The Circus Comes to Town

Research Lead: Jane Dennehy (PhD)
Contributors: Caitlin Fisher
Marisa Schlenker
Michelle Brailsford
About Us

Gender is an organising mechanism in society.
Seeing gender is easy, understanding gender is not.

The Gender Hub is a collective of gender experts who work to bridge the gap between academics, activists and organisations of all shapes, sizes and locations.

Our fields of expertise are media, advertising, sport, work and women’s health.

- We create knowledge through research.
- We deliver research via publishing, consultancy and training activities.
- We are currently working in UK, Europe, Brazil and US.

To start a conversation with us please contact: - jane@genderhub.com

Gender Hub 2013
"The Olympic Games really shouldn’t work. They don’t have what it takes to be a global spectacle, a quadrennial international fascination. It’s important for the people who run the Games to remember that. Something obscure and fragile binds the whole demented enterprise together and makes it work. Most of the sports are obscure to many of us, most of the participants the same."

**Introduction**

For two weeks every four years the Olympics provides audiences around the globe with a kaleidoscope of sport. What we witness is minor sports alongside major professional sports enticing viewers into a world of wall to wall entertainment.

This report examines two key issues within the context of newspaper coverage during the London 2012 Olympics. First, the interdependent relationship of mainstream media and certain sports and second, the gendering of sport and media.

Media platforms have over the past twenty years developed technologically and some sports have benefited more than others from building relationships with media in general and in particular TV. The revenue from TV rights has been important in the growth and global dominance of men’s football/soccer. Golf, boxing and cricket are also winners as are big events like the Olympics.

More than any other event the Olympics provides a platform for men and women athletes from many sports to deliver entertainment to global audiences. The sporting drama of failure and success, resilience and heroism, leadership and loyalty is spellbinding and for millions of people is a window into the sporting world.

Such media and sport relationships are unique, yet they have become a widespread benchmark for judging media approaches to different sports and sporting events. Alongside this benchmark is often an argument suggesting that media should be more open to a model of fairness which means shared coverage and as such greater access to financial success.

The Gender Hub who undertook this research believe gender, sport and media are a nexus which together can effect greater understanding about the value of social change and serves to diminish social inequalities. In order for such change to be realised sport and media organisations have an important role that can be enhanced by engaging with gender specialists who work in these sectors.

Women are increasingly breaking down barriers in business, arts, science and sport. While superficially numbers are greater in all areas, structural change is slow. Drawing on the analysis of newspaper data (over 2000 pages) collected during four weeks in 2012 when the London Olympics were held we want to encourage more sophisticated debates. Such debates could include professionalism and grassroots sport, resource allocation of finance and media, leadership and governance of sporting bodies and the influence of gender in all aspects of sport. We want to facilitate more effective and inclusive strategies that can be employed by sporting bodies and media owners to deliver a broader and deeper menu of men’s and women’s sport.
SECTION ONE – Defining the Trilogy

This report begins by defining media, sport and gender as individual components which interact to communicate specific cultural and social messages.

Media is increasingly used as an all-encompassing term implying it exists as a singular entity.

Yet media is not a monolithic institution. It is more appropriate to define media as describing the multiple platforms and products which communicate an every growing range of information and entertainment.

Deconstructing media enables opportunities to assess and analyse different mediums within the context of purpose, delivery mechanisms, social positioning, ownership, revenue, organisational structure and history.

In this report media is defined as communications channels which deliver words, pictures and images in the forms of news, entertainment and advertising.

McQuail (2010) argues that early mass media refers to the organised means of communicating openly, at a distance and to many people in a short space of time. The explosion of media and mobile technology in recent decades has combined to provide individuals with many choices on where, when, how and from whom they receive their news, information and entertainment.

However, what distinguishes some media from others is the professionalism of journalism, photography, sound and film which is learned, monitored, reviewed and critiqued by peers.

Many traditional media organisations have invested in technology across multiple vehicles to continue delivering verifiable news and information to audiences. However tensions have developed between professional and public journalists as individuals have become media outlets publishing unfettered words and pictures to anyone that can find them. But such tensions have been crucial for building relationships between organisations and individuals who largely have the same aim: to provide news and information.

Sport like media is increasingly presented as a monolith.

Such a portrayal limits an understanding of the breadth, depth and uniqueness of the many games and activities which together create what could be described as sport.

The process of unpacking sport is complex but to begin an exploration we will defer to the definition from the European Sports Charter Article 2.

‘Sport’ means all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels.
While this definition is useful it does not unpack sport beyond an activity. The complexities of sport also need to be identified to ensure a more impactful discussion.

The status of different sports and their composition of professional and amateur players have in recent times seen an explosion of professional athletes who command millions of pounds in salaries, winnings and endorsements. However, spotlighting elite professional athletes does not reflect the hierarchy of professional sportsmen and women who in their thousands sustain competitive leagues and events in a range of sports in many countries around the world. For example, the Professional Golf Association has over 7500 members and yet only Tiger Woods makes the top twenty of the Forbes top 100 earners in sport. (See Appendix B for the most recent list. Forbes annually publishes the top 100 earners in sport and notably the top two women come in at 29 and 81, both tennis players, and the fastest man on earth Usain Bolt registers at 63.)

Sports like American football, basketball and football/soccer have become major sports as professionalism and sponsorship have combined with media coverage to command high numbers of audiences and willing participants. To ensure a spectrum of talent and enthusiasm is nurtured, a hierarchy of grassroots, amateurs, semi-professionals, professionals and elite professionals exists. Such hierarchies are supported by schools, local clubs, regional and national teams and competitions to foster an enduring love of ‘the game’ which allows for all participants to choose a role from coach and player to viewer.

The Olympic Games, until 1971, was the arena where amateurs competed on a unique international stage, often superseding interest in professional sports for the period of competition. In 1971 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) allowed athletes to receive payments to compensate them for time away from work for training and competition. This was the first step towards including professional athletes, which became official in 1986 when the IOC changed its charter to allow ‘all the world’s great male and female athletes to participate.’

**Media and Sport**

While TV has changed the face of some sports and sporting events, the demise of prominent local and regional newspapers in the UK, Europe and North America has removed an important platform for sports. It was not so long ago that many sporting competitions were sponsored by local and regional newspapers, often bringing a higher profile to different sports and athletes while recognising the contributions of volunteer coaches and referees.

With such support also came accessible and affordable (often free) sporting events. For example, the World Series baseball competition in the US is couched in newspaper urban myth. The claim is that the name came from the *New York World* newspaper which was believed to be a sponsor which is often challenged but without much success as the myth continues.

What appears to be occurring is a widening void between some elite professional sports, which are part of a competitive industry and grassroots sports, which often struggle to find sustainable funding.
for teams, coaching and facilities. Grassroots sport is now joined by sport for development programmes, which use sport as instruments for social change. Such programmes are often funded through NGOs and charities potentially blurring the picture of grassroots sport.

The public and media profile given to amateur and semi-professional competitive leagues is limited at best and non-existent at worst. What is often forgotten in the focus on media-driven sports is the recognition that amateur sport is the lifeblood of many sports. Amateur sport is also important to support sport for development programmes where children may be able to join more formalised teams. Amateur sport is important because it makes the following contributions:

- Provision of local sports clubs to local residents for fun, activity and fitness
- Breeding ground for youth talent to be incubated
- Opportunity for coaches and referees to train and develop
- Opportunity for sports journalists to learn and practise their craft
- Regular events and leagues for teams to participate
- Free events for the public to attend often supporting friends and family
- Claiming public space for sporting activities for boys and girls.

Renegotiating relationships between local sport and communities where no media platform exists or is significantly stripped back is important to sustain amateur sport. Embracing social media has been effective for some sports and this success should be further encouraged.

**Gender, Media and Sport**

How we ‘do’ sport, media and gender is a constantly moving concept with time, locations and social/economic roles intersecting to produce a spectrum of experiences for men and women. While women around the globe are participating in sport in their millions they are largely locked out of mainstream media and sponsorship platforms. For those men who play non-mainstream sports a similar argument could be presented, but the overarching point is that men have been playing all sports for much longer than women and consequently men and women athletes occupy different positions in sport demonstrating how sport is gendered.

Gender is a social construction which can produce and maintain a range of meanings, expectations, actions, behaviours, resources, identities, debates and discourses which are fluid, yet persistent and can operate in isolation or in any combination.

- Gender is active in how men and women understand and perform their individual identities.
- Gender is a principle of social organisation.
- Gender is a major influence in the development of normative values.

So to begin exploring the relationship between gender, sport and media it is worth considering the following points:

- Men watch more sport than women.
- Men watch more women’s sport than women.
- Men have more leisure time than women.
- Men play sport for more years than women.
- Men’s sport has been formalised and funded for longer than women’s sport.
- More sports editors and journalists are men.

The connections between gender, sport and media are influenced by the structures in society making it necessary to explore the points of intersection.

**Fair Play — Aspiration or Reality?**

Globally, men’s football and men’s cricket continue to be the most popular sports in terms of media coverage, participation rates and spectators/fans. Other men’s sports dominate national media platforms such as American football, Aussie rules football and sumo wrestling in Japan. For women’s sport the picture is much more diluted with tennis featuring prominently but in comparison to men’s sport media coverage is minimal.

To challenge the interdependent relationship of men’s football and cricket, its merchandising, attendance and media coverage would require a remarkable shift in our cultural preferences. As this is unlikely there is value in setting these apart from other sport to avoid aspiring for the impossible.

For many commentators, activists, athletes and researchers it is understandable to find them reaching for the equality and fairness argument in relation to media, sport and gender but in terms of progress in this area change is slow.

This report argues that simply proposing a solution of more equal media coverage of men’s and women’s sport and better access to sponsorship deals is at best aspirational at worst naive. To find solutions, new debates need to be explored, new realities need to be realised and above all there needs to be fixed points which can be periodically measured.
SECTION TWO – Methodology

The Olympics of London 2012 presented an opportunity for the Gender Hub based in the UK to collect newspaper data to examine the treatment of men and women athletes during what was dubbed ‘the gender equality games’.

The media representation of women and men across all aspects of society, including sport, influences how social roles are perceived and embedded in everyday attitudes and behaviours. Furthermore, media can communicate and reflect what society considers acceptable and aspirational like financial success, celebrity status, physical attractiveness and youthfulness.

The role of mass media continues to feature as a key element of modern life transmitting social, technological, economic and cultural information.

In the UK, newspapers are an important cultural element extending beyond providing news, sports news and results, commentary and entertainment devices like the crossword. For many people loyalty to a particular newspaper is a special relationship often influenced by social class, geography, political leaning and interest in particular sports/teams.

Methodology

During the London 2012 Olympics, British national newspapers devoted an average of 46 pages a day to Olympic coverage. The highest percentage a newspaper committed to Olympic coverage was 65% and overall more than 7,200 pages of Olympic news were published by national press.¹

In this study three newspapers were collected starting on Monday 23 July for four weeks. This period was chosen to include the week before the London 2012 Olympics, the two weeks of the Games and the week after the event ended. The hypothesis being tested was that women’s sport coverage spiked for the period of the Olympic Games with average rates recorded pre and post event.

