WOMEN IN BLACK AND WHITE: THE NEW YORK TIMES
PORTRAYAL OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND WHITE OLYMPIC ATHLETES

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree Master of Arts in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

by

Jessica Johnson

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The Ohio State University
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Master’s Examination Committee: Approved by
Melvin Adelman
Pamela Shoemaker

[Signature]
Advisor
School of Journalism
DEDICATION

I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.

Philippians 4:13

This thesis is dedicated first to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who through Him I am able to accomplish all things. Without the Lord, the completion of this document would not have been possible. He allowed me to find favor in the eyes of my professors who diligently worked with me and encouraged me. The Lord also instilled more patience in me through this process -- showing me that the race is not given to the swift or to the strong, but to the one who endures until the end. Thank you Jesus for making a way out of no way, for being my Fortress and Strong Tower, and for guiding me to the end of my research. You, Jesus, are worthy of all the honor and the praise!! To God be the glory!!

This thesis is dedicated secondly to my mother, Mrs. Ethel H. Johnson, and my grandmother, Mrs. Jessie Hardeman. You have been guiding influences throughout my life. You taught me that I was somebody -- someone special -- and to never "follow the crowd." You inspired me through your values and morals, which taught me not to compromise my beliefs. I thank you for your prayers, for supporting me
through school, and for having faith that I would be a success. May God continue to shower His blessings upon you. I love you Mommy and Grandma!!
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Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths. Proverbs 3: 5-6

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VITA

August 21, 1969 .................. Born - Athens, Georgia

1988 ............................... Sports Internship,
                      Athens Banner Herald
                      Athens, Georgia

1989-1991 ......................... Stringer/reporter
                      WUGA Public Radio
                      University of Georgia
                      Athens, Georgia

1991 ............................... B.A., North Carolina
                      Central University
                      Durham, North Carolina

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Journalism
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Locker-room talk. Symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978). Combine these two terms and you have the formula for women’s sports coverage in the media. Sports reporting falls right in line with daily news coverage -- it is done from a white male perspective. While the coverage of women’s sports has increased since the passage of Title IX--the legislation that forced federal-aid supported institutions to give everyone an equal opportunity to participate in sports -- significant room for improvement still remains as the accomplishments of female athletes continue to be under-represented and trivialized in the media (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). For example, women’s sports are usually confined to the back page of the sports section, and reporters ask female athletes insignificant questions about their personal lives.

Not only are the accomplishments of female athletes overlooked and belittled, but certain minority groups, particularly African-American female athletes, are given even less coverage than their white sisters. During the 1984 Olympics, Mary Lou Retton, a white female gymnast, won only one gold medal, but was on the cover of numerous

Race and gender also affect how the media cover white and African-American female athletes. For example, they applaud female athletes who participate in "socially" approved sports such as tennis and golf, which are still perceived as being "feminine" (Kane, 1989). As these sports have generally been the domain of white women, they have been presented more favorably and more often in the press than their African-American counterparts, who have traditionally participated in sports that were long considered masculine, such as basketball and track. That mainstream society historically envisioned such physical activities for women as deviant (Cahn, 1991), goes far to explicate why the press rarely covers them. Rintala and Birrell (1984) state that instead of trying to facilitate social change, the media are a preserver of the status quo. Supporting this position is the ongoing recognition that the media have neither dramatically expanded the amount of coverage they give women's sports nor have they altered the style of their coverage of issues relevant to the intersection of race and gender.

Oglesby (1981) stated that the media tell subordinate groups whom they are. Does their portrayal of women athletes actually influence their perceptions of themselves and how society conceives them? While white and African-American women are both subordinate groups, the need to
understand the intersection of race and gender requires some differentiation between the two. In addition, African-American women need to be included in our analysis since virtually no research has been done on how their involvement in sports is depicted in the media. Consequently, our generalizations about the relationship between gender, sports and the media derive almost exclusively from our studies of white women, while our comprehension of how the media have presented the African-American sporting experience derives from research on men. As Birrell (1990) correctly states, analyses of white women and African-American males do not provide significant insights and information on African-American women.

