, including its service as an encyclopedia, a publicity vehicle for teams and athletes, and a venue for media-conglomerates, such as ESPN and CBS, to strengthen their domination of sport media. The Internet will have a major impact on sport media coverage in the 21st Century, which is why we need exploratory studies of Internet coverage, such as this one. Coakley (2004) wrote, "The Internet extends and radically changes our media constructions with the rest

of the world, because it gives us virtual access to potentially unlimited and individually created and chosen information, interpretation, and entertainment” (p. 410).

The only two articles produced by U.S.-based authors on Internet coverage of female athletes both centered on university-sponsored coverage of sports offered to both women and men. Cunningham (2003) found university websites provided more coverage of the gender-appropriate sport of women’s tennis than of men’s tennis teams at the same schools. In contrast, Sagas et al. (2000) discovered university Internet sites provided higher quality and more detailed coverage of the gender-appropriate sport of men’s baseball than the gender-inappropriate sport of women’s softball.

However, an Australian-based study examined the American Broadcast Company’s (ABC) Internet coverage of the 2000 Olympic Games. Jones (2004) found few female role models were shown on ABC’s Web pages. In addition, when women were covered, masculine hegemony was reinforced as “...stereotypical descriptions often characterized adult females as emotionally vulnerable, dependant adolescents. Male athletes were never infantilized and were far less likely to be described in emotive terms.”

Obviously, there is a lack of published research in this area. This is one reason why an exploratory study such as this can generate ideas for future research. However, before explaining the specific methodology employed in this study, it is important to discuss research on media coverage of college women’s basketball and men’s basketball.

Media Coverage of Women’s and Men’s College Basketball

All of the research located for this study on media coverage of NCAA women’s basketball and men’s basketball focused on television. In general, there are only a few studies in this area. However, one reason for this may be because the NCAA did not hold a Division I women’s basketball national tournament until 1982 (Steen, 2003), while the NCAA began hosting its men’s tournament back in 1939 (Rader, 2004). Basketball has long been construed as a masculine sport that was gender-inappropriate for women (Steen, 2003). In discussing oppositional forces to women playing basketball in the early 20th Century, Rader (2004) wrote:

Since, the popularity of women's basketball posed a serious challenge to the traditional gender order, it quickly encountered criticism. Women's basketball, opponents said, encouraged the growth of large muscles and thereby reduced the differences in body shape between men and women. Basketball might also endanger the female reproductive system. Finally, the critics charged that basketball frequently unleashed uncontrollable passions to which women were especially prone. Behind this criticism lurked implications of a loss of sexual control (p. 222).

However, the increased popularity of college women's basketball in recent years refutes the notion female athletes cannot receive media attention in sports historically construed as masculine in nature (Reynolds, 2004). For example, Coakley (2004) wrote the annual NCAA basketball tournaments section produced by *USA Today* now allots roughly 25% of its total space (including advertising) to the women's Division I tournament. However, Duncan (1993) notes gender marking is present in publicity on the events, where media usually attach the players' gender to descriptions of the women's games (e.g., Women's Final Four), while the men's game do not have the players' gender attached to their titles (e.g., Final Four). Duncan (1993) concluded, "Through language use, promoters establish the men's competition as the standard while promoting women's basketball as the other" (p. 43). Ironically, on its official website, the NCAA's logo for the 2007 men's Final Four simply says "Final Four," while the word "women's" is actually included in the logo for the 2007 women's Final Four (NCAAsports.org).

In the first published research articles to examine media coverage of both college women's basketball and men's basketball, Duncan and Brummett (1987) examined language used by broadcasters for both men's and women's NCAA Division I tournament games in 1986. They found broadcast commentary generally trivialized and devalued female players. Even though basketball is a team sport, broadcasters focused their analysis on individuals more for the women's game and on the physical prowess of the athletes more for the men's games (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988).

Messner, Duncan, and Jensen (1996) compared verbal commentary provided by television announcers for the 1989 men's Final Four with the women's Final Four of the same year. The authors found less sexist language in the overall commentary than previous studies (Duncan & Brummett, 1987; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). However, Messner et al. (1996) still found enough differences to conclude masculine hegemony

was present in coverage by "...marking women's sports and women athletes as the 'other,' by infantilizing women athletes (and, to a certain extent, male athletes of color), and by framing the accomplishments of women athletes ambivalently" (p. 121). Messner et al. (1996) found telecasts were more likely to focus on images of losing team members in women's basketball than men's basketball. In contrast, telecasts of men's basketball games focused much more attention on the reactions of winning teams after games.

In a study closely related to this research, Billings et al. (2002) analyzed gendered broadcast commentary of the 2000 NCAA Division I women's Final Four and men's Final Four. Female players were more likely than male players to be evaluated for their personality, looks and appearance, personal background, and positive consonance. Broadcasts of the men's games included more commentary from the announcers. In addition, when both male and female announcers broadcasted games, the male broadcasters "...significantly monopolized airtime" (p. 296).

Eastman and Billings (2001) examined the impact of race and gender in a study on 66 televised men's and women's basketball games. Announcers offered a higher percentage of their commentary toward Caucasian players than the percentage of White players in each game. In addition, announcers were more likely to make references of physical liabilities when discussing female players, particularly in reference to foot speed (Eastman & Billings, 2001).

Hallmark and Armstrong (1999) analyzed camera shots and graphics in television broadcasts of the NCAA Division I men's basketball and women's basketball championship games from 1991-95, finding coverage of women's games include fewer camera shots and graphics than telecasts of men's games. Hallmark and Armstrong (1999) concluded, "Until media recognize and emphasize the quality and equality of women's performance, the perception of inferior play will persist" (p. 232). In an interesting study on women's professional basketball, Wearden and Creedon (2002) found commercials shown during the inaugural season of the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) in 1997 contrasted earlier media studies by showing more non-stereotypical images of women than stereotypical images.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with introductions to Hegemony theory and the notion of masculine hegemony. Numerous scholars contended sport helps maintain masculine hegemony in the Western world (e.g., Dworkin & Messner, 2002; Elueze & Jones, 1998). The sport media help sport maintain masculine hegemony by primarily covering men's sports, while often trivializing female athletes in the coverage it provides to women's sports (Elueze & Jones, 1998; Hardin, 2005). In addition, the majority of sport media members are men, and media members have expressed little concern about increasing the amount of coverage provided to women's sports (Creedon, 1994; Etling, 2002; Hardin, 2005; Kian, 2005; Salwen & Garrison, 1998). Discussions on research pertaining to media coverage of female athletes in newspapers, magazines, photographs from print publications, and the Internet all supported the notion that sport media reinforce masculine hegemony in sport. Masculine hegemony has been present in broadcast commentary of the NCAA Division I men's basketball and women's basketball tournaments (Billings et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). However, it is unclear if similar masculine hegemonic trends in narratives and language employed in writing emerge in an analysis of newspaper and online coverage of the NCAA women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze narratives and descriptors produced by sportswriters covering the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. This was accomplished by examining for the use of gender-specific stereotypes and gender-related descriptors in the content of articles. This chapter presents the methods used in conducting a textual analysis on print media coverage of the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. After restating the research questions of this study, this chapter provides a discussion on textual analyses, reasons for the population chosen, and an explanation of the units of analyses. A short summary of gendered-language commentary found in previous research on print and broadcast media will serve as an impetus for the coding procedures selected. Finally, intercoder reliability, data analysis, limitations, and delimitations are discussed.

Research Questions

Three overriding research questions guided this study:

1. What types of descriptors and narratives do newspaper and Internet sportswriters use when writing about NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments?
2. Are the gender-specific stereotypes and descriptors found in broadcast commentary of male and female athletes (e.g., women are more likely than male athletes to have their appearances and personal lives described by broadcasters than male athletes, while male athletes are more likely to be praised for their aggressiveness and athletic skills) also found in newspaper and online stories on March Madness?
3. Through what type of gendered lenses do male and female sport journalists write about men's college basketball and women's college basketball?

Textual Analyses

The methodology for this study was a textual analysis of the language, descriptors, references, and themes used by sportswriters in the content of their articles. This textual analysis was a combination of a quantitative content analysis of descriptors used, with qualitative methods mixed in throughout the entire process. The purpose of this textual analysis was to determine the primary themes in the narratives and descriptors used by sportswriters who wrote about the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Walizer and Wiener (1978) defined content analysis as any systematic procedure implemented to study the content of recorded information. Content analysis is an unobtrusive or non-reactive method used by social scientists that has been applied to nearly every form of communication, such as newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, speeches, literature, etc. (Krippendorff, 2004; Gunter, 2000; Pedersen, 2000). This research applied content analyses to sports coverage in daily newspapers and Internet sports coverage. Content or textual analyses are unobtrusive and non-reactive because they have no effect on subjects studied and the content has already been written, spoken, or conveyed (Babbie, 1995; Pedersen, 2000). When conducting textual analyses on a written or spoken text, researchers make an "...educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text" (p. 140).

Qualitative textual analyses often do not include the numeric equations paramount to quantitative content analyses. A qualitative textual analysis can be defined as an "...approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000). Famed researcher Harold Laswell introduced media content analyses while studying propaganda in 1927. However, it was not until the late 20th Century that qualitative methods emerged as a research mode for analyzing published media content, and they are still less commonly used than purely quantitative content analyses (Gunter, 2000; Macnamara, 2003). Mckee (2001) argued, "...there are many advantages to the less 'scientific' approach of textual analysis" (p. 147) than the more rigid quantitative content analysis.

While quantitative content analyses reveal the number of various articles, photographs, stories, or segments on particular topics, "...qualitative analyses of text is

necessary to understand their deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences – surely the ultimate goal of analyzing media content” (Macnamara, 2003, p. 6). There is “...no such thing as a single, ‘correct’ interpretation of any text. There are large numbers of possible interpretations, some of which will be more likely than others in particular circumstances” (McKee, 2001, p. 140). In addition, there is no precise methodology used by the majority of researchers conducting qualitative analyses of texts (McKee, 2001; Macnamara, 2003). However, developing some sort of coding system or scheme is the first step of qualitative content data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). Bogdan and Biklen (2003) defined coding as the “...process of developing categories to sort data” (p. 258). Coding helps reduce data significantly, which is a must with the usually lengthy passages of text examined through a qualitative analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). A systematic coding of a text or narrative is paramount to beginning a quantitative or qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Weber, 1990). However, one disadvantage of coding in a qualitative content analysis is that it is polysemic, meaning that it is open to different interpretations to different readers (Macnamara, 2003). Therefore, the textual analyses in this research will include methodologies from quantitative content analyses and qualitative textual analyses (Krippendorff, 2004; Mayring, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Among the key textual elements commonly studied in media qualitative content or textual analyses include the use of pronouns, metaphors and similes, adjectives in descriptions, active versus passive verbs, viewpoints of the narrator, and tone of language (Macnamara, 2003). However, looking for specific examples of these textual elements could lead to differing interpretations by different researchers. This is why researchers (Harris, Pryor, & Adams, 1997; Macnamara, 2003; Mayring, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994) argued intercoder reliability should be used in a qualitative textual analysis; where two or more coders are used to assure results are not the subjective interpretations of one researcher. The use of multiple coders increases objectivity in qualitative analyses (Carey, Morgan, & Oxtoby, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Intercoder reliability is also necessary to increase objectivity in purely quantitative content analyses (Krippendorff, 2004; Weber, 1990).

Numerous researchers have utilized content analyses to study the amount of coverage given to women's sports and men's sports at nearly all levels of competition in various countries and through various mediums, including newspapers, magazines, television, and Internet sites (e.g., Duncan et al., 1991; Eastman & Billings, 2000; Lee, 1992; Sagas et al., 2000). However, no known researchers have ever examined the narratives used to describe female and male basketball players by men and women print sportswriters. Furthermore, no research could be found using a quantitative content analysis to count the number of descriptors used by male and female sportswriters. In addition, no academic study examining gender-related sports coverage in both newspapers and online publications could be found.

Sampling Selection

Several factors influenced the decision of what sport to study and which publications to examine. First, was the uniqueness of March Madness. The NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments are national events. No other American team sport played by both men and women receives as much media attention as college basketball, highlighted by the season-ending tournaments for both men and women held over the same three weeks (Bialik, 2004). CBS spent an estimated \$6 billion for the rights to televise the men's tournament for 11 years (Suggs, 1999). Meanwhile, the 2004 women's final between Connecticut and Tennessee drew the highest Nielsen ratings of any basketball game – men's or women's at any level – ever televised on any of the ESPN television networks (Reynolds, 2004). The NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament is such a marquee event in the American sports landscape that the NCAA derives roughly 90% of its total revenues just from this three-week men's tournament (Matheson & Baade, 2004).

However, most newspapers and online sport publications do not staff all or even a majority of the games, opting instead to publish stories or articles produced by national wire services, such as the Associated Press. Newspapers with larger circulations typically employ larger staffs of writers and have more travel money to cover national events. The United States has only three newspapers with average weekday circulations of 1 million

or more. Listed below in Table 1 are the average daily circulation figures for the five largest circulated newspapers in the country:

Table 1

Average Weekday Circulation of U.S. Newspapers (Editor & Publisher Yearbook, 2004)

Rank	Newspaper	Average Weekday Circulation
1.	USA Today	2,154,539
2.	Wall Street Journal	2,091,062
3.	The New York Times	1,118,564
4.	The Los Angeles Times	914,584
5.	The Washington Post	732,872

The Wall Street Journal, which ranks second in daily circulation behind the *USA Today*, was excluded from this study due to its focus as a business-specific newspaper. *USA Today* and *The New York Times* were the two traditional print newspapers used in this study due to their status as the only two national U.S. newspapers that provide expansive sports coverage.

USA Today: Founded in 1982 by Al Neuharth, *USA Today* has the second largest average weekday circulation figure of any newspaper in the world behind only *The Times of India*. Operated by media conglomerate, the Gannett Corporation, *USA Today* is recognized for its color format, graphics, and extensive sports coverage (Editor & Publisher, International Yearbook, 2004).

The New York Times: Founded in 1851 by Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones, *The New York Times* has now become known as “America’s paper of record” (Eastman & Billings, 2000). Two versions of *The New York Times* are produced daily: The Northeast Edition and a National Edition (Editor & Publisher, International Yearbook, 2004). This study examined only the National Edition, since one of the

objectives was to compare coverage in national newspapers and national Internet publications.

Only two research studies could be located that specifically examined coverage of women's sports and men's sports in both *USA Today* and *The New York Times*. Eastman and Billings (2000) found the "...amount of gender bias – measured three different ways – in the respected New York Times far exceeded that of USA Today" (p. 192). Eastman and Billings (2000) found the percentage of sports photographs on women, sports articles on women, and the total percentage of newspaper column inches on women's sports were all significantly lower in the percentage of total sports coverage in *The New York Times* compared to *USA Today*. Overall, male athletes and men's sports received almost 5 times more space than female athletes and women's sports in *USA Today*, and 10 times more space than female athletes and women's sports in *The New York Times*.

Jones, Murrell, and Jackson (1999) examined sports articles in multiple American newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *USA Today*, to see how descriptions of female athletes from the Olympic Games reinforced dominant ideologies about gender in society. The authors found for female athletes in male-appropriate sports, of which they included basketball, "...print media coverage frequently deemphasizes task-relevant aspects of their performance and focuses on performance-irrelevant dimensions" (p. 189-190).

Selected Online Publications: There is little academic research on the emerging field of online sport journalism (Real, 2006). It is important to note *USA Today* and *The New York Times* both offer online sports coverage. However, one of the goals of this research is to compare content published in traditional newspapers versus online-specific publications that cover a vast array of sports. Among the Internet-only sports publications based in the U.S. with the largest number of visitors per months, four of the 10 most popular are official sites for professional sports leagues. See the list below in Table 2 for rankings:

Table 2 The 10 Most Popular U.S. Sport Internet Sites (ComScore Network, 2005)

Rank	Internet Website	Unique Visitors (in millions) April 2005
1.	ESPN.com	15,994
2.	MLB.com	11,242
3.	Fox Sports on MSN	11,237
4.	Yahoo! Sports	9,456
5.	NFL Internet Group	7,898
6.	AOL Sports	7,578
7.	SI.com	5,393
8.	SportsLine.com	5,067
9.	NBA Internet Network	4,744
10.	NASCAR.com	4,143

The most popular Web site overall among online sport visitors was the ESPN Internet network, with an average of nearly 16 million unique visitors per month. This figure does not mean nearly 16 million different people logged onto ESPN.com in April, 2005, a month that included the Final Four for both the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Rather it implies there were nearly 16 million different times people logged onto at least one of the pages on the ESPN Internet network during the course of that month (ComScore Network, 2005). Nielsen ratings showed an Internet high 4.5 million unique visitors logged onto the ESPN Internet Web pages specifically devoted to March Madness or other college basketball news during the three weeks of the 2004 March Madness (Real, 2006). As the most popular sport Internet site and since its television network televises all of the NCAA Division I women's basketball tournament, ESPN was chosen as one of the two Internet sites to examine for March Madness coverage in this study.

The other site examined for this research was SportsLine.com, which had more than 1 million unique visitors log onto its Web pages devoted to the 2004 NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament (Real, 2006). Even though this site only ranked eighth among the most popular Internet sport sites, CBS SportsLine was selected, because it is affiliated with CBS Sports television, the official home of the NCAA

Division I men's basketball tournament. The ESPN television networks televised all of the games from the women's tournament. Therefore, it seemed logical and fair to choose a website from the network televising all of the men's games.

Units of Analysis

This textual analysis examined articles published on the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments in *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, ESPN Internet, and CBS SportsLine. The time frame of articles included in this research was March 12 to April 6, 2006. This period covered March 12, the day of the pairings announcement ("Selection Sunday") for the men's tournament, through the day after the women's championship game on April 4. Articles published after 6 p.m. on March 12 up until 7:59 a.m. on April 6 were examined. Only articles on the NCAA Division I women's basketball or men's basketball tournaments were included in this study. These articles included game stories, game previews, notebooks, columns, summaries, news stories on the tournament or its players/teams, tournament trend stories, as well as features on players, teams, and coaches included in the tournament. The entire population of articles falling under these parameters published in these four media outlets over this 26-day period were examined in this research. Articles or portions of articles on other tournaments in college basketball (e.g., NCAA Division II playoffs, the NIT Tournament) or stories outside of the scope of the tournaments were not examined (e.g., a coach getting fired or being hired; a player from a team not in the tournament doing something newsworthy, such as turning pro, orally committing to a college, getting arrested, etc.; any information on any team or teams outside of the tournament; information on conferences or the NCAA not directly related to the tournament). The primary coder and author of this study, a former sport journalist for 10 years, determined which stories focused on the NCAA Division I tournaments for this analysis before any coding procedures were undertaken. It was anticipated that most college basketball stories in all four publications during this period would focus on the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments, and that assumption held true.

Nearly all articles with bylines (name of an author) were included in this study, including game stories, game previews, features, notebooks, and columns. Articles not

attributed to individual authors, such as those generated from wire services and press releases, were not included in this study. Without having spatial limitations, Internet sites, including CBS SportsLine, often publish hundreds of non-attributed stories and press releases each day. However, articles were included in this study that possessed a byline author affiliated with a news service or another newspaper so long as they were published in one of the two newspapers or one of the two online sites. An article on the same subject written by the same author may not be identical even if it is published in two separate newspapers due to potential additions, cuts, or copy-edits to the original article. All print content in articles included in this study, including headlines, cutlines, and any accompanying photo captions, were examined to support the discovery of dominant themes in the qualitative data analysis. However, only the text of articles was coded in the a priori coding. Letters to the editors, photographs, charts, and box scores in newspapers were not examined. In addition, scouting reports, weblogs, chat board discussions, and posted feedback left for authors on Internet articles were not included in this study.

USA Today is an a.m. newspaper published five days per week. *The New York Times* is an a.m. newspaper published seven days per week. Content is added to both online services at various times throughout the day. All 26 editions of *The New York Times*' national edition published during the examined time frame (March 12 – April 6) were included in this study, as were all 19 published editions of *USA Today* during the same period. Only newspaper stories included in the sports sections, on the front page of the news sections (AI), or in special sections directly on the NCAA basketball tournaments were included for potential examination. The researcher made the final decisions on which articles fell within the realm of the study.

Stories from the two Internet outlets published under the sports heading, under the men's college basketball heading, and under the women's college basketball heading, as well as the NCAA tournament sections under both Web sites, were examined. Both online sites were thoroughly checked twice daily for new articles. Attempts were made to access any articles related to the women's tournament or men's tournament by checking under multiple page headings and looking under columnists' archives. However, some content may have been posted and then removed during the time frames between the

twice-daily examinations of both Web sites. Included among the online articles for examination were subscriber-only stories or inside members' articles. Subscriptions allowing access to all content for both Internet sites were obtained for the duration of this research. This was paramount to this research, since most articles by ESPN Internet staff columnists are only accessible to the Web site's subscribers.

Gendered Language Commentary

Several gender-related themes have emerged in textual analyses of print coverage of men's sports and women's sports. In their attempt to identify mechanisms for the maintenance of masculine hegemony by the British sporting print press, Harris and Clayton (2002) developed a gendered sports formula to examine articles in the *Sun* and *Mirror*. Harris and Clayton (2002) employed an interpretative approach to uncover eight dominant themes within newspaper coverage of athletes: (1) invisibility of female athlete; (2) emphasizing traditional male traits; (3) communicating pain, anguish, and sacrifice in sport; (4) creating national heroes and national identities; (5) coverage of women in appropriate sporting roles; (6) non-task relevant commentary and the female athlete; (7) the trivialization of female accomplishments in sport; (8) eroticizing the female body.

Vincent et al. (in press) employed a qualitative textual analysis in an attempt to decipher prevalent discourses used by British sportswriters covering the 2000 Wimbledon Championships. In this research, "...a priori qualitative categories were devised to examine the newspaper narratives of female tennis players." In an attempt to develop major themes, the authors' coded and organized narratives on female athletes related to physical appearances, athleticism, family and personal roles, psychological and emotional characteristics, race, class, nationality, and any other narratives that did not fall into one of the above categories but still depicted the female tennis players in "...ambivalent, culturally stereotyped, derogatory, or sexist ways."

Christopherson et al. (2002) used similar methodologies in their textual analysis of American newspapers' coverage of the 1996 women's soccer World Cup, as did Dworkin and Wachs (1998) in their textual analysis of newspaper coverage of HIV-positive male athletes Magic Johnson, Greg Louganis, and Tommy Morrison.

These four studies and other textual analyses of print and broadcast sport media coverage found female athletes were portrayed and covered differently than male athletes. These differences were highlighted in five trends found repetitively in qualitative studies on sport media that analyzed gender differences. First, female athletes are more likely to be sexualized by sport media than male athletes since writers and broadcasters are more apt to convey information about female athletes' bodies, physical attractiveness, or attire (Bernstein, 2002; Christopherson et al., 2002; Prinen, 1997). Often related to the first trend are female athletes receiving more coverage in sports emphasizing traditional aspects of femininity, such as grace, balance, and beauty (von der Lippe, 2002; Vincent et al., 2003). Therefore, women athletes in the U.S. receive more coverage in sports such as gymnastics and tennis, and less in sports like softball and rugby. The increased media attention on women provided to the historically masculine sport of college women's basketball might have emerged as an exception to this trend (Coakley, 2004; Reynolds, 2004). Third, sport media members are more likely to use descriptors emphasizing strength when describing male athletes. However, sport media are more apt to employ language exemplifying femininity, beauty, and weakness when portraying female athletes (Elueze & Jones, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Higgs et al., 2003; Messner, Duncan, & Jensen, 1996; Vincent et al., 2003). Fourth, sport media members are more likely to write or talk about extraneous issues in the lives of female athletes, such as their personal relationships (Christopherson et al., 2002; Weiller & Higgs, 1999) Finally, humor is more likely to be employed when describing female athletes or women's sports (Duncan & Messner, 1998; Messner et al., 2003).

Coding Procedures

This textual analysis followed some of the procedures employed by previous researchers (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Vincent et al., in press) by devising a priori categories to examine for the presence of masculine hegemony in print media coverage of male and female basketball players, coaches, and teams. A priori codes are developed from an extensive literature review before beginning data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The text of all articles examined on men's basketball and women's basketball were coded for the following descriptive categories: (1) physical appearance, sexuality,

attire; (2) athletic prowess, strength; (3) athletic weaknesses, limitations; (4) positive skill level, accomplishments; (5) negative skill level, failures; (6) family role, personal relationships; (7) psychological strengths, emotional strengths; (8) psychological weaknesses, emotional weakness; (9) humor.