The three newspapers are UK nationals, The Sun (biggest selling tabloid/red top), The Times (middle market) and the Daily Telegraph (broadsheet). All these newspapers are well regarded for their sports coverage.

In each newspaper sports stories were collected and categorised as follows:

- News
- News feature
- Comment/Opinion
- Results/Schedule
- Advertisement

¹ Data for press from presentation at The Olympic Games: Meeting New Global Challenges Oxford University Club, Oxford 13-14th August, 2012 The Future of Reporting at the Olympic Games Anthony Edgar, Head of Media Operations, IOC
Each page was divided into 100 equal size squares and each separate story was counted and categorised by headline, story and picture to provide percentages.

Over 2,100 pages of content were analysed producing over 7,500 individual elements in the three newspapers over the period.

**UK Media Profile**

An overview of the UK media market\(^2\) comes from PwC\(^3\) who estimate that between 2012 and 2016 growth will be around 3% valuing this market at £63 billion. The UK market in 2011 was valued at £54 billion.

Internet advertising is leading the charge on growth predicted to achieve a double digit gain in the period 2012—2016. In 2011 this sector was valued at £4.96 billion.

Television is also predicted to continue growing highlighting the on-going value individuals place on this medium as the centrepiece of their media preferences. Advertising and TV subscriptions are expected to account for £6.8 billion in 2016.

Newspapers, historically the original mass media product continue to be the bedrock of the media spectrum and remain a significant sector valued at £5.7 billion in 2011. While the decline in this sector in the UK continues across advertising and newspaper sales and is expected to be worth £5.25 billion in 2016, the newspaper industry is best described as static.

**The Fourth Estate — a British Preserve**

British people are among the most avid newspaper readers in the world. 61% of all British adults (31 million people) read a regional newspaper compared with 53% who read a national newspaper.

The relationship between the press and readers in Britain can first and foremost be found in the long established history of newspapers going back 300 years.

The Newspaper Society who represent the regional press state that Berrow's Worcester Journal, which started life as the Worcester Postman in 1690 and was published regularly from 1709, is believed to be the oldest surviving English newspaper.

William Caxton introduced the first English printing press in 1476 and by the early 16th century the first 'news papers' were seen in Britain. However, they were slow to evolve due to the largely illiterate population.

The first regular English daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant*, was launched in 1702.

---

\(^2\) Media includes advertising, broadcasting, publishing, movies, outdoor, internet and mobile devices.

UK National Newspapers

- In today’s market the newspaper sector is divided into 10 national titles, 1,100 regional and local daily and weekly titles, with a mix of frees and paid-fors.
- National newspapers include paid for tabloids (red tops) and paid for quality and mid-market broadsheets and tabloids.

Circulation and Readership Figures

Circulation figures below show that The Sun is the biggest selling newspaper in the UK. In terms of readership more men read The Sun than any other newspaper (over 4 million) compared to women readers accounting for less than 3 million. By contrast the Daily Telegraph one of daily broadsheets registers 731,000 male readers and 663,000 female.

The table below shows the circulation figures for the UK newspaper dailies including the period of the data collection. The spike in the Daily Telegraph and The Times highlights how readers responded to a sporting event and their preferences. However while The Sun had a spike between July and August, there was drop between June and July which coincided with a price increase. The Daily Star took advantage of this which shows in their July figure, but a significant drop is noted in August when the Olympics were on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Dec-12</th>
<th>Nov-12</th>
<th>Oct-12</th>
<th>Sep-12</th>
<th>Aug-12</th>
<th>Jul-12</th>
<th>June -12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>1,034,641</td>
<td>1,044,940</td>
<td>1,064,292</td>
<td>1,072,687</td>
<td>1,088,724</td>
<td>1,082,054</td>
<td>1,081,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Star</td>
<td>540,548</td>
<td>559,972</td>
<td>568,057</td>
<td>586,743</td>
<td>600,304</td>
<td>623,534</td>
<td>602,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>2,277,809</td>
<td>2,361,683</td>
<td>2,384,895</td>
<td>2,445,361</td>
<td>2,502,691</td>
<td>2,550,859</td>
<td>2,583,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>529,096</td>
<td>537,236</td>
<td>533,451</td>
<td>543,912</td>
<td>550,502</td>
<td>555,544</td>
<td>602,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>1,844,569</td>
<td>1,871,577</td>
<td>1,866,701</td>
<td>1,884,815</td>
<td>1,914,126</td>
<td>1,921,239</td>
<td>1,939,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>547,465</td>
<td>546,438</td>
<td>560,471</td>
<td>560,398</td>
<td>584,089</td>
<td>581,249</td>
<td>573,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>286,401</td>
<td>281,882</td>
<td>293,326</td>
<td>287,895</td>
<td>280,124</td>
<td>290,765</td>
<td>291,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>204,222</td>
<td>203,592</td>
<td>202,675</td>
<td>204,931</td>
<td>204,271</td>
<td>209,354</td>
<td>211,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>291,311</td>
<td>302,373</td>
<td>304,691</td>
<td>282,995</td>
<td>281,530</td>
<td>280,122</td>
<td>272,597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>78,082</td>
<td>79,071</td>
<td>80,001</td>
<td>81,245</td>
<td>81,804</td>
<td>83,619</td>
<td>90,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>396,041</td>
<td>399,321</td>
<td>403,770</td>
<td>406,711</td>
<td>407,720</td>
<td>404,099</td>
<td>400,120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 UK National Daily Newspaper Circulation July 2012 – December 2012

RED: Highlights the newspapers chosen for the data collection
Source: Guardian, Media Section which reports ABC figures each month.
Sports Coverage by Gender

Monitoring the sports coverage in newspapers by gender is especially interesting when a global event such as the Olympics takes place. What is immediately identifiable is how men’s sport (non-Olympic) remains dominant throughout the period despite a spike in women’s sport coverage.

So why is it important to monitor the media coverage of women and sport?

Evidence over the past thirty years⁴ shows that during major sporting events media coverage of women’s sports increases, yet outside such events coverage remains stuck at less than 10%.

This raises a number of questions:

- Which sports that women play are considered by the media as mainstream?
- Are major events for women only those with an international structure?
- Is the coverage of a women’s sport greater when it is a team or an individual sport?
- How important is media coverage to sport/athletes in receiving sponsorship and funding?
- Do different media have ‘favourites’ and increase their coverage rather than offering news and commentary on a wider range of sports and athletes?
- How can sexploitation be addressed to reduce and eliminate it from sport?
- What can women’s sport learn from men’s sport about building media relationships?
- How can the media broaden the offer to readers and viewers outside of the Olympics?

Claiming Media Space

During the four week period that included the Olympics The Times published 781.22 pages, the Daily Telegraph 723.48 pages and The Sun 646.40 pages.

All the newspapers had special Games supplements where the majority of the Olympic sport was found. The main paper and sports section were infiltrated with Olympic news throughout the two week period of the games but in each of the newspapers the main menu of ‘seasonal’ men’s cricket, golf, football and horseracing remained strong and dominant.

The Times also published an eight page wrap during the two week Olympic period featuring ‘a hero of the day’. The first wrap featured British cyclist Lizzie Armistead who won Team GB’s first medal. Other athletes featured included Usain Bolt twice, the number one woman table tennis player, the first woman boxer (British) to get a gold medal and the Russian synchronised swimming team.

In the Daily Telegraph, sport is usually carried as a supplement but during the Olympic games, the regular sports content was found in the main paper and was largely untouched by the event. This meant there were days when if one read only the sports section it would have been difficult to know that a global sports event was going on.

---

The following chart shows the number of pages each of the newspapers devoted to sport broken down into headlines, stories, pictures, results and schedules.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>M/W*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEADLINE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>81.44pp</td>
<td>24.19pp</td>
<td>2.26pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>41.58pp</td>
<td>15.21pp</td>
<td>9.68pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>41.42pp</td>
<td>18.02pp</td>
<td>14.17pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PICTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>165.62pp</td>
<td>66.62pp</td>
<td>16.36pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>167.34pp</td>
<td>91.09pp</td>
<td>49.92pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>157.62pp</td>
<td>74.00pp</td>
<td>56.28pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>147.02pp</td>
<td>39.70pp</td>
<td>13.03pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>149.50pp</td>
<td>66.33pp</td>
<td>68.98pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>148.38pp</td>
<td>56.86pp</td>
<td>66.81pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHEDULE AND RESULTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.16pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td></td>
<td>121.59pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td></td>
<td>89.92pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Table 2.2 Breakdown of sports coverage

*M/W is the category for content featuring men and women.

News, news features and commentary content that is not overtly directed to either men or women athletes is a category (M/W) described in this report which does not prevail outside multi-event, multi-sport competitions.

Across the newspapers ‘Olympic sport’ was the largest example of this category. Olympic sport included the results and schedules for the games events. It also included the stories which covered sport as a more generic term rather than specific disciplines. However the opening and closing ceremonies were not included in this category as they were considered entertainment rather than Olympic sport.

General results and schedules were also categorised as M/W, which largely focuses on horseracing.

*The Sun* covered 37 different sports with 19 in the main paper, 27 in the sports section and 28 in the ‘Games supplement’. *The Times* also covered 37 sports with 18 in the main paper, 26 in the sports section and 28 in their games supplement. *The Daily Telegraph* covered 41 sports with 26 in the main paper, 23 in the sports section and 29 in the ‘Games supplement’.

While such evidence presents a broad offer to readers this is in reality somewhat superficial as will be shown in the breakdown by sport later in the report. Breadth of coverage during the four week period is certainly unquestionable, while depth is not.
The Daily Telegraph, The Sun and The Times in the three graphs below illustrate how women’s sport begins to claim media space in the week preceding the Olympics and then increases its share of space and volume during the event.

**Total Media Coverage by Gender over Four Weeks – by Week, July/August 2012**

Unfortunately, once the Olympics finishes, space is very quickly reclaimed by men’s sport. This is seen most dramatically in The Sun. Unlike the other two newspapers, The Times maintains the focus on women’s sport for the week post Olympics.
Top Ten Sports Coverage by Gender and Newspaper

Men’s sport dominates The Sun with a ratio of more than 3:1 to women’s sport. The M/W category is also larger than the volume of women’s sport but only by eight additional pages. The difference between the number one men’s sport football and the number one women’s sport, swimming, is 100 pages. This is particularly interesting as the football season had not actually started when the Olympics were on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>M/W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>Swiming</td>
<td>Horseracing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.62pp</td>
<td>22.65pp</td>
<td>50.55pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Olympic sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.97pp</td>
<td>19.74pp</td>
<td>46.07pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Results and schedules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.49pp</td>
<td>19.14pp</td>
<td>16.75pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket</td>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.08pp</td>
<td>12.58pp</td>
<td>3.00pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>Equestrian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.79pp</td>
<td>8.91pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.45pp</td>
<td>6.63pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.32pp</td>
<td>6.48pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>Judo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.18pp</td>
<td>5.54pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td>Football</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.63pp</td>
<td>5.23pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.31pp</td>
<td>4.06pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 The Sun Top Ten Sports

In athletics and cycling which are the number two and three sports for men and women, the ratio of 3:1 is clear. Women’s swimming is an interesting choice as the number one sport for women, since the British swimming team did not reach their medal targets yet did have The Sun’s swimmer of choice, Rebecca Adlington, competing.