This study is a content analysis of the coverage the *New York Times* gave white and African-American female athletes who participated in the summer Olympic games during the years: 1972, 1976, 1984, 1988, and 1992. Differences between the type, extent and style of coverage each group received will be compared. In testing the type of coverage, sentences and sentence phrases are coded and analyzed to determine if the portrayal is feminine or unfeminine. The amount of space given to white female athletes versus African-American female athletes is examined to determine differences in the degree of coverage. The style of coverage is measured by also using sentence and sentence phrases that describe the athlete's performance. Since
there is little research on race relationships in sports and media coverage of African-American female athletes, this analysis is significant because it combines these two topics. The objective of this study is to find out if the media distort and stereotype African-American and white female athletes using existing gender norms classified according to race.
CHAPTER II

THEORY

Oglesby (1981) noted that when African-American female athletes looked to society and physical education and sports systems to clarify and define them, they found that their images were either distorted, inaccurate or absent. Major sites of omission have been in sports research and media representation. Twelve years after this observation, this pattern remains prevalent even as there is the growing recognition of the need to examine the sporting experiences of African-American women. While some scholars have proceeded in this direction, unfortunately there are still only a few studies that focus on the various and complex dimension of this theme (Corbett & Johnson, 1993). As a result, the achievements of African-American female athletes, with the exception of a handful of noted and highly visible stars such as Althea Gibson and Wilma Rudolph, are virtually unknown. As Oglesby (1981) pointed out:

Nobody knows her: not publicists, nor researchers, nor entrepreneurs, nor published historians. This is a tragic loss for the American community, black and white, male and female for many reasons. To become a fine athlete she had to develop an assessment of herself in the face of a society which devalued her, as both a female and black (p. 1).
The African-American sportswoman has also been categorized into groups with other ethnic women, such as Asian Americans and Hispanics. Although these women have had similar experiences in sports, their differences need to be accounted for and it is exceedingly misleading to merge all these groups into one. As Smith (1992) stated, "The experiences of all multicultural women in American society and sport are not identical; there are multiple perspectives and different social realities" (p. 228).

The cultural context of the African-American sportswoman is also much different from her white counterpart. While society has traditionally frowned upon white women who wanted to be competitive, African-American women have been supported by their community. As a result, the dominant culture has frequently questioned their femininity and has often used negative stereotypes to portray African-American women, depicting them as domineering and overbearing. Conversely, the dominant culture presents white women as submissive and lady-like, images consistent with its vision of femininity. Gump (1975) confirmed the polar vision of white and African-American women:

Like the African-American woman, the white woman is also victimized. However, the stereotypic traits differ and are quite often the opposite. For example, almost without exception African-American women are portrayed as aggressive whereas white women are pictured as passive or nonassertive. Other stereotypic African-American/White opposites include (a) independent-dependent, (b) loud-coy, (c) dominating-
submissive, and (d) castrating-seductive (cited in Corbett & Johnson, 1993).

African-American sportswomen have traditionally participated in "unfeminine" events, sports that exhibit strength. Mainstream culture has considered these sports masculine and, therefore, unacceptable for white women (Snyder & Kivlin, 1975). Hart (1980) maintained that the values of femininity differ in African-American and white cultures. She insisted that in the African-American community, women can still be strong and competitive in sports. They will not be degraded, but actually respected for their abilities. Thus, African-American women have more freedom to include sports as part of their lives without the conflict many white female athletes have expressed. Cahn (1991) supported this position:

In black cultural arrangements of gender, athletics and womanhood were not necessarily contradictory, allowing a permissiveness toward women's sport unmatched by middle-class white culture. Black women's own conception of womanhood, while it may not have actively encouraged sport, did not preclude it. A heritage of both double oppression and active resistance found black women occupying multiple roles as wage workers, homemakers, mothers, and community leaders. In these capacities, women earned respect for domestic talents, physical and emotional strengths and public activism. Denied access to full-time homemaking and sexual protection, black women did not tie femininity to a specific, limited set of activities and attributes defined as separate and opposite from masculinity. Rather, they created an ideal of womanhood rooted in the positive qualities they cultivated under oppressive conditions: struggle, responsibility, family commitment, community involvement, and moral integrity (p.160).

Corbett and Johnson (1993) stress that there are
"herstorical" differences between African-American and white women that cause these different cultural perceptions. While white women have been portrayed as the epitome of womanhood, their African-American counterparts were considered to be hard-working matriarchs (King, 1973). Although society believed that African-American women were a tough working class, whites interpreted such characteristics as an indication of their inferiority. At the same time, however, mainstream society presumed that the harshness of the experiences of the African-American woman made her a natural in the rough world of sports.