In addition, each of these nine codes was further separated between those appearing in the text without quotations and those appearing within quotations. The primary goal of this study was to decipher the narratives sportswriters' use when covering the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. Therefore, it was most important to examine specifically the words created by the writers themselves. However, it was also important to analyze the quotations used in articles. Writers may choose to employ quotations supporting their personal views, which may include gender bias that helps uphold a masculine hegemonic order in sport. It is also important to note that sport statistical information was not coded unless it included a descriptor. Therefore, even though it may seem impressive a player scored 30 points in a game, this stat line was not included for examination unless a writer used a descriptor to describe the stat line such as "an impressive 30 points." Depending on the team and player, someone scoring 15 points in a game could be considered a career night or a poor performance. Therefore, one of the goals of this study was to examine how writers or the individuals they quoted described specific performances.

Findings from previous content analyses indicated writers would be more likely to describe female athletes with descriptions on their physical appearance/attire, family role/personal relationships, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, psychological/emotional weakness, or by adding humor. In contrast, previous research indicated writers would be more likely to describe male athletes with descriptions of their athletic prowess/strength, positive skill level/accomplishments, and psychological/emotional strength (Billings et al., 2002; Elueze & Jones, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Messner et al., 2003; Messner et al., 1996; Vincent, 2004; Vincent et al., in press). However, it was uncertain if these trends would emerge from this textual analysis due to women's college basketball's increasing popularity, as well as its cultural status as a historically masculine and aggressive team sport (Coakley, 2004; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Rader, 2004; Reynolds, 2004; Steen, 2003).

There were occasions when multiple sentences and even in some cases entire paragraphs in articles were not classified under any of these codes, while multiple codes were often derived from one sentence. Therefore, coders were not restricted to examining data for just these nine categories. However, the primary focus was examining for passages related to these categories to see if masculine hegemony was present in print coverage of women's college basketball and men's college basketball. Miles and Huberman (1994) wrote that creating a priori coding categories is beneficial, because it "...forces the analyst to tie research questions or conceptual interests directly to the data" (p. 65). However, coders also followed qualitative research guidelines set by Miles and Huberman (1994) allowing them to form new, inductive categories during the coding process. For example, if racial attributes were used as a code on multiple occasions then race could have been added as a category for examination. In that scenario, all articles would have been re-coded to examine for racial descriptions, since qualitative textual analyses allow researchers to continuously analyze the same texts (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). However, no new categories were created in this study after beginning the a priori coding. See Appendix A for the blank coding sheet used when examining articles in this textual analysis.

Dark paper was attached to cover the byline of the author before coding began. Therefore, coders did not know the gender of the sportswriters while coding. Only after all coding and the initial stages of data analysis were complete did the lead researcher remove the dark paper to reveal the genders of writers. It was undetermined if the gender of sportswriters would affect the type of narratives produced, or writers' likelihood to reinforce cultural stereotypes of male and female athletes through the use of descriptors.

Intercoder Reliability

A second coder was used for the initial examination of all articles in this textual analysis to add intercoder reliability, which is also called intercoder agreement (Krippendorff, 2004; Harris et al., 1997; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken (2002) defined intercoder reliability – which the authors wrote is synonymous with the term “intercoder agreement” when discussing content analysis – as a “...measure to the extent to which independent judges make the same coding decision

in evaluating the characteristics of messages” (p. 587). The presence of a second coder assures results are not the subjective interpretation of a single researcher, and thus add objectivity and trustworthiness to a textual analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Mayring, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The author and researcher of this study is a doctoral candidate in sport management. He has experience teaching courses in the sport media, and is a former newspaper writer and magazine editor with a combined 10 years of professional sport journalism experience, where he regularly covered women’s basketball and men’s basketball. The second coder worked 19 years as a college professor in communications, and also spent four years teaching courses in English and Journalism at the high school level. Through assigned readings (Billings et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2000; Kane, 1996; Messner & Sabo, 1990, Vincent et al., 2003) and three separate training sessions with the lead researcher, she became familiar with the major findings and themes in research on gender and the sport media. However, her knowledge of basketball was limited, which served as a perfect complement to the author, who has playing, teaching, coaching, and officiating basketball experience.

Textual analyses of printed articles are interpretative processes (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent et al., in press). Following procedures set by Harris and Clayton (2002) in similar research, the coders in this study acknowledge this type of research is hermeneutical, which implies individuals can only interpret the meaning of a passage from a particular perspective (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Patton, 2002). In this textual analysis both coders approached the process with a perspective recognizing masculine hegemony is prevalent throughout sport and coverage of sport provided by mass media. However, the nine a priori coding categories used in this study were instilled before the examination of articles in hopes of increasing the probability the two researchers would generate similar coding outputs (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Vincent et al., in press). In addition, during the initial examination of articles, coders worked independently of each other to control for coercion (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990).

In a mini-pilot study/training session for this textual analysis, both coders examined 10 selected articles on women’s basketball and men’s basketball from three Florida newspapers. For the pilot study, the two researchers only coded for nine set

categories: (1) physical appearance, attire; (2) athletic prowess, strength; (3) athletic weaknesses, limitations; (4) skill level, accomplishments; (5) family role, personal relationships; (6) heterosexuality; (7) psychological, emotional strength; (8) psychological, emotional weakness; (9) humor.

Scholars argued intercoder reliability or intercoder agreement in textual analyses should be near 90% (Carey et al., 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Intercoder agreement between the two researchers in the pilot study was 90% or higher for eight of the nine a priori coding categories. The only major disagreement and problems emerging from the pilot study were difficulties in coding passages under the heading heterosexuality, as the two researchers agreed on less than 50% of the codes under this category. In addition, even after consultation and debate, neither researcher was able to separate heterosexuality as a code for any passage in the examined texts from the code of family role, personal relationships. Therefore, the coding category for heterosexuality was not used in this study. However, references to heterosexuality or sexual preferences could still emerge as themes in the narrative, since opponents of women's basketball and some social conservatives historically associated participation in the sport with lesbianism (Rader, 2004).

This pilot study left a total of eight categories, although a ninth was added to differentiate between positive and negative connotations under the category for skill level/accomplishments. Therefore, a new category was formed for negative skill level/failures. Finally, the lead researcher decided to add a separate sub-category under physical appearance/attire that dealt more with the type of athletic information often found in sport stories and game programs. For example, one could argue that passages written about a "6-foot-3 forward" or an "undersized power forward" should fall under physical appearances/attire. However, this study was more interested in uncovering classic examples of physical appearances and/or attire, such as writing that a player "has a nice smile" or "wore a blue dress to the arena." Therefore, only the lead researcher coded for a sub-category for sport-specific lingo related to physical appearance, although this was not included among the nine a priori coding categories. This pilot study/training session strengthened the use and understanding of what qualifies for codes under the remaining categories. In discussing the importance of this process, Miles and Huberman

(1994) wrote codes become "...sharper when two researchers code the same data set and discuss their initial difficulties" (p. 64).

Data Analysis

The two coders met for a total of seven days over three different periods to discuss findings from the a priori coding for descriptors. When there was a disagreement between coders on how a passage in an article should be coded, this passage was not used for examination in this study. After the a priori coding was complete and the quantitative content analysis tabulated, the researcher began the purely qualitative data analysis. He wrote theoretical memos and eventually definitional memos on reoccurring concepts emerging from the codes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Vincent et al., in press). These were time-consuming and arduous methods, but they were necessary to fully decipher rich and detailed narratives (Martin & Turner, 1986). Finally, the constant comparative method, which involves drawing connections from one piece of data to another piece or multiple pieces, was employed to decipher and define key concepts from the textual analysis by unifying their supporting data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Turner, 1981; Vincent et al., in press).

As previously mentioned, qualitative analyses of text written by others are highly interpretative (Harris & Clayton, 2002). The goal of the data analysis was to determine dominant themes in the construction of realities within the text of newspaper and online-specific sport articles (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Sparkes, 1992). From this process, the author was able to provide a rich, descriptive analysis of the narratives used to describe women and men athletes in newspaper and online-specific sport publications, while also describing any contradictions and inconsistencies in those narratives (Vincent et al., in press).

After completing all of the a priori coding and the qualitative data analysis for dominant themes, the researcher checked the names of the authors to determine if the gender of the sportswriters appeared to influence the type of narratives and descriptors authors used to describe women's basketball and men's basketball. When questions arose as to the gender of a sportswriter (i.e., a gender-neutral first names such as Lee, Kelly, Andy, Lynn, etc.), a phone call was made to the newspaper sports department or online

site to determine the gender of the writer. There were no questions as to the gender of any of the online sportswriters, the majority of whom had their pictures included with their columns. However, the researcher spoke with Fern Turkowitz, assistant to sports editor at *The New York Times*, to determine the gender of four sportswriters (F. Turkowitz, personal communication, May 11, 2006). He also interviewed Craig Bennett, desk editor for college sports at *USA Today*, to verify the sex of four more writers (C. Bennett, personal communication, May 13, 2006).

Limitations of the Study

The researcher acknowledges the following limitations of this study and attempted to minimize them:

1. The sample is not to be used to generalize to all newspaper sportswriters, but instead is representative of itself.
2. The sample is not to be used to generalize to all online sportswriters, but instead is representative of itself.
3. The qualitative methodologies employed in this study decrease objectivity.
4. All of the narratives used by both male and female sportswriters were not captured in this study.
5. The coding and interpretation of narratives used in printed text are open to multiple interpretations.

Delimitations of the Study

1. The results of the study are specific to the two newspapers and the two online sport sites from which the articles came, and may not be applicable to other newspapers and online sport publications.
2. The results of the study are specific to coverage of women's college basketball and men's college basketball from the selected publications, and may not be applicable to coverage of other men's sports and women's sports printed in the same publications.
3. The coded articles from all four publications were specific to the time

frame surrounding the 2006 NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments (March 12, 2006 – April 6, 2006).

4. News and sports events not related to the NCAA tournaments may have impacted the amount of coverage, type of coverage, and narratives given toward the NCAA tournaments in newspapers and online publications.
5. The selected newspapers and online publications are all based in the United States.
6. While repeated attempts were made to print all published online articles with bylines on the NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments, some articles may have been removed from the host pages before the lead researcher had a chance to print them.
7. This was primarily a qualitative study using only textual analysis as a mode of inquiry.
8. The study's project size and overall scope were minimized in order to manage the data collected.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze the types of narratives and descriptors produced by newspaper and Internet sportswriters who covered the 2006 NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments. A textual analysis involving nine a priori categories was used to examine for the descriptors employed by writers and to see if findings from previous research were reinforced or contradicted (e.g., Billings et al., 2002; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent et al., in press). Some information on the narratives used by writers is discussed under the a priori coding results, although much of this information is included under the qualitative data analysis. Qualitative methods were used to search for the presence of masculine hegemonic language and the dominant themes emerging in print media coverage of NCAA women's and men's basketball. Results of this study are presented in the following chapter. The significance and implications of these results will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

First, this chapter will reveal the overall quantitative results from the a priori coding. Results presented from the a priori coding include the total number of descriptors for each category and the mean number of codes per each category examined. No tests for statistical significance were included in this research, because the entire population of March Madness articles published in these four outlets were examined. Descriptors coded for were (1) physical appearances/attire; (2) athletic prowess/strengths; (3) athletic weaknesses/limitations; (4) positive skill level/accomplishments; (5) negative skill level/failures (6) family role/personal relationships; (7) psychological/emotional strengths; (8) psychological/emotional weaknesses; (9) humor. Specific examples from each category for men's basketball articles are in Appendix B and in Appendix C for women's articles. A total of 13,851 codes were identified by at least one of the two coders. However, a total of 1,222 codes were identified by only one coder and not agreed upon by the other coder. They were discarded from the study, leaving a total 12,629 codes for the 508 articles. Thus, the intercoder reliability rate was 91.2%. Scholars have

argued intercoder agreement in textual analyses should be near 90% (Carey et al., 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

After conveying the overall a priori coding findings, attempts were made to answer the three overriding research questions that guided this study by examining specific results from the a priori coding. Answers to the three research questions fell under two areas. The first two questions focused on media and sport-specific findings, while data falling under the third question focused on coding results from examining the gender of sportswriters. However, additional information to some of these questions will come in the section on the five dominant themes emerging from the qualitative data analysis, as well as in the overall discussion in chapter 5. The five dominant qualitative themes discovered in this research were (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a tomboy; (3) Women still don't have next; (4) The real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else; (5) Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers. These dominant themes will be discussed along with specific examples from the text of articles and findings from the a priori coding categories, following the presentation of quantitative findings and attempts to answer the three research questions.

Specific examples from the text of articles will be given throughout the qualitative data analysis of the five dominant themes. The author's name, the media outlet, and the date of publication will accompany an ID number given to each of the 508 articles analyzed in this study. This information for all newspaper articles is included in Appendix D, while the same information for online articles, plus the actual web addresses, are included in Appendix E.

General and Sport-Specific Coding Results

For this study, a total of 508 newspaper and Internet articles on March Madness were examined from the four selected media outlets: *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, ESPN Internet, and CBS SportsLine. From the entire population of articles, 51% (n=259) were published in newspapers and 49% (n=249) were posted online. *USA Today* and ESPN Internet combined to publish 67.2% of all articles in this study as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Sources for all Articles

Media Outlet	Total Number of Articles	Percentage of all Articles
The New York Times	88	17.3%
USA Today	171	33.7%
CBS SportsLine	79	15.6%
ESPN Internet	170	33.5%
Total	508	100%

Articles focusing on men’s basketball considerably outnumbered those on women’s basketball. Stories focusing on men’s basketball accounted for 76.4% of the population (n=388), while those concentrating on women’s basketball were 23% of all articles examined (n=117). A total of three articles (n=3), or less than 1% of the overall population of articles focused on both genders. Two of these three articles focused on the LSU women’s basketball and men’s basketball teams, both of which reached their respective Final Fours. Table 4 shows the focus for all of the articles in this study.

Table 4 Focus for all Articles

Focus of Article	Total Number of Articles	Percentage of all Articles
Men’s Basketball	388	76.4%
Women’s Basketball	117	23%
Both Men and Women’s	3	0.6%
Total Number of Articles	508	100%

Research Question 1.

1). What types of descriptors and narratives do newspapers and Internet sportswriters use when writing about NCAA Division I women’s basketball and men’s basketball tournaments?

Overall, writers were far more likely to use positive descriptors on the athleticism, skill level, and accomplishments of athletes, coaches, and teams. Including quotes,

positive descriptors on athleticism or skill level accounted for 72% of all descriptors on athleticism or skill level. The qualitative data analysis showed an inclination for sportswriters to dub March Madness – primarily referencing the men’s tournament – as events of importance and great interest in the United States. For example, several articles focused on the perceived historical significance of midmajor George Mason University’s advancing to the men’s Final Four. Correspondent Kyle Whelliston described this as George Mason’s “...magical tournament run” (ID: 485, ESPN Internet, April 2, 2006). In the same article, Whelliston used Biblical references to describe the Final Four matchup featuring 11th seeded George Mason against the University of Florida, a No. 3 seed from Minneapolis region. Whelliston wrote, “It was almost as if Goliath had stolen the slingshot out of David’s hand and beaten him over the head with it” (ID: 485, ESPN Internet, April 2, 2006).

Men’s basketball was the focus of 76.4% of all articles in the population. However, writers did not reference the same types of descriptors when covering the women’s tournament as they did for the men’s tournament, although there were many similarities found in the a priori coding. As shown in Table 5 below, descriptors on physical appearances/attire, and family roles/personal relationships were more frequently used in articles on men’s basketball than those on women’s basketball. These findings contradicted previous research on the sport media and March Madness (Billings et al., 2002; Duncan & Brummlett, 1987), as well as some of the assumptions stated before beginning this project. Billings et al. (2002) found women’s basketball players in the Final Four were more likely to be evaluated by media members for their looks and appearances. However, stories in this study on men’s basketball averaged 1.5 descriptors on physical appearance/attire, compared to an average of just 0.6 descriptors from the same category in articles on women’s basketball. Those findings will be discussed in more detail in the discussion in chapter 5. Table 5 also revealed sportswriters employed more positive descriptors on skill level/accomplishments when writing about women’s basketball than men’s basketball. Table 5 lists the codes for all 508 articles, including a breakdown of the means per category and total number of descriptors for articles focusing on men’s basketball and women’s basketball.

Table 5 Total Codes for all Articles

Category	Men's Bkb. 388 Articles		Wom. Bkb. 117 Articles		M+W Bkb. 3 Articles		All Articles 508 Total	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	506	1.3	60	0.5	2	0.7	568	1.1
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	82	0.2	11	0.1	1	0.3	94	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	492	1.3	134	1.1	1	0.3	627	1.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (quotes)	51	0.1	13	0.1	2	0.7	66	0.1
Athletic Prowess	1,670	4.3	503	4.3	0	0.0	2,173	4.3
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	362	0.9	102	0.9	3	1.0	467	0.9
Athletic Weaknesses/ Limitations	742	1.9	209	1.8	2	0.7	953	1.9
Athletic Weaknesses/ Limitations (quotes)	171	0.4	36	0.3	0	0.0	207	0.4
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – P	2,159	5.6	797	6.8	3	1.0	2,959	5.8
Skill Level – P Accomplish. (quotes)	629	1.6	178	1.5	3	1.0	810	1.6
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	866	2.2	247	2.1	0	0.0	1,113	2.2
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	191	0.5	42	0.4	0	0.0	233	0.5
Family Role/ Pers. Relationships	743	1.9	107	0.9	14	4.7	864	1.7
Family Role/Personal Relations. (quotes)	264	0.7	47	0.4	1	0.3	312	0.6
Psychological/ Emotional Strength	386	1.0	93	0.8	1	0.3	480	0.9
Psychological/Emot. Strength (in quotes)	278	0.7	78	0.7	3	1.0	359	0.7
Psychological/ Emotional Weakness	167	0.4	33	0.3	2	0.7	202	0.4
Psychological/ Emot. Weakness (quotes)	59	0.2	14	0.1	0	0.0	73	0.1
Humor	54	0.1	7	0.1	0	0.0	61	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	7	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	8	0.0
Total for all Articles	9,879	25.5	2,712	23.2	38	12.7	12,629	24.9

A lower percentage of March Madness articles published in newspapers (18.5%) focused on the women's tournament than from the sample of Internet articles (27.7%). Repeating a finding from the study by Eastman and Billings (2000) on sports coverage in the *USA Today* and *The New York Times*, *USA Today* was more likely to publish articles on women's basketball (n=34) than *The New York Times* (n=14) in this study. *USA Today* also published a higher percentage of its March Madness stories on the NCAA Division I women's tournament (19.9%) than *The New York Times* (15.9%).

A higher percentage of March Madness articles published in Internet articles (27.7%) focused on the women's tournament than from the population of newspaper articles (18.5%). However, this difference was almost entirely due to the extensive coverage of the women's tournament provided by ESPN Internet, which published 92.8% of all Internet articles on the Division I women's basketball tournament examined in this study. CBS Television is the home of the NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament. CBS SportsLine paid little attention to the women's tournament. Just five (6.3%) of the 79 CBS SportsLine articles in this study focused on women's basketball. Correspondent Mike Shalin wrote all five of the women's basketball articles. Correspondents are typically paid for each story they write and usually do not receive the benefits from media companies that are available for staff writers. In contrast, CBS SportsLine staff writers authored 68 of the 74 men's articles. ESPN, which televised the entire Division I women's tournament, provided significantly more coverage of women's basketball on its Internet network than CBS did. A total of 64 (37.6%) of the 170 articles included in this study from ESPN Internet focused on the Division I women's basketball tournament. These 64 ESPN Internet articles accounted for 54.7% of all 117 women's basketball articles included in this study. The focuses of articles from all four media outlets examined in this research, as well as totals for all newspaper and Internet sources are included in Table 6.

Table 6 Focus for all Newspaper and Internet Articles by Media Outlet

	New York Times	USA Today	Total Newspapers	CBS Sports Line	ESPN Internet	Total Internet	All Sources
Number of Articles on Men's Bkb.	74	134	208	74	106	180	388
% of Articles on Men's Bkb.	84.1%	78.4%	80.3%	93.7%	62.4%	72.3%	76.4%
Number of Articles on Women's Bkb.	14	34	48	5	64	69	117
% of Articles on Women's Bkb.	15.9%	19.9%	18.5%	6.3%	37.6%	27.7%	23%
Number of Articles on both Genders	0	3	3	0	0	0	3
% of Articles on Both Genders	0%	1.8%	1.2%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%
Total Articles	88	171	259	79	170	249	508

Newspapers averaged just 20.4 codes per article, compared to an average of 29.5 codes for each online article. The narratives of newspaper articles were more likely to include information cited in quotes, as well as multiple graphs of purely statistical information without descriptors. Despite the overall greater number of codes in online articles, newspaper articles averaged 5.2 codes in quotes per article, while online articles averaged just 4.4 codes in quotes.

Due to their focus on storytelling and in-depth features, *The New York Times* articles were far more likely to convey more of a human interest narrative than what is often found in sport print media content. *USA Today*, in contrast, featured more overall articles on the tournaments, shorter articles, and far more game summaries by the paper's staff writers than *The New York Times*, which often relied on wire copy for game

summaries, particularly in its limited content on the women's tournament. *USA Today* was more apt to let the athletes and coaches speak for themselves or describe others than *The New York Times*. *USA Today* actually had more codes (n=184) for psychological/emotional strengths in quotes than in the regular text (n=145). *USA Today's* propensity to put these descriptors in quotes marked the only one of the nine coding categories from any of the four selected media outlets examined in this study that had more total codes in quotes than from the rest of the text.

The New York Times' had a proclivity to publish more features, more in-depth enterprise stories, and include more feature angles in its game stories than *USA Today*. This may be why articles in *The New York Times* were far more likely to describe physical appearances/attire and family roles/personal relationships than articles in *USA Today*. In fact, *The New York Times* was more than three times as likely to use descriptors of physical appearance and attire per article than *USA Today* and averaged more than twice as many descriptors per article than *USA Today* on family roles or personal relationships. In other words, *The New York Times* was far more likely to discuss the personal lives of athletes and coaches than *USA Today*, which appeared to focus its content more on the games, players, coaches, and match-ups. The narratives of *USA Today* featured language commonly used by basketball fans, while the language of *The New York Times* narratives occasionally included vocabulary more commonly seen on college English exams than in the sports pages of daily newspapers. It should be noted *The New York Times* had a higher average number of coded descriptors per article (24.9) than *USA Today* (18.1), which helps explain its propensity to publish longer articles. In general, articles published in *USA Today* were longer and included more human-interest elements later in the tournaments than *USA Today* articles from the early parts of both tournaments when more teams were competing. Table 7 lists the total codes for articles from *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, and all newspaper articles in the population

Table 7 Total Codes for all Newspaper Articles Based on Outlet

Category	New York Times 88 Articles		USA Today 171 Articles		All Newspaper 259 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	110	1.3	74	0.4	184	0.7
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	24	0.3	25	0.1	49	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	115	1.3	134	0.8	249	1.0
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	15	0.2	28	0.2	43	1.7
Athletic Prowess	234	2.7	377	2.2	611	2.4
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	65	0.7	189	1.1	254	1.0
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	186	2.1	139	0.8	325	1.3
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	38	0.4	68	0.4	106	0.4
Skill Level/Accomplishments – Positive	426	4.8	655	3.8	1,081	4.2
Skill Level/Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	139	1.6	318	1.9	457	1.8
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	193	2.2	207	1.2	400	1.5
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	32	0.4	94	0.5	126	0.5
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	303	3.4	275	1.6	578	2.2
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	84	1.0	107	0.6	191	0.7
Psychological/Emotional Strength	76	0.9	145	0.8	221	0.9
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	72	0.8	184	1.1	256	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	50	0.6	37	0.2	87	0.3
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	23	0.3	22	0.1	45	0.2
Humor	6	0.1	9	0.1	15	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	3	0.0	4	0.0	7	0.0
Total for all Articles	2,194	24.9	3,091	18.1	5,285	20.4

When examining the a priori newspaper coding results based on the focus of articles, Table 8 showed *The New York Times* used more descriptors on average per article on physical appearances/attire and personal roles/family relationships in its articles on men's basketball than *The New York Times* articles published on women's basketball. Articles on women's basketball in *The New York Times* were more likely to include descriptors on athletic prowess/strength than *The New York Times articles'* on men's basketball. *USA Today* also averaged more descriptors on physical appearances/attire and family roles/personal relationships in its articles on men's basketball than in its articles on women's basketball. However, *USA Today* articles on men's basketball were more likely to have descriptors without quotes on athletic prowess/strength and positive skill level/accomplishments than *USA Today* articles on women's basketball. *USA Today* did have more descriptors for women when both of those categories were used in quotes.