Horseracing is a major contributor to the sports content of The Sun and if combining the content across all sports, horseracing would rate as fourth by double than of men’s cricket and women’s swimming.

The Sun clearly has a menu of mainstream sports and these are dominated by men’s football and horseracing whatever the month, followed by more seasonal men’s sports like cricket and golf. Beyond these sports the content is driven by event-based competitions like the Olympics, world championships and news based sports stories like a British cyclist winning the cycling Tour de France.

While this study has not analysed the results and schedules in the sports section it is noted that the only women’s sport covered regularly enough to be noticed was women’s tennis.
The Times assigned 411 pages to the top ten men’s and women’s sports with a ratio of 2:1 men to women. A further 235 pages were devoted to sports and activities categorised as M/W during the period of data analysis.

The top men’s sport is football with 58 pages but this is very closely followed by athletics, cycling and cricket, which are assigned between 46 and 54 pages. There is a big drop to the next sport, men’s golf and a further drop to the next group of five which have similar amounts of coverage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>M/W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Results and schedules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.42pp</td>
<td>33.98pp</td>
<td>82.62pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Olympic sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.95pp</td>
<td>24.32pp</td>
<td>65.91pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Football</td>
<td>Horseracing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.28pp</td>
<td>14.11pp</td>
<td>46.73pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Equestrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.06pp</td>
<td>13.51pp</td>
<td>40.06pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.53pp</td>
<td>11.91pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseracing</td>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.75pp</td>
<td>11.72pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>Equestrian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.62pp</td>
<td>9.95pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.38pp</td>
<td>6.82pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>Judo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.13pp</td>
<td>5.66pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.50pp</td>
<td>5.38pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 The Times Top Ten Sports

Women’s athletics dominates women’s sport coverage with just under 34 pages. This is ten pages more than cycling and 20 pages more than football and swimming. For gymnastics and rowing where Britain had a very successful women’s team, an average of 10 pages was allocated.

What is interesting is that women’s boxing and judo both featured in the top ten, both being combative sports with women’s boxing having its first outing at the London 2012 Olympics.

Olympic sport with 65 pages was actually the top sport overall illustrating the resources The Times devoted to commentary beyond specific sports. For such an international event as the Olympics it is evident that for all three newspapers Olympic sport was an editorial priority and enabled a broader range of journalists to be co-opted into covering this massive event.

The Times devoted more than 82 pages to results and schedules with a further 46 pages assigned to horseracing results and schedules. Equestrian, categorised as a M/W sport, had 40 pages of content, which is more pages than the top women’s sport.
The Daily Telegraph

The *Daily Telegraph* devoted 366 pages to the top ten men’s and women’s sport during the month of the Olympics in 2012. Men’s sport had 2.6 times more volume than women’s sport.

However, unlike the other two newspapers men’s football was pegged as number two, with athletics taking the number one position. Cycling had seven more pages than cricket but there was then a drop of 20 pages given to golf, swimming and rowing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>M/W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Olympic sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.51pp</td>
<td>26.17pp</td>
<td>102.32pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>Results and schedules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.65pp</td>
<td>22.40pp</td>
<td>59.94pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Horseracing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.71pp</td>
<td>16.21pp</td>
<td>31.78pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket</td>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>Equestrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.76pp</td>
<td>11.42pp</td>
<td>10.04pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>Football</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.30pp</td>
<td>7.75pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.03pp</td>
<td>7.06pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.81pp</td>
<td>5.24pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.45pp</td>
<td>4.07pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.76pp</td>
<td>2.82pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Taekwondo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00pp</td>
<td>2.02pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5 The *Daily Telegraph* Top Ten Sports

Women’s sport was topped by swimming with 26 pages. The number two spot was occupied by athletics with 22 pages, followed by cycling and rowing. This top four was the same as *The Sun* with similar volumes.

Olympic sport was by far the largest category for the *Daily Telegraph* with 103 pages of content. Results and schedules generally and horseracing combined to account for 90 pages dwarfing the top men’s and women’s sports which had 58 and 26 pages respectively.

Women’s boxing and women’s football received almost equal coverage reflecting the position of boxing and football which are two dominant men’s sports. Comparatively men’s and women’s boxing has almost equal amounts of content, yet the difference of coverage between men’s and women’s football was a ratio of 7:1.
All Three Newspapers

The newspapers all had the same top five men’s sports, in the same order but with varying amounts of volume.

The *Daily Telegraph* had the lowest figure (105 pages) for women’s sport in the top ten, followed by *The Sun* (110 pages) and *The Times* (137 pages).

During the period of the Olympics an overall impression in all the newspapers is one which sees men and women athletes sitting alongside each other comfortably and seamlessly. It is not until the data is analysed in detail that this seamless impression of the coverage is not as simple as it first appears.

Part of the reason for such an impression is the category of Olympic sport which covered men and women athletes together (M/W) as a group. This category provided a platform from which newspapers demonstrated how unique an event the Olympics is as a celebration of sport, nationalism, cultural and ethnic tolerance and a bubble which is largely free of political influences.

Olympic sport was largest in the *Daily Telegraph* (102 pages) *The Times* (82 pages) and *The Sun* (50 pages).

This category provides strong evidence that newspapers are willing and more than able to report comment and print pictures of men and women in sporting activities.
SECTION THREE — The Olympic Package: Sport and Media

“Regardless of what is actually happening, it is the media’s interpretation of that event which shapes our attitudes, values and perceptions about the world and our culture.”

Boutilier and San Giovanni, 1983

This section provides an explanation of how, like other major sport events, the International Olympic Committee has had to respond to the changes in how we access information and how we watch sport. The IOC has become increasingly powerful because it harnessed and controlled the revenue stream generated by what is best described as Olympic media.

As the owner of the global broadcast rights (television, radio, mobile and internet platforms) for the Olympic Games the IOC is responsible for accrediting broadcast rights media companies throughout the world. The revenue from selling these rights is the main revenue stream for the IOC, 90% is redistributed. 

The IOC Broadcast Charter states:
"The IOC takes all necessary steps in order to ensure the fullest coverage by the different media and the widest possible audience in the world for the Olympic Games."

History of IOC and Broadcasting Rights

- In 1958 the IOC passed a regulation that the local organising committee could sell television rights, with IOC approval.
- Consequently the principle of commercial Olympic television was established for the 1960 Games.
- Near bankruptcy in the late 1960s the IOC simply claimed all television money and solved its financial problems.
- By 1972 television revenues had replaced Olympic ticket sales as the principal commercial source of income.
- In 1978 no one but Los Angeles and Tehran were willing to bid to host the Games. In appointing Los Angeles the IOC had to accept the LA plan for commercially sponsored Olympics. In 1982 The Olympic Programme 5 (TOP) was introduced by the IOC to sell corporate sponsorship.

5 Revenue from TOP VII, the IOC’s global sponsorship offering that encompasses the 2009-2012 period—including the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games and the London 2012 Olympic Games—is $957 million. The IOC generated another $3.9 billion from broadcast rights for Vancouver and London. Domestic sponsorship for London 2012 hit $1.1 billion and $730 million for Vancouver 2010, bringing total event-related revenue from TV and marketing rights for this quadrennial to $6.69 billion—a sum that dwarfs the $3.6 billion in television and marketing rights for the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

• Olympics broadcasting rights and sponsorship became the two key revenue streams for the IOC.
• In 1981 the IOC dropped the requirement of pure amateurism among participants.
• The Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) was established in 2001 to serve as the permanent host broadcaster for the Olympic Games. This ensures high standards of broadcasting are maintained from one Games to the next.

Who are the Olympic Media?

• Broadcast Rights Holders (BRH) — Television, radio and/or new media broadcasters who have concluded agreements with the IOC for the acquisition of the rights to broadcast the Olympic Games within their territory
• Host Broadcaster (HB) — Olympic Broadcast Services (OBS), an IOC owned company which produced the international broadcast signal of the Olympic Games for the RHBs
• Press — Accredited written and photographic press — accredited non-right holding broadcast organisations

For the London 2012 Games the accredited media include 6,314 press including photographers and 6,793 host broadcasters.

The split by gender as shown in table 3.1 below demonstrates a dominance of men in all media sectors with only 15% of those with press accreditation, women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Women %</th>
<th>Men %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Host Broadcaster (HB)</td>
<td>1466</td>
<td>5327</td>
<td>6793</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Journalists/Photographers</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>5345</td>
<td>6314</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting Rights Holders (BRH)</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>9598</td>
<td>11954</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3325</strong></td>
<td><strong>14943</strong></td>
<td><strong>18268</strong></td>
<td><strong>18%</strong></td>
<td><strong>82%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Media Accreditation by Gender⁶

---

⁶ Data for gender, continent, broadcasting, press and social media tables from presentation at The Olympic Games: Meeting New Global Challenges Oxford University Club, Oxford 13-14th August, 2012 The Future of Reporting at the Olympic Games Anthony Edgar, Head of Media Operations, IOC
The coverage by continent in table 3.2 below over the past four summer Olympics shows Europe as being continually dominant. This is likely to reflect the cross-cultural composition of Europe reflecting a variety of languages and sporting preferences. It is also likely to reflect the demand by separate countries to provide coverage of their own teams and the ability to invest in broadcasting rights. In contrast, Africa has the lowest percentage of media coverage a clear indication of how little investment there is in African media.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Media Coverage by Continent

Table 3.3 below demonstrates how from Beijing to London the hours of coverage has increased by some 70%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Athens 2004</th>
<th>Beijing 2008</th>
<th>London 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of cameras</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of mobile units</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of commentary positions</td>
<td>1,464</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRH organisations</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of host broadcast personnel</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>5,800</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of coverage</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>5,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Broadcasting Resources

Social media grew enormously between Beijing in 2008 and the London Olympics and has become a vital means of communicating about sport and sporting events. Table 3.4 highlights the staggering growth of this media platform, which has become increasingly embedded in our daily lives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Beijing 2008</th>
<th>London 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>100 million users</td>
<td>900 million users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>6 million users</td>
<td>140 million users</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 – Social Media Users
SECTION FOUR — Beyond Mainstream Sport

"One shouldn't be afraid to lose; this is sport. One day you win; another day you lose. Of course, everyone wants to be the best. This is normal. This is what sport is about. This is why I love it."

- Oksana Baiul, Olympic Gold Medalist 1994, Figure Skating, Ukraine

To find an answer to the question — how many sports are there? — is difficult. Sport England requires a sport to have a National Governing Body and has over 100 sports registered. The sports encyclopedia\(^7\) cites over 3000 sports illustrating the depth and breadth of sport in the world.

What these numbers demonstrate is that sport is far from being just one expression of activity or a single entity. But also apparent is that while sport has a distinction between professional and amateur players, it also has geographical distinctions separating globally recognised sports from national, regional and local sports.