These cultural and social differences between African-American and white women are also expressed in feminist theories. One African-American feminist theory that differs from white feminist theory is "womanism." Unlike feminists, womanists do not view the men of their race as oppressors, but work to uplift them in their struggle. This different perspective provides more insight into the cultural contrast of womanhood as defined by whites and African-Americans. These concepts also provide an understanding of why the media coverage of these two groups has been different.

**Womanism versus Feminism**

Just as the African-American woman has been generally excluded from the writings in sports history, she has also been left out of women’s studies. Brown (1989) claims that "many of the recent studies have attempted to place
African-American women inside feminist perspectives, which by design, have omitted their experiences" (p. 611). Hooks (1981) adequately summarizes this absence; she declares that "no other group in America has so had their identity socialized out of existence as have black women. We are rarely recognized as a group separate from black men, or a present part of the larger group 'women' in this culture" (Hook's study cited in King, 1989). The African-American woman, unlike her white counterpart, must overcome racism in addition to sexism. As a result of this burden, known as double jeopardy, it is impossible for African-American women to totally separate themselves from their racial struggle to solely fight for their rights as women. Consequently, they are more likely to be a "womanist" instead of a feminist; that is, they will acknowledge their consciousness of sexual issues and incorporate them into their racial, cultural, political, sexual, national, and economic considerations. The aims of womanists' struggle, therefore, are to alleviate all types of oppression. As Ogunyemi (1985) explains:

Black womanism is a philosophy that celebrates black roots, the ideals of black life, while giving a balanced presentation of black womandom. It concerns itself as much with the black sexual power tussle as with the world power structure that subjugates blacks. Its ideal is for black unity where every black person has a modicum of power and so can be a "brother" or a "sister" or a "father" or a "mother" to the other. This philosophy has a mandelic core: its aim is the dynamism of wholeness and self-healing that one sees in the positive, integrative endings of womanist novels (p. 72).

African-American women have fought for years to include
race issues in the feminist movement, but white women have constantly denied this objective. For example, when southern African-American women sought help from the National Woman’s Party for the right to vote, white feminists rejected their petitions. They asserted that it was solely a race concern, not a women’s one (Brown, 1989). White feminists then and now fail to realize that their anti-sexism platform will not abolish racial prejudice and discrimination. In contrast to the mainly middle-class white feminism, the more working class background of African-American women has generated differing visions of what conditions they regard oppressive. For example, many African-American working-class women would welcome the option of being a homemaker -- a condition that feminists associate with male dominance. Also, most African-American women do not wish to separate themselves from their families. King (1989) states that "the assumption that this is by definition patriarchal, the privileging of an individualistic world view, and the advocacy of female separatism are often antithetical positions to many of the values and goals of black women and thus are hindrances to our association with feminism" (p. 58).

**Feminist Theories**

Feminism, with its boost from the mid-sixties, presently has four major orientations to explain and confront the subjugation of women: liberalism, Marxism,
radicalism, and socialism. Each category has its own distinctive solutions for enhancing women's struggle for equality and self-fulfillment. Philosophers Jaggar and Struhal (1978) constructed a model of the varying frameworks of feminism that have emerged and their prescriptions for eliminating oppression. Liberal feminism, espoused by Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Ms. Magazine, and the National Organization for Women (NOW), asserts that the lack of civil rights and educational opportunities are the root causes of women's oppression. Consequently, liberal feminists advocate the distribution of wealth, power and prestige be reformed within the present social structure and rewarded based on achievements and potential in the marketplace, not on sexual or racial merits. They believe that once this reform is achieved, all women -- regardless of race, age, sexual preference, or social class -- will have equal access to political, legal, and educational opportunities. Yet, liberal feminists do not think all people can be socially equal. Womanists would argue that under the present system certain groups are allowed to retain their economic and social advantage over others and that the changes postulated by liberal feminists, even if possible, would not enhance the condition of poor, uneducated, and minority women.