In comparing the two newspapers on the same focus, articles on men's basketball in *The New York Times* were far more likely on average to include descriptors on physical appearances/attire, athletic weaknesses/limitations, and personal roles/family relationships than men's basketball articles in *USA Today*. In contrast, *USA Today* men's basketball articles were more likely to include descriptors on psychological/emotional strengths. *The New York Times* stories on women's basketball included many more codes per article (25.6) on average than *USA Today* (10.5). This difference was greater than the average number of codes on men's basketball in the two newspapers, where articles in *The New York Times* averaged 24.8 codes per article, while those in *USA Today* averaged 18.6. *The New York Times* articles on women's basketball averaged more descriptors on positive skill level/accomplishments and psychological/emotional strengths than *USA Today*, which was more likely to use quoted women's basketball descriptors on athletic prowess/strengths, athletic weaknesses/limitations, and positive skill level/accomplishments than *The New York Times*. Table 8 provides the overall codes based on focus for *The New Times*, while Table 9 does the same for *USA Today*. However, Table 9 does not include the three *USA Today* articles focusing on both women's basketball and men's basketball.

Table 8 Total Codes for all The New York Times Articles

Category	Men's Basketball 74 Articles		Women's Bkb. 14 Articles		All NY Times 88 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	104	1.4	6	0.4	110	1.3
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	22	0.3	2	0.1	24	0.3
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	80	1.1	35	2.5	115	1.3
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	11	0.1	4	0.3	15	0.2
Athletic Prowess	192	2.6	42	3.0	234	2.7
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	46	0.6	19	1.4	65	0.7
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	160	2.2	26	1.9	186	2.1
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	34	0.4	4	0.3	38	0.4
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	355	4.8	71	5.1	426	4.8
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	111	1.5	28	2	139	1.6
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	158	2.1	35	2.5	193	2.2
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	28	0.4	4	0.3	32	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	263	3.6	40	2.9	303	3.4
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	71	1.0	13	0.9	84	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Strength	69	0.9	7	0.5	76	0.9
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	59	0.8	13	0.9	72	0.8
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	46	0.6	4	0.3	50	0.6
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	19	0.3	4	0.3	23	0.3
Humor	5	0.1	1	0.1	6	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	3	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.0
Total for all Articles	1,836	24.8	358	25.6	2,194	24.9

Table 9 Total Codes for all USA Today Articles

Category	Men's Basketball 134 Articles		Women's Bkb. 34 Articles		All USA Today 171 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	62	0.5	10	0.3	74	0.4
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	22	0.2	2	0.1	25	0.1
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	107	0.8	26	0.8	134	0.8
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	21	0.2	5	0.1	28	0.2
Athletic Prowess	308	2.3	69	2.0	377	2.2
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	129	1.0	57	1.7	189	1.1
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	106	0.8	31	0.9	139	0.8
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	52	0.4	16	0.5	68	0.4
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	527	3.9	125	3.7	655	3.8
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	233	1.7	82	2.4	318	1.9
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	179	1.3	28	0.8	207	1.2
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	73	0.5	21	0.6	94	0.5
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	229	1.7	32	0.9	275	1.6
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	96	0.7	10	0.3	107	0.6
Psychological/Emotional Strength	134	1.0	10	0.3	145	0.8
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	147	1.1	34	1.0	184	1.1
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	32	0.2	3	0.1	37	0.2
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	16	0.1	6	0.2	22	0.1
Humor	9	0.1	0	0.1	9	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	4	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.0
Total for all Articles	2,496	18.6	358	10.5	3,091	18.1

The online sources averaged 29.5 codes for each article, compared to 20.4 codes in newspaper articles. The narratives of the Internet stories were more likely to include columns, player analysis, game breakdowns, and personal opinions of the writers than the newspaper articles, which included more quotations and statistics. The average codes for all CBS SportsLine and ESPN Internet articles were similar in many categories as shown in Table 10. However, ESPN Internet writers were more than twice as likely to include descriptors of family roles/personal relationships per article than CBS SportsLine writers, who used nearly twice as many descriptors per article on sport lingo for personal appearance, such as writing “undersized forward” or “extremely tall front line.”

The a priori online coding results based on focus for CBS SportsLine articles are shown in Table 11. Within articles on CBS SportsLine, stories on men’s basketball were far more likely to include descriptors of athletic prowess/strength than those on women’s basketball. Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) found similar results in their study comparing television commentary of women’s college basketball with commentary on men’s college basketball. Table 12 displays the a priori coding results for ESPN Internet articles based on focus. ESPN Internet articles on men’s basketball included an average of more than 3.5 times as many descriptors on physical appearances/attire and personal roles/family relationships than women’s basketball articles published on ESPN Internet.

In examining the a priori coding results between online media outlets, women’s basketball articles on ESPN Internet included an average of nearly three times as many codes per article on physical strengths/athletic prowess than CBS SportsLine articles on women’s basketball. Unfortunately, the small number of women’s basketball articles (n=5) published in CBS SportsLine limits comparisons. Coding results on men’s basketball between the two online media outlets were remarkably similar. However, men’s basketball stories on ESPN Internet included an average of nearly three times as many codes per article on family roles/personal relationships than those published on CBS SportsLine. Table 11 shows coding results for all CBS SportsLine articles based on focus, while Table 12 does likewise for all ESPN Internet articles.

Table 10 Total Codes for all Internet Articles Based on Outlet

Category	ESPN Internet 170 Articles		CBS SportsLine 79 Articles		All Internet 249 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	275	1.6	109	1.4	384	1.5
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	39	0.2	6	0.1	45	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	207	1.2	171	2.2	378	1.5
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	17	0.1	6	0.1	23	0.1
Athletic Prowess	1,089	6.4	473	6.0	1,562	6.3
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	120	0.7	93	1.2	213	0.9
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	427	2.5	201	2.5	628	2.5
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	51	0.3	50	0.6	101	0.4
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	1,371	8.1	507	6.4	1,878	7.5
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	232	1.4	121	1.5	353	1.4
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	490	2.9	223	2.8	713	2.9
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	75	0.4	32	0.4	107	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	236	1.4	50	0.6	286	1.1
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	100	0.6	21	0.3	121	0.5
Psychological/Emotional Strength	185	1.1	74	0.9	259	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	70	0.4	33	0.4	103	0.4
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	63	0.4	52	0.7	115	0.5
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	21	0.1	7	0.1	28	0.1
Humor	31	0.2	15	0.1	46	0.2
Humor (in quotes)	1	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
Total for all Articles	5,100	30.0	2,244	28.4	7,344	29.5

Table 11 Total Codes for all CBS SportsLine Articles

Category	Men's Basketball 74 Articles		Women's Bkb. 5 Articles		All CBS SL 79 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	105	1.4	4	0.8	109	1.4
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	5	0.1	1	0.2	6	0.1
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	165	2.2	6	1.2	171	2.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	6	0.8	0	0.0	6	0.1
Athletic Prowess	464	6.3	9	1.8	473	6.0
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	90	1.2	3	0.6	93	1.2
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	190	2.6	11	2.2	201	2.5
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	45	0.6	5	1.0	50	0.6
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	478	6.5	29	5.8	507	6.4
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	114	1.5	7	1.4	121	1.5
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	212	2.9	11	2.2	223	2.8
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	30	0.4	2	0.4	32	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	49	0.7	1	0.2	50	0.6
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	18	0.2	3	0.6	21	0.3
Psychological/Emotional Strength	70	0.9	4	0.8	74	0.9
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	32	0.4	1	0.2	33	0.4
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	47	0.6	5	1.0	52	0.7
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	7	0.1	0	0.0	7	0.1
Humor	15	0.2	0	0.0	15	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total for all Articles	2,142	28.9	102	20.4	2,244	28.4

Table 12 Total Codes for all ESPN Internet Articles

Category	Men's Basketball 106 Articles		Women's Bkb. 64 Articles		All ESPN.com 170 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	235	2.2	40	0.6	275	1.6
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	33	0.3	6	0.1	39	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	140	1.3	67	1.0	207	1.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	13	0.1	4	0.1	17	0.1
Athletic Prowess	706	6.7	383	6.0	1,089	6.4
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	97	0.9	23	0.4	120	0.7
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	286	2.7	141	2.2	427	2.5
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	40	0.4	11	0.2	51	0.3
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	799	7.5	572	8.9	1,371	8.1
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	171	1.6	61	1.0	232	1.4
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	317	3.0	173	2.7	490	2.9
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	60	0.6	15	0.2	75	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	202	1.9	34	0.5	236	1.4
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	79	0.7	21	0.3	100	0.6
Psychological/Emotional Strength	113	1.1	72	1.1	185	1.1
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	40	0.4	30	0.5	70	0.4
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	42	0.4	21	0.3	63	0.4
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	17	0.2	4	0.1	21	0.1
Humor	25	0.2	6	0.1	31	0.2
Humor (in quotes)	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0
Total for all Articles	3,415	32.2	1,685	26.3	5,100	30.0

Research Question 2.

2) Are the gender-specific stereotypes and descriptors found in broadcast commentary of male and female athletes (e.g., women are more likely than male athletes to have their appearances and personal lives described by broadcasters than male athletes, while male athletes are more likely to be praised for their aggressiveness and athletic skills) also found in newspaper and online stories on March Madness?

Several assumptions for this research question were made based on previous research on sport media's coverage of female athletes (Billings & Eastman, 2002; Billings et al., 2006; Billings et al., 2002; Carty, 2006; Christopherson et al., 2002; Elueze & Jones, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 2003; Messner et al., 1996; Vincent, 2004; Vincent et al., in press). It was assumed newspaper writers would be more likely to describe female athletes with descriptors on their physical appearances/attire, family roles/personal relationships, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, psychological/emotional weaknesses, or by adding humor. In contrast, previous research indicated newspaper writers would be more likely to describe male athletes with descriptions of their athletic prowess/strengths, positive skill level/accomplishments, and psychological/emotional strengths. Ironically, eight of these nine assumptions were refuted in this research, assuming you include descriptors in quotes when calculating average number of codes per article.

As shown in Table 13, the mean codes per article on descriptors for athletic prowess/strengths and positive skill level/accomplishments were higher for newspaper stories on women's basketball than men's basketball. This was in direct contrast to most studies that examined similar descriptors used by sport media members (e.g., Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent et al., 2003).

Newspaper stories on men's basketball included a higher average number of codes for descriptors on physical appearances/attire, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, family roles/personal relationships, psychological/emotional strengths, psychological/emotional weaknesses, and humor. Therefore, the only assumption that held true of the nine was that newspaper stories on men's basketball included a higher average number of descriptors on psychological/emotional strengths.

Sportswriters employed by newspapers were more likely to use descriptors for psychological/emotional weaknesses on male athletes. Messner et al. (1996) found the opposite in their study of television coverage of women’s college basketball and men’s college basketball. Newspaper writers used descriptors on physical appearances/attire and family roles/personal relationships more often on average in articles on men’s basketball than in articles on women’s basketball. This was in direct contrast to the majority of sport media studies that examined this area, nearly all of which found sport media members more likely to discuss or write about the appearances and personal lives of female athletes than male athletes (e.g., Carty, 2006; Christopherson et al., 2002; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner, et al., 1996; Prinen, 1997; Vincent et al., 2003; Vincent, 2004). Table 13 displays all codes for newspapers articles focusing on men’s basketball or women’s basketball. However, codes for the three articles focusing on both men’s basketball and women’s basketball are not included in Table 13.

Table 13 Total Codes for all Newspaper Articles Based on Focus

Category	Men’s Basketball 208 Articles		Women’s Bkb. 48 Articles		All Newspaper 259 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	166	0.8	16	0.3	184	0.7
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	44	0.2	4	0.1	49	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	187	0.9	61	1.3	249	1.0
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	32	0.2	9	0.2	43	0.2
Athletic Prowess	500	2.4	111	2.3	611	2.4
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	175	0.8	76	1.6	254	1.0
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	266	1.3	57	1.2	325	1.3
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	86	0.4	20	0.4	106	0.4
Skill Level/ Accompl. – P	882	4.2	196	4.1	1,081	4.2
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	344	1.7	110	2.3	457	1.8

Table 13 Continued

Skill Level/Failures – Negative	337	1.6	63	1.3	400	1.5
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	101	0.5	25	0.5	126	0.5
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	492	2.4	72	1.5	578	2.2
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	167	0.8	23	0.5	191	0.7
Psychological/Emotional Strength	203	1.0	17	0.4	221	0.9
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	206	1.0	47	1.0	256	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	78	0.4	7	0.1	87	0.3
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	35	0.2	10	0.2	45	0.2
Humor	14	0.1	1	0.0	15	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	7	0.0	1	0.0	7	0.0
Total for all Articles	4,322	20.8	925	19.3	5,285	20.4

The same nine assumptions were made for online articles based on previous research on sport media’s coverage of female athletes (Billings et al., 2006; Billings et al., 2002; Carty, 2006; Elueze & Jones, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 2003; Messner et al., 1996; Vincent, 2004; Vincent et al., in press).

Before undertaking this research it was assumed online writers would be more likely to describe female athletes with descriptors on their physical appearances/attire, family roles/personal relationships, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, psychological/emotional weaknesses, or by adding humor. Previous research indicated online writers would be more likely to describe male athletes with descriptions of their athletic prowess/strengths, positive skill level/accomplishments, and psychological/emotional strengths.

Like the findings on newspapers, eight of the nine assumptions for online articles were not supported in this study. The lone exception was Internet sportswriters had a propensity to use more descriptors on athletic prowess/strengths in men’s basketball articles than their articles on women’s basketball. This assumption that held true reinforced the same findings by earlier researchers who studied women’s college

basketball and men’s college basketball (Billings et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Eastman & Billings, 2001).

Online stories focusing on men’s basketball included a higher average number of codes per article for descriptors on physical appearances/attire, athletic prowess/strengths, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, family roles/personal relationships, psychological/emotional weaknesses, and humor. Internet articles on women’s basketball had a higher average number of descriptors per article on positive skill level/accomplishments and psychological/emotional strengths.

Internet men’s basketball articles averaged three times as many descriptors on physical appearances/attire than online women’s basketball articles. The mean codes per article in this category were 2.1 for stories that focused on men’s basketball and just 0.7 for articles that focused on women’s basketball. However, no previous research could be located on gender and sport media that found a higher average number of references or descriptors towards male athletes’ physical appearances and attire than female athletes. Table 14 reveals the total codes for all online articles based on focus.

Table 14 Total Codes for all Internet Articles Based on Focus

Category	Men’s Basketball 180 Articles		Women’s Bkb. 69 Articles		All Internet 249 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	340	1.9	44	0.6	384	1.5
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	38	0.2	7	0.1	45	0.2
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	305	1.7	73	1.1	378	1.5
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	19	0.1	4	0.1	23	0.1
Athletic Prowess	1,170	6.5	392	5.7	1,562	6.3
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	187	1.0	26	0.4	213	0.9
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	476	2.6	152	2.2	628	2.5
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	85	0.5	16	0.2	101	0.4
Skill Level/	1,277	7.1	601	8.7	1,878	7.5

Table 14 Continued

Accomplishments – P						
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	285	1.6	68	1.0	353	1.4
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	529	2.9	184	2.7	713	2.9
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	90	0.5	17	0.2	107	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	251	1.4	35	0.5	286	1.1
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	97	0.5	24	0.3	121	0.5
Psychological/Emotional Strength	183	1.0	76	1.1	259	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	72	0.4	31	0.4	103	0.4
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	89	0.5	26	0.4	115	0.5
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	24	0.1	4	0.1	28	0.1
Humor	40	0.2	6	0.1	46	0.2
Humor (in quotes)	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0
Total for all Articles	5,577	30.9	1,787	25.9	7,344	29.5

Coding Results Based on Gender of Sportswriters

It is important to examine the a priori coding results based on who writes the actual articles. There were articles in this study with multiple authors, but none of the 508 articles examined included multiple authors from both genders. Men wrote 86% of all articles in the population as shown in Table 15.

Table 15 Gender of Authors for all Articles

Gender of Author(s)	Total Number of Articles	Percentage of all Articles
Men	437	86%
Women	71	14%
Total	508	100%

USA Today published the most articles (n=152) authored by men, while writers for ESPN Internet produced more than half of the stories (56.3%) by female authors in the overall study. *The New York Times* had the lowest total number of articles authored by men (n=76), although men still wrote 86.4% of all *The New York Times* articles in the study. CBS SportsLine had the lowest overall number of articles of any of the four sources. However, male writers authored all 79 CBS SportsLine stories included in this study. Table 16 shows the sources for all articles authored by male and female journalists.

Table 16 Sources for all Articles Based on Gender of Author

	New York Times	USA Today	CBS SportsLine	ESPN Internet	All Sources
Articles by Male Writers	76	152	79	130	437
% of all Articles by Males	17.4%	34.8%	18.1%	29.7%	100%
Articles by Female Writers	12	19	0	40	71
% of all Articles by Females	16.9%	26.8%	0%	56.3%	100%

Men's basketball was the focus for 83.3% of all articles authored by males, which was a greater percentage than the 76.4% of all articles in this study focusing on men's basketball. Female sportswriters wrote a much higher percentage of their articles on women's basketball (64.8%) than male writers did (16.2%). However, male journalists still wrote 60.1% of all articles on women's basketball. There were articles with multiple authors in the population of articles examined. However, none of those articles had authors representing both genders. Table 17 shows the sources for all articles based on the gender of the author(s).

Table 17 Focus for all Articles Based on Gender of Author

Focus of Article	Total Articles by Male Authors	% of all Articles Authored by Males	Total Articles by Female Authors	% of all Articles Authored By Females
Men's Basketball	364	83.3%	24	33.8%
Women's Basketball	71	16.2%	46	64.8%
Both Men's and Women's Bkb.	2	0.4%	1	1.4%
Total	437	100%	71	100%

When examining all articles in the population based on the gender of the author, male writers were more likely to use descriptors on physical appearances/attire, athletic prowess/strengths, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, and psychological/emotional weaknesses. Female writers were more likely to use descriptors on positive skill level/accomplishments, family roles/personal relationships, and psychological/emotional strengths. Table 17 shows the total codes for all articles authored by men and women.

Table 18 Codes for all Articles Based on Gender of Author

Category	Male Authors 437 Articles		Female Authors 71 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	520	1.2	48	0.7
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	85	0.2	9	0.1
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	560	1.3	67	0.0
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (in quotes)	65	0.1	1	0.0
Athletic Prowess	1,930	4.4	243	3.4
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	442	1.0	25	0.4
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	838	1.9	115	1.6
Athletic Weaknesses/Lim. (in quotes)	194	0.4	13	0.1

Table 18 Continued

Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive	2,481	5.7	478	6.7
Skill Level/ Accomplishments – Positive (in quotes)	734	1.7	76	1.1
Skill Level/Failures – Negative	972	2.2	141	2.0
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	203	0.5	30	0.4
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	750	1.7	114	1.6
Family Role/Personal Relationships (in quotes)	258	0.6	54	0.8
Psychological/Emotional Strength	412	0.9	68	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	312	0.7	47	0.7
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	179	0.4	23	0.3
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (in quotes)	64	0.1	9	0.1
Humor	56	0.1	5	0.1
Humor (in quotes)	5	0.0	3	0.0
Total for all Articles	11,060	25.3	1,569	22.1

Research Question 3.

(3) Through what type of gendered lenses do male and female sport journalists write about men’s college basketball and women’s college basketball?

Analyzing the descriptors sport journalists used when writing about March Madness helped determine the gendered lenses they used to cover March Madness, although qualitative methods were more beneficial in determining writers’ gendered lenses. Male writers were more than five times as likely to have articles published on men’s basketball (83.3%) than women’s basketball (16.2%) as shown in Table 16. Therefore, it was not surprising male writers placed a great deal of importance on men’s basketball articles. Male writers covering men’s basketball used an average of 25.9 descriptors per article, which was higher than the average number of codes used in articles written by males on women’s basketball, or in articles by female writers on either men’s basketball or women’s basketball as revealed in Table 19.

In general, the qualitative analysis and the a priori coding showed male writers displayed a gendered lens of great expectations when covering men’s basketball. The athletes were lavished with praise when they demonstrated what the writers perceived as

outstanding athleticism and/or skill level. However, male writers offered more criticisms of men's players when the athletes failed to meet the athletic expectations of high-level male athletes competing in a masculine hegemonic society.

Male writers who covered women's basketball used fewer descriptors per article on athletic prowess/strengths and positive skill level/accomplishments than female writers who covered women's basketball. However, male writers covering women's basketball were more likely to use descriptors of negative skill level/failures and athletic weaknesses/limitations than female writers who covered women's basketball. In general, male writers who covered women's basketball employed a gender lens where female athletes were seen as "the other," with male athletes representing the standard. This was evident by the propensity male writers had to discuss men's basketball or male basketball players in stories on women's basketball. This pattern is discussed in more detail under the heading, "He was always on my mind," in the section on dominant themes that emerged from the qualitative data analysis. Its implications are discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

However, male writers covering women's basketball were less likely to use descriptors on physical appearances/attire or family roles/personal relationships than male writers who wrote about men's basketball. Previous research (Christopherson et al., 2002; Vincent, 2004) had indicated male writers would be more likely to delve into the personal lives or describe appearances of female athletes, but the present study failed to confirm their findings. It is unclear why this occurred, although this surprising result will be discussed more in-depth in the next chapter.

Female writers were three times less likely to use descriptors on athletic prowess per article when writing about men's basketball than male writers who covered men's basketball. Excluding descriptors in quotes, the female writers in this study used only 1.5 descriptors on athletic prowess per article on men's basketball. Male writers who covered men's basketball, in contrast, employed an average of 4.5 descriptors on athletic prowess per article, excluding those used in quotes. Male writers who covered men's basketball were also more apt to use descriptors on positive skill level/accomplishments than female writers covering men's basketball. However, female writers used more descriptors per

article on negative skill level/failures and psychological/emotional weaknesses in men's basketball articles than male writers who covered men's basketball.

Therefore, female writers appeared to employ a gendered lens that displayed little amazement and maybe less appreciation for the athleticism and skill level of male basketball players than their male writing counterparts. The opposite gendered lens seemed to be in effect when female writers covered women's basketball.

Females who wrote about women's basketball used three times as many descriptors on athletic prowess and strengths (5.4 average per article) than females covering men's basketball (1.8 average per article). Excluding quotes, female writers covering women's basketball also provided twice as many positive descriptors on skill level/accomplishments per article than stories on men's basketball authored by women.

The overall a priori coding results were remarkably similar for women's basketball articles authored by males and females. However, female journalists averaged more descriptors per article on positive skill level/accomplishments and fewer descriptors per article on negative skill level/failures. The male writers were more likely to criticize or downplay the skill level of female basketball players, while female writers were more likely to offer praise for athletes of their same gender.

Females who wrote about women's basketball employed a gendered lens of female athletic empowerment and recognition. Female writers appeared to recognize and respect the athleticism of women's basketball players far more than male writers, who regularly compared women's basketball players to men's basketball players or male athletes who compete in sports other than basketball. These findings were also prevalent in the qualitative theme, "He was always on my mind," which was the most dominant theme emerging from the qualitative data analysis. This theme is discussed in greater detail in the next section. The significance and implications of these findings is discussed in chapter 5. Table 19 below shows the total codes for men's basketball and women's basketball articles based on the gender of authors.

Table 19 Total Codes for Focus of Articles Based on Gender of Author

Category	Male Writers on Men's Basketball 364 Articles		Male Writers on Women's Basketball 71 Articles		Female Writers on Men's Bkb. 24 Articles		Female Writers on Wom. Bkb. 46 Articles	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Physical Appearance, Attire	483	1.3	35	0.5	23	1.0	25	0.5
Physical Appearance, Attire (in quotes)	78	0.2	6	0.1	4	0.2	5	0.1
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo	469	1.3	90	1.3	23	1.0	44	1.0
Physical Appearance Sport Lingo (quotes)	51	0.1	12	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.0
Athletic Prowess	1,634	4.5	296	4.2	36	1.5	207	4.5
Athletic Prowess (in quotes)	354	1.0	85	1.2	8	0.3	17	0.4
Athletic Weaknesses Limitations	711	2.0	125	1.8	31	1.3	84	1.8
Athletic Weaknesses Lim. (in quotes)	167	0.5	27	0.4	4	0.2	9	0.2
Skill Level/Accomplishments – P	2,061	5.7	420	5.9	98	4.1	377	8.2
Skill Level/Accomplishments – P (quotes)	602	1.7	129	1.8	27	1.1	9	0.2
Skill Level/Failure-N	816	2.2	156	2.2	50	2.1	91	2.0
Skill Level/Failures – Negative (in quotes)	175	0.5	28	0.4	16	0.7	14	0.3
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	690	1.9	59	0.8	53	2.2	48	1.0
Family Role/Personal Relationships (quotes)	238	0.7	19	0.3	26	1.1	26	0.6
Psychological/Emotional Strength	366	1.0	45	0.6	20	0.8	48	1.0
Psychological/Emotional Strength (in quotes)	257	0.7	52	0.7	21	0.9	26	0.6
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	158	0.4	20	0.3	9	0.4	13	0.3
Psychological/Emotional Weakness (quotes)	54	0.1	10	0.1	5	0.2	4	0.1
Humor	51	0.1	5	0.1	3	0.1	2	0.0
Humor (in quotes)	5	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.0	1	0.0
Total for all Articles	9,420	25.9	1,719	24.2	459	19.1	1,093	23.8

Dominant Themes from Qualitative Data Analysis

This section will discuss the five dominant themes that emerged from the qualitative data analysis. After concluding the a priori coding and tabulating all of the results, the researcher used completed coding sheets and the actual articles from the population to begin the qualitative data analysis process. Working alone, he wrote theoretical and definitional memos, and used the constant comparative method to search for dominant themes from the 508 articles examined in this study. This was an individualistic, subjective, and interpretative process (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Patton, 2002; Martin & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1981). The five dominant qualitative themes emerging from this process were (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a tomboy; (3) Women still don't have next; (4) The real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else; (5) Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers. Overall, these themes showed masculine hegemony is prevalent in the articles on March Madness published in the four sport media outlets examined in this study. The prevalence of masculine hegemony in this study will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Dominant Theme 1.