Within the professional sporting world there are significant global events which showcase athletes and their sport to huge global audiences. Such events include the FIFA World Cup, the Super Bowl and the Olympics. What follows is an outline of the Olympic movement, how the sports are decided and what those sports were for London 2012 (see table below).

The Olympics and Sport

The Olympics is underpinned by the Olympic Movement, which aims to link sport and education, promote the joy of effort and build a better world through sport, which is practised in the spirit of peace, excellence, friendship and respect.

Pierre de Coubertin of France was the visionary who revived the ancient games as a modern Olympic event founding the IOC in 1894. The committee had the key objective to organise the first modern Olympic Games which took place in Athens in 1896 and then every four years.

However de Coubertin did not believe the Olympics was suitable for women. It is widely quoted that he felt their inclusion would be "impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic, and incorrect."

Women, however, began competing in the 1900 Olympics in some sports and finally reached parity in 2012 competing in all 26 sports.


____________________

\(^7\) http://www.sportencyclopedia.com/index accessed 4.03.13
The Criteria for Becoming an Olympic Sport

For a sport to be made an Olympic sport it has to be governed by an international federation recognised by the IOC.

- An Olympic sport comprises one or several disciplines.
- A discipline includes one or more events or competitions.
- For every event there is a gold, silver and bronze medal awarded.

In order to be included on the Olympic programme, a summer sport must fulfil the following conditions:

- Be widely practised (by men, in 75 countries on four continents; by women, in 40 countries and on three continents);
- World Anti-doping Code must be applied;
- Must not rely on mechanical propulsion (such as a motor).

In Athens in 1896, nine sports were on the programme: athletics, cycling, fencing, gymnastics, weightlifting, wrestling, swimming, tennis and shooting.

At London 2012 there were 26 sports and 39 disciplines with 302 events involving teams from 204 National Olympic Committees. For a full breakdown see Donnelly and Donnelly, 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aquatics including swimming and diving</th>
<th>Archery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athletics including running, jumping, throwing</td>
<td>Badminton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing and Kayaking</td>
<td>Cycling, including mountain biking, BMX, road and track racing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equestrian a mixed gender sport</td>
<td>Football</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>Handball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics, including artistic and rhythmic</td>
<td>Judo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>Rowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Pentathlon</td>
<td>Shooting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>Taekwondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Tennis</td>
<td>Triathlon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Olympic Sports London 2012

---

SECTION FIVE — Newspaper Coverage by Sport during July and August 2012

"I hope this medal inspires the kids at home to put down guns and knives and pick up a pair of trainers instead."
Erick Barrondo, winner of Guatemala’s first-ever Olympic medal, silver in the men’s 20km walk

This section itemises by individual sport the coverage in the Daily Telegraph, The Sun and The Times three newspapers over the period of the data collection. The aim of this section is to demonstrate the spectrum of sports active in the international arena and to add commentary as to why some sports generate more attention than others. Some of the reasons include local and international heroes who are at the top of their sport, sports which deliver entertainment because of intense competition, or personalities which capture audiences and scandal.

Archery

- Featured 1.5 pages in The Times with men having three times more coverage than women.
- Featured 2.8 pages in The Sun with the men’s competition accounting for 98% of coverage. The majority of this space was dedicated to pictures of archers.
- Featured in the Daily Telegraph with 3.2 pages allocated to men’s archery.

Athletics

- The Times carried 15.5 pages in the main paper with a 60/40 split - men to women. While there was parity of coverage of pictures and stories for men and women, men had double the headline space.
- On the sports pages and in the Games supplement, again the split was 60/40 men to women.
- The Sun had 17 pages in the main paper, 32 pages in the sports section and 39 pages in the Games supplement (39 pages).
- The ratio of men’s to women’s stories was 2:1 but 50% of the men’s coverage was pictures.
- The Daily Telegraph published four pages in the main paper, in the sports section 23 pages and 65 pages in the Games supplement.
- Of the 98 pages of coverage 31 pages were pictures of male athletes and 13 pages of women athletes.

The stories of athletics were largely the same in all three newspapers. These included the face of the games, a British athlete Jess Ennis, who won a gold medal on what became known as Super Saturday. Minutes after Ennis won the heptathlon gold, British athlete Greg Rutherford won the long jump. The golden duo 30 minutes later, were joined by Mo Farah who won the 5000 metres.
Mo Farah went on to win the 10,000 metres a few days later when Usain Bolt was also winning a second gold in the 200 metres. Bolt went on to win gold in the sprint relay making his achievement a double treble, having done the same in Beijing. To add to the spectacle of gold medals a new world record in the men’s 800 metres was achieved by David Rudisha, followed by a world record by the US women’s sprint relay team.

Badminton

Badminton suffered a cheating scandal early in the Games.

- *The Times* covered the cheating story in the main paper. The supplement carried three pages of the men’s and women’s.

- *The Sun* covered the women’s cheating scandal in the main paper with just over one page. In the games supplement 1.3 pages were given to badminton with near parity between the men’s and women’s competitions. A small men’s badminton story was also covered in the sports section.

- The *Daily Telegraph* featured 4.4 pages with a gender split in favour of women (two pages) to the men’s competition accounting for 1.4 pages. The remainder was a gender mix of stories over one page.

Basketball

- In *The Times* the sports section featured one story about women’s basketball dominated by a picture which was twice the size of the editorial. In the Games supplement 10 pages were dedicated to the game with 80% covering the men’s competition.

- The Sun carried more than 5.5 pages of basketball with just over one page in the main paper and 4.5 pages in the Games supplement. Men dominated this sport with 90% of the coverage.

- Basketball was dominated by the men’s competition with 98% of 2.7 pages being allocated in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Beach Volleyball

- Women players featured in *The Times* main paper with more than 1.5 pages contributed.

- *The Sun* featured the women’s game only with 3.8 pages of which the majority was in the main paper. Of the coverage 56% was pictures.

- The *Daily Telegraph* featured the women’s competition in just over two of 2.7 pages of coverage.
Bowls

- *The Times* carried one story in the sports section with women receiving twice that of men.
- There was no coverage in *The Sun* or the *Daily Telegraph*.

Boxing

For the first time boxing had a women’s competition at the Olympics and British woman, Nicola Adams won gold.

- *The Times* carried stories over 1.5 pages in main paper and sports section for men (55%) and women (45%). In the sports pages again there was coverage of the men and women’s competitions.
- In the Games supplement there were nearly 11 pages with the split 53% men and 47% women.
- Nicola Adams also featured on one of the daily wraps.

- *The Sun* covered boxing in the main paper, sports pages and Games supplement with 18.8 pages allocated to this sport.
- In the main paper men and women had almost equal coverage while men dominated the sports pages (83%) and the Games supplement (67%).

- The *Daily Telegraph* featured 15.5 pages with an almost equal gender split across all sections.
- In the main paper male boxers dominated; in the sports section women’s boxing dominated.

Canoeing

- *The Times* carried one story in the main paper, nothing in the sports section and nearly five pages in the Games supplement which was dominated (90%) by the men’s events.
- A male canoeist was also featured on a wrap in the newspaper.

- Almost 12 pages in *The Sun* featured canoeing.
- The coverage was in the main paper, sports section and Games supplement with total dominance of the men’s competitions and approximately half the coverage being pictures.

- The *Daily Telegraph* featured 6.3 pages of the men’s competition only.
Cricket

- The Times sports section carried 43.6 pages with all the coverage devoted to the men’s game.
- Half of the coverage was editorial with 36% pictures and 14% headlines.
- The Sun carried just over 23 pages of men’s cricket in the sports section.
- The Daily Telegraph carried 38 pages featuring only the men’s game.

Cycling

The summer of 2012 could be described as the summer of British cycling.

This dominance in the sports section is certainly attributable to Bradley Wiggins winning the Tour de France and then going on to win gold in the Olympics. Chris Hoy became Britain’s most successful Olympian when he won his sixth gold medal in track cycling. The first medal (silver) of the Olympic Games for the host nation was won by road cyclist, Lizzie Armistead.

Armistead used the media platform she won to discuss the inequality between men’s and women’s professional cycling. Sponsors of the UK men’s team, media company Sky do not sponsor the women’s team who struggle financially and have to cope with races being cancelled, unstable teams and as a result unstable incomes. Armistead argued that Sky is missing an opportunity to bring some stability to women’s cycling and develop the profile of the sport.

Despite sponsorship challenges British women cyclists were impressive winning gold medals in team and individual events both on the road and on the track.

- The Times carried 73 pages of cycling with 13 pages in the main paper with the split 3:1 men to women.
- The sports section had 14 pages with 81% of this coverage being dominated by stories about male cyclists.
- The Games supplement had more gender equitable coverage with men receiving 58% and women 42% of the 46 pages dedicated to Olympic cycling.
- The split between headlines, pictures and stories was fairly equal with British men and women winning gold medals.
- Cyclists featured on three separate special wraps in The Times with Armistead’s headline — Elizabeth the Second. She was followed Chris Hoy and Bradley Wiggins.

- The Sun dedicated 72.5 pages to cycling.

- The Daily Telegraph 67.2 pages of cycling stories similar to the other newspapers, with 43.7 pages assigned to men and 16 pages to women cyclists.
Darts

- This sport did not feature in *The Times* or *The Sun* and accounted for just under half a page in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Diving

One of the faces of the Games was local diver, Tom Daley.

- *The Times* assigned one page split between the main paper and sport section.
- The games supplement assigned 7 pages with 70% dedicated to men’s events.
- *The Sun* reported on diving across the main paper, sports section and Games supplement providing 8.5 pages of coverage in fairly even proportions. All the coverage was dedicated to the men’s competition.
- The *Daily Telegraph* assigned 8.5 pages to diving with nearly six of those pages featuring the men’s competition. Women divers were allocated 1.7 pages and the final page featured men and women divers.

Equestrian

Notably equestrian is a sport where men and women compete equally in teams and as individuals.

A member of the British royal family was competing in the team event and another British woman won two gold medals in the individual events.

- *The Times* carried 9.5 pages in the main paper and 34 pages in the Games supplement.
- One of the wraps was of a British male show jumper who won a gold medal.
- While 70% of the coverage is classified as men and women, 30% of the coverage is women only.
- In *The Sun* just under 19 pages was assigned with 95% found in the Games supplement.
- The pictures and stories were almost equal between men and women with mixed photos accounting for 10%.
- The *Daily Telegraph* contributed more than 23.5 pages of coverage with almost equal coverage between men – 6 pages and women seven pages.
- Just over 10 pages were assigned to men and women.
- Equestrian stories featured in the main paper and Games supplement.
**Fencing**

- *The Times* featured a small article about men’s fencing in the sports section.
- In the Games supplement just over 4.5 pages covered this sport with men receiving 75% and women 25% of the editorial. Pictures dominated the coverage accounting for 70% of the space.
- In *The Sun*, this sport featured women on 1/5 of a page in the games supplement and in the sports section 1/20 of page featured men.
- The *Daily Telegraph* assigned 2.5 pages of which 1.5 focused on men and women as fencers.
  - Women’s fencing featured in a small news item in the main paper; the remainder of the page covered men’s fencing.