Marxist feminists also believe that the present social system needs to be eradicated. They view the cause of oppression resulting from property and profits residing in
the hands of the elite class. These feminists assume that the wealthy and privileged families will always have an advantage over the lower classes and that they would never enforce policies that would threaten their social status. As a result, Marxist feminists are convinced that the oppression of women will disappear once social classes are destroyed, private ownership and profit abolished, and the means of economic production redistributed to the society as a whole (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Opponents of Marxist feminism retaliate by pointing out that sexist oppression still remains in socialist and communist countries such as Cuba and China.

Radical feminists insist that women's childbearing functions and heterosexuality are the causes of their oppression. Jagger and Struhl (1978) maintain that this viewpoint is "the least developed and systematic" of the feminist frameworks. Radical feminists believe that enforced childbearing keeps women physically dependent on men and limits their freedom. They attest that true liberation lies in a woman's ability to control her body's reproduction -- birth control, abortion and voluntary sterilization. Radicals are also frequently advocates of lesbianism and believe that this sexual orientation serves to expand political, emotional, physical, and economic support of women. Many feminists accuse radicals of being too extreme, and womanists would definitely not support the
separation from men and the family structure as a solution.

Socialist feminists attempt to bridge the gap between the Marxist and radical frameworks (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Like womanists, they stress the greater struggle for women of different races and economic classes. Yet, they do not believe that a classless society will improve the status of women. They see oppression as a dual problem involving sexism and other social factors such as enforced heterosexuality, the nuclear family and polarized sex roles. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) state that by recognizing the complexities of these problems, socialist feminists offer greater flexibility in overcoming oppression for all women, not just the socially privileged.

**Feminine versus Unfeminine Sports**

Harris (1991) maintains that women who participate in athletics are scrutinized primarily because society is still unwilling to accept their entrance into the male-dominated world of sports. She claims that this issue is pertinent when it comes to sports that are deemed appropriate for women, such as gymnastics, tennis, ice skating, and golf. Women who participate in these sports are still considered feminine mainly because to the media appearance becomes more significant than performance. Since society accepts these sports for women, Harris (1991) then poses a very important question: are other popular sports, such as basketball, too masculinizing to receive public support? From her
observation of the Liberty Basketball Association, the answer would be yes. Harris (1991) contends that the men who formed the league tried to feminize basketball by making women wear unitards that resembled scuba diving equipment, lowering the baskets, and using a smaller ball. She argues that the lower standards of play and the uniforms devalued the athletic ability of women and made sex objects out of them. The focus was on how the women looked, not how well they competed. Thus, for women who participate in unfeminine sports, the question of their femininity becomes a factor. Harris (1991) suggests that the popularity of feminine sports is due to the demand for women not to "look like men," which society associates with the demanding activities of unfeminine sports.

**Media Portrayals of Women in Sports**

The mass media are one of the most influential forces in modern society. The effects of radio, television, newspapers and magazines shape our attitudes, values, thoughts, and perspectives. Hardly anyone is left untouched by the images and words that emanate from these media (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). In *The Sporting Woman*, Boutilier and SanGiovanni contend that "regardless of what is actually happening to the relationship between women and sport, the media's treatment and evaluation of that relationship will shape its direction and content" (p. 184). When analyzing the media overall, one discovers that women
are highly under-represented. Gerbner (1978) states that this "absence means symbolic annihilation" (p. 44). Tuchman (1978) reinforces this perspective. She notes that dominant American beliefs are incorporated in the media as symbolic representations of American society. These representations influence people's perception as to whom and what is significant in our culture. Molotch (1978) summarized the overall coverage of women in newspapers which resembles sports coverage as well:

Seldom do women appear at all in the news pages. There is no affirmative action in the content of the news print media. When women do appear, it is from a man's perspective of what is interesting .... sex stereotypes are re-edified in the news but it is worthwhile to understand how and why. All of these stories are about events that may have happened, but they are news primarily from a man's perspective. It's locker-room talk (p. 185).