He Was Always on my Mind

Even when writing about the women's tournament, sportswriters frequently mentioned the men's tournament, men's teams, men's coaches, and men's players. In contrast, women's basketball was almost never mentioned in stories on the men's tournament. This was the dominant theme emerging from the qualitative data analysis.

An article by Thayer Evans of *The New York Times* on the University of Oklahoma women's basketball team mentioned how Sooners coach Sherri Coale has drawn the envy of her friend, University of North Carolina men's basketball coach Roy Williams (ID: 167, *The New York Times*, March 25, 2006). Other than adding potential readers' interest due to Williams' name recognition garnered from his stints as head coach of the men's programs at the University of Kansas and North Carolina, Evans' inclusion of Williams in this story did not appear to fit with the rest of the content. In the

same article, Evans quoted ESPN television commentator and former women's basketball superstar Nancy Lieberman, who also writes for ESPN Internet, on the dominance of University of Oklahoma star Courtney Paris. Lieberman offered many comparisons to other great performers, all of whom were males:

“She’s got footwork like (Hakeem) Olajuwon and hands like Elton John. She’s like Shaq (Shaquille O’Neal). She’s like (Wilt) Chamberlain. She’s just an indomitable force...When you see LeBron (James), you expect him to be great. When you see Tiger (Woods), you expect him to win the tournament. When you see her, you expect her to get a double-double.”

In this quote, Lieberman compared the freshman Paris to three centers voted among the National Basketball Association's (NBA) 50 greatest players of all time (Olajuwon, O'Neal and Chamberlain), a 21-year old NBA phenom in James who is nicknamed “the Chosen One,” the 30-year-old Woods who has already won 10 grand slam golf tournaments, and a famed musician and accomplished pianist in Elton John. Comparing female players to male athletes as Lieberman did was commonplace in March Madness articles on women's basketball. Due to her quickness on the court, North Carolina point guard Ivory Latta was compared to Philadelphia 76ers star Allen Iverson and former Houston Rockets' star and NBA Hall of Famer Calvin Murphy (ID: 491, CBS SportsLine, April 3, 2006). In contrast, no male basketball players were compared to female players in any of the 388 articles focusing on men's basketball.

There were a total of three articles in the population examined focusing on either the Army University women's basketball team or the Cadets' first-year head coach Maggie Dixon. All three articles mentioned that Dixon was the younger sister of University of Pittsburgh men's coach Jamie Dixon. Ira Berkow of *The New York Times* repeatedly referred to Jamie in a story about Maggie, writing, “As she often has, Maggie Dixon asked her brother, Jamie, coach of the Pittsburgh men's basketball team, for advice” (ID: 30, *The New York Times*, March 15, 2006). Incidentally, Dixon died of heart complications on the evening of April 6, after both tournaments were over and the time frame of this study had concluded (Fittipaldo, 2006).

USA Today television reporter Michael Hiestand wrote a column discussing how ESPN had moved one of its regular men's basketball television commentators, Fran Franschilla, over to cover women's tournament games (ID: 65, *USA Today*, March 17,

2006). Franschilla is a former men's head coach at St. John's University and the University of New Mexico. Franschilla never coached women's basketball, but he said he was looking forward to broadcasting women's games. However, even when he was seemingly trying to praise the ability of women's teams to run offensive sets, Franschilla still pointed out the physical limitations of women's basketball players' athleticism by indirectly comparing their leaping ability to men. Hiestand quoted Franschilla as having said, " 'Women don't play above the rim, at least not yet. But fundamentally, it's a better execution of team play' " (ID: 65, *USA Today*, March 17, 2006).

CBS SportsLine published only five articles on the women's tournament, all of which were written by correspondent Mike Shalin. In contrast, CBS SportsLine published 74 articles on the men's tournament, 68 of which were written by CBS SportsLine staff writers. This showed the importance placed on the men's tournament by CBS SportsLine editors. All five of Shalin's articles included in this study focused on the women's tournament. Shalin, however, referenced the men's tournament in four of those articles and referenced men's basketball in all five. In contrast, the women's tournament was referenced in only two of the remaining 74 CBS SportsLine articles on the men's tournament.

In one article, Shalin criticized what he evidently perceived as a lack of overall talent and depth in the women's tournament by comparing it to the men's tournament:

As you probably know, upsets aren't that common in the women's tournament. While the men's Sweet 16 sports a 13th seed, an 11, two sevens and a six, this stuff doesn't happen in the women's game – there's just not enough talent (yet) to make for enough teams that can really challenge (ID: 392, CBS SportsLine, March 23, 2006).

The Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) tied a tournament record by sending three teams to women's Final Four: Duke University, the University of Maryland, and North Carolina. In contrast, no team from the ACC reached the Elite Eight of the men's tournament. Still, in her article on the ACC's dominance of women's basketball, ESPN Internet columnist Mechelle Voepell seemed to justify media providing far more coverage of the conference's men's teams than its women's teams by writing, "The ACC women are in such a big shadow of the men's popularity, and that's completely understandable and logical" (ID: 450, ESPN Internet, March 29, 2006).

Sportswriters' propensity to compare female players and the women's games to male players and the men's game strengthens masculine hegemony in sport by showing that men's basketball is viewed as the standard for comparison. This notion was further strengthened because none of the 388 articles focusing on men's basketball in this study included descriptors comparing a male basketball player's athleticism or skill level to a female basketball player.

Dominant Theme 2.

She Must Have Been a Tomboy

In features on standout women's basketball players, references are occasionally made to how these women improved their games – physically and psychologically – by playing against boys as youths or in pick-up games against adult men. In contrast, only two of the 388 articles focusing on men's basketball had any mention of a male player who grew up playing against girls or adult women. Thus, an implicit implication is made that athletic young girls' best chance of finding quality competition and earning respect is through competing against boys or men, who are perceived to be physically superior to most girls and women in a masculine hegemonic society.

Two stories on LSU women's star Seimone Augustus discussed her playing basketball with boys as a child. *USA Today* staff writer Johnnie Whitehead wrote of Augustus, "Her temperament comes from years of playing at recreational centers, where she was challenged mentally – as much as physically – by boys and men. Managing the psychological warfare was paramount" (ID: 24, *USA Today*, March 14, 2006). Augustus, as quoted by Whitehead, learned a masculine hegemonic order in sport through her experiences of playing with males, " 'My dad made me play against a lot of men. Men are stronger, faster and they can jump higher. So you have to think' " (ID: 24, *USA Today*, March 14, 2006)

Similar references were made about other women's superstars honing their athletic skills and psychological toughness by playing against boys. Thayer Evans of *The New York Times* wrote about how former NFL San Francisco 49ers running back Roger Craig watched Oklahoma star Courtney Paris dominate both boys and girls in youth basketball. Craig, a 49ers teammate of Paris' father, Bubba, in the 1980s was quoted by

The New York Times as having said, “ ‘She had great fundamental skills. I was her biggest fan when she was a kid. I knew she was going to change the game of women’s basketball forever’ ” (ID: 167, *The New York Times*, March 25, 2006).

A second *USA Today* cover story by Whitehead referenced how another women’s star basketball player improved her toughness and physicality by playing basketball against boys as a youth. In discussing the upbringing of North Carolina star Ivory Latta, Whitehead wrote, “The competitive edge was fueled from a young age when Latta’s father, Charles, built a basketball court in her backyard and allowed his daughter to play against boys” (ID: 152, *USA Today*, March 24, 2006).

Voepel also wrote about how superstar forward Crystall Langhorne of 2006 national champion Maryland learned basketball by doing drills with and playing against her older brothers. She quoted Langhorne on the benefits of these experiences:

“I did a lot of shooting drills against my brothers. I didn’t play with them as much as people might think. But I did play pickup with them more sometimes as I got older. You know, boys don’t usually like to pass the ball, but my brothers made sure I got it when I was playing against boys. So that really helped me out” (ID: 503, ESPN Internet, April 4, 2006).

Dominant Theme 3.

Women Still Don’t Have Next

Prior to its inaugural season of play in 1997, the WNBA debuted its slogan “We got Next.” One of the implications of this slogan was that the time had arrived for the United States culture to embrace women’s basketball, following the success of the American women’s basketball team and American female athletes, in general, at the 1996 summer Olympic Games in Atlanta (Steen, 2003; Wearden & Creedon, 2002).

Approaching a decade since the debut of that slogan, the qualitative data analysis for this study showed college women’s basketball still has not arrived as a mainstream popular sport in the view of some media members based on some of the portrayals and types of stories found among the 508 articles examined.

In general, men’s stories focused on the teams, players, coaches, and brackets. However, women’s articles were more likely to feature overriding stories on the state of the women’s game and/or women’s tournament, several of which speculated on whether

the women's game had arrived in the public consciousness. If writers continually feel the need to produce these overriding stories wondering if the women's game has arrived, it probably has not in their opinion. Therefore, the writers' propensity to evaluate the women's game in ways the men's game is not examined portrays women's basketball as "the other" in college sports and thus helps maintain masculine hegemony in media sport coverage (Duncan, 2006; Messner et al., 1996).

As she often does, *USA Today* columnist Christene Brennan wrote an overriding column on the positives and negatives of women's sports, focusing this particular article on women's college basketball and March Madness. (ID: 146, *USA Today*, March 23, 2006). Brennan pointed out a lack of overall public interest for the women's tournament by showing there were 3 million entries in ESPN Internet's men's bracket challenge, while there were only 175,000 entries in the same contest for the women's bracket, according to figures she obtained from ESPN. Brennan, though, expressed a different view than several other writers in this study by claiming the depth and talent of teams in the women's tournament had improved greatly, pointing out "...non-traditional powers Baylor and Michigan State made it" to the 2006 women's NCAA Division I final (ID: 146, *USA Today*, March 23, 2006). Brennan further elucidated her point by noting that gender marking is prevalent in March Madness media stories on women's basketball and by quoting The Ohio State University women's basketball coach Jim Foster on challenges faced in women's basketball:

Infuriating? What must it be like for these women and their coaches when the male-dominated mainstream media continue to refer to "the tournament," as if there's only one? Or when that pesky little adjective "men's" still is sometimes not used to differentiate one tournament from the other, while the adjective "women's" is never forgotten? Foster has dealt with these slights for years, so much that he and his staff have a little fun with it. "When we answer the phone in our office, we answer 'Basketball.' We don't answer 'Women's basketball.' We do that because the men's team doesn't answer the phone 'Men's basketball.' " Wherever a women's sport is played, comparisons always lurk. Fewer people are watching the women's tournament than the men's, of course. A little less than 4,000 attended the two second-round games at Purdue on Tuesday night. But after the Boilermakers' game, "a large segment got up and left," Foster said, missing the BC-Ohio State game. "The product on the floor is worthy of more people in the bleachers" (ID: 146, *USA Today*, March 23, 2006).

The special status given to women's basketball as "the other" in March Madness will likely be reinforced by journalists throughout the country until Brennan and other writers at major media outlets start focusing their attention on female players, coaches, and games the way writers do for the men's tournaments. Unfortunately, though, many of these writers and columnists at major media outlets, such as Brennan of *USA Today*, turn into sociologists during March Madness, because they continually examine the status of college women's basketball in American culture, instead of providing more attention to individual players, coaches, and teams.

The New York Times writer Lynn Zinser wrote an overriding story in which she discussed advancements in the women's game. Zinser also criticized what she perceived as a lack of parity and depth in college women's basketball. Zinser wrote the tournament success of midmajor college George Mason in the men's tournament "...rarely visits the women's version of the Final Four" (ID: 231, *The New York Times*, April 2, 2006). Zinser quoted Lieberman as having said, " 'You have to remember, the men are 50 years ahead of us ... We have made progress with parity. There are a lot more teams vying to be in the top 25. We are getting there. Are we 100 percent there yet? No' " (ID: 231, *The New York Times*, April 2, 2006).

Over its 26 national daily editions falling within the time frame of this study, *The New York Times* had only 14 stories produced by its own writers on the NCAA Division I women's tournament. However, *The New York Times* had multiple overriding stories on the state of the women's tournament, including another such story the day after Zinser's story discussing the lack of parity in the women's field compared to the men's field. In his column entitled, "Growth of women's game on display at the Final Four," Harvey Araton wrote, "...the only way to truly appreciate how far the women's game has come is to check out the scholastic summer camps, the all-star games" (ID: 232, *The New York Times*, April 3, 2006).

ESPN Internet writer Graham Hayes evidently believes women's college basketball has reached an elevated status by the way in which he framed the impact of a single dunk in a basketball game. Tennessee standout Candace Parker created a minor media stir by becoming the first woman to successfully dunk a basketball during an

NCAA Division I women's tournament game in the Volunteers' first-round victory over Army. Hayes decided to use this dunk as the impetus to write a story on how the women's game is changing. However, he still decided to compare Parker's accomplishments to those of a male athlete from another sport:

Parker's dunks are important not because she got her hand above the rim and scored two points by pushing the ball through the hoop, but because it highlights the player at the forefront of an athletic revolution in women's basketball. Just as the physical training and conditioning that once made Tiger Woods stand alone in the world of pro golf are now par for the course, Parker's unique brand of athleticism is a sign of things to come (ID: 361, ESPN Internet, March 19, 2006).

Hayes may have made this comparison to Woods, because no other well-known women's basketball player has ever had the "unique brand of athleticism" Parker possesses (ID: 361, ESPN Internet, March 19, 2006). Hayes, though, could have seemingly used a female athlete from another sport for this analogy, such as tennis legend Martina Navratilova, who dominated the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) professional tour in the 1980s in large part due to her physical training and conditioning. Hayes concluded his overriding commentary by writing, "...we've reached one of those points in time when eras shift...Sunday's dunks were just two plays among 40 minutes. But the image of Parker rising up symbolizes something even bigger. The next generation has arrived" (ID: 361, ESPN Internet, March 19, 2006). If women's basketball has arrived or reached a revolutionary stage as Hayes implies, then why do women's basketball writers like Hayes continually have to ask if it has or remind us that it has?

Dominant Theme 4.

**The Real Hegemonic Order in Media Coverage of College Sports:
Football, Men's Basketball, and then Everything Else**

The NCAA derives roughly 90% of its total annual revenues from the NCAA men's basketball tournament (Matheson & Baade, 2004), in large part due to the estimated \$6 billion CBS spent for the rights to televise the men's Division I tournament for 11 years (Suggs, 1999). However, the qualitative data analysis in this study revealed that football, which is considered to be a sport that helps reinforce hegemonic masculinity

in the American sports culture (Coakley, 2004), still ranks ahead of men's basketball on the media's masculine hegemonic hierarchy of college sports.

Numerous stories about the men's basketball tournament specifically mentioned college football. The tournament success of Southeastern Conference (SEC) schools Florida and LSU, both of which advanced to the Final Four, resulted in several articles that referenced how men's basketball is of little interest at these schools compared to their football programs. A Gannett News Service article published in *USA Today* entitled, "Football takes a rare back seat to LSU Hoops," discusses how men's basketball usually receives far less attention and interest than football at LSU even when the football team partakes in off-season spring practices and the men's basketball team is playing games. Glenn Gulibeau wrote, "LSU senior point guard Darrell Mitchell existed in the shadow of football for the previous three years" (ID: 225, *USA Today*, March 31, 2006).

This article by Gulibeau was actually one of only three in the population of 508 articles in this research focusing on both men's basketball and women's basketball. Gulibeau wrote about the Tigers' men's and women's teams' accomplishments of advancing to the Final Four. However, this article served as the perfect example of the masculine hegemonic hierarchy in sport media coverage of college athletics. The Tigers' football program was still mentioned before either basketball team, with Gulibeau first introducing the men's basketball team in the second paragraph and the women's basketball team in the third paragraph. (ID: 225, *USA Today*, March 31, 2006). The first paragraph reads:

Near the ticket office in the LSU athletics administration building, there is a flat-screen TV that normally plays LSU's football victory against Oklahoma in the Bowl Championship Series title game from two years ago or the win against Miami (Fla.) in the Peach Bowl last December (ID: 225, *USA Today*, March 31, 2006).

The emphasis on college football was most prevalent in articles on eventual 2006 NCAA Division I men's basketball national champion Florida. ESPN senior writer Pat Forde wrote, "It's been a decade since Florida won the national title in the sport it cares most about, in football" (ID: 474, *ESPN Internet*, April 2, 2006). Forde also wrote another article entitled, "Will a national title help shed football-first rep" that continually mentioned the popularity of Florida's football program. (ID: 475, *ESPN Internet*, April 2,

2006). Forde began this article with, “The term ‘basketball school’ fits Florida like a snow shovel in South Beach. It sounds wrong. It is wrong” (ID: 475, ESPN Internet, April 2, 2006). In the same article, Forde quoted Florida athletics director Jeremy Foley on the tradition and emphasis placed upon football at the school, as well as the popularity of college football in the region as a whole. “Football is the passion and religion in the Southeast,” Foley was quoted by Forde as having said. “That’s not going to change” (ID: 475, ESPN Internet, April 2, 2006).

Similar references to a school’s football program were made in stories about the University of Texas and University of Alabama men’s basketball programs, neither of which advanced beyond the Elite Eight in the 2006 NCAA Division I men’s basketball tournament. In a story on Alabama’s men’s basketball team, CBS SportsLine staff writer Dennis Dodd referenced the tradition and emphasis placed on football success at the Southeastern Conference school. Dodd downplayed Alabama’s basketball tradition and interest in the sport among the school’s fans by writing, “Bama is not a traditional power and, well, basketball isn’t a traditional sport in Tuscaloosa” (ID: 374, CBS SportsLine, March 19, 2006).

There were also several articles that referenced college football in discussing either George Mason’s run to the men’s Final Four or the emergence of Gonzaga University as a national power in Division I men’s basketball over the past decade. These articles mentioned how schools that field Division I-A football teams also usually dominate the Division I men’s basketball tournament. However, the success of George Mason and Gonzaga contradicted this premise. In one CBS SportsLine article, Dodd quoted Gonzaga coach Mark Few as having said, “ ‘The poorest descriptor of a basketball team is whether their school has football or not’ ” (ID: 381, CBS SportsLine, March 22, 2006).

The repeated references to football in articles focusing on men’s basketball imply sportswriters at these four outlets place football above men’s basketball on the hegemonic hierarchy of coverage. As described above, writers such as Forde and Dodd actually wrote football’s popularity trumps that of basketball at some schools. Likewise, since men’s basketball is regularly referenced in articles on women’s basketball while the opposite almost never occurs, it appears obvious that newspaper and online sportswriters

at least at these four media outlets place men's basketball higher than women's basketball on the hegemonic hierarchy for the sports they deem as deserving of coverage.

Dominant Theme 5.

Parents are Newsworthy, Especially Athletic Fathers

The likelihood of writers using descriptors on family roles/personal relationships, particularly in articles focusing on men's basketball, was described in the a priori coding results. Falling under this category, writers frequently referenced the parents of an athlete, coach, or another person discussed in the article. However, these references were more commonplace if one parent had athletic experience as a player or coach. Overall, at least one parent was specifically referenced by name or the term "parents" was used in 75 of the 388 (19.2%) articles focusing on men's basketball, while just 17 of the 117 (14.5%) articles on women's basketball discussed at least one parent or included the word "parents." Even though some of these athletes undoubtedly had more than two people they identify as their parents, when the term parents was used it was assumed by the researcher that writers were implying one father and one mother. However, parents were referenced by their actual names in many articles, and some articles included references to multiple parents of multiple players. In the 92 combined women's basketball and men's basketball articles mentioning at least one parent, fathers were referenced at least once 106 times, while mothers were referenced at least once only 49 times.

It appeared writers were more prone to include information on parents if one of the parents may have name recognition to potential readers, often stemming from his or her athletic accomplishments. This was most evident in articles on the Florida men's basketball team, which won the school's first basketball national title in the 2006 tournament. Florida featured three starters whose fathers were professional athletes in forward Joakim Noah, forward Al Horford, and point guard Taurean Green. Noah's father, Yannick, was an international tennis star in the 1980s and the 1983 French Open men's single champion. Tito Horford and Sidney Green both played professionally in the NBA. *The New York Times* published an article focusing entirely on these three players' lineage entitled, "Apples fall, trees remain: 3 Gators have genes to thank" (ID: 234, *The New York Times*, April 3, 2006). *The New York Times* staff writer Pete Thamel attributed

much of the Gators' success to these three players' athletic gene pool and the sports world in which they grew up. "One root of the Gators' success this season can be traced to the family tree of three starters... All three, all sophomores grew up in an environment where coaching clichés like discipline, sacrifice and focus were part of their vernacular" (ID: 234, *The New York Times*, April 3, 2006).

The Gators' Joakim Noah, who was named most valuable player of the 2006 men's Final Four, was clearly the most publicized athlete in the 2006 March Madness based on articles from the four media outlets examined in this research. References to both of Noah's parents were commonplace in March Madness articles. After his tennis career, Yannick Noah became a professional reggae singer. His former wife and Joakim's mother, Cecillia Rhode, is a former model who was honored as Miss Sweden in 1978. Rhode is now a renowned sculptor. Both parents added name recognition and interesting storylines to articles on Joakim Noah. However, Yannick Noah was mentioned by name in 20 of the 21 articles referencing at least one of Noah's parents. Rhode, however, was directly referenced or included under the plural "parents" in only eight of those articles.

A total of five articles noted former San Francisco 49ers offensive lineman William "Bubba" Paris is the father of Oklahoma women's star Courtney Paris. Another five articles discussed Collis Temple, the first African American basketball player at LSU and the current father of LSU guard Garrett Temple. There were four articles noting former Georgetown men's basketball coach and current television commentator John Thompson is the father of current Georgetown men's basketball coach John Thompson III. Finally, three articles mentioned former NBA referee George Toliver is the father of point guard Kristi Toliver, who helped Maryland women's basketball team capture the 2006 national championship.

There were occasional references to fathers who helped teach basketball to their children. However, only one article specifically noted how a mother aided in the basketball development of a player. A *USA Today* article on Boston College men's basketball star Craig Smith elaborated on how his mother, Linda Christian, taught him basketball skills and played alongside him as a youngster. Writer Vicki Michaels described their relationship as:

These are heights his mom never dreamed when she first put a ball in her 3-year-old son's hands and taught him to dribble and shoot. She learned the game from watching television with her father and playing pickup games when she could – even if it meant ditching dance class as a teenager, and even after she had her children.

Smith had to prove himself early, when he and his mom would challenge fathers and sons to games at a local park (ID: 134, *USA Today*, March 22, 2006).

In general, articles discussed the athletic or coaching experiences of fathers, or the fathers' input on their son or daughter's athletic development. Comparatively, mothers were usually mentioned for the emotional support they provided their son or daughter. In fact, outside of Rhode, Tonya Davis appears in six different articles, more than any other mother referenced in the population of 508 combined men's and women's basketball articles examined in this study. Davis, who has battled drug addiction for much of her adult life, is the biological mother of LSU men's basketball standout Glen "Big Baby" Davis, although she did not have custody of Davis for part of his childhood (ID: 426, ESPN Internet, March 26, 2006). Her contributions to his athletic development are never discussed, but her appearances and propensity to show affection were commonplace in articles where she was mentioned. For example, ESPN Internet columnist Andy Katz wrote about Tonya Davis' actions after the Tigers advanced to the Final Four by beating Texas in the Atlanta Regional Final. "On the podium with her son wearing a yellow boa, she hugged and kissed him and made sure she got in her congratulatory hugs for his teammates" (ID: 426, ESPN Internet, March 26, 2006).