**Football**

The women’s football competition was the first event to start at the 2012 Olympics with Team GB winning their first game.

One of the earliest Olympic stories was the flying of the wrong flag. The South Korean flag was flown at the game between North Korea and Columbia, which North Korea won 2-0.

- *The Times* main paper carried 2.5 pages of what is best described as Olympic football. This had a gender split 63% men to 37% women.
- In the sports section 48.5 pages of football were reported split 91% men to 9% women.
- The Games supplement carried nearly 19 pages of Olympic football split 56% men to 44% women.

- *The Sun* carried 125 pages of football with 120 pages in the sports section of which 96% covered the men’s game.
  - In the Games supplement 4.5 pages covered Olympic football split 93% men to 7% women.

- The *Daily Telegraph* carried 61.4 pages of football with 44.4 pages found in the sports section covering the men’s game.
  - Olympic football accounted for almost 17 pages with a gender split 9.2 pages for the men’s competition and 7.7 pages for the women’s competition.
Golf

At the Rio 2016 Olympics golf will be included as an event for men and women with 30 countries expected to enter athletes. The sport was included in the Olympics over a hundred years ago, but only the US and Canada competed.

- *The Times* dedicated over 17 pages which included the British Open, a major event in the golfing calendar.

- *The Sun* assigned almost 20 pages of coverage to the men’s game. This was all carried in the sports section of the newspaper. The coverage breaks down into 37% pictures, 41% stories and 22% headlines.

- The *Daily Telegraph* carried 16.3 pages of golf featuring only the men’s game.

Gymnastics

- Men and women gymnasts had equitable coverage with 49% men and 47% women (4% was included as men and women).

- *The Times* main paper carried over 4.5 pages and the games supplement 18.6 pages.

- In the sports section women dominated the 1.8 pages of coverage with a split of 81% to just 19%.

- *The Times* also carried a British male gymnast on the special wrap.

- *The Sun* carried almost 16 pages of men and women’s gymnastics with a quarter in the main paper and sports section and the remaining eight pages in the Games supplement.

- The ratio of coverage was on average 3:2 men to women.

- The *Daily Telegraph* carried almost 10 pages with stories in the main paper and the Games supplement. The ratio was similar to that of *The Sun*.

Handball

- *The Times* coverage was equitable with women having 51% of the 5.5 pages and men 49%.

- All the stories were placed in the Games supplement except for a small story in the sports section for men’s handball.

- In *The Sun* 1.5 pages were dedicated to women’s handball, which featured in the Games supplement.

- The *Daily Telegraph* carried more than 3.5 pages of stories with women featuring in 2.5 pages and men and women handball athletes on one page.
Hockey

Total Pages 26.5

The women’s game witnessed the heroic story of the British team captain who broke her jaw in the first game and went on to lead the team to a bronze medal.

- The Times carried almost 10 pages with the women’s competition accounting for 62%.
- The Sun carried 7.3 pages with the men’s competition dominating the main paper while women dominated the Games supplement with 3.8 pages.
- The Daily Telegraph covered hockey on 9.2 pages with near parity across the men’s and women’s competitions.

Horseracing

Total Pages 131.3

Horseracing is a mainstream sport which tends to be overlooked when thinking and talking about sport. Horseracing is a global sport often spanning three diverse sectors: sport, betting and the rural economy. Deloitte estimate more than 200 million racing fans worldwide attend events with over $US100 billion is gambled on races each year\(^9\).

The UK racing industry is one of the largest and most sophisticated in the world, and among UK sports, horseracing is second only to football in terms of attendances, jobs supported, tax contribution and capital investment.

It is worth noting the majority of jockeys are men although the stories carried are generally a mix of horse, jockey and trainer, which includes women, making this a mixed gender sport.

The majority of the horseracing volume in all the newspapers is accounted for in results and schedules.

- In The Times, horseracing accounts for nearly 45 pages of content
- In The Sun more than 54.5 pages was dedicated to horseracing.
- The Daily Telegraph carried 31.8 pages of horseracing.

---

**Judo**

*The Times* featured one page of content in the main paper covering a Team GB woman winning gold. The games supplement carried nearly six pages with 54% of the coverage pictures dominated by 81% of the women’s competition.

*The Sun* carried 6.3 pages with just over 1.6 pages in the main paper featuring women only.

- In the sports section it was women who dominated.
- In the Games supplement 1.6 pages was split 48% men and 52% women.

- Judo featured on 4.8 pages of the *Daily Telegraph* with the gender ratio 2:1 women to men.

**Motor racing**

Motor-racing is a male dominated sport with Formula 1 having no women drivers.

- The coverage of over 3.5 pages in *The Times* was contained in the sports section.
- *The Sun* covered motor racing in the sports section allocating 3.6 pages.
- The *Daily Telegraph* featured almost 2.4 pages of motor racing news in the sports section.

**Mountain biking**

Mountain biking is part of the broader sport of cycling in respect of the Olympics.

- *The Times* carried two pages of the men’s competition which were found in the Games supplement.
- *The Sun* did not cover mountain biking.
- The *Daily Telegraph* did not cover mountain biking.
Olympic Sport

This category would not normally be expected to feature on a regular basis. Olympic sport is defined as a combination of all sport which is contained in the event and includes the programme schedule.

- *The Times* carried 95 pages of Olympic sport with five pages in the main paper and sports section. The games supplement carried more than 72 pages of which 13 pages were schedules.
- In *The Times* comment pieces accounted for 48% of the editorial content.
- *The Sun* had 51.5 pages classified as Olympic sport.
- Less than half a page was in the main paper, 7.8 pages in the sports section and 43 pages in the Games supplement.
- In *The Sun* sports section 2.5 pages were categorised as Olympic sport.
- Of the 51.5 pages of Olympics sport more than 15 pages were pictures.
- *The Daily Telegraph* carried 113 pages of Olympic sport.
- Of the total, 55 pages were results and schedules, and 22 pages were pictures.

Rowing

- In *The Times* five pages were in the main paper which was dominated by women rowers 3:1.
- In the Games supplement more than 21 pages were carried where the coverage was almost equal. The volume of pictures was equal between men and women.
- *The Sun* carried 19 pages of rowing with 5.5 pages in the main paper where women featured in 75% of the stories.
- In the sports section, 3.4 pages featured rowing with 70% dedicated to women and 30% to men. The Games supplement carried 10.3 pages and again women dominated the coverage featuring in 60% of the stories.
- *The Daily Telegraph* assigned almost 25 pages to rowing with the women’s competition accounting for 13 pages and men 11.5 pages.
- There was an additional page of pictures of male rowers; stories of women rowers amounted to 1.5 times more.

Rugby League

This is sport played by men.
- *The Times* carried almost 1.5 pages of coverage in the sports section.
- *The Sun* carried almost four pages of coverage in the sports section.
- The *Daily Telegraph* carried almost one page of rugby league in the sports section.
Rugby Union

Total Pages 3.2

This is predominantly played by men although women’s rugby is growing.

- *The Times* dedicated half a page to this sport and the focus was men.
- *The Sun* carried only 0.25 of a page of this sport.
- *The Daily Telegraph* carried 2.4 pages of men’s rugby.

Sailing (including windsurfing)

Total Pages 42.2

Ben Ainslie, a British sailor, won his fourth gold medal in consecutive Games explaining the dominance of the men’s competition.

- In *The Times* main paper 1.5 pages was assigned of which ¾ was about men.
- In the Games supplement just over 11 pages was assigned with the split 91% men and 9% women. Pictures account for more than half the coverage.

- *The Sun* featured sailing in the main paper (2.2 pages), sports section (0.25 pages) and Games supplement (13.2 pages).
- Men dominated the stories with three times more coverage than women.

- The *Daily Telegraph* assigned 14 pages with men dominating 9.5 pages and women 2.8 pages with the remainder categorised as men and women stories.
- An additional 1.5 pages featured men’s windsurfing.

Shooting

Total Pages 8.5

- *The Times* main paper carried 0.75 of a page featuring men.
- The Games supplement contributed another three pages to this sport which was 98% stories of men.

- *The Sun* had just over half a page featuring the shooting competition dominated by men’s stories which accounted for 80% of coverage.

- Shooting was covered in the *Daily Telegraph* on 4.3 pages and was solely about the men’s competition.

Snooker

Total Pages 0.5

- In *The Times* sports section almost half a page of stories were covered in the four-week period, which featured men only.

- No coverage in *The Sun* or the *Daily Telegraph*. 
Swimming

- *The Times* carried 26 pages with two pages in the main paper and four pages in the sports section. The remaining 20 pages featured in the Games supplement.
- Of the coverage just over half was pictures.
- Women dominated the main and sports news with 70% of the stories.
- In the Games supplement the gender ratio, while still favouring women, was more equal.

- *The Sun* carried 28 pages of swimming with 3.7 pages in the main paper, 15 pages in the sports section and 9.3 pages in the Games supplement.
- Women dominated all aspects of the coverage at a ratio of 3:1.

- *The Daily Telegraph* featured 40 pages of swimming with a volume ratio of 2:1 women to men.

Synchronised Swimming

- *The Times* dedicated four pages of space to women in the Games supplement with 60% of the coverage being pictures.
- *The Times* also put the Russian synchronised swimmers on one of the daily wraps.

- *The Sun* coverage accounted for 0.75 of a page in the Games supplement.

- *The Daily Telegraph* did not cover synchronised swimming.

Table Tennis

- *The Times* carried two pages of which two-thirds was in the Games supplement with 95% given over to the men’s competition.
- One of the wraps featured the number one women’s table tennis player.

- *The Sun* carried 1.25 pages of stories with the women’s competition featuring in the sports section, and the men’s competition featured in the Games supplement with the ratio 2:1 men to women.

- The *Daily Telegraph* featured table tennis on 2.5 pages with men accounting for 1.5 pages and 1 page categorised as men and women.

Tae Kwon Do

- *The Times* carried five pages with the majority in the games supplement although this sport featured in the main paper and sports section.
- It was women who dominated this sport with 90% of the coverage of which 65% was pictures.
- The Sun carried 1.5 pages, which featured coverage in the main paper, sports section and Games supplement.
- The stories (90%) were dominated by the women’s competition.
- The Daily Telegraph assigned 6.3 pages with two pages for men, 2.7 pages for women and 1.6 pages categorised as men and women.

**Tennis**

- The Times carried 10 pages which featured in the main paper, sports section and games supplement.
- The men’s competition dominated the coverage (95%).
- More than half the coverage was pictures.
- The Sun carried just short of 14. In the main paper 2.2 pages featured the men’s game only and in the 3.6 pages of the sports section 96% of the stories were about the men’s game.
- In the Games supplement 8.2 pages were split 84% men and 16% women.

- In the Daily Telegraph, tennis appeared on almost nine pages with eight of those pages featuring only the men’s competition and the remaining one page on women’s tennis and mixed tennis.