Since the sports page is primarily written from a man's perspective, women's sports overall is made to appear unimportant as opposed to the "real" sports world of men. Woolard's (1983) study of five newspapers revealed that only about 15 percent of the sports section is allotted to women's sports. Bryant (1980) reported that less than five percent of sports stories were about women. Women's sports that do receive the most amount of media attention are those socially "acceptable" ones that exhibit femininity, such as figure skating and gymnastics (Kane, 1989). Lee (1992) found in her study of the coverage of female and male Olympians in 1984 and 1988, which relied upon the New York
Times and Globe in Mail (Canada), that female athletes were highly represented in swimming and gymnastics, sports which emphasize aesthetic characteristics and thus, are culturally acceptable. In their study of Young Athlete magazine, Rintala and Birrell (1984) found that coverage of women participating in aesthetic sports was 64 percent. Their study also revealed that coverage of women’s sports in newspapers is approximately 15 percent for all articles. The female athlete who participates in socially acceptable sports is rewarded by the media because these events allow her to remain very much the "lady" (Kane, 1989, p. 61). Kane’s research cited in Harris’ (1991) thesis indicates that women who participate in socially acceptable sports got the majority of coverage in Sports Illustrated before, during and after the passage of Title IX. Prior to Title IX, 86 percent of coverage on women was devoted to those involved in feminine sports. Although this figure decreased to 72 percent during Title IX, it subsequently rose to approximately 77 percent for all coverage given to female athletes. Unfeminine sports such as basketball, received only roughly a quarter of the total coverage (28 percent to be exact) given to female athletes between the years 1972 and 1979. These findings reiterate the importance of femininity associated with women’s sports and strongly suggest that women who participate in socially unapproved sports are certainly less likely to receive coverage. Since
the women who participate in feminine sports are mostly white and middle class, this may explain why they are approved by society (Harris, 1991) and why white females receive more attention that African-American ones.

When given attention, women’s sports are often belittled. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) cite the example of Grete Waitz to illustrate this point. When she established in 1979 the world record for women in the 10,000-meter race held in Central Park, New York, this outstanding accomplishment played second fiddle to men’s sports stories, none of which reported on a feat of equal stature. The Sunday New York Times placed the story on page nine of its sports section. In addition, Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) also pointed out that the headline, which read: "Grete Waitz Sets Record in Park Run" made the event seem unimportant. They contend that this headline made Waitz’s accomplishment appear as if it was a casual jog in the park and they insist that had it been a male athlete, the story would have been placed on the front page of the sports section. Hilliard’s (1984) examination of media images of top male and female tennis players reveals that sports writers do not give serious analysis to women. Instead, reporters of the major tennis championships, all of them male, tended to evaluate women on traditional standards of feminine beauty. Among the flaws of female athletes in many articles were: inability to fully develop immense
physical talent, a tendency toward excessive dependence on others, emotional difficulties of anxiety and depression, and doubts related to sexual identity and role conflict. Hilliard (1984) states that these character portrayals reinforce the notion that professional sports is solely a male preserve.

*Media Portrayal of African-American Women in Sports*

Lori McNeil. Cheryl Miller. These names should be just as familiar to Americans as Wilma Rudolph and Althea Gibson, but the lack of media coverage of their outstanding accomplishments has left their names out of the newspapers and in only the record books. Another reason for the absence of attention is that many whites consider African-Americans as naturally talented in sports. Thus, when they excel, it is expected from the dominant culture and perceived not to be exceptional. Edwards (1969) explains that:

Prestige is typically accrued and measured by the frequency and general tone of publicity that an athlete receives in the various reporting media. Black athletes as a whole feel many sports reporters have not always given credit where credit is due (p. 109).

As a result, the invisibility of African-American female athletes reveals a symptomatic elimination of them (Corbett & Johnson, 1993). The media do not give them credit for their accomplishments, which reveals the desire of various communication modes to ignore them. When the media do give attention to African-American female athletes,
they are usually labeled as exceptions and still stereotyped. For example, the press marveled that Wilma Rudolph did not have masculine features and applauded her Olympic feats; yet, the press also linked her to a gazelle. Cahn (1991) contends that this image caused the public to adopt Rudolph as a pet rather than perceive her as an outstanding athlete.