Writers' exhibited a propensity to discuss the athletic accomplishments of fathers and contributions of fathers' to their children's athletic developments. In contrast, rarely did writers note the athletic careers or athletic influences of mothers. This reinforces the historical masculine hegemonic notion that sport is a masculine domain where women are seen as outsiders (Bryson, 1990; Coakley, 2004; Connell, 1995; Pedersen, 2002).

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the results from the a priori coding for nine categories and the qualitative data analysis. Many of the findings from the a priori coding refuted the assumptions made by the researcher before undertaking this study. They did not fully

support the presence of masculine hegemony in newspaper and online sports articles on March Madness. However, masculine hegemony was clearly present in several dominant themes emerging from the qualitative data analysis. These dominant themes, along with their implications, will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

As expected, most of the articles in this study (76.4%) focused on men's basketball. Articles on men's basketball included more descriptors on average (25.5) than those on women's basketball (23.2). However, most of the coding results for articles focusing on women's basketball or men's basketball failed to confirm the findings from previous studies, as well as the assumptions made before this research. An analysis of all newspaper and Internet articles included in this study, indicated that articles on men's basketball included more codes per articles than those on women's basketball in six of the nine a priori coding categories: (1) physical appearances/attire; (2) athletic weaknesses/limitations; (3) negative skill level/failures; (4) family roles/personal relationships; (5) psychological/emotional strengths; (6) psychological/emotional weaknesses. Articles on women's basketball included more codes per articles than those on men's basketball in just one category – positive skill level/accomplishments. These findings will be discussed in greater detail in the discussion section of the next chapter.

The a priori coding based on the gender of sportswriters showed male writers who covered men's basketball were more likely to use descriptors on athletic prowess than male writers who covered women's basketball, or female writers who covered either women's basketball or men's basketball. However, females who wrote about women's basketball used three times as many descriptors on athletic prowess (5.4 average per article) than females who wrote about men's basketball (1.8 average per article). Findings based on the gender of sportswriters will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

The five preeminent themes emerging from the purely qualitative data analysis were (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a tomboy; (3) Women still don't have next; (4) The real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else; (5) Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers. The significance and implications of these themes will be discussed in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Narratives and descriptors used in newspaper and online sports articles on the 2006 NCAA Division I women's basketball and men's basketball tournaments were analyzed in this study. This concluding chapter is divided into four primary sections. The first two sections focus on summaries and discussions of the results from the a priori coding for specific categories and from the qualitative data analysis. Section three discusses the significance and implications of these findings. The final section provides suggestions and recommendations for future research.

A Priori Coding Summary and Discussion

The text of each article included in this study was coded for the following descriptive categories: (1) physical appearances, sexuality, attire; (2) athletic prowess, strengths; (3) athletic weaknesses, limitations; (4) positive skill level, accomplishments; (5) negative skill level, failures; (6) family roles, personal relationships; (7) psychological, emotional strengths; (8) psychological, emotional weaknesses; (9) humor. Results from the coding were broken into two parts – general and sport specific, and results based on the gender of sportswriters – in attempts to answer the three research questions poised at the beginning of this study.

Not surprisingly, the majority of articles on March Madness published in these four media outlets focused on men's basketball (76.4%). The dominance of the men's tournament in articles was evident when *USA Today* published a 26-page, two-part, pullout bonus section entitled "March Madness Preview" on Monday, March 13. The focus of all content in this section (i.e., articles, photographs, breakout boxes, etc.) was on the men's tournament. This counters an earlier reference by Coakley (2004) that *USA Today* is now devoting roughly 25% of its March Madness bonus section to women's basketball. It should be noted the women's bracket was not released until the evening after publication of the special section. *USA Today*, though, never published a bonus section for the women's tournament.

In general, sportswriters tended to employ narratives framing March Madness in a positive light. Sportswriters were more than twice as likely to use descriptors on athletic prowess, positive skill level/accomplishments, and psychological/emotional strengths than they were to use descriptors on athletic weaknesses, negative skill level/failures, and psychological/emotional weaknesses. These findings suggest sportswriters at the four media outlets examined prefer to write about the athletic skills and psychological strengths of athletes more so than their athletic limitations and psychological weaknesses. In other words, writers were more apt to focus on the positive than the negative in their framing of March Madness.

Newspapers averaged fewer descriptors per article (20.4) than the average number of codes for online articles (29.5). However, newspaper writers were more likely to let those interviewed or numbers provide the basis for narratives, since quotations and statistics were more prevalent in newspaper articles than online articles. Therefore, it appeared newspaper sportswriters at *The New York Times* and *USA Today* were more likely to follow traditional tenets of sportswriting – such as focusing on the 5 Ws (who, what, where, when, why) and how – than online writers (Tuchman, 1978). This was more evident in *USA Today* articles. *The New York Times* included more than twice as many (25.6) codes per article than *USA Today* (10.5), which was far more likely to include statistics without descriptors. These differences were probably a result of *USA Today* electing to provide coverage of nearly every team in the men’s tournament and most teams in the women’s tournament. In contrast, *The New York Times* (n=88) published fewer overall articles on March Madness than *USA Today* (n=171), even though 26 daily editions of *The New York Times* were examined compared to only 19 editions of the *USA Today*. Unlike *The New York Times*, *USA Today* does not publish print editions on Saturdays and Sundays. Articles in *USA Today* did generally become longer and featured more descriptors as March Madness progressed and more schools were eliminated from the two tournaments.

A higher percentage of the total articles published in the two online mediums (27.7%) focused on women’s basketball than from the population of newspaper articles (18.5%). However, those differences were almost entirely due to ESPN Internet, which published 37.6% of its 170 total articles on women’s basketball. In fact, the 64 overall

articles focusing on women's basketball on ESPN Internet accounted for 54.7% of all women's basketball articles examined in this study. Just five of the 79 CBS SportsLine articles in the population focused on women's basketball. It is not exactly clear why ESPN Internet provided so much coverage of the women's tournament compared to the other three media outlets. However, the most probable explanation is ESPN tried to promote the women's tournament, because ESPN Television networks broadcasted all of the women's tournament games. The other three media outlets did not have a vested interest in promoting the women's tournament and this may explain why they did not provide as much coverage on women's basketball. In general, online articles included more columns and personal opinions within the text than newspaper articles. Therefore, narratives of online articles were more slanted in nature than newspaper articles. Writers at CBS SportsLine and ESPN Internet were prone to integrate elements of columns, game summaries, features, and notebooks all in the same articles and occasionally utilized a dysfunctional format not following the traditional tenets of newspaper writing that were evident in *The New York Times* and *USA Today* articles (Tuchman, 1978).

Sport media researchers may be surprised to learn that many of the trends in previous research on gender and sport media were contradicted in this study. Prior to examining the articles in this study, several assumptions were made based on previous research on gender and sport media (e.g., Billings et al., 2002; Carty, 2006; Christopherson et al., 2002; Elueze & Jones, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 2003; Messner et al., 1996; Vincent, 2004; Vincent et al., in press). It was assumed both newspaper and online sports stories on women's basketball would average more coded descriptors per article on physical appearances/attire, family roles/personal relationships, athletic weaknesses/limitations, negative skill level/failures, psychological/emotional weaknesses, and humor. In contrast, previous research indicated men's basketball articles would include a higher average number of descriptors for athletic prowess/strengths, positive skill level/accomplishments, and psychological/emotional strengths. Surprisingly, eight of these nine assumptions were unsubstantiated for both newspaper and online articles.

The lone assumptions that held valid were newspaper stories on men's basketball included a higher average number of descriptors per article on psychological/emotional

strengths, and online articles on men's basketball included a higher average number of codes for athletic prowess/strengths. Interestingly, newspaper and online writers were more likely to have included descriptors for physical appearances/attire and personal relationships/family roles when covering men's basketball than women's basketball. This contradicted previous studies, nearly all of which found descriptors on physical appearances or personal lives used more often in media commentary on female athletes than male athletes (e.g., Davis, 1997; Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 1996; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999; Vincent et al., 2002; Vincent, 2004). However, the prevalence of celebrity fathers of male athletes competing in March Madness, such as the three former professional athletes who were fathers of members of the national champion Florida men's basketball team, may have affected the number of descriptors writers used on family roles and personal relationships. However, there were also several public figures among fathers of women's players mentioned in articles, including former 49ers offensive lineman Bubba Paris and singer Chubby Checker, the father of Duke standout Mistie Williams.

In their study on British newspaper coverage, Harris and Clayton (2002) concluded, "...female athletes are subjected to non-task relevant commentary or portrayed in a non-active role, in order to construct hegemonic masculinity" (p. 397). However, this study showed the opposite – that male athletes and coaches of men's basketball teams were more likely to be described in non-active roles. Employing the logic of Harris and Clayton (2002), masculine hegemony was not present in the specific a priori coding results for this study, particularly since both newspaper and online sportswriters used more task-oriented descriptors per article on positive athletic skill level when covering female players.

The mean codes on descriptors for athletic prowess/strengths and positive skill level/accomplishments in newspaper articles, and the mean codes on descriptors for positive skill level/accomplishments in online articles were all higher for stories on women's basketball than articles on men's basketball. This was in direct contrast to most studies that examined similar descriptors used by sport media members (e.g., Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent et al., 2003). In studies comparing television commentary of women's college basketball and men's college basketball, researchers (Billings et al.,

2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988) found broadcasters were far more likely to focus on the physical prowess of male athletes, which they argued helped reinforce a masculine hegemonic perspective for many viewers. However, the unexpected results from the a priori coding of this research suggest newspaper and online writers for at least the four examined media outlets may now recognize female basketball players for their athleticism and skill level at least as much as they do for male players. These surprising results may in part be due to writers at these four major media outlets overcompensating for past ridiculing of female athletes by sport journalists (e.g., Christopherson et al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Vincent, 2004).

The a priori coding averages per article based on the gender of sportswriters also revealed results that were not projected. As expected from previous research (e.g., Cramer, 1994; Pedersen et al., 2003), male journalists wrote the vast majority (86%) of all articles included in this study. Also as expected from previous research (Cramer, 1994; Miloch et al., 2005; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999), most of the articles authored by males (83.3%) focused on men's basketball, while a majority (64.8%) of articles with female bylines focused on women's basketball. This does not imply male writers prefer covering men's basketball, while female writers seek to cover women's basketball. Both of those desires may be true in some cases. However, previous research (Cramer, 1994; Miloch et al., 2005) indicated many women were pigeonholed into covering women's sports. Therefore, decisions on which writers cover what sports ultimately lies with media gatekeepers, i.e., editors, producers, general managers, etc. (Hardin, 2005).

Male writers who covered men's basketball employed a gendered lens of great expectations. Male journalists who covered men's basketball averaged more descriptors per article on athletic prowess/strengths and athletic weaknesses/limitations than males who covered women's basketball, or female writers who covered either men's basketball or women's basketball. However, the male writers offered frequent praise for the athleticism of male athletes. In fact, male writers who covered men's basketball used an average of three times as many descriptors on athletic prowess and strength (4.5 per article excluding quotes) than females who wrote about men's basketball (1.5 per article excluding quotes). Therefore, males who covered men's basketball were more likely to uphold masculine hegemony in sport than females who covered men's basketball, so long

as the players' athleticism met the expectations of the male writers. For example, in describing Louisiana State University (LSU) star Tyrus Thomas, ESPN correspondent Jay Bilas wrote, "LSU can literally throw the ball up almost anywhere to Thomas and he can go get it" (ID: 418, ESPN Internet, March 26, 2006). Thomas' leaping ability reinforced the physical dominance media members often use when describing male athletes, subsequently helping to uphold a masculine hegemonic order in sport (Bryson, 1987; Hargreaves, 1994).

However, a surprising finding was that male writers who covered men's basketball were more likely to include descriptors on physical appearances/attire than any of the other three pairings listed above. This finding contradicted previous research on sport media and gender (e.g., Harris & Clayton, 2002; Knight & Giuliano, 2001-02; Vincent, 2004). This is important because it signals writers from these four media outlets may now care less about the physical appearances of female athletes. However, it should be noted women's basketball is not a sport construed as historically feminine (Rader, 2004). Therefore, male writers may be more apt to describe the physical appearances and attire of women athletes in sports deemed as more feminine and thus offering greater perceived sex appeal to heterosexual males, such as gymnastics, figure-skating, and tennis (Coakley, 2004; Vincent et al., 2003).

It remains unclear why male writers used more descriptors on physical appearance/attire for men's basketball articles than any other combination of gender of sportswriter and focus. Male writers may have purposely limited their descriptors on physical appearances and attire in women's basketball articles as a response to past criticisms of sport media members for focusing on the appearances of women athletes more so than their athletic skills (e.g., Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Kane & Parks, 1992; Vincent, 2004).

Male writers who covered women's basketball employed a gender lens that saw female athletes as "the other," with male athletes representing the standard for comparison. Male writers frequently mentioned the men's basketball tournament or male athletes in stories on women's basketball, but almost never did the opposite for stories on men's basketball. This trend reinforces masculine hegemony in society by implying that female athletes must play like men to be deemed newsworthy (Hardin & Shain, 2005c;

Hargreaves, 1994). Duncan (2006) concluded, “Since the masculine is the default position in our society, the feminine is seen as *the Other*” (p. 238).

Females covering men’s basketball did not appear overly impressed with the athleticism of male basketball players. Excluding descriptors used in quotes, female writers covering men’s basketball averaged only 1.5 codes per article, compared to the 4.5 codes per article averaged by male writers who covered men’s basketball. In contrast, female writers who covered women’s basketball employed a narrative lens of female athletic empowerment and recognition. Female journalists appeared more impressed by the athleticism of women’s players than of men’s players. Including quotes, female writers who covered women’s basketball employed three times as many descriptors per article (5.4 average) on athletic prowess and strengths than females who wrote about men’s basketball (1.8 average). Therefore, female writers were less likely to reinforce masculine hegemony in sport, since they regularly used descriptors on women’s basketball players for their athleticism and skill level, while not lavishing excessive praise upon men’s basketball players for their athleticism and skill level.

In sum, male writers examined in this study helped uphold masculine hegemony in sport by offering more praise on the athleticism and skill level of men’s basketball players, while offering less praise of women’s basketball players and regularly portraying women as “the other” in sport. In contrast, female writers contradicted the traditional masculine hegemonic order in sport by offering more praise for female athletes, and exhibiting little amazement at the athletic abilities and accomplishments of male athletes.

Qualitative Data Analysis Summary and Discussion

Following the a priori coding for specific categories, the researcher immersed himself in the coding sheets and the actual articles, writing theoretical and definitional memos on reoccurring concepts emerging from the codes (Emerson et al., 1995; Martin & Turner, 1986). He also employed the constant comparative method, which entails drawing connections amongst pieces of qualitative data to decipher and define key concepts from the textual analysis (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Vincent et al., in press).

Five dominant qualitative themes emerged from this process: (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a tomboy; (3) Women still don’t have next; (4) The

real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else; (5) Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers. In contrast to findings from the a priori coding, masculine hegemony was present in both women's basketball articles and men's basketball articles based on this qualitative data analysis. However, it should be noted this process was more subjective and interpretative than the a priori coding, particularly since the second coder was not involved in the search for dominant themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). In addition, the researcher approached this process with the premise that masculine hegemony is prevalent in media coverage of March Madness based on the results of previous research (Billings et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Messner et al., 1996). However, the researcher did not purposely search for themes that supported the presence of masculine hegemony in articles on March Madness.

These five themes upheld the masculine hegemonic nature of sport media coverage in the U.S. by repeatedly portraying female athletes as "the other" (Duncan, 2006; Messner et al., 1996) and reinforcing the notion that sport is a masculine domain (Duncan & Messner, 1998; Pedersen, 2002). These inferences of masculine hegemony were most evident in the first three themes emerging from the qualitative data analysis. In the first theme, "He was always on my mind," the men's tournament was frequently referenced in articles focusing on the women's tournament, while female players were occasionally compared to male players, who apparently are perceived by many writers and fans to be physically dominant compared to female players (Hargreaves, 1994). In contrast, the women's tournament was rarely alluded to in articles on the men's tournament, while no male basketball player in any of the 388 articles focusing on men's basketball was compared to a female player. The lack of comparisons to women's players in articles on men's basketball may be because writers do not believe female athletes are a worthy comparison for male athletes or because writers perceive their readers may not be familiar with many of the star female basketball players. Supporting the latter contention, some of the male players who were used for comparisons and references in women's basketball articles are household names amongst basketball fans, such as Allen Iverson, LeBron James, Hakeem Olajuwon, and Shaquille O'Neal.

The second theme, “She must have been a tomboy,” featured repeated references to how star women’s players developed their basketball skills, physical toughness, and mental fortitude by playing against boys or adult men as youths. Thus, an implication is made that males are physically dominant of females. This helps uphold the masculine hegemonic order in sport by reinforcing the notion that, in general, men are physically better than women and that dominance begins during the formative years of childhood (Adler & Adler, 1998; Bryson, 1990; Eccles & Harold, 1991; Kane, 1989). Through these types of media portrayals, young girls and their parents may believe their best chance of finding quality competition and improving their skills is through playing against boys and older men. Therefore, an implication is made that young girls who play against boys or adult males can later dominate women, who are perceived to be inferior competition compared to the boys and men these women played against as young girls. This reinforces the long held masculine hegemonic assumption that associates sport with men and masculinity (Bryson, 1990; Duncan, 2006; Kane, 1989).

The only exceptions to this theme were references in two articles about how LSU women’s star Seimone Augustus was physically better than LSU men’s star Glen “Big Baby” Davis when they played youth basketball together in Baton Rouge. Glen Gulibeau, a Gannett News Service writer whose article discussing the LSU men’s basketball and women’s basketball teams was published in *USA Today*, quoted Davis on Augustus’ domination of him when they were children. “ ‘She used to kill me on the court. She’d beat all the guys. She was taller than me back then. I’m a little bigger now. I can take her, but she’ll still give me a good crossover dribble here or there’ ” (ID: 225, *USA Today*, March 31, 2006).

Theme No. 3, “Women still don’t have next,” entailed overriding stories on the women’s tournament that often questioned if the women’s game had arrived, or tried to justify its arrival, or discussed weaknesses in the women’s tournament, and/or women’s college basketball as a whole. References to men’s basketball and/or the men’s tournament were commonplace in these stories, reinforcing the notion of women’s basketball as “the other,” and thus strengthening masculine hegemony in sport. Evidently, these writers felt compelled to examine advances or problems in the women’s game, where they often used the men’s game as a comparison. In contrast, no articles on the

men's tournament used the women's tournament as a basis for comparison. Furthermore, since articles focusing on women's basketball accounted for only 23% of all March Madness articles published in these four media outlets, overview articles on the state of women's basketball may have resulted in ever fewer published stories focusing on individual women's players, coaches, and games.

The final two themes also helped reinforce masculine hegemony in sport media coverage, although probably not to the extent of the first three dominant themes. The fourth theme, "The real hegemonic order in media coverage of college sports: football, men's basketball, and then everything else," displayed media's proclivity to reinforce its symbiotic relationship with popular sports construed as historically masculine in nature, such as college football and men's college basketball (Coakley, 2004; Daddario, 1997; Hilliard, 1984). Repeated references to college football in men's basketball articles imply that some media members place football above men's basketball on the hegemonic hierarchy of what college sports are important. Similarly, the continued references to men's basketball or male athletes in women's basketball articles showed media members placed men's basketball above women's basketball in the hegemonic hierarchy of what sports are important, particularly since women's basketball is rarely if ever mentioned in articles focusing on men's basketball. It should be noted this study did not examine any articles focusing on college football to compare how often men's college basketball is referenced in stories on college football. Stories in this research on the men's basketball teams at traditional football powers such as Alabama, Florida, LSU, and Texas included references to those schools' football teams. However, articles on the college football teams at schools more renowned for success in men's basketball, such as Duke, Kansas, and North Carolina, may include just as many references to those schools' men's basketball programs. This would challenge the conclusion that sport media places football above men's basketball in the collegiate sports hegemonic hierarchy.

The fifth theme emerging from the qualitative data analysis was "Parents are newsworthy, especially athletic fathers." This theme emerged due to writers' proclivity to include references of the parents of athletes and coaches, particularly fathers who had noteworthy athletic accomplishments. In addition, fathers were occasionally credited with assisting the basketball development of their sons or daughters. In contrast, only one

mother mentioned in any of the 508 articles examined, Boston College forward Craig Smith's mother, Linda Christian, was credited with assisting the basketball development of her child. The omission of recognizing mothers in the athletic development of their children assists in upholding a masculine hegemonic society where certain areas are considered to be off limits to women, one of them being contact sports (Pedersen, 2002).

Some researchers may be surprised to learn that no dominant themes emerged related to lesbianism and/or sexuality, or that reinforced racial stereotypes in sport. A domestic partner or significant other of the same sex was never referenced in any story, even though women's basketball has historically been associated with lesbianism (Rader, 2004). In contrast, husbands, wives, boyfriends, and girlfriends were occasionally discussed in stories on both men's basketball and women's basketball, although references to one's significant other were clearly more prevalent in articles on men's basketball. None of the 508 articles examined in this research had a direct reference to gays and lesbians, or even gay and lesbian issues. However, the author of this study, who has taught courses on gays and lesbians in sport, picked up on what he perceived as one potential indirect reference toward gay and lesbian issues among the 508 articles examined by both coders. In an article where she focused on problems with first- and potential second-round pairings in the women's bracket, ESPN Internet correspondent Mechelle Voepel wrote, "I'm not sure how busy coach Rene Portland will be. But I'm sure positive I'm not getting invited over for dinner – unless the selection committee somehow conjures up that pairing too" (ID: 292, ESPN Internet, March 14, 2006).

During a phone interview Voepel said she included this passage in her column as a "joke" about questionable pairings in the bracket. However, she said this was included as a reference toward gay and lesbian issues (M. Voepel, personal communication, May 23, 2006). Former Penn State University player Jennifer Harris filed a discrimination suit against Portland in November 2005, claiming she was kicked off the team because Portland believed she was a lesbian (National Center for Lesbian Rights, 2005). Portland, the veteran Penn State women's coach, has twice been quoted by media outlets over the years as having said she did not want gay players in her program and has been accused of being homophobic by several ex-players (Voepel, 2006). Homophobia can be defined as a general fear or intolerance of gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals (Griffin, 1998). Voepel,

a full-time staff writer for the *Kansas City Star* who has covered women's basketball for 22 years, said that she has written multiple columns on Portland's alleged bias against lesbians:

I've been critical of Rene Portland, but so have a lot of other writers from across the country. She has a history of not wanting to have lesbians on the team and she has kicked three players off the team ...I have been very critical of her for what I believe is her homophobia in how she handled these particular players (M. Voepel, personal communication, May 23, 2006).

Some scholars contended that by ignoring gays and lesbians in sport, the sport media symbolically annihilates their existence and thus reinforce the homophobia that permeates throughout masculine hegemonic societies (Anderson, 2005; Donaldson, 1993; Griffin, 1998; Trujillo, 1991). However, in this type of research a primary theme could not emerge simply by its absence in the articles.

Similarly, neither race nor ethnicity was a primary component in any of the dominant themes emerging in this study. Grainger, Newman, and Andrews (2006) wrote, "...mass-mediated sport is still nonetheless a key site for the construction and reinforcement of racist ideologies (p. 449). Among the key racial stereotypes commonly found in sport media content are the notions that African Americans are superior natural athletes possessing physiological advantages, while Caucasian athletes are labeled as hard-working and smart overachievers lacking the natural athleticism of African Americans (e.g., Bruce, 2004, Coakley, 2004; Denham, Billings, & Halone, 2002; Grainger et al., 2006).

There were references in the 508 articles examined in this study that reinforced these stereotypes. For example, three different articles described the perceived natural athleticism of University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) forward Mbah a Moute. David Leon Moore wrote, "Mbah a Moute is a natural rebounder – a quick jumper" (ID: 142, *USA Today*, March 23, 2006). Such descriptions discredit the hard work and basketball acumen necessary to become a quality rebounder at the highest level of college men's basketball, especially for someone like Mbah a Moute who is only 6-feet-7. However, direct references toward the perceived athletic superiority of African

Americans were rare and all of these references occurred in articles about men's basketball.

Contradicting previous findings by Vincent (2004), there was no major connection between race and gender in articles about women's basketball in this study. This may in part be because African American participants are far more prevalent in men's college basketball than women's college basketball. Excluding international players, Whites accounted for 46.8% of NCAA Division I women's basketball players in 2003-04, while Blacks accounted for 41.6% of women's basketball players in the same academic year (Lapchick, 2005). In contrast, the same study found Caucasian males comprised only 31.6% of all Division I men's basketball players (walk-ons included), while African Americans constituted 58.2% of NCAA Division I men's basketball players in 2003-04 (Lapchick, 2005).