**Triathlon**

The men’s triathlon was dominated by two brothers from Britain who finished with gold and bronze medals. The women’s triathlon ended in a photo finish.

- The Times dedicated nine pages to the men’s triathlon.
- More than eight pages were in the games supplement with 63% of the coverage being pictures.
- The Sun’s Games supplement featured less than a third of a page on the men’s competition.
- The Daily Telegraph featured seven pages of the men’s triathlon only.

**Volleyball**

- Did not feature in The Times.
- The Sun carried 1.3 pages with the stories featuring in the games supplement with 60% men and 40% women.
- The Daily Telegraph featured men’s volleyball on 1.2 pages with no coverage of the women’s game.
Weightlifting  
Total Pages 5.8
- *The Times* carried 1.5 pages in the games supplement which was dominated by women.
- The Sun featured one-third of a page in the Games supplement.
- The *Daily Telegraph* assigned four pages with men on one page, women on two pages and one page of men and women.

Wrestling  
Total Pages 1
- *The Times* carried 0.2 of a page in the Games supplement for men and women.
- *The Sun* carried women’s wrestling on 0.75 of a page in the Games supplement.
- The *Daily Telegraph* did not cover this sport.

Water Polo  
Total Pages 2.2
- There was no coverage in *The Times*.
- *The Sun* featured women’s water polo on one page in the Games supplement.
- The *Daily Telegraph* featured 1.2 pages of the men’s competition only.
SECTION SIX — Society, Sport and Media

“Televised sports have continued to juxtapose images of powerful male bodies against sexualised images of women’s bodies in ways that affirm conventional notions of male superiority and female frailty.”

Messner, 2007, p165

This section explores in detail some issues and themes arising from the research.

This includes an examination of the 2012 Olympics as the Games of labels, the bodily capital of athletes, exploitation, leadership, the concept of ‘mediasport’ football as a historical marker of social change and a critique of sport for development with a particular focus on women and girls.

Sport in its widest context is interwoven into society and throughout history has provided markers for recording responses to significant changes economically, socially, technologically and politically.

Labelling the Games

With a focus on 2012, some of the markers laid down would be the marketing of the London Olympics as the ‘gender equality games’, ‘the social media games’ and ‘the crying games’. In addition performance-enhancing drugs and attempts at their elimination remained a focus of the games.

Gender Equality Games

The stories supporting this were:

- Women competed in all the sports for the first time, which included boxing and taekwondo.
- For the first time there were women from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Brunei which meant every team had a woman member.
- Women in the Qatar team accounted for 30% and competed in shooting, swimming, table tennis and athletics.
- Brunei’s only woman competitor did not meet the qualifying time for the 400m but got special dispensation to compete.
- In Team GB 48.2% of athletes were female.
- There were for the first time more women than men on the US team.

Yet the media coverage of women does not reflect London 2012 being the gender equality games. And a number of women athletes used the media platforms they won to vocalise their experiences of how sport was not achieving gender equality in media coverage, financial support or sponsorship deals.

A good example of gender barriers is found in the race for the title ‘the fastest man on earth’ which remains the blue ribbon Olympic event. In 2012 Usain Bolt won the 100m, 200m and sprint relay.
gold medals, repeating what he did in Beijing in 2008. This is a moment in history because it is impossible to know when this double will be done again.

By way of comparison Bolt’s Jamaican compatriot Shelly-Ann Fraser-Pryce won women’s 100m gold medal in 10.75 seconds to retain her Olympic title but received much less attention. For the small nation of Jamaica the men and women sprinters deliver repeat performances, but the recognition of those performances is different. There is no question that Bolt is a big personality but then the media give him a stage which he fills with achievements and with himself. By way of contrast Pryce is not given such a stage as big nor as often.

The Olympic games can shine an important light on national and cultural gender norms that influence profiles of athletes at home and abroad. It is certainly easier to claim gender equality by simply looking at numbers but as this report discusses this is a superficial measurement which does not tell the whole story.

**The Social Media Games**

The London Olympics were dubbed the ‘social media’ games as athletes, pundits and supporters took to Twitter and Facebook.

While social media allowed for levels of communication unseen before not all the messages were positive and some actually led to athletes being removed from competing and others being targeted with ‘hate’ tweets.

The Greek triple jumper Voula Papachristou never made it to the competition after making a racist tweet. An apology followed.

Swiss footballer Michel Morganella tweeted disparaging remarks about the South Koreans after losing. The debate which followed was whether he was racist, rude or unsportsmanlike.

British Olympic diver Tom Daley — one of the faces of the games — fell victim to increasingly threatening tweets from a British teenager, who was angry the athlete had been placed fourth in synchronized diving.

“You let your dad down I hope you know that” was the particular offensive tweet to Daley who had lost his father to cancer earlier in the year.

A British journalist for *The Independent*, Guy Adams was suspended from twitter after tweets criticising NBC’s coverage of the Games. This included one tweet with the email address of NBC executive Gary Zenkel, which encouraged people to contact him and complain. NBC came under massive criticism for taping coverage and not adequately delivering the Olympics to viewers. Adams’ account was later reinstated, after much public outcry.
The Crying Games

During the Olympics the media captured multiple examples where the emotions of athletes flowed. Sir Chris Hoy stood on the cycling podium to collect his gold medal (which gave him the title of Britain’s most successful Olympian) openly shedding tears of joy, relief and nationalism.

Felix Sanchez, 'the comeback kid' won his second Olympic 400-metre hurdles gold, and the Dominican Republic's first medal of the 2012 Games, wept on the podium. Andy Murray the men's tennis gold medallist wept during his first media interview, endearing tennis fans to the man previously dubbed an ‘unemotional Scot’. The men’s British rowing pair who did not win the gold medal were interviewed on the TV crying with devastation at what they described as failure (they won silver). The heartfelt sense of failure was moving to the point where the interviewer himself was emotional.

Increasingly, international sports competitions provide men with a platform where it is acceptable, admirable and sometimes even expected to openly display tears of all kinds. Such demonstrations challenge masculine stereotypes for men to be in control of their emotions. Role models who are successful and strong athletes but emotionally engaged with the occasion and the achievement demonstrate how gender norms are breaking down.
Drugs in Sport

In 2012 cycling as a sport featured the highs of the Tour de France and the Olympics and suffered the lows of witnessing the downfall of one of the greatest cyclists and athletes of all times and arguably the most resilient to doping accusations Lance Armstrong, finally stripped of his seven Tour de France titles after admitting taking drugs.

In June 2012, the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency (USADA) accused Armstrong of using performance-enhancing drugs, and in August, when he dropped his fight against the charges, the USADA ordered his record seven Tour de France titles to be wiped out. A report released in October laid out vivid details of the evidence.

The media coverage of this story was emotionally led and illustrates how invested individuals are in their sporting heroes with anger and disappointment raging across stories and interviews. While justice was the winner, the price of justice is a sense of betrayal from Armstrong supporters in the cycling fraternity.

The victims of drug cheats are the other athletes and this was best illustrated in the women’s shot put where Valerie Adams of New Zealand, defending her Olympic title was beaten into silver position by an athlete who was later stripped of her gold medal for testing positive. The Olympics are the ultimate competition and winning a gold medal and then having the opportunity to defend it is rare. To have the title stolen by a cheat is arguably the ultimate in unsportsmanlike behaviour. But furthermore what is stolen is the moment to shine, the moment to be nationalist on an international stage.
The Olympian and Their Body

The body is at the core of all sports and different sports attract different body types to fit with the physical needs of an individual sport.

For the Olympian, the body has over history been presented to the public as supreme.

The Olympics deliver to audiences the dramatic highs and lows of human endeavour. We are witnesses to a conveyor belt of courage, endurance, frailty, strength, disappointment and elation. As different events unfold we are drawn into the dramas which come and go as we seamlessly move from one performance to the next.

Waquant\textsuperscript{10} (1995) makes the point that the human body in all aspects of the social world is rarely discussed or viewed as an ‘ongoing practical achievement’. Yet spectators watching high level international sporting events expect athletes will continue to develop and push their physical boundaries to deliver continuous enthralling entertainment experience.

The social structuring of bodily capital and bodily labour among Olympians as portrayed in the newspapers analysed offers a window on performances of femininity mixed with ethnicity, geographical origin, tokenism, nationalism, success, failure, expectation and aspiration.

The commitment of Olympic athletes, as Wacquant describes, to their body as a form of capital varies from sport to sport and individual to individual but is undeniably present in all events.

Before athletes are accepted to compete at the Olympics they have spent years shaping, sculpting and training their bodies to be strong, enduring, agile, rhythmic, skilful and disciplined in their athletic performance and talent.

For many women athletes their sporting performance is often not sufficient as society demands an array of other gender-based performances. Balancing the investment between bodily capital and social acceptance can be difficult and create tensions. Experiencing practices, techniques and strategies to be feminine and align with locally relevant traditional gender norms can often push women into opposing social/sporting environments.

How the media presents and re-presents the woman athlete is made and remade on a daily basis. While some women athletes will have negotiated a stable media story other women athletes will be seemingly at the mercy of different media aims.

Seeking to find a balance between the non-traditional role of Olympic athlete and the individual as a social being can be a challenge. A variety of linking gender norms found not just in one’s national and religious cultures but other cultures which are inhabited as athletes travel and perform their sport need to be understood and navigated by the individual. This can be a very isolating aspect of sport.

The clash of gender-based cultures requires sophisticated navigation which for many women athletes is beyond their knowledge and experience. Such cultural clashes are difficult to understand.

\textsuperscript{10} Body & Society, 1995, Loïc J.D. Wacquant “Pugs at Work: Bodily Capital and Bodily Labour among Professional Boxers”
and process as women athletes attempt to find ways of aligning their new social roles in terms of image, financial independence, competition and success with acceptable gender roles.

The Lingerie Football League (recently renamed the Legend Football League) active in the US and Australia is a good example of how the role of some women in sport find themselves being presented in a way which objectifies their sexuality. What is troubling about this sport is the blatant promotion of women in a sexualised way for the pleasure of the audience and secondly that the women are not paid.

Wacquant (1995) comments that for athletes, their bodies are simultaneously “the site, the instrument and the object of their daily work, the medium and the outcome of their occupational exertion... and much of their existence is consumed by servicing, moulding and strategically manipulating their bodies”.

For the athlete, taking care of their body is a priority, an investment, essential for competition. Able and disabled athletic bodies over the course of a career can suffer a spectrum of injuries; welts, bruises, cuts, bone fractures, concussions, sprains, torn ligaments and surgery scars. Each injury leaves indelible marks on the body and sometimes irreversible physical damage. Each physical injury requires a journey back to fitness and alongside that is the need to overcome the elements of doubt as to whether the body is going to deliver the sporting performance.

The relationship between the athlete and their body is a fragile one which is placed under public and personal scrutiny. For women athletes the scrutiny they undergo is often more intense as the blurring of gender norms from the sports field and society converge to create tensions not found so readily with male athletes. In what could be described as the ‘look and feel’ of women athletes, the margins for error are small for example, to wear or not to wear make-up, to have or not to have long hair, to be or not to be open about one’s sexuality.