Corbett's (1987) two-year study of the portrayal of African-American sportswomen in 14 leading magazines indicated that they were greatly under-represented and that white female Olympians received far greater coverage. She found that Ms. Magazine only mentioned one African-American sportswoman (Lynette Woodard–basketball) for the entire two-year period (1985 and 1986). White female athletes Diana Nyad (swimmer), Grete Waitz (runner), and Beverly Francis (body builder) were featured. Corbett (1987) found that even Essence, a magazine that primarily focuses on African-American women, did not include any athletes in its November 1985 issue which celebrated contributions of African-American women to society. Thus, African-American female athletes are not only excluded from the mainstream press, but they are sometimes ignored by African-American publications as well. However, Essence has featured African-American female athletes, such as Jackie Joyner-Kersee, on its cover since 1985.
A Short History of American Women's Sports

The increased pattern of participation of white women in sports can be linked to the so-called female athletic revolution during the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, the number of female athletes also increased in recreational and professional sports. A few facts from these areas are:

* By 1974 there were 75 women's crew and rowing associations in the United States with more than 2,000 women participating (Peterson, 1974, pp. 54-58)
* Rugby and football teams were initiated in community-sponsored leagues (Hammer, 1979, p. 6)
* In 1975 the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) approved powerlifting competition for women comprised of the squat, bench press, and the deadlift. (Bennett, 1978, p. 1)
* In 1977 Shirley Muldowney became the first woman to qualify and to race in the Indianapolis 500-mile Memorial Day race. (Gleasner, 1977, pp. 11-12)
* In 1977 Judge Helman ruled that Cathy (Cat) Davis could be licensed to box in the state of New York. As of 1978, 13 jurisdictions licensed female bouts (Haitch, 1987, p. L31)

The athletic revolution eliminated the structural aspects of sports that closely resembled the feminine experience of the world (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Sports such as car racing and football were traditionally
uncharacteristic for women to participate in and foreign to their usual social activities. The social suspicion of women entering more male-dominated sports still lingers on today. Female athletes are more likely to be accepted if they remain in feminine sports. Women who play golf and tennis can be athletic and still be attractive, whereas those who engage in team or masculine sports are frowned upon (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Because of these social norms, African-American female athletes face multiple problems of acceptance since they participate more frequently in the latter sports and are absent from the former ones.

**A Short History of the African-American Sportswoman**

Although there is an exceedingly scant amount of research on the history of African-American sportswomen, the late Arthur Ashe included some of their accomplishments in his three-volumed work *A Hard Road To Glory*. Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University, was a pioneer in making women’s track a major event at historically black colleges and universities. Cleveland Abbott, Tuskegee athletic director in 1927, inserted two events for women in the school’s Relay Carnival: the 100-yard dash and the 440-yard relay. In 1930, he added the 50-yard dash and the discus. During the 1920s and 1930s, most African-American women did not have time to be involved in sports because they worked in and outside the home. In the South, two-thirds of
African-American women were homemakers and also had domestic jobs in the homes of whites (Ashe, 1988). Yet, Abbott continued to encourage his female students and in 1937, Tuskegee’s women’s track team won the AAU competition. Abbott’s support for women’s track at Tuskegee paved the way for the domination of this sport for future African-American female athletes such as Evelyn Ashford, Jackie Joyner-Kersee and Alice Brown. It is certainly evident that had it not been for the black college, African-American women may have never gained an opportunity to participate in sports on a national level.

Other black colleges that followed the lead of Tuskegee were Prairie View A&M of Texas, Howard University, Tennessee State University (TSU) and Fort Valley State College of Georgia. TSU first sent athletes to the Tuskegee meet in 1944 and established a permanent women’s track program under Jessie Abbott, daughter of Tuskegee athletic director Cleveland Abbott (Cahn, 1991). TSU’s program survived despite the small athletic budgets and opposition from African-American athletic and academic administrators. In its first three years, the TSU team entered only one meet annually and in its first 15 years it never competed in more than seven meets in a given year, compared to a full schedule of indoor and outdoor competition for men. Since the AAU only sponsored white-only meets, this posed another obstacle for African-American women in track. Nevertheless,
women's track at black colleges continued to expand and by the mid-1950s, 350 women competed at the Tuskegee Relays. Also at this time, other state schools such as Alabama State and Bethune Cookman began to host annual track state championship meets for high school students (Cahn, 1991). However, while black colleges and universities supported female African-American tracksters, they were stigmatized by society as being mannish (Cahn, 1991). Cahn (1991) states that:

The prominence of African-American women in the sports (track) reinforced the conceptual linkage between track and sex/gender deviance. Notions of ugliness, physical masculinity, and deviant female sexuality which were associated with women's track and field also formed the core of the dominant white culture's perception of black womanhood (p. 168).