Journalists in this study occasionally depicted White athletes as overachievers who lack natural athleticism. For example, when writing about University of Montana guard Kevin Criswell, Pete Thamel of *The New York Times* wrote, "Criswell, whose floppy hair and undefined physique would leave him unlikely to get chosen in a pick-up game. But using sneaky quickness and smarts, Criswell evolved from walk-on to the school's fourth-leading career scorer" (ID: 61, *The New York Times*, March 17, 2006). Criswell's quickness may be "sneaky" to Thamel because he is White. However, this reinforces the racist notion that through hard work and intelligence Caucasian athletes can succeed in a sport dominated by physiologically superior African American athletes (Murrell & Curtis, 1994).

Slightly more disturbing were subtle notions in several articles reinforcing the racial discourses that associate African Americans and African American communities with societal deviance (Grainger et al., 2006; Hartmann, 2000). Grainger et al. (2006) wrote, "...a reflection of African-American culture more generally, the deviance of African-American athletes is often linked to stereotypes of single-parent families, welfare dependency, drugs, and crime" (p. 455). References to single-parent families were predominantly related to articles on African American male athletes. The only mentions of problems with drug addiction in the examined articles were those on LSU men's

basketball star Glen “Big Baby” Davis. In describing Davis’ early years, *The New York Times*’ Lee Jenkins wrote:

But for many nights of his childhood, those chocolate chip cookies were all he had. With a mother addicted to drugs and a father he did not know, Davis bounced between shelters and foster homes, sometimes stealing food to eat (ID: 198, *The New York Times*, March, 29, 2006).

Articles such as this reinforce racist notions that deviance permeates African American communities (Coakley, 2004; Grainger et al., 2006). Fortunately, references toward deviance in African American societies were not prevalent in the population of articles examined and thus did not emerge as a major theme in the qualitative data analysis.

Significance and Implications of the Study

The results from the sport-specific portion of the a priori coding in this study showed masculine hegemony in media coverage of March Madness may be eroding if these four major media outlets are an indicator of sport media at large. Female basketball players were mostly portrayed as athletes, with writers frequently referencing their athletic prowess, skill level, and accomplishments. Descriptors on physical appearances or personal relationships were actually more common in stories on men’s basketball, which contradicted past research on media portrayals of female and male athletes (Billings et al., 2002; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Messner et al., 1996; Vincent, 2004). The a priori coding results suggest 34 years after the passage of Title IX, media members at these four outlets appear to be recognizing the accomplishments, athleticism, and advancements in American women’s sport at least in the types of descriptors used to describe female athletes and coaches of women’s basketball in articles on March Madness. Perhaps writers from these outlets may have written more cautiously in response to claims of gender bias in the sport media by academic researchers, journalists, and women’s rights activists.

Even with the use of descriptors highlighting the athleticism and accomplishments of female athletes, the vast majority (76.4%) of articles authored by writers at these four media outlets still focused on the men’s tournament. The media produced more than three

times as many articles on men's basketball than women's basketball. This difference helps maintain masculine hegemony in sport by implying to readers that the men's tournament is more important than the women's tournament based on the number of articles focusing on each tournament. Newspaper and online editors may believe they are simply meeting the demands and desires of the majority of their readers by publishing more articles on men's basketball. It is unclear if the women's tournament would have received more coverage if the two tournaments did not overlap. In that scenario, media gatekeepers might have expended more resources (i.e., writers, photographers, newspaper space, etc.) on the women's tournament. However, the gatekeepers might have provided even fewer articles on the women's tournament if it were not held during the same three weeks of the men's tournament.

It should be noted the a priori coding results for this study were specific to just these four media outlets. These four media outlets are prominent in the sport journalism profession, particularly *The New York Times* and *USA Today* (Eastman & Billings, 2000). Therefore, writers and copy-editors who write or review material for these four media outlets may have more refined skills and may be less prone to use language that could be deemed as sexist or demeaning towards women than language used by many journalists at smaller media outlets. They may also be more aware of criticisms alleging gender bias in media sport coverage. In addition, ESPN Internet obviously had a vested interest in promoting the women's tournament, since ESPN Television networks broadcasted the entire NCAA Division I women's tournament. ESPN Internet published 64 of the 117 articles (54.7%) articles on women's basketball in this study. Therefore, ESPN Internet alone may have at least partly been responsible for the overall findings that writers focused far more on the athleticism and accomplishments of female athletes than their activities and lifestyles off the court.

The a priori coding results examining the gender of sportswriters showed male sport journalists were more likely to praise men's basketball players for their athleticism than female sport journalists who covered men's basketball. Female sport journalists were far more likely to praise women's basketball players for their athleticism than male sportswriters who covered women's basketball. In addition, most of the articles authored by males focused on men's basketball (83.3%), while the majority of articles with female

bylines (64.8%) focused on women's basketball. However, males still wrote 60.7% of all articles on women's basketball. There are no exact figures available for the number of male and female sport journalists in America, but researchers have estimated 87-97% of all sport journalists are men (Creedon, 1994b; Elting, 2002; Hardin, 2005; Lapchick et al., 2006). The a priori findings in this study support the liberal feminist perspective that increasing the number of female sport journalists would result in greater quantity of coverage and higher quality coverage of women's sports (Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Kane, 1989; Schell & Rodriguez, 2000; Vincent et al., 2003). These findings also directly contradict the conclusion of Pedersen et al. (2003) who wrote, "...hegemonic masculinity is entrenched in the sports media regardless of the gender of the persons making the decisions, writing the stories, or taking the photographs" (p. 388). However, these findings should not be generalized to other media outlets.

Previous research indicated female journalists are occasionally pigeonholed by their superiors into covering women's sports (Kian, 2005; Miloch et al., 2005). Therefore, gatekeepers' decisions may have been the primary reason why female writers were more prone to write about women's basketball. However, the a priori differences in this study between female writers who covered women's basketball and male writers who covered women's basketball clearly show that female journalists are more likely to write about the athleticism, skill level, and accomplishments of women's basketball players than male writers. Likewise, through their writings, male journalists showed greater appreciation for the athleticism, skill level, and accomplishments of men's basketball players than female writers. However, having male writers primarily cover men's basketball and female writers predominantly cover women's basketball would seemingly further disadvantage women in sport journalism due to the industry emphasis placed on high-profile men's sports by editors and possibly by prospective employers from other media outlets (Creedon, 1994; Hardin & Shain, 2005b; Kian, 2005).

Masculine hegemony was prevalent in the five themes emerging from the qualitative data analysis, particularly the first three: (1) He was always on my mind; (2) She must have been a tomboy; (3) Women still don't have next. Masculine hegemony will remain constant in March Madness coverage as long as men's basketball remains a basis of comparison for women's basketball. In order to eliminate or at least reduce

media portrayals reinforcing masculine hegemony in sport, journalists must learn to recognize women's sports and female athletes for their own talents (Walton, 2005). By giving secondary status to female athletes and women's sports, or portraying them as "the other" in sport, media members help maintain and reinforce the masculine hegemonic culture that permeates the American sport landscape (Bryson, 1990; Duncan, 2006; Messner et al., 1996; Schell & Rodriguez, 2000; Trujillo, 1991). Women's basketball will also continue to be seen as "the other" so long as writers continually question the advancements of women's college basketball, instead of focusing their writing efforts on the players, coaches, teams, and games the way they generally do for the NCAA Division I men's tournament.

Recommendations for Future Research

A more comprehensive study on March Madness needs to be completed examining a variety of media outlets, including more regional newspapers with lower circulation figures. However, this may be difficult since smaller newspapers are probably less likely to send their own reporters to cover many NCAA tournament games, opting instead to use wire copy. Similar research could examine media coverage given to conference men's basketball and women's basketball tournaments, since women's tournaments of major conferences, such as the ACC and SEC, often take place at least one week before those of men's conference tournaments. Both the men's conference tournaments and women's conference tournaments would have to receive at least a moderate amount of media coverage for this type of examination.

Using the same coding categories and a masculine hegemonic framework may be more applicable in longitudinal research on media coverage of interscholastic athletics, an area where there remains a dearth of research (Pedersen, et al., 2003). It would be interesting to see if any differences exist based on varying regions of the United States in such a study. This same framework and procedures can also be used to examine media coverage provided to any college or professional sports competed in by both women and men receiving at least a moderate amount of media coverage. These sports could be divided further between those perceived as historically masculine and historically feminine in nature. Media coverage of professional tennis, professional golf, and a

variety of sports in the Olympic Games would be ideal sports to examine using this framework and coding procedures. It would be interesting to see if writers are more prone to use descriptors on female athletes' physical appearances and attire in sports construed as more historically feminine than they were in this research on women's college basketball.

There need to be additional studies to determine if masculine hegemony is present in Internet media coverage of women and men in sport, since this was the first known American study to examine gender-related Internet sports coverage. In general, research on Internet sport media coverage is in its infancy (Real, 2006). Therefore, exploratory studies on Internet sports coverage in a variety of areas would seem in order. These studies could examine content within specific Web sites on varying sports, or analyze content from multiple Internet sites on either one sport or a variety of sports. Exploratory studies on Internet sports coverage could also examine for quantitative and qualitative differences between mainstream sport sites covering a variety of women's sports and men's sports, such as CBS SportsLine and ESPN Internet, when compared to the more sport-specific or team-focused sites, such as the host sites for the NBA and the WNBA, and the numerous college and professional team sites available for paid subscriptions on Rivals.com and scout.com. Cunningham (2003) and Sagas et al. (2000) examined university-sponsored Internet coverage of sports offered to both women and men. However, these two studies found contradicting results on the type of coverage given to women's sports. Therefore, additional quantitative and qualitative studies on gender-related media coverage provided on official university athletic Web sites are recommended.

Finally, there are few studies on the attitudes and experiences of the people who actually write, assign, and edit media content (Hardin, 2005; Hardin & Shain, 2005c; Pedersen et al., 2003). It would be interesting to determine how often writers choose their own assignments or are assigned them by superiors. This type of study could be completed through surveying or interviewing a variety of writers from various media outlets. Academia also needs more research that compares the attitudes and perceptions of sportswriters toward covering women's sports and men's sports. Several studies have examined the attitudes of female sport journalists (Cramer, 1994; Hardin, 2005; Hardin &

Shain, 2005c), but Kian (2005) is the only academic research known to interview both male and female sport journalists about their attitudes toward women's sports and men's sports. This study on March Madness did not examine the attitudes of the actual writers from the four media outlets. However, a follow-up study interviewing the same writers could help answer this question.

Future research is needed to determine if the gender of sportswriters affects the quality of coverage provided to women's sports and men's sports. One way to do this would be to examine articles by authors covering both women's sports and men's sports to determine if there are any qualitative differences in the content based on the gender focus of the article. High school athletics, Grand Slam tennis tournaments, and the Olympic Games are all likely venues where the same writers could cover sports whose participants include both genders. March Madness does not appear to be a suitable venue for such a study, since few writers in this study covered both the men's tournament and women's tournament.

Excluding the three articles focusing on both genders in this study, only five writers from any of the four media outlets had articles published on both tournaments. None of the writers for ESPN Internet or CBS SportsLine covered both the women's tournament and the men's tournament. Thayer Evans was the only writer from *The New York Times* who wrote articles on both tournaments. Evans had five articles published on the men's tournament, compared to just one on the women's tournament. *USA Today* had four writers who published articles on both the women's tournament and the men's tournament. Two of those were columnists, though. Television columnist Michael Hiestand wrote seven articles focusing on the men's tournament and two focusing on the women's tournament. Christine Brennan wrote two columns on the men's tournament and one on the women's tournament, the latter of which she analyzed the overall state of women's basketball. *USA Today* staff writer Tom Pedulla wrote one article on each tournament. The only writer from any of the four media outlets who regularly covered both tournaments was *USA Today* staff writer Andy Gardiner, who wrote seven articles on the men's tournament and six on the women's tournament. Future researchers would obviously need many more writers who regularly cover both men's sports and women's sports to compare qualitative differences produced by writers who cover both genders. It

appears editors at these four media outlets assign most of their writers to cover just one of the two tournaments.

Concluding Remarks

Masculine hegemony was evident to an extent in both newspaper and online articles examined in this study. However, masculine hegemony was not as prevalent as expected based on previous research. This research shows sportswriters' attitudes towards women's sports may be changing. However, these results only extend to the four media outlets examined and might not be similar if studying smaller, more regional media outlets. Some of the findings from past research were questioned in this study. If these trends continue and are transferable to regional media outlets, women's sports proponents advocating for more equitable coverage from the sport media may finally be able to say, "We got next."

APPENDIX A

Qualitative Coding Sheet

1. Coder ID _____ 2. Article Title _____
3. Article Date _____ 4. Source _____
5. Page# or http _____ 6. Focus: Men Women Both (Circle one)

Category (A-H)	Exact Passage in Text as Written in the Article	Paragraph # in story

APPENDIX B

Coding Examples for Men’s Basketball Articles

Category	ID#	Specific Examples from Text
Physical Appearance/ Attire	20	He rubbed his bald head.
	359	The chubby, stubby guy
Athletic Prowess/Strength	418	Thomas is an incredible leaper...
	454	Lewis and Thomas...body you up and do not allow you to establish post position.
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	39	“I’m not the biggest guy, so half the time I get run over.”
	61	...undefined physique would leave him unlikely to get chosen in a pick-up game.
Positive Skill Level/Accomplishments	352	Lee Humphrey can flat out shoot the 3-pointer.
	434	This was the greatest run ever to the Final Four.
Negative Skill Level/Failures	45	...a fifth-year player who failed as a point guard
	485	...GMU’s tragic and uncharacteristic ability to hit shots
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	171	The Florida parent’s section often looks like celebrity row...
	461	...the bond these two share
Psychological/Emotional Strength	9	...showing maturity on and off the court
	403	They don’t panic.
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	82	Coach Mike McConathy was temporarily annoyed that they had literally and figuratively disobeyed his wishes to keep their composure.
	473	It sure looked like LSU quit...
Humor	417	And about the only news agency he hasn’t done an interview with in the last few days is Aljazeera.
	487	It’s about as sexy as Billy Packer in a Speedo.

APPENDIX C

Coding Examples for Women’s Basketball Articles

Category	ID#	Specific Examples from Text
Physical Appearance/ Attire	259 344	Harper...wearing a championship hat ...was wearing a white dress shirt and slacks while jumping up and down with her teammates.
Athletic Prowess/Strength	101 427	Candace Parker’s jam session... Maryland is more athletic
Athletic Weaknesses/Limitations	65 298	“Women don’t play above the rim, at least not yet.” ...a team already weary from struggling with a lack of depth.
Positive Skill Level/Accomplishments	405 446	Smith will rely on her patented hook shot... Warner’s 3-pointer with 12:01 left in the second half might rank as the biggest shot of the season...
Negative Skill Level/Failures	279 290	...as Augustus struggled through a tough shooting night ...combined for just 11 3-pointers this season
Family Role/ Personal Relationships	24 155	Seymore, who was joined by his wife, Kim. ...daughter of former NFL lineman Bubba Paris
Psychological/Emotional Strength	258 507	“...she’s got a warrior-like mentality...” ...this is a group that doesn’t get discouraged
Psychological/Emotional Weakness	4 278	“It speaks to our immaturity. We got distracted.” ...mental durability is just as big an issue at this point...
Humor	231 280	“Use to be the closest Kim Mulkey got to a McDonald’s all-American was going to McDonald’s.” There are Buddhist monks in mountaintop monasteries who are probably less with their compatriots than Tennessee’s starters are with each other on the court.

APPENDIX D

Newspaper Sources Used

ID#	Date	Source	Page	Writer	M/F
1	3/13/06	NY Times	D1, D9	John Branch	M
		Eight selected from Big East, but evaluation proves difficult			
2	3/13/06	NY Times	D5	Jonah Keri	M
		here are good values out there, it's just a matter of finding them			
3	3/13/06	NY Times	D5	Bryan Clair	M
				David Letcher	M
		Today's lesson about the brackets "Don't always follow the crowd"			
4	3/13/06	NY Times	D9	Frank Litsky	M
		Six teams state their case for the top four seedings in the women's draw			
5	3/13/06	USA Today	1A, 2A	Tom Weir	M
		Tiny Belmont hits a high note with NCAA bid: Musical school hits a high note with NCAA			
6	3/13/06	USA Today	2A	Tom Weir	M
		Gill shows support of Belmont from benefits to practice sessions			
7	3/13/06	USA Today	1C	Malcolm Moran	M
		No surprises in No.1 seeds: Big East awarded record 6 bids, SEC, Big Ten six			
8	3/13/06	USA Today	1E, 2E Bonus	Malcolm Moran	M
		Bow to your partner: As dance nears plotlines begin to take form			
9	3/13/06	USA Today	8E, 9E Bonus	Dick Vitale	M
		Huskies ready to shoulder load all the way to title: Calhoun has the team that can run through difficult D.C. Regional			
10	3/13/06	USA Today	9E Bonus	Michael Hiestand	M
		CBS officials leaving no button unturned in NCAA coverage			

11	3/13/06	USA Today	11E Bonus	Malcolm Moran	M	Tar Heels Hansborough grows up in a hurry: N. Carolina freshman arrives ahead of schedule
12	3/13/06	USA Today	11E Bonus	Tom Weir	M	Burt more than lives up to his name in Iona career: Son follows father as school scoring leader
13	3/13/06	USA Today	12E Bonus	Ben Dooling	M	Final Four's unofficial home moving to new address
14	3/13/06	USA Today	15E Bonus	Jack Carey	M	UConn's self-made power broker: Mentor Okafor inspired work ethic that now lets Armstrong strong-arm foes
15	3/13/06	USA Today	16E Bonus	Jack Carey	M	Plenty of intrigue, but favorite is clear: A look at Washington, D.C. Regional
16	3/13/06	USA Today	17E Bonus	Andy Gardiner	M	Top seeds to look to make up '05 lapses: A look at the Atlanta Regional
17	3/13/06	USA Today	18E Bonus	Steve Wieberg	M	Ray needed to shine to stacked region: A look at the Minneapolis Regional
18	3/13/06	USA Today	19E bonus	David Leon Moore	M	Memphis looks ready for UCLA rematch: A look at the Oakland Regional
19	3/13/06	USA Today	20E Bonus	Paul Rossman	M	Here's some numbers to help you fill up your bracket
20	3/14/06	NY Times	C18, C20	Lee Jenkins	M	Coaching in the shadow of past glory: Memories of the Fab Five still follow Fisher at San Diego State
21	3/14/06	NY Times	C19	Jere Longman	M	Tar Heels are No. 1, but face hard road
22	3/14/06	NY Times	C19	Ray Glier	M	For Midmajors, price of success can be loss of a coach
23	3/14/06	NY Times	C20	Richard Sandimir	M	NCAA fans courted with free webcasts

24	3/14/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Johnnie Whitehead	M	Augustus' final try for crown: Determined LSU guard shoots for 3 rd Final Four trip
25	3/14/06	USA Today	1C	Andy Gardiner	M	Women's No.1 North Carolina gets brutal draw
26	3/14/06	USA Today	2C	Johnnie Whitehead	M	To be national champs, Tigers must win all the close games
27	3/14/06	USA Today	3C	Jack Carey	M	Conference called on tourney carpet: Missouri Valley defenders say four isn't too many
28	3/14/06	USA Today	9C	Steve Wieberg	M	Is play-in game draw fair? Black league champs again get extra contest
29	3/14/06	USA Today	10C	Dick Patrick	M	Classic matchups will be order of the days ahead: Regions offer potentially good times
30	3/15/06	NY Times	C18	Ira Berkow	M	Saluting Army's new women's coach: Maggie Dixon guides the cadets to their first NCAA Tournament
31	3/15/06	NY Times	C21	Joe LaPointe	M	Belittling the big man: Using slights as inspiration, Buckeyes' Dials shows growth
32	3/15/06	NY Times	C21	Bill Pennington	M	Albany is bringing in its slingshots
33	3/15/06	NY Times	C21	Viv Berstein	F	With degrees of separation, coach's son finds haven at Davidson
34	3/15/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Eric Brady Andy Gardiner	M M	Upstarting five takes court
35	3/15/06	USA Today	1C	Steve Wyberg	M	Morrison, Redick head toward photo finish: NCAAs to decide scoring champion

36	3/15/06	USA Today	2C	Michael Hiestand	M	CBS ready to juggle and will try not to drop ball
37	3/15/06	USA Today	3C	Donna Tommelleo	F	Tennessee's Summit displeased about Vols' position in bracket
38	3/15/06	USA Today	3C	Bobak Esfarjani	M	Dance memories: Video clips spice up trivia game on DVD
39	3/15/06	USA Today	7C	Tom Pedulla	M	Defiance fuels Syracuse: McNamara shows detractors in four Cinderella finishes
40	3/15/06	USA Today	7C	Oscar Dixon	M	Pair of champs provide picks: Having conquered NAAs, NBA's, Richardson, Dunleavy project early-round winners
41	3/16/06	NY Times	C17, C19	Lee Jenkins	M	64 teams reaching for the sky: Air Force passes muster as at-large entry, soft schedule? You try it
42	3/16/06	NY Times	C18	Thayer Evans	M	In Aggieland, t-shirts and a new pride
43	3/16/06	NY Times	C18	Viv Berstein	F	Happy endings at the start for Seton Hall and Wichita
44	3/16/06	NY Times	C19	Pete Thamel	M	Out West, 4 teams vie to be the next Gonzaga
45	3/16/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	David Leon Moore	M	UCLA's new mantra: Defense
46	3/16/06	USA Today	1C	Malcolm Moran	M	Favorites review history of upsetting early exits
47	3/16/06	USA Today	2C	Dick Patrick	M	Guards have foes seeing triple: UCLA women are led by multitalented trio
48	3/16/06	USA Today	6C	Christine Brennan	F	Point shaving always lurking

49	3/16/06	USA Today	6C	Malcolm Moran	M	Pearl's shining achievement: Motivational Tennessee coach builds a winner
50	3/16/06	USA Today	6C	Scott Boeck	M	Seldom-used Small cherishes journey
51	3/16/06	USA Today	7C	Kelly Whiteside	F	Longtime friends now foes: Family ties run deep for Florida's Donavan, S. Alabama's Pelphrey
52	3/16/06	USA Today	7C	Vicki Michaels	F	Fazekas gives NBA talk a rest: Nevada star wants no distractions
53	3/16/06	USA Today	8C	Kelly Whiteside	F	Texas A&M guard aced lessons in leadership
54	3/17/06	NY Times	C16,C18	Lee Jenkins	M	Alabama waits out all threats to win: Bomb scare delays start of the game more than an hour
55	3/17/06	NY Times	C16, C19	Peter Thamel	M	Boston College's victory is true to form
56	3/17/06	NY Times	C18	Joe Drape	M	Games as life or death? 2 coaches know better
57	3/17/06	NY Times	C18	Ray Glier	M	Seniors show rookie coach how it's done in March
58	3/17/06	NY Times	C18	Thayer Evans	M	One 16 th seeded team may truly have a prayer
59	3/17/06	NY Times	C19	Viv Berstein	F	Last gasp shot allows the Volunteers to exhale
60	3/17/06	NY Times	C19	Viv Berstein	F	Orr's resume is left with another blemish
61	3/17/06	NY Times	C19	Pete Thamel	M	Montana's energy leaves Nevada out of spelling bee
62	3/17/06	USA Today	1C	Erik Brady	M	Stun and done: 2 high seeds falter: Oklahoma, Nevada KO'd; Gonzaga, BC, Tennessee squeak by

63	3/17/06	USA Today 1C, 2C	Johnnie Whiteside	M	ACC builds women's powerhouse: League has two No. 1 seeds, a No. 2 in NCAA
64	3/17/06	USA Today 2C	Tom Pedulla	M	Army women ride pride to NCAAs
65	3/17/06	USA Today 3C	Michael Hiestand	M	Franschilla says he's honored to call women's games
66	3/17/06	USA Today 8C	David Leon Moore	M	Felix fires Alabama to upset of Marquette 90-85
67	3/17/06	USA Today 8C	David Leon Moore	M	UCLA 78, Belmont 44
68	3/17/06	USA Today 9C	Vicki Michaels	F	Gonzaga edges Xavier 79-75 behind Morrison's 35
69	3/17/06	USA Today 9C	Vicki Michaels	F	Montana 87, Nevada 79
70	3/17/06	USA Today 9C	Vicki Michaels	F	Boston College 88, Pacific 76
71	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Malcolm Moran	M	Tennessee escapes upset-minded Winthrop 63-61
72	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Malcolm Moran	M	George Washington 88, UNC-Wilmington 85, OT
73	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Malcolm Moran	M	Wichita State 86, Seton Hall 66
74	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Kelly Whiteside	F	After slow start, No.4 seed LSU rolls to 80-64 win
75	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Kelly Whiteside	F	Wisconsin-Milwaukee 82, Oklahoma 74
76	3/17/06	USA Today 10C	Jon Saraceno	M	Do young gators have the chops to run deep?
77	3/17/06	USA Today 11C	Steve Wieberg	M	Bucknell not just happy to be in tournament: Team not intimidated after upset of Kansas in last year's NCAAs