Sexploitation

“Nicola Adams was unknown before her win[gold in women’s boxing] according to American firm SponsorHub, her attractiveness to sponsors has risen by 25%. ‘Traditionally female athletes earn half of what men earn’ says Bob Johnson, co-founder of SponsorHub.”

Daily Telegraph, 18 August, 2012

Sexploitation is defined as forms of advertising, marketing and promotion or attempts to gain media coverage which highlights the sexual attributes of female athletes. Sexploitation values and judges the female athlete for her body type and attractiveness, rather than for the qualities defining her as an athlete.

Sexploitation causes a collision between the commercial aspects of sport and women athletes. Some women athletes can generate sponsors using a sexualised version of their bodies arguing that it is their athletic body which is sought after to advertise certain products. While some women athletes will argue that they have two sides to their physical being, the sporting body and the sexual body, managing the two as one is difficult. Displaying sexuality may appear to be a choice and one which some women are happy to exercise. But when looking at the sexualised pictures of women athletes on magazine covers and in advertisements the question of choice is uncomfortable.
Firstly, not all women athletes fit the sexualised notions of what magazines and advertisers are looking for. Maintaining such narrow views of what is acceptable in terms of sexuality reinforces stereotypes and limits the social progress of inclusivity. Women athletes who do not recognise that their participation is complicit in reproducing sexualised norms highlight the complexities which blight and hinder the commercial aspects of women and sport.

While sexploitation is not confined to women, men’s sport generally has more media coverage, more sponsorship and more professional sports and teams, limiting the requirement to use their sexuality when they can use their athleticism.

Viewing women athletes for their sexual attributes may financially benefit those individuals willing and invited to take part, but from a sports point of view the outcomes are limited. Sexualising women athletes undermines their sport as being an entertaining product because the message is not about them as successful athletes.

Women’s tennis is a good example of a sport which has worked hard to gain grand slam media coverage and equal prize money. But what is more interesting is the spectrum of scenarios women’s tennis has provided us.

For example Anna Kournikova ‘the media darling’ during her professional career earned more from sponsorship than the best players earned from winnings and sponsorship.

The Williams sisters broke down stereotypes about poor, black American women playing tennis and the beauty of athletic power. In their own right Serena and Venus have advanced their sport and showed the tennis and sporting world that women can be strong and successful athletes in sport and business.

Sexploitation is complex and it is important to educate young women and men athletes about how to make the right media/advertising choices. One of the key issues is how to protect many athletes as they are young and sensitive to issues of body image, confidence and largely inexperienced about the commercial world and its demands.

Sexualising bodies for sponsorship does not promote sport and can actually undermine the value of sport. For example, such activity can detract boy and girls who may want to play as they do not identify with the physical norm presented.

When athletes argue that they have the right to do with their bodies what they want, it needs to be pointed out that with success comes some responsibility. Sportsmen and women are role models and this is accentuated when representing their country on an international stage. Furthermore, if athletes want to build their on-field and off-field sporting leadership skills it is important to demonstrate their ability to think and act beyond short term and individualistic goals.
**Sport and Leadership**

On the field, on court, and in the stadium professional men and women athletes show a tremendous amount of leadership. They drive themselves and their team mates to deliver the highest levels of performance physically possible.

As professionals in organisations, we can only stand back in awe and admire the leadership demonstrated by athletes in competitive sports. Such leadership skills are increasingly being used by consultancy firms like U- based Lane4 to teach corporate and business leaders the field of human performance. Interestingly, Lane4 is led by Adrian Moorhouse, a former British Olympic gold medallist.

**The Numbers Paint a Picture**

Yet, off the field, professional women athletes who are ready to transfer their skills to other fields are suffering from a lack of leadership and career development opportunities as demonstrated in the UK based examples below:

- In early 2007 it was estimated that of approximately 610 members of the Sports Writers Association of Great Britain only one third were women.

- In 2006 there were around 417,00 jobs in recreation, culture and the sporting industry in the UK, with women filling just over 50% of these posts (209,000). This is a slight increase on 2005. However, the distribution between full-time and part-time jobs is quite different for men and women. Women filled around 40% of the full-time jobs (118,000 jobs compared with 166,000 jobs for men) but around 70% of the part-time jobs (92,000, compared with 42,000 for men).

- For the data available in 2006 over a quarter of all UK sports boards and committees (of governing bodies, sports organisations and sports councils) were made up of women.

- Across the sport sector, in 2006, full-time male employees earned 18% more money than full-time women working in recreation, culture and sporting industries (a median of £23,667 a year compared with £20,011). In 2004 the pay gap was 21%.

These dreary statistics come from — **Women in Sport, the State of Play** — research done by UK Sport. More concerning is that research published six years later in 2012 by the Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) show that the numbers are unchanged in respect of leadership of sports governing bodies.

- 104 of the 478 total board members of the 47 sports governing bodies are women. Also notable is that six boards have no women at all.

While these statistics are for the UK only it is likely they will be replicated around the world.
Leaders Aren’t Born

Luckily, leaders aren’t born, they are developed. Leadership is a state of mind and not a position.

Each person has the ability to bring their unique strengths and characteristics to the table and demonstrate their version of authentic leadership. Lately, there has been much talk about what female leaders bring to the table and this has resulted in the development of discourses and debates around the ‘Rise of the Feminine’ permeating business schools and organisations.

Rather than metaphors of war, the language of business has changed to collaborating rather than competing, seeking win/win outcomes, delivering sustainable value, and engaging employees in meaningful work which stimulates and satisfies their creative minds. Female professional athletes might find it ironic that they may need to set aside or modify their zero sum competitive nature in order to rise to the challenge of leading.

But equally ironic for those outside of sport is how professional athletes who have worked and competed with the support of coaches and trainers to develop their skills and techniques do not enlist the same approach of using business and career coaches to assist their transference from sport to other fields.

The specific skills and experience of specialists/coaches in ‘culture change’ can be crucial in helping professional athletes transfer the leadership lessons they have learned in the world of competitive sports into the business environment.

Leadership Coaching

Working with specialists/coaches who have extensive corporate experience athletes can learn to finesse and apply the following four key leadership skills some of which have elements that would be familiar on the sports field.

1. Attractor
This skill focuses on encouraging thinking and acting beyond personal ambition in order to serve a higher purpose: this may be the organisation and/or the wider community. This skill also encourages leaders to be acutely conscious of their leadership so they can adapt it for a specific purpose.

2. Edge and tension
Setting the bar high and keeping it there is the framework for this skill. The objective is to stretch the goals and limits of what’s possible. This means not compromising on talent and pays attention to getting and keeping ‘A’ players.

3. Container
This aspect of leadership is concerned with setting boundaries with clear expectations and hard rules so people know what to operate on (performance expectations) and how they need to operate (values and behaviours). This leadership skill also requires that the approach from senior leaders down the chain to team members is consistent.
4. Transforming Space
An important feature of leadership is about finding the ways and means of creating time and space to facilitate the opportunity for transforming thinking across a broad spectrum of issues which can be encountered.

To achieve greater gender equality in the governance, administration, coaching and media reporting of sport it seems fitting to focus on women athletes as a talent resource which can be utilised more effectively. Leadership is a skill which for athletes is developed on the sports field, yet by turning the tables, and providing business coaches to athletes, more women should be able to transfer their knowledge, learn new skills and achieve the same excellence off the playing field as on.
**Mediasport**

Mass market access to television markedly changed the face of some sports and sporting events. This was further enhanced by the widespread availability of live coverage. As a result what has developed is the concept known as ‘mediasport’. The stakeholders of this concept are media companies like ESPN and sports goods manufacturers like Nike who increasingly direct the sporting footprint across cultural and social landscapes. More and more we see a diverse range of products endorsed and linked to sports stars bringing advertiser messages to far reaching audiences.

‘Mediasport’ is best viewed in the super events like the Olympics, FIFA World Cup and Super Bowl which dominates all media for the period of competition. At London 2012, for example, 5600 broadcast hours were recorded, which is equivalent to 233 days.

The dominance of ‘mediasport’ can so overwhelming it is difficult to remember that everyday sporting activities at grassroots, regional and national levels are being played around the world on a daily basis. Furthermore the ‘mediasport’ juggernaut reinforces a portrayal of sport as a monolith limiting the opportunity for social commentary beyond these elite events.

The role of television has been critical to the development of professional sport and the wider sporting industry. According to a report ‘Major Trends and Challenges in an Industry Full of Passion’ from global management consultants AT Kearney the global sports industry is worth between $US350 and $US450 billion worldwide and is growing faster than GDP rates around the world with further significant growth predicted. This report describes a virtuous chain driving sport via events, media, marketing and advertising.

**Cricket Leads on Mediasport**

One of the early exponents of what is now known as ‘mediasport’ was Kerry Packer who in 1977 established World Series Cricket having been denied the television rights to the game by the Australian Cricket Board.

Packer’s initiative was scorned at first. “Because of the players' coloured flannels, it was dismissively known by the old school as pyjama cricket, but it helped to bring the game up to date and established Packer as a world influence in sport” (Zinn, 2005).

The introduction of colour to television has shown over time to add a new dimension to cricket away from the five-day test match. In recent years the one-day game has also undergone some challenges with the introduction of the high speed twenty/twenty cricket competitions in response to the demands of TV. Some argue that after football, cricket is the most popular game because it is the national game of India and Pakistan which combined have one fifth of the world's population.¹¹

---

The Power of Football

“Certainly I appreciate a rower who gets up at 5am every morning for four years for one event. Football is about winning. Football is played at this real level now of importance. It’s tribal. That creates a different thing to what the Olympics create.”

Frank Lampard, Daily Telegraph, 15 August, 2012

There is no disputing that football/soccer is the number one game in the world in respect of players and viewers for men and women. However the profile of football by gender shows a clear difference, which supports the traction the men’s game has had since it was first introduced in Britain in the 19th century.

Until 1863 football was a collection of different folk games played in towns, villages and schools. At this time a group of representatives from public schools and universities met in Cambridge to begin the process of formalising football. As a result, two codes were agreed giving football and rugby their own stages. Undoubtedly the British public school system was an important catalyst in adopting these games for boys.

The Football Association within eight years had 50 members and in 1872 the FA Cup was established, by 1888 the first league championship was operating. After the English FA (1873) came the Scottish FA (1873) and the Welsh FA (1875). England and Scotland played each other in the first international and with these developments came crowds of spectators, who were captivated by the spectacle of the game. The FA legalised professionalism as early as 1885 when it was reported that two Scottish players received payments for their playing talents.

FIFA was founded in 1904 and the first world cup was held in 1930 with its 41 members. FIFA now has 209 members. The crown jewel of the sporting world is the FIFA World Cup. It is the most watched television event with the 2010 event registering cumulative figures of 26 billion people over the whole tournament. Football claims 265 million players worldwide. FIFA conducted two surveys, one in 2000 and the second in 2006, and while they find more women playing the game this equates to only 10% or 26 million.