Thus, as African-American women continued to excel in track and field, they were deemed as less feminine by the white standards of womanhood.

The following hypotheses result from this review of literature.

**HYPOTHESES**

**Hypothesis 1:** African-American female athletes will be described in unfeminine terms, whereas white female athletes will be described in feminine terms.

**Theoretical Linkage**

Hilliard (1984) states that female athletes are trivialized and rewarded for the traditionally feminine characteristic
of graceful body control. Lee (1992) found that females that engage in sports which emphasize aesthetic characteristics (e.g., swimming and gymnastics) are more represented in the press. Oglesby (1981) points out that African-American females are heavily represented in basketball and track -- events considered to be unfeminine according to the standards of the dominant culture. Thus, the media would most likely describe African-American female athletes in unfeminine terms.

Theoretical Definitions

Race -- of or pertaining to the characteristics of a certain group, such as language, ancestry or culture (Harris, 1991); of or pertaining to physical features.

Femininity -- of or pertaining to anything that is womanly, such as beauty, weakness and dependency; unfeminine attributes consist of strength, power and control.

Hypothesis 2: There will be more space allotted in the sports section of the New York Times to white female athletes than African-American female athletes.

Theoretical Linkage

Kane (1989) found that for the years 1980 through 1987, Sports Illustrated gave more coverage to females who participated in feminine or socially approved sports such as golf and tennis, than those who engaged in masculine sports or socially unacceptable sports. Since white females participated more frequently in socially approved sports,
the *Times* will most likely follow the same pattern of coverage as found in *Sports Illustrated* and give them more coverage and less coverage to African-American female athletes.

**Theoretical Definition**

**Space in the New York Times** -- the text coverage given to women’s Olympic sports. Photographs and headlines will not be included.

**Hypothesis 3:** The success of African-American female athletes will be attributed to their physical abilities, whereas the success of their white counterparts will be attributed to their mental abilities. The failure of African-American female athletes will be attributed to their mental ineptness, whereas the failures of white women athletes will be attributed to their lack of physical ability (Harris, 1991).

**Theoretical Linkage**

Kane (1971) linked certain obvious race differences as a possible biogenetic basis for the disproportionately high involvement of black males in professional baseball, football, and basketball. He came up with a "Black is best" thesis. Oglesby (1981) notes that Kane’s study led many to believe that African-Americans are natural athletes. Harris (1991) found in her analysis of televised basketball that commentators used words and phrases that attributed the success of African-American female athletes to their
physical capabilities and the success of white female athletes to their mental capabilities. Conversely, she maintained that they articulated that the failures of white female athletes resulted from their lack of physical ability and attributed the failures of African-American female athletes to their lack of mental capability.

**Theoretical Definitions**

**Performance** -- words or phrases that describe the athlete’s accomplishments and failures, such as "Player X handled the ball like a pro" and "The key to their loss was Player X’s poor ball handling."

**Physical abilities** -- of or pertaining to physical strength, endurance or natural ability. Statements like "Player X has the swiftness of a gazelle."

**Mental abilities** -- of or pertaining to intellectual capability. Statements like "Player X was focused throughout the entire game."
CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study is a content analysis of the coverage the New York Times gave African-American and white female athletes who participated in the summer Olympics during the years 1972, 1976, 1984, 1988 and 1992. Since the United States boycotted the Olympics in 1980, this year was omitted. The summer Olympics was selected because most of the masculine-associated sports that women participate in take place at this time, and the Times was chosen because of its reputation for producing the best news journalism in the country.

The sports pages of the Times were analyzed for the two-week period of the Summer games. The unit of analysis was the female athlete. Coders analyzed sentences and sentence phrases in two coding instruments that tested Hypotheses 1 and 3. The bipolar scale was applied to the first coding instrument (see Appendix B) for coders to determine whether coverage was unfeminine or feminine. The scale was from one to five, with one being very feminine and five being very unfeminine. Number three represented neutral. The first coding instrument had sentences and sentence phrases that described the athlete, not her
performance.

The second coding instrument (see Appendix C) followed Harris' (1991) design with sentences and sentences phrases that evaluated or described the athlete's performance. The extent of coverage was measured using the number of words in a story on an athlete, the inches of the story, and the total number of stories on an athlete. The number of words were counted using the Lexis-Nexis program. Words in stories for the years 1972 and 1976 were counted by hand since these years were not on Lexis-Nexis. For a story to be counted, performance of the athlete had to be mentioned. Aggregate reports and listings of results of events were not counted as stories. The number of inches was calculated by multiplying the length of the story times the width. No adjustment for different type faces was made. The findings only give a general idea of coverage since the measurements were taken from photocopies, not the actual newspaper; as a result, these measurements are only an approximation. The final calculations for stories, inches and words were combined for all five years studied.

The coders were not given the race of the athlete. Race was determined by pictures placed with stories and by using the 1988 Olympic edition of American Visions, which listed all African-American medalists for the years 1904-1988. The data file has the results for all the variables that were measured: race, femininity (1-5 scale),
inches, number of stories, words, failures attributed to mental capability, failures attributed to lack of physical ability, successes attributed to mental capabilities and successes attributed to mental ineptness.

**Operational Definition Hypothesis 1**

The coders reviewed sentences and sentence phrases to determine if coverage was feminine or unfeminine using the ranges of the bipolar scale.

**Unfeminine coverage:** Words or phrases that describe an athlete in masculine terms, such as powerful and muscular.

**Feminine Coverage:** Words or phrases that describe an athlete in lady-like terms, such as graceful, delicate and frail.

**Operational Definition Hypothesis 2**

The amount of space given to athletes was measured using the number of words in stories, the number of inches, and the total number of stories per athlete. Photographs and headlines were not included in the measurement. The time frame for each year, respectively, was: 1972 (August 26-Sept 10), 1976 (July 17-August 1), 1984 (July 28-August 12), 1988 (September 17-October 2), and 1992 (July 25-August 9).

**Operational Definition Hypothesis 3**

Coders completed the second coding instrument to determine if attributions of success or failure were credited to physical capabilities or mental capabilities.

**Attributions of Success:** Words or phrases that relate an athlete's performance to mental or physical abilities. For
example, "Player X read the zone defense very well" and "Player X’s build enables her to over-power her opponents."

**Attributions of Failures:** Words or phrases that relate an athlete’s performance to lack of mental or physical abilities. Statements like "Player X is not alert enough to execute the half-court offense" and "Player X’s muscle tone will lessen her chances of winning the high jump."

**Physical Capabilities:** Words that describe strength, power, or control.

**Mental Capabilities:** Words that describe the intellect or superior mental ability of an athlete, such as alert, smart, intelligent and focused (Harris, 1991).

**Designing the Coding Instruments**

Sentences and sentence phrases were selected for the coding instruments testing Hypotheses 1 and 3 using the operational and theoretical definitions stated. Statements about injuries or just general information on the athlete, such as "Miss X plays basketball," were not selected.

**Coders**

Four coders were selected who have not played a sport on the collegiate or professional level. There was an African-American male and female and a white male and female. The males were graduate students at The Ohio State University. The white female was an undergraduate at that institution, and the African-American female was a former student at Ohio State. They were issued the coding
instruments on July 30 and given two hours to complete them. Another graduate student (African-American female) and the researcher completed a second set of coding instruments after athletes who were left out of the femininity category were rechecked.

Selection of Materials

The microfilm of the New York Times was selected from the main library of The Ohio State University.

Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability was determined for the first coding instrument by taking at least three out of four responses that were on the same scale. For example, if three coders selected 1, 2, and 1 for a statement, it was counted as being feminine. Intercoder reliability for the second coding instrument (performance) was done in the same manner by selecting what the majority coded for a statement. Holsti's (1969) formula was used to calculate intercoder reliability:

\[
C.R. = \frac{(N)(M)}{N1 + N2}
\]

\(N\) is the number of coders in the study and \(M\) the number of coding decisions on which the coders are in agreement. \(N1\) and \(N2\) refer to the number of coding decisions the coders made. Intercoder reliability was 74 percent for the first coding instrument and 72 percent for the second coding instrument. Intercoder reliability between the researcher
and the other female graduate student was 75 percent for testing femininity and 75 percent for testing performance.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

The data show stories were written about 31 white and 12 African-American female athletes (see Table 1). Table 2 shows the mean scores for African-American and white female athletes for all the dependent variables tested. Hypothesis 3 suggests