78	3/17/06	USA Today	12C	Kevin Allen	M	Intriguing opponent for deliberate Iowa: No.14 seed Northwestern State likes to run
79	3/17/06	USA Today	12C	Jack Carey	M	Kentucky, UAB each try to wear underdog label
80	3/17/06	USA Today	12C	Andy Gardiner	M	Big-venue experience part of Davidson's formula for upset
81	3/18/06	NY Times	B14, B16	John Branch	M	Albany unleashes, but Huskies finally regain their corps
82	3/18/06	NY Times	B14, B17	Joe LaPointe	M	For small-town team, big rally, dream finish
83	3/18/06	NY Times	B15	Pete Thamel	M	Surprising Montana is a team of underdogs
84	3/18/06	NY Times	B16	William C. Rhoden	M	College coaches lag in transition game
85	3/18/06	NY Times	B17	Thayer Evans	M	No free ride for Lee, just the ride of his life
86	3/18/06	NY Times	B17	Joe Drape	M	Georgetown and its center come to life in 2 nd half
87	3/18/06	NY Times	B17	John Branch	M	At just the right time, Arizona finds old form
88	3/19/06	NY Times	8(1), 8(3)	William C. Rhoden	M	Illini's Brown no longer on top, but bottom line is, he's better
89	3/19/06	NY Times	8(1), 8(3)	Howard Beck Jack LaPointe	M M	Natchitoches to Auburn Hills, nonstop: Northwestern and Dumars share hometown
90	3/19/06	NY Times	8(3)	Thayer Evans	M	Versatile big man may yet hit lottery: Aldridge, sophomore at Texas, doesn't regret putting off N.B.A.
91	3/20/06	NY Times	A1, D3	Pete Thamel	M	Cinderella now lingers longer at the NCAA's March Dance

92	3/20/06	NY Times	D1, D5	Joe Drape	M	A couple of upstarts show that they belong: George Mason rallies to end North Carolina's title defense
93	3/20/06	NY Times	D1, D4	Joe LaPoint	M	Bradley shows Pittsburgh the door, then thanks fans for coming
94	3/20/06	NY Times	D3	John Branch	M	Villanova's 'road trip' gets a rolling push
95	3/20/06	NY Times	D3	Joe Drape	M	Georgetown methodically dispatches Ohio State
96	3/20/06	NY Times	D4	Thayer Evans	M	A North Carolina native gains sweet revenge
97	3/20/06	NY Times	D5	John Branch	M	Struggles continue for UConn, but not for its star
98	3/20/06	NY Times	D5	Thayer Evans	M	Memphis continues to silence doubters with 2 nd easy victory
99	3/20/06	NY Times	D6	Sean Smyth	M	St. John's capitalizes on Cal's foul troubles
100	3/20/06	USA Today	1C,2C	Erik Brady	M	Mid-majors march on: George Mason, Bradley, Wichita State still dancing
101	3/20/06	USA Today	1C	Dick Patrick	M	Parker dunks; No.11 seeds surprise
102	3/20/06	USA Today	3C	Kelly Whiteside	F	Mr. 3 lifts LSU again
103	3/20/06	USA Today	3C	Michael Hiestand	M	McManus, CBS score with upsets, close finishes
104	3/20/06	USA Today	3C	Steve Wieberg	M	'05 Final Foursome shut out of Sweet 16
105	3/20/06	USA Today	3C	Kevin Allen Steve Wieberg	M M	Northwestern State sets positive impressions

106	3/20/06	USA Today 6C	Steve Wieberg	M
		Young-laden Memphis defends well, stops Bucknell 72-56		
107	3/20/06	USA Today 6C	Steve Wieberg	M
		Bradley 72, Pittsburgh 66		
108	3/20/06	USA Today 6C	David Leon Moore	M
		UCLA 62, Alabama 59		
109	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Steve Wieberg	M
		Texas back in Sweet 16 by squashing N.C. State		
110	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Kevin Allen	M
		West Virginia 67, Northwestern State 54		
111	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Kelly Whiteside	F
		LSU 58, Texas A&M 57		
112	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Malcolm Moran	M
		Duke 74, George Washington 61		
113	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Steve Wieberg	M
		Austin's quest: Title town USA		
114	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Andy Gardiner	M
		Georgetown leaves no doubt in stopping Ohio State 70-52		
115	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Jack Carey	M
		No.1 Villanova 82, No. 8 Arizona 78		
116	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Kelly Whiteside	F
		No. 3 Florida 82, No. 11 Wis-Milwaukee 60		
117	3/20/06	USA Today 7C	Don Collins	M
		Old Big East foes meet in new venue		
118	3/20/06	USA Today 9C	Andy Gardiner	M
		11 th seed George Mason stuns UNC 65-60		
119	3/20/06	USA Today 9C	Jack Carey	M
		UConn 87. Kentucky 83		
120	3/20/06	USA Today 9C	David Leon Moore	M
		Washington 67, Illinois 64		

121	3/20/06	USA Today		Ben Dooling	M	George Mason, Wichita State cross paths again
122	3/20/06	USA Today	10C	Vicki Michaels	F	Gonzaga set for Western shootout: After beating Indiana, Zags gunning for UCLA
123	3/21/06	NY Times	C21	Viv Berstein	F	Duke relies on success of starting freshmen
124	3/21/06	NY Times	C21	Adam Hammelsbach	M	Now everyone knows George Mason's name
125	3/21/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Erik Brady	M	George Mason's sweet surprise: Defense, discipline spark mid-major's NCAA run
126	3/21/06	USA Today	1C	Steve Wieberg	M	When NCAA games are on the line, so are big bucks
127	3/21/06	USA Today	5C	Kelly Whiteside	F	Florida's Noah taking bigger bite out of foes: Forward much improved over last season
128	3/21/06	USA Today	5C	Carol Herwig	F	Stories to browse until next game tips off
129	3/21/06	USA Today	5C	Oscar Dixon	M	NCAA Advantage: Dunleavy
130	3/22/06	NY Times	C17	Selena Roberts	F	Sometimes a midmajor really is as good as it gets
131	3/22/06	NY Times	C21	Pete Thamel	M	Plenty of blue collars, just no blue chips: Boston College rises without a star
132	3/22/06	USA Today	1C	Andy Gardiner	M	Parity playing big part in NCAA
133	3/22/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Dick Patrick	M	Tennessee stays sweet: Lady Vols 25-for-25 in NCAA Sweet 16s

134	3/22/07	USA Today	6C	Vicki Michaels	F	Long road toward fulfillment: Unwanted in West, Smith achieves at BC
135	3/22/07	USA Today	7C	Michael Hiestand	M	Flinty Packer not second-guessing his comments from selection show
136	3/23/06	NY Times	C19, C20	Lee Jenkins	M	Desperate coaches wives: Meet the darlings of the unblinking eye at the NCAA tournament
137	3/23/06	NY Times	C19, C20	Pete Thamel	M	A basketball lifer who learned to play with fire
138	3/23/06	NY Times	C20	George Vecsey	M	West Virginia Taps into rich vein
139	3/23/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Steve Wieberg	M	No more blues for Memphis: Tigers leap from non-invitee to NCAA No. 1 seed in a year
140	3/23/06	USA Today	3C	Malcolm Moran	M	Coach K son-in-law on break from Iraq
141	3/23/06	USA Today	8C	David Leon Moore	M	No.13 Bradley brims with confidence: Mid-major squad doesn't play like underdog it is
142	3/23/06	USA Today	8C	David Leon Moore	M	Mbah a Moute: UCLA's "glue": Cameroonian a quick study for No. 2 seed
143	3/23/06	USA Today	8C	Charles Odum	M	Texas gets another look at quirky W. Virginia attack: Mountaineers compared to football Fun 'n' Gun
144	3/23/06	USA Today	9C	Jack Carey	M	Selection panel faces time crunch: Late conference finishes work against process
145	3/23/06	USA Today	10C	Dick Patrick	M	Utah's imported tandem clicks: Canadian pair's 6-year journey continues on

146	3/23/06	USA Today	10C	Christine Brennan	F	Losses can point to women's sports gains
147	3/24/06	NY Times	C 15	Ray Glier	M	L.S.U. freshman steps up as Duke's Redick doesn't
148	3/24/06	NY Times	C15	George Vecsey	M	Forget the fabled programs, but remember the Dookies
149	3/24/06	NY Times	C16	William C. Rhoden	M	Morrison's burdens give him an edge
150	3/24/06	NY Times	C16	Adam Himmelsbach	M	Wichita assistant in familiar territory
151	3/24/06	NY Times	C16	Amy Rosewat	F	Maryland feels forgotten, and the coach loves it
152	3/24/06	USA Today	1C,2C	Johnnie Whitehead	M	Pint-sized Latta fuels UNC with fiery fun: Winning personality infectious for Heels
153	3/24/06	USA Today	1C	Andy Gardiner	M	LSU blocks top-seeded Duke: No.1 seed Memphis reaches Elite Eight, ends long-shot hopes of No. 13 Bradley
154	3/24/06	USA Today	2C	Johnnie Whitehead	M	Latta, S.C., leads cheers for Latta, UNC
155	3/24/06	USA Today	3C	Dick Patrick	M	Tennessee-Rutgers women's game a slam dunk
156	3/24/06	USA Today	6C	Malcolm Moran	M	Defensive effort pays off big for LSU: No. 4 advances as Duke struggles with shooting
157	3/24/06	USA Today	6C	David Leon Moore	M	Memphis stops Bradley run, storms to Elite Eight
158	3/24/06	USA Today	6C	David Jones	M	Growing-up fast Florida shows flashes of mature mettle
159	3/24/06	USA Today	7C	Jack Carey	M	Miller grows into MVP role for No. 7 seed Wichita State

160	3/24/06	USA Today	8C	Eric Brady	M	'Most complete player in America': Foe's coaches like Washington's Roy, too: 'One of the best two or three
161	3/24/06	USA Today	8C	Jon Saraceno	M	Georgetown's Thompsons still their own men
162	3/24/06	USA Today	8C	Steve Wieberg	M	Old acquaintances aren't forgotten with BC-Villanova
163	3/25/06	NY Times	B19	William C. Rhoden	M	Calipari has survived, relatively unchanged
164	3/25/06	NY Times	B19	Lee Jenkins	M	No small feat as Villanova cuts B.C. down to size
165	3/25/06	NY Times	B20	Ray Glier	M	Rejectee becomes rejector for L.S.U.
166	3/25/06	NY Times	B21	Pete Thamel	M	A role player reaps the rewards of teamwork
167	3/25/06	NY Times	B21	Thayer Evans	M	Center makes it hard for opponents to forget Paris
168	3/26/06	NY Times	8(1), 8(3)	George Vecsey	M	L.S.U. and Texas have come a long way
169	3/26/03	NY Times	8(8)	Jonah Keri	M	And the Final Four is...we will know tonight
170	3/27/06	NY Times	D1, D4	John Branch	M	George Mason turns dream into reality: UConn falls as underdog makes Final Four
171	3/27/06	NY Times	D1, D3	Lee Jenkins	M	Florida hits few bumps on way to Indianapolis
172	3/27/06	NY Times	D1, D4	George Vecsey	M	Party crashers can now be last to leave
173	3/27/06	NY Times	D2	Pete Thamel	M	This Bruin is no longer a scapegoat
174	3/27/06	NY Times	D2	Ray Glier	M	L.S.U. is pushing forward behind tenacious defense

175	3/27/06	NY Times	D4	Adam Himmelsbach	M	As George Mason wins, rivals also win
176	3/27/06	NY Times	D5	Frank Litsky	M	In a bruising battle, Tennessee comes out on top
177	3/27/06	NY Times	D5	Adam Himmelsbach	M	Lewis satisfies hunger by feasting on Huskies
178	3/27/06	NY Times	D5	Bill Finley	M	So far, well-balanced Blue Devils look unstoppable
179	3/27/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Erik Brady	M	Cinderella men dance on: George Mason pulls stunner of stunners
180	3/27/06	USA Today	3C	Steve Wieberg	M	Teams bound for Indianapolis have sophomoric flair
181	3/27/06	USA Today	6C	Steve Wieberg	M	Big men come up big-time in Florida's 75-62 win: Noah, Horford dominate top seed Villanova
182	3/27/06	USA Today	6C	Jon Saraceno	M	Chalk one up for little guy: George Mason hits big stage
183	3/27/06	USA Today	6C	Jack Carey	M	Connecticut's habit of playing close didn't end up working in its favor
184	3/27/06	USA Today	6C	Malcolm Moran	M	LSU wants to reach final one, not Final Four
185	3/27/06	USA Today	7C	David Leon Moore	M	UCLA's victory came at expense of tradition
186	3/27/06	USA Today	8C	Dick Patrick	M	UNC, Tennessee move on
187	3/27/06	USA Today	8C	Dick Patrick	M	Tennessee 76, Rutgers 69
188	3/27/06	USA Today	8C	Michael Hiestand	M	NCAA tournament underdogs might not be rating dogs

189	3/28/06	NY Times	A18	John Branch	M
		George Mason won, and now it's found: With Final Four berth, t-shirts and tours are in demand			
190	3/28/06	NY Times	A19	Frank Litsky	M
		To tell the truth, Latta's height doesn't matter			
191	3/28/06	USA Today	1C	Jack Carey	M
				John Weir	M
		Mid-majors pressured to succeed like Mason			
192	3/28/06	USA Today	2C	Ian O'Connor	M
		Former Mason assistant enjoying vicarious ride			
193	3/28/06	USA Today	4C	David Leon Moore	M
		UCLA's guards find their niche close to home: Farmar, Afflalo stay; turn Bruins around			
194	3/28/06	USA Today	4C	Jack Carey	M
				Erik Brady	M
		At GMU, autographs, marriage proposals			
195	3/28/06	USA Today	4C	Tom Weir	M
		Aspiring mid-majors scramble to follow George Mason's lead			
196	3/28/06	USA Today	5C	Dick Patrick	M
		Zolman adds more 'D' to game: Senior no longer one-dimensional for Tennessee			
197	3/28/06	USA Today	5C	Andy Gardiner	M
		Auriemma: UConn isn't in Duke's league			
198	3/29/06	NY Times	C17, C18	Lee Jenkins	M
		Big Baby: Glen Davis, part comic and part commander, has beaten long odds to get LSU this far			
199	3/29/06	USA Today	1C	Dick Patrick	M
		UNC rolls to revenge game: Gets rematch against team that put the 1 in Tar Heels' 33-1 record			
200	3/29/06	USA Today	3C	Oscar Dixon	M
		Mason throws brickbats into pros' NCAA brackets			
201	3/29/06	USA Today	4C	Steve Wieberg	M
		Unselfishness key to Florida reaching Final Four: Donovan molds young gifted Gators			

202	3/29/06	USA Today	4C	Glen Guilbeau	M	LSU teams don't forget Katrina
203	3/29/06	USA Today	5C	Dick Patrick	M	Latta lends assists to UNC
204	3/29/06	USA Today	5C	Jamie Aron	F	Augustus takes charge for LSU
205	3/29/06	USA Today	6C	Jon Saraceno	M	'Sarge' was rock on which Larranaga built Mason: Army vet/hoops star Evans was Patriot on two fronts
206	3/30/06	NY Times	C18, C21	Karen Crouse	F	Noah's collage: For the Gators' center with famous pedigree, name recognition comes last, not first
207	3/30/06	NY Times	C18, C21	Pete Thamel	M	The bear behind the Bruins: U.C.L.A. reflects its gritty coach
208	3/30/06	NY Times	C21	George Vecsey	M	Roots of George Mason's success grew in Queens
209	3/30/06	USA Today	1C	Jack Carey	M	3 coaches cram for their first Final Four: Donovan learned the ropes in '00
210	3/30/06	USA Today	4C	Dick Vitale	M	Larranaga well-equipped to orchestrate Mason's run
211	3/30/06	USA Today	4C	Dick Vitale	M	Gators poised to sink teeth into national championship trophy
212	3/30/06	USA Today	4C	Dick Patrick	M	Duke's Harding is willing subject for storybook ending: Guard returns from suspension as a better person and player
213	3/30/06	USA Today	5C	Malcolm Moran	M	George Mason's offense centers on guards: Butler, Campbell, Skinn can shoot, distribute the ball
214	3/31/06	NY Times	C17	John Branch	M	Unexpected Final Four coach enjoys close-up: Underdogs? Probably. Jim Larranaga and George Mason are just happy to be here

215	3/31/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Erik Brady Steve Wieberg	M M	Talent shift fuels Mason's hoop dreams: As major teams lose stars to NBA, mid-majors such as Patriots have shot at writing Hoosiers-like story lines
216	3/31/06	USA Today	3C	Michael Hiestand	M	Burke didn't seek bright TV lights
217	3/31/06	USA Today	3C	Michael Hiestand	M	'One Shining Moment' getting its final polish: Highlight package awaits closing shots
218	3/31/06	USA Today	5C	Dick Patrick	M	Winning learned in periods of loss: UNC's center is a survivor, battler
219	3/31/06	USA Today	5C	Andy Gardiner	M	Bales thrives on being Duke's last line of defense
220	3/31/06	USA Today	6C	Jack Carey	M	Who will be the champion? Making a case for... LSU: 'Big Baby' will make some noise for Tigers
221	3/31/06	USA Today	6C	David Leon Moore	M	Who will be the champion? Making a case for...George Mason: Patriots' play is fearless, their talent is plentiful
222	3/31/06	USA Today	6C	Malcolm Moran	M	Who will be the champion? Making a case for...UCLA: Defense, late- game heroics will be enough for Bruins
223	3/31/06	USA Today	6C	Steve Wieberg	M	Who will be the Champion? Making a case for...Florida: Talented Gators have edge with balance, adaptability
224	3/31/06	USA Today	8C	Malcolm Moran	M	Temple family legacy carries on at LSU: Father's role includes integrating team, putting 'Big Baby' on right path
225	3/31/06	USA Today	8C	Glen Guilbeau	M	Football takes rare back seat to LSU hoops
226	3/31/06	USA Today	8C	Steve Wieberg	M	Shooters off the mark this year: Three of four teams shot 9-for-43 from beyond arc to win regionals

227	3/31/06	USA Today	9C	Steve Wieberg	M	Boeheim says NCAA should consider expanding tourney
228	4/1/06	NY Times	B17	Lee Jenkins	M	Underdog's underdog has already beaten the odds
229	4/1/06	NY Times	B17	Pete Thamel	M	With Shyatt's touch, Florida gets defensive
230	4/2/06	NY Times	8(1), 8(6)	Pete Thamel	M	For some, the tournament field is just not big enough
231	4/2/06	NY Times	8(1), 8(5)	Lynn Zinser	F	Evolution, not revolution as women shuffle the deck
232	4/3/06	NY Times	D1, D3	Harvey Araton	M	Growth of women's game on display at the Final Four
233	4/3/06	NY Times	D1, D2	Lynn Zinser	F	Terrapins again show Tar Heels who's No.1
234	4/3/06	NY Times	D1, D2	Pete Thamel	M	Apples fall, trees remain: 3 Gators have genes to thank
235	4/3/06	NY Times	D2	Lee Jenkins	M	The Bruins let Farmar do the talking: A cool captain points the way for UCLA
236	4/3/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Malcolm Moran	M	Finalists will lay on the 'D': Florida has it; UCLA has come to live it
237	4/3/06	USA Today	1C	Andy Gardiner	M	Maryland bounces on Carolina; Terrapins win 81-70, reach NCAA title game
238	4/3/06	USA Today	2C	Malcolm Moran	M	Gators' team defense clicked late in season
239	4/3/06	USA Today	3C	Steve Wieberg	M	For a day, football takes a step aside
240	4/3/06	USA Today	3C	Michael Hiestand	M	Packer: Mason's run won't make major difference

241	4/3/06	USA Today	10C	Dick Patrick	M	Maryland has rough going on way to win: Top seed N. Carolina can't get rebounds or momentum
242	4/3/06	USA Today	11C	Christine Brennan	F	On court, UCLA reflects coach
243	4/3/06	USA Today	11C	Jack Carey	M	Threes few, far between vs. UCLA: Florida faces tough defense on perimeter
244	4/3/06	USA Today	11C	David Leon Moore	M	Mbah a Moute far from home but joyful
245	4/4/06	NY Times	C22	Lynn Zinser	F	On game's center stage, a senior savors the view
246	4/4/06	USA Today	1C, 2C	Steve Wieberg	M	Hey, who knew? History, expectations collide, making NCAA tournament learning experience
247	4/4/06	USA Today	1C	Dick Patrick	M	Familiar feeling: Maryland, Duke accentuate positives
248	4/4/06	USA Today	8C	David Leon Moore	M	UCLA to key on defense again: Repeat run next year not out of question
249	4/4/06	USA Today	8C	Jack Carey	M	Youthful Florida should be all set for next season
250	4/4/06	USA Today	8C	Mike Lopresti	M	UCLA is second family for Cameroon's Mbah a Moute
251	4/4/06	USA Today	10C	Dick Patrick	M	Win or lose tonight, Currie plans to return to Duke next season
252	4/4/06	USA Today	10C	Andy Gardiner	M	Langhorne's decision helped build Maryland into national power
253	4/5/06	NY Times	C14	Harvey Araton	M	For Duke star, staying put was better part of valor
254	4/5/06	NY Times	C17	Pete Thamel	M	At Florida, future is part of maturation process

- 255 4/5/06 USA Today 1C Andy Gardiner M
Terps capture women's crown: Maryland forces OT, topples Duke 78-75
- 256 4/5/06 USA Today 1C, 2C Andy Gardiner M
Mid-major women fading: Success in the NCAA tournament has shifted to power schools, conferences
- 257 4/5/06 USA Today 7C Malcolm Moran M
Florida grew into champion: Young Gators matured fast for Donovan
- 258 4/5/06 USA Today 8C Dick Patrick M
Hatchel sees ACC domination
- 259 4/6/06 USA Today 12 C Dick Patrick M
Maryland spurs dynasty talk: Returning talent, including MVP of Final Four, could hang up more banners

APPENDIX E

Online Sources Used

ID #	Date	Source	Writer	M/F
260	3/12/06	CBS SL Minneapolis breakdown: Villanova looking for healthy Ray http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9303607	Dennis Dodd	M
261	3/12/06	CBS SL Oakland breakdown: It's about to get hairy for Zags http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9303469	Dennis Dodd	M
262	3/12/06	CBS SL No.1 seed: Memphis http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9302603	Gregg Doyle	M
263	3/12/06	CBS SL Forget the RPI: Selection committee needs GPS http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9303466	Gregg Doyle	M
264	3/12/06	CBS SL Atlanta breakdown: LSU will undo Duke http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9303605	Gregg Doyle	M
265	3/12/06	ESPN.com The Minutes' bracket breakdown http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2...	Pat Forde	M
266	3/12/06	ESPN.com Atlanta may feature a rematch of Duke-Texas http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366110	Andy Katz	M
267	3/12/06	ESPN.com Kansas, Gonzaga among obstacles in Oakland http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366152	Andy Katz	M
268	3/12/06	ESPN.com Ray's health a chief concern for No.1 Nova http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366100	Andy Katz	M
269	3/12/09	ESPN.com Washington region might be home to upsets http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366045	Andy Katz	M

- 270 3/13/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Washington breakdown: Pack of underdogs chase Huskies
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9303736>
- 271 3/13/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Mid-major schools create major second-guessing
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2
- 272 3/13/06 ESPN.com Andy Glokner M
These five can come on strong from the outside
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366490>
- 273 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Aggressiveness key for Rutgers – and Achilles’ heel: The Rutgers Scarlet Knights can win the NCAA title if: nobody stands up to them in the schoolyard
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2362784>
- 274 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
OU’s role players can’t disappear in dance: Oklahoma can win the NCAA title if: the Sooners’ role players hit their averages
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=236461>
- 275 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Terps must limit turnovers: Maryland can win the NCAA title if: Kristi Toliver and Shay Doron take care of the ball
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2354805>
- 276 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Tiger duo could be best in bracket: LSU can win the NCAA title if : Seimone Augustus and Sylvia Fowles carry the Tigers
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2362781>
- 277 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Time for Currie to come up big: Duke can win the NCAA title if: Monique Currie exorcises the ghost of Alana Beard
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2354803>
- 278 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
UConn’s fate might rest in Houston’s hands: Connecticut can win the NCAA title if: Charde Houston breaks loose
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2362783>
- 279 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
UNC the favorite, but many others not far behind
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2366037>

- 280 3/13/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Will fatigue be a factor for Tennessee's starters: Tennessee can win the NCAA title if: the starting five doesn't wear down
<http://sports.espn.go.com/new/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2362848>
- 281 3/13/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Selection insights and tournament story lines
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2366073>
- 282 3/14/06 ESPN.com Jay Bilas M
Committee needs a break from criticism
http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=bilas_jay&id=2368003
- 283 3/14/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Ten for Tuesday: NCAA tourney look-alikes are back
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9306260>
- 284 3/14/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Top seeds will have their hands full in Round 1
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2368106
- 285 3/14/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Committee hands Big Sky runner-up a 12
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2368391>
- 286 3/14/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
MVC has four tough matchups; can it get wins?
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2368272>
- 287 3/14/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Williams' play is the key for a UConn run
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2367560>
- 288 3/14/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Latta's supporting cast, particularly Larkins, is key: North Carolina can win the NCAA title if: Erlana Larkins play Robin to Ivory Latta's batman
<http://sports.espn.go.com/new/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2351788>
- 289 3/14/06 ESPN.com Charlie Creme M
Major conferences reap benefits in bracket
http://sports.espn.go.com/new/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=creme_charlie&id=2367207

- 290 3/14/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Packer can't let OSU foes pack in the paint: Ohio State can win the NCAA title if: Marcilla Parker continues opening the floor for Jessica Davenport
<http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=236278>
- 291 3/14/06 CBL SL Mike Shalin M
Only the Tar Heels can salvage screwed-up selections
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/ncaawbasketball/story/9307693>
- 292 3/14/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
So, 10 committee members walk into a bar...
http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2367964
- 293 3/14/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
Tar Heels face one of toughest regions – ever
http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=23672988
- 294 3/14/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
The MVC can send two to the second weekend
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourneyo6/columns/story?id=2368332>
- 295 3/14/06 ESPN.com Gene Wojciechowski M
Odds aren't favorable, but everyone has a chance
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowsk_gene&id=237
- 296 3/15/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
Detractors not grounding Air Force
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9310784>
- 297 3/15/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Top heavy tourney: Forget the first-round upsets
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9309774>
- 298 3/15/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
10 burning questions heading into first round
<http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2368570>
- 299 3/15/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
Lobo's could be regional's spoiler
http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2369271
- 300 3/15/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
LSU, Oklahoma are the early favorites
http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2368653

- 301 3/15/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
Staley vs. Rizzotti in the spotlight in first round
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2369334
- 302 3/15/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
UNC's athleticism tough for anybody to match
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2369334
- 303 3/15/06 ESPB.com Joe Lunardi M
Here's how the NCAA Tournament will play out
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2369374>
- 304 3/15/06 CBS SL Tony Mejia M
Pearl hopes to keep others from becoming the next – him
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9310986>
- 305 3/15/06 CBS SL Pete Prisco M
Donovan's revamped Gators answer the question: They're good
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9311059>
- 306 3/15/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
Jump on the mid-major bandwagon
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2369745>
- 307 3/15/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
Monmouth, Bunch won over the Dayton faithful
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2369350>
- 308 3/15/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
Murray State wants win, national attention
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2371896>
- 309 3/15/06 ESPN.com Adrian Wojnarowski M
Army coach is just like her team: tough when it counts
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=wojnarowski_adrian&id=2369378
- 310 3/16/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
Tide's Felix drops jumpers long way from home
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9313238>
- 311 3/16/06 CBS.SL Gregg Doyel M
One for the books: Davidson a team to yell for
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9312615>
- 312 3/16/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
No. 1 seed getting no love in Dallas
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2371650

- 313 3/16/06 ESPN.com Ed Graney M
Many have made long runs after early tests
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2371567>
- 314 3/16/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Shockers' win validates No. 7 seed
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2371506
- 315 3/16/06 CBS SL Tony Mejia M
Lofton's new legacy erases Eagles' effort from memory bank
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9313232>
- 316 3/16/06 CBS SL Tony Mejia M
No matter how you look at 'em, Shockers – and MVC – belong
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9312991>
- 317 3/16/06 CBS.SL Pete Prisco M
After halftime, Davis 'Powers' Tigers past Iona
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9313497>
- 318 3/16/06 CBS SL Pete Prisco M
Younger Sooners no match for grown-up UW-Milwaukee
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9312871>
- 319 3/16/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
OU has come a long way from days of disbandment
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2371459
- 320 3/17/06 CBS SL Michael Bradley M
Arizona a different team with timely return of Adams
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9315870>
- 321 3/17/06 CBS SL Michael Bradley M
It didn't happen, but it was oh so close
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9316703>
- 322 3/17/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
For the most part, Day 1 was for the dogs
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9313870>
- 323 3/17/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyel M
The real loser in George Mason's upset? Hofstra
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9316605>
- 324 3/17/06 CBS SL Jared Eborn M
Zags' Morrison has his mojo working
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9314122>

- 325 3/17/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Lee gets grades, not scholarship checks
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2373066
- 326 3/17/06 CBS SL Clark Judge M
Arkansas plays too little of own game too late to beat Bucknell
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9315946>
- 327 3/17/06 CBS SL Clark Judge M
Bennerman gets the glory, but Simmons is the difference
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9316652>
- 328 3/17/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Does MVC champ have more talent than two seed?
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2373156
- 329 3/17/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
George Washington's overtime win icing on the cake
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2371992
- 330 3/17/06 CBS SL Tony Mejia M
Pushed to limit, Colonials find strength from within
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9313676>
- 331 3/17/06 ESPN.com Beth Mowins F
As easy as 1-2-3...4
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=mowins_beth&id=237
- 332 3/17/06 CBS SL Rick Shook M
Improbable winning play just like Northwestern St. dreamed it up
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9316454>
- 333 3/17/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
Braves go from Valley periphery to Sweet 16
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourneyo6/columns/story?id=2375705>
- 334 3/17/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
CAA scores high profile wins in NCAA, NIT
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourneyo6/columns/story?id=2373415>
- 335 3/17/06 ESPN.com Kyle Whelliston M
Hawaii trip memory calmed nerves in crunch time
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourneyo6/columns/story?id=2373512>
- 336 3/17/06 ESPN.com Gene Wojciechowski M
Top seeded Wildcats misread degree of difficulty
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=23732...

- 337 3/17/06 ESPN.com Joe Wojciechowski M
Ailing McNamara goes out with a whimper
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2372028>
- 338 3/18/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
Brown's career ends with a whimper, a year too late
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319539>
- 339 3/18/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Overlooked Patriots now taking center stage
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319081>
- 340 3/18/06 ESPN.com Wayne Drehs M
Jensen denied Augustine and Huskies move on
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2374770>
- 341 3/18/06 ESPN.com Wayne Drehs M
Roy's all-around game remains under the radar
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2373279>
- 342 3/18/06 CBS SL Jared Eborn M
Montana, meet Mr. Smith; Eagles off to Sweet 16
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319498>
- 343 3/18/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Death in Bucknell family creates deep bonds
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2374475
- 344 3/18/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
UW win means more than second-round berth for Burt
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2374538>
- 345 3/18/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Shockers coach mellows, lands Sweet 16 berth
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2374538
- 346 3/18/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Williams dominated two games in Greensboro
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2374538
- 347 3/18/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
Sooners could ride Paris to Boston
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2374538
- 348 3/18/06 CBS SL Tony Mejia M
Freshmen prove there's more to Duke than J.J., Shelden
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319129>

349	3/18/06	CBS SL	Tony Mejia	M
			Shockers have all the makings of a fine Cinderella http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319669	
350	3/18/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Mitchell gets 'special' shot to fall for LSU http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319646	
351	3/18/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Noah goes from buried on bench to lottery pick http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319214	
352	3/18/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			Vitale: On Florida in the Sweet 16 http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060323Vitaleonsweetflorida.html	
353	3/18/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			Vitale: On Wichita State in the Sweet 16 http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060323VitaleonWichita.html	
354	3/19/06	CBS SL	Michael Bradley	M
			Villanova finally engages in some forward thinking http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321782	
355	3/19/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Alabama-UCLA finish would makes Snipes proud http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319972	
356	3/19/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			The Hoyas have what it takes, but can they be consistent? http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321601	
357	3/19/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			You know how to beat UNC, George Mason? Just whistle http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321256	
358	3/19/06	CBS SL	Jared Eborn	M
			Dignified Davis stops just short of Sweet 16 http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9319786	
359	3/19/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Memphis' biggest problem? Two great guards http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2376091	

- 360 3/19/06 ESPN.com Ed Graney M
Morrison held in check? Other Zags thrive
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2375003>
- 361 3/19/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Parker dunks a reminder of how game is changing
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2375458>
- 362 3/19/06 CBS SL Clark Judge M
Bucknell has a word for Memphis' stifling defense: 'Frustrating'
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321288>
- 363 3/19/06 CBS SL Clark Judge M
Wolfpack heading home after dreadful night
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321645>
- 364 3/19/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
Even Summitt's excited over Parker dunk
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id
- 365 3/10/06 CBS SL Rick Shook M
Bradley does things differently in upset of Pitt
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321057>
- 366 3/19/06 CBS SL Rick Shook M
Mountaineers get in a zone – and that gets them back to Sweet 16
<http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9321342>
- 367 3/19/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
MWC's 3-0 start steals the show on Day 1
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id
- 368 3/19/06 ESPN.com Gene Wojciechowski M
Calhoun's many moods are Sweet 16 bound
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=23760
- 369 3/20/06 ESPN.com Jay Bilas M
Looking ahead: UConn's road looks best
http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=bilas_jay&id=
- 370 3/20/06 ESPN.com Jay Bilas M
Looking back at San Diego
http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=bilas_jay&id=
- 371 3/20/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Rematches to savor – and some where you won't get the chance
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9324237>

- 372 3/20/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Today's tourney stars and tomorrow's flickering lights
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9323426>
- 373 3/20/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Expectations differ greatly across the Sweet 16
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2376778
- 374 3/20/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
More non-1-A football schools have Final Four chance
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23
- 375 3/20/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
The Blue Devils' run rivals UCLA's from a prior era
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23
- 376 3/20/06 ESPN.com Dick Vitale M
Thinking of the Sweet 16 and more
<http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060323VitaleonSweet16.html>
- 377 3/20/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
Auriemma hopes Hawks, Rizzotti enjoy moment
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2375910
- 378 3/21/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
Memphis could make it to Indy without BCS test
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2378215
- 379 3/21/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
Buzz, buzz: Utah bound for The Pit
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=
- 380 3/22/08 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
Morrison shakes flu, says he's ready for Bruins
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9329455>
- 381 3/22/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
One-time Cinderella Gonzaga finds life tougher at top
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9329408>
- 382 3/22/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
All four 1's are still alive, for now
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2379817
- 383 3/22/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Sixteen teams, eight games, five questions
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2379456>

384	3/22/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			These five have helped shake up the bracket http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23	
385	3/22/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Another frustrating end for Foster http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
386	3/22/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			George Mason enjoying the sweet (16) ride http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=whelliston_kyle&i	
387	3/23/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Carney, athletic Tigers slam door on Bradley http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9332194	
388	3/23/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			We're serious this time: these teams will win http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9330697	
389	3/23/06	ESPN.com	Wayne Drehs	M
			Stats don't show Tauai's impact on Braves http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2380611	
390	3/23/06	ESPN.com	Doug Gottlieb	M
			Every Sweet 16 game has a great story line http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=gottlieb_doug&id=	
391	3/23/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Temple's defense helps LSU's dream come true http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9332200	
392	3/23/06	CBS SL	Mike Shalin	M
			Two-three-five-eight, who do we appreciate? Boston College! http://www.sportsline.com/ncaawbasketball/story/9331067	
393	3/23/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			LSU's upset of Duke was awesome, baby! http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060323VitaleonLSU.html	
394	3/24/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Argue about the details, but not the outcome http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9332520	
395	3/24/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Howland gives Bruins blue-collar makeover http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9334823	

396	3/24/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			George Mason good, even great – but it’s no UConn	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9334971	
397	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Wayne Drehs	M
			Mbah a Moute kicks Boute	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2382931	
398	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Wayne Drehs	M
			UCLA’s come-from-behind win breaks Zags’ heart	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2382033	
399	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Lowry is the Wildcats’ floor leader	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2381643	
400	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Doug Gottlieb	M
			LSU flipped the script on the Devils	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=gottlieb_doug&id=	
401	3/24/06	CBS SL	Clark Judge	M
			Congrats to Sheridan, but Wildcats win due to Foye	
			http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9335102	
402	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Paulino’s 3 KO’d bloodied Mountaineers	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23	
403	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Texas overcomes bumps, back on title path	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2383147	
404	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Tigers worked together to shut down Redick	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23	
405	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Beth Mowins	F
			Battles in the paint could decide regional semis	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=mowins_beth&id=2382281	
406	3/24/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Paulino’s injury woes evaporate at buzzer	
			http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9332519	
407	3/24/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Freshman Thomas elevating Tigers by leaps and bounds	
			http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9334830	

408	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			Thanks for the memories!	
			http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060324Vitaleonjjandadam.html	
409	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			UConn finds way to win	
			http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060324VitaleonUConn.html	
410	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			Villanova one win away from the Final Four, baby!	
			http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060324Vitaleonnova.html	
411	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			More to Maryland than meets the eye	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=238411	
412	3/24/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			Mason sticks around in its own Tourney Wonderland	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourneyo6/columns/story?id=2383584	
413	3/25/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Battle of Huskies a beauty, yet a beast	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9335647	
414	3/25/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			While lead Husky gets crushed, UConn continues its March mush	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9337103	
415	3/25/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Nameless final play saves Wildcats again	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2383193	
416	3/25/06	CBS SL	Pete Prisco	M
			Tigers give emotional lift to battered region	
			http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9337709	
417	3/25/06	ESPN.com	Gene Wojciechowski	M
			Calhoun's many moods are Sweet 16 bound	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=2383347	
418	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Jay Bilas	M
			Mason's miracle run almost ended before it began	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=bilas_jay&id=	
419	3/26/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			No harm, no foul? Actually, there's plenty of both	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9337977	

420	3/26/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			No 'David' in these Patriots	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9339281	
421	3/26/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Pick against Patriots at your own peril	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9339589	
422	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Wayne Drehs	M
			UCLA looks pretty good in ugly win	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2384573	
423	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Doug Gottlieb	M
			Mason's keys: Patient offense, transition defense	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=gottlieb_doug&id=	
424	3/26/06	CBS SL	Clark Judge	M
			Villanova, you got served	
			http://cbs.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9339510	
425	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Tigers celebrate in style after OT win	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23	
426	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Unique frontcourt led Tigers to Indy	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2384533	
427	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Nancy Lieberman	F
			Utah might be overmatched vs. Maryland	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=	
428	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Beth Mowins	F
			LSU the favorite, but don't overlook surging Stanford	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=mowins_beth&id=	
429	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Oft-overlooked Stanford, Smith shut down OU	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
430	3/26/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Time ticking on Augustus' last stand for NCAA title	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
431	3/27/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Duke the favorite in Bridgeport final	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2386552	

432	3/27/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Duke, UConn seniors not so different after all	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2386582	
433	3/27/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Turner the star, but gets plenty of help	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2385712	
434	3/27/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Miraculous run has done the school's namesake proud	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=23	
435	3/27/06	ESPN.com	Skip Bayless	M
			Simply the Maddest March ever	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/page2/story?page=bayless/060327	
436	3/28/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Moments to remember before we forget	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9342777	
437	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Wayne Drehs	M
			Savior-turned-role player is enjoying the run	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatoruney06/news/story?id=2387192	
438	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Noah's talent now matching his star personality	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2387255	
439	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Thomas/Davis delivering more than Shaq/Roberts	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2387367	
440	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Nancy Lieberman	F
			Coaching adjustments a key to Maryland's win	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2386678	
441	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Elaine Marsillo	F
			T-shirts flying off shelves at George Mason	
			http://sports.com.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/news/story/?id=2387265	
442	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Blockbuster on tap in Cleveland	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
443	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Nancy Lieberman	F
			Tennessee Tactics	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/nw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=23.	

444	3/28/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			LSU women earn one more shot at elusive title	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
445	3/29/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			These Final Four teams refused to excuse	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9344895	
446	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Team effort saves Duke in ugly win	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2388292	
447	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Final Four teams show homegrown talent, foreign finds	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=238	
448	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Lack of NBA talent makes GMU an even rarer case	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2388644	
449	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Beth Mowins	F
			Parker's early foul trouble comes back to haunt Vols	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=mowins_beth&id=	
450	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			ACC, as easy as 1-2-3	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
451	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Tar Heels turn back time: Lady Vols left hurting	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
452	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			Patriots were expected to be a middling CAA team	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2388684	
453	3/29/06	ESPN.com	Adrian Wojnarowski	M
			Patriot success highlights a program done right	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=wojnarowski_adrian&id=	
454	3/30/06	ESPN.com	Jay Bilas	M
			Florida-George Mason showcases innovative often	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=bilas_jay&id=239	
455	3/30/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Here's how Hofstra beat George Mason (and lots of luck, Gators)	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9347080	

- 456 3/30/06 ESPN.com Graham Hays M
Four questions for the Final Four
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2388642>
- 457 3/30/06 ESPN.com Nancy Lieberman F
Fowles, rebounding could decide semifinal
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2390213
- 458 3/31/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
Mason, Mason, Mason – sick of it yet? (Gators are)
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9349832>
- 459 3/31/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
You're not helping! Gators need to let big men work alone
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9349838>
- 460 3/31/06 ESPN.com Pat Forde M
In a guard-laden world, two big men are making waves
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2392280
- 461 3/31/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Billy Donovan's dad is a regular Gator presence
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2392294
- 462 3/31/06 ESPN.com Andy Katz M
Hollins inside is big key to Bruins' hopes
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=2392246
- 463 3/31/06 CBS SL Mike Shalin M
Stopping UNC will be taxing at Boston ACC party
<http://www.sportsline.com/ncaawbasketball/story/>
- 464 3/31/06 ESPN.com Gene Wojciechowski M
Skinn sorry, but Stokes remembers ill-fated punch
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=2392170
- 465 4/1/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
Florida's hoops team itching to achieve pigskin status
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9352368>
- 466 4/1/06 CBS SL Dennis Dodd M
LSU brings hopes, dreams of a region to Indianapolis
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9351371>
- 467 4/1/06 CBS SL Gregg Doyle M
On Monday night, you'll see perfect ending to Gators' season
<http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9352365>

468	4/1/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			No apologies; Florida's here for title	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2393593	
469	4/1/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			With Taurasi-like swagger, Waner is one to watch	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/new/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2393387	
470	4/1/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			Hoosiers have adopted GMU, are drinking to them	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=	
471	4/2/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Cameroon crazy causing quite a stir	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/	
472	4/2/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Gator grows into tournament's star	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/	
473	4/2/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Future NBA frontcourt plays like babies	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9352511	
474	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			20 reasons why Florida will beat UCLA	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=	
475	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Will a national title help shed football-first rep?	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=	
476	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Doug Gottlieb	M
			Bruins put on a clinic at both ends	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=gottlieb_doug&id=	
477	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Doug Gottlieb	M
			Gators use length, athleticism, sharpshooting	
			http://insider.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/insider/columns/story?columnist=gottlieb_doug&id=	
478	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Duke, LSU stars chase the one that's gotten away	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/new/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2393213	
479	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Both coaches overcame obstacles to get to title game	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=239	

480	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Final Four media-day question on- and way off-topic	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=239	
481	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Andy Katz	M
			Surprise! UCLA, Florida last two standing	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=katz_andy&id=239	
482	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Nancy Lieberman	F
			Terps have what it takes to upset UNC	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=2391272	
483	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Press-and-run style means fun times for UNC, Hatchell	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2393349	
484	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Toliver aims to keep Terps in rhythm in Final Four	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2393700	
485	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			Humphrey, Gators shoot Patriots out of dome	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2393666	
486	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Kyle Whelliston	M
			Mason proves team ball can overcome money, start	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2394290	
487	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Gene Wojciechowski	M
			Bruins' stingy D turns Tigers into cats	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=2393709	
488	4/2/06	ESPN.com	Gene Wojciechowski	M
			Need a reason UCLA will win? Here's 20	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=239	
489	4/3/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Defense carries Duke back to NCAA title game	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2394770	
490	4/3/06	ESPN.com	Nancy Lieberman	F
			Speedy Latta no match for Terps	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=lieberman_nancy&id=	
491	4/3/06	CBS SL	Mike Shalin	M
			Injury a whole Latta letdown for Tar Heels	
			http://www.sportsline.com/ncaawbasketball/story/9354437	

492	4/3/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			No title, but Augustus leaves quite a legacy behind	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
493	4/3/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Respect, title on line for Duke, Maryland	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
494	4/3/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Terps deliver message in dominating win over Heels	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
495	4/4/06	CBS SL	Dennis Dodd	M
			Victory for Florida means victory for SEC	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9356424	
496	4/4/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Gators' youth, talent and Noah make them a contender for '07	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9356349	
497	4/4/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			Hard-working outmatched against rabid gators	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9356376	
498	4/4/06	CBS SL	Gregg Doyle	M
			The Tournament that ended the middle ages	
			http://www.sportsline.com/collegebasketball/story/9357136	
499	4/4/06	ESPN.com	Pat Forde	M
			Everyone pitched in during Gators' dominant run	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=2396157	
500	4/4/06	ESPN.com	Graham Hays	M
			Will Duke's balance in post offset Terps' quickness?	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/news/story?id=2395483	
501	4/4/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Goestenkors muscled Duke into the nation's elite	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	
502	4/4/06	ESPN.com	Dick Vitale	M
			Florida earns first hoops championship	
			http://espn.go.com/dickvitale/060324VitaleonFloridaChamp.html	
503	4/4/06	ESPN.com	Mechelle Voepel	F
			Langhorne, Terps walking tall into title game	
			http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=	

- 504 4/4/06 ESPN.com Gene Wojciechowski M
 Need a reason why UCLA lost? Here are 20
http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=wojciechowski_gene&id=2396136
- 505 4/5/06 ESPN.com Eric Adelson M
 Terps take title and there may be more on the way
<http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?id=2397149>
- 506 4/5/06 CBS SL Mike Shalin M
 Women's final had everything men's title game lacked
<http://www.sportsline.com/ncaawbasketball/story/9358343>
- 507 4/5/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
 Maybe we should have seen Terp comeback coming
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=
- 508 4/5/06 ESPN.com Mechelle Voepel F
 So close, but Blue Devils let title slip away
http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/ncaatourney06/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Edward (Ted) Martin Kian was born in 1972 in Erie, Pennsylvania. The son of college professors at Edinboro University, he was named after his father's best friend, Ted Hammock of Athens, Georgia, Sen. Edward (Teddy) Kennedy (D-Mass.), and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Kian family moved to Gulf Breeze, FL, in 1985 and Ted graduated from Gulf Breeze High in 1991, where he earned varsity letters in basketball and tennis, and participated in debate and chorus. He earned an undergraduate degree in journalism from the University of Georgia, where he served stints as football writer and sports editor at the student newspaper, while also working as a sports commentator for the student radio station and completing voluntary working assignments for the University of Georgia sports information department. He also attended California State University, Northridge on a student exchange, where he worked as the football beat writer for the student newspaper and served as a sports correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*.

Ted continued his education at the University of Texas at Austin, where he earned a master's degree in sport management. While in Austin, he worked part-time for two years as a sportswriter for the *Austin American-Statesman*, completed freelance writing for a variety of publications, worked two semesters in the undergraduate advising office at UT-Austin, and one year as a high school basketball referee.

He spent more than four years as a full-time, professional sportswriter and editor. First, he served as the editor and lead writer of *Horns Illustrated*, a magazine that covers University of Texas athletics, followed by a stint as sportswriter for the *Pensacola News Journal*, where he had completed two summer internships as college undergraduate. He then returned to California to work for the Los Angeles Newspapers Group, where he spent three years as the prep sports editor, college football recruiting writer, and general assignment sports reporter for the *Long Beach Press-Telegram*. During his journalism career he covered a variety of women and men's sports at all levels, conducting one-on-one interviews with the likes of Doug Flutie, LeBron James, Martina Navratilova, Steve Spurrier, Snoop Dogg, and George W. Bush.

He elected to pursue a lifelong dream when he returned to college in 2003, entering the Ph.D. program in sport administration at Florida State University. During his three years as a doctoral student at FSU, he served as the sole instructor for a total of nine sections of six different theory courses. He taught Sport Media at the graduate level and introduced two courses, Diversity in Sport and Sport History, into the highly acclaimed undergraduate sport management program at Florida State. He served as a teaching assistant in two other courses. He also taught 14 introductory physical education courses at Florida State: 11 in tennis, two in basketball, one in aerobic conditioning.

He has accepted a position to begin in the fall of 2006 as an assistant professor of sport leadership for the college of education at the University of Central Florida. His primary research interests are gender and sport media, gays and lesbians and sport media, and the socio-cultural aspects of sport.