The biggest growth in women’s football has been recorded in the CONCACAF (North, Central America, Caribbean Association Football), which registers 23% of all women players. The top three countries with registered players are Germany, USA and Brazil for men and USA, Germany and Canada for women. Women had their first FIFA World Cup in 1991 and currently have 150 countries registered in the rankings. The FIFA Women’s World Cup last held in Germany in 2011 is growing in media stature as the total broadcast hours was 5931 and the total territories reached was 181.12


Gender Hub

July 2013
**Football – A Lens on Social Injustice: The Tragedy of Hillsborough**

“Hillsborough was not a sports story... and it does leave the lingering sense that in some places football is still not quite free from its old stigmas, whereby the people who go to games are somehow not deemed as important, or worthy, as those who watch other sports or engage in other activities.”

Daniel Taylor, The Guardian, 16 September 2012

The cultural values of community, loyalty and resilience found in football clubs and their supporters in England was tested through the long 23-year battle by a group of people (parents, families and local MPs) who fought for justice for 96 Liverpool fans who lost their lives at a football match in Hillsborough in 1989.

In 2012 The Freedom of Information Act 2000 resulted in papers being made available to an independent panel who could at last deliver a full and truthful picture of what happened on that fateful April day.

What emerged from the report was what can only be described as a despicable cover up, which saw police officers manipulating evidence, doctoring witness statements and directing media to blame alcohol-fuelled football hooligans capitalising on this aspect of football culture.

However what is apparent from the list of those who died that day is not a group of football hooligans but a group of people where age (10-62 years), gender and class did not matter because the commonality was that they were merely Liverpool supporters.

The Hillsborough tragedy in the 1980s marked a watershed moment for health and safety at stadia and the increased responsibility of clubs to ensure fans are safe. This led to the removal of standing areas with seating only available now at football grounds. Herding football fans into pens to control them paints a picture of a game which is viewed as tribal to the extent that fans are perceived by the police and the public as fanatical. It was this cultural stereotype which was used by the police and then the media to divert attention away from the failings of the police.

This story is important because it illustrates the powerful relationship which exists between the media and society. While we increasingly see the media and sport building profits from their mutual relationships, it is worth remembering the media serves multiple masters (sport, politics, business), and in this case football was the target.

Since the independent panel’s report, The Sun’s editor at the time, Kelvin McKenzie is being sued for malfeasance over this coverage of the football disaster.

Lawyers have indicated they will issue a civil claim against the 66-year-old whose front-page story, headlined ‘The Truth’, gave credence to a smear campaign and cover-up orchestrated by police in the wake of the tragedy, in which 96 people died. Although MacKenzie offered ‘profuse apologies’ last September after the report of the Hillsborough Independent Panel exposed the article’s
allegations as wholly unfounded, lawyers for the families also accuse him of adopting a different approach privately.\textsuperscript{13}

What gives football its special status in the sporting world is the club support which is multi-generational, across race, class and gender. Football fans are easily identified often wearing their clubs strip and following their club and country to games all over the UK, Europe and the world.

The Hillsborough tragedy is one which marks a time in England’s social history when social class was arguably accentuated above other social classifications. The decade of boom and bust witnessed yuppies, mobile phones, miners’ strikes, rising property prices and a growing middle class in the South and hard times for the North. Government during this decade was headed by Margaret Thatcher, the first woman Prime Minister.

The football we watch today is built on the foundations of the social history not just in England but in football loving nations around the world. Football continues to be a micro-climate for racism, homophobia, sexism and tribalism forcing the sport from club to international level to face the social inequalities which exist.

\textsuperscript{13} http://www.guardian.co.uk/football/2013/feb/16/hillsborough-families-sue-kelvin-mackenzie
**Sport for Development**

“*Sport, physical activity and play are outstanding tools to support peace and development, integrate marginalised and disadvantaged groups, promote gender equality and foster a more inclusive society for persons with disabilities.*”

Ban Ki Moon, Secretary General UN

A report which examines the trilogy of sport, gender and media is incomplete without a discussion of sport for development, which draws on the interaction of the three components to use sport as the hook for reaching young, and socially and economically disadvantaged people.

Attaching sport to the millennium development goals has become more commonplace in the last decade and is gaining acceptance within the development fields enhanced by support from the UN.

Ban Ki Moon’s statement highlights not only the connection of sport with peace and development but also with integration, gender equality and social inclusion, with a focus on individuals with disabilities. While the words of world leaders are important it is equally important to recognise that grass roots organisations, initiatives, projects, clubs and schools around the world are using sport as a tool to address the important issues in their communities on a daily basis.

Using sport to push for gender equality or gender justice has become more prevalent in recent years and follows a movement to tackle health and wellness issues relating to youth through sport, particularly football.

**Project Funding and Support**

Opportunities for funding grassroots sport for development projects have increased in the last 10 years as the universal appeal of sport has attracted support from organisations and individual sports men and women. For example, there are now opportunities for businesses to partner with smaller organisations to help fund projects which use sport as a medium to address a larger development goal. Charitable foundations are also recognising the value of sports-based projects by providing longer term funding so projects can develop within the community.

But sport for development, like sport itself is a complex arena of multiple intersecting social issues, stakeholders and agendas. Ban Ki Moon comments on some of his own experiences when he stated,

> “I have seen the positive value of sport in my travels around the world. At the same time, I am disturbed by incidents of harmful actions, such as violence, racism, cheating and match-fixing, that threatens to undermine the positive values and credibility of sport.”

But it is important to highlight that the issues Ban Ki Moon cites are most evident in top level sports, which operate in a different commercial and competitive reality to those grassroots sports where often small amounts of funding are the lifeblood for projects to be able to continue.
Due to the broad nature of sport, often erroneously thought of as a monolith, it is inevitable that different applications of sport, like elite and grassroots, are not clearly defined and specific issues are couched in general terms as if applying to all sporting activity in the same way.

**The Magic Bullet**

Sport is widely regarded as a tool for development, which is often seen as a magic bullet where negative aspects, such as cheating, violence, racism and sexism are often ignored or not addressed.

Sport is used as a tool in development, which benefits individuals, teams and communities. Sport is considered integral for developing individuals’ social and emotional competencies encouraging traits such as higher self-esteem, more effective communication skills and instilling values such as fair play, teamwork and tolerance. These skills are often referred to as ‘life skills’.

Teaching life skills using sport as a ‘hook’ to get the children interested and involved also enables opportunities for some organisations and the trained volunteers, coaches and teachers to use sport as a space to practise those skills and experience the potential of sport as an activity.

For example, sport activities can be played with the youth encouraging individuals to communicate effectively with others, follow the rules of the game and work with others from different backgrounds.

Enhancing the sport ‘hook’ by incorporating health education relating to key behaviours is also a popular objective in some projects.

Grassroots Soccer (GRS) is one organisation in the field of football for development which uses the power of football to educate, inspire, and mobilise communities to stop the spread of HIV. The organisation explains their methodology as,

“Using footballers as role models, and using the popularity of soccer to engage hard to reach young people, GRS combined social theory, public health methodologies, rigorous evaluation and a huge dose of passion.”

GRS statement

GRS is often cited as an organisation with a well-planned and executed programme that works within the community. Football is one component of their methodology but it is reinforced with a strong theory of change, partnerships with other organisations, health services and a rigorous monitoring and evaluation system.

**Trainers Key to Success**

The adult coach or practitioner (referred to as a trainer) is central to the delivery of programmes. To capacitate and enable the coaches, extensive training which centres on the train the trainer’ approach is delivered by outside organisations. The trainers are taught to deliver a ‘sport for development methodology’ which often means connecting the new skills or learnings with off-field situations and real life scenarios.
“This is the power of sport. When we can engage a young person in a long term, structured experience with real opportunities for skills development, with supportive peers and a coach who is focused on developing the whole player, on and off the field, a sport experience can be truly transformative.”

Building the Case for Promoting Healthy Lifestyles and Risk Reduction Behaviours Among Young People in Namibia Through Sport

While individuals clearly benefit from sport for development projects, sport for peace and conflict resolution seeks to bring together groups who would not normally interact such as opposing tribes, gangs, groups from different social classes or religions. Sport in this way can strengthen the social fabric of a community by creating a common ground for individuals who share an interest in sport. However it is important to develop a well-structured plan which utilises expertise in this specialist area to ensure sustainable outcomes.

“As a practitioner in the sport for development field it is important to recognise that how effective sport is in the target community is dependent on how well the programme is designed, delivered, monitored, implemented and how it can adapt to local realities.

There is a lot of discourse on the importance of more research to verify the effects of using sport for development. On the ground, this puts more pressure on organizations in this field to show through their monitoring and evaluation strategies how the perceived change through sport is actually occurring and whether the myriad of issues are being tackled effectively”

Practitioner, Sport for Development

Gender and Sport for Development

“I thought it was just so normal for young girls to get an opportunity to play sports in an organized manner with a supportive coach at practices and competitions, parents and a community cheering from the side-lines.

I was naïve and soon realized my experiences playing sport in such a safe and nurturing environment was in fact quite a privilege and not as common as I had once thought.”

Former professional female football player

The work being done using sport to address gender inequalities and in particular to provide opportunities for young females is growing. However, the term ‘sport-for-female-empowerment’ is difficult because it encompasses many issues, problems, and means something different in every community where programmes are undertaken.

In this subfield some organisations are using sport to address gender-based violence, early childhood pregnancies, HIV/AIDS, women’s rights, educational opportunities, dropout rates, employment and many more.
The concept of creating a ‘safe space’ is often a priority for these organisations working with all youth, but particularly young females. The importance of strong female role models combined with support and involvement from the youth’s family is also recognised.

“It is important that young girls are supported to take part in programmes and they are surrounded by adults, whether that is coaches, volunteers or teachers who are there to support their development.

I have also seen communities where there’s resistance to sports programs for young females, so the context has to be understood and the intentions have to be made clear so as to not do more harm than good.”

Practitioner, Sport for Development

It is common to find male coaches and male figures in the sport for development environment who are well respected by the girls they coach. However there would be value in having more female coaches and female figures available to ensure a better gender balance in this area of expertise.

Media coverage of sport arguably underpins the ‘hook’ which sport for development utilise. As such the trilogy of gender, media and sport continue to be intrinsically linked across multiple environments and geographies.

The synergies between the Olympic movement and sport for development appear to be an opportunity worth further exploration. Furthermore the value of wider media coverage of future Olympic games in to Africa and South America should be a priority by the IOC to bring the Olympic message — “To encourage and support the promotion of ethics in sport as well as education of youth through sport and to dedicate its efforts to ensuring that, in sport, the spirit of fair play prevails and violence is banned” — to girls and boys.

**Conclusion and Next Steps**

Commentary which draws on data is a compelling combination and this report used this approach to paint a picture of media, sport and gender which is complex. Too often fast moving media environments can seduce us into believing we are well informed when the reality is more superficial.

This report provides information, data and commentary to provoke debate and discussion which goes beyond a repetitive recognition that men and women athletes are treated differently by media and society.

To realise social change that makes a positive difference to the lives of men and women, the Gender Hub is advocating for more research, measurement, discussion, professional development training and co-ordinated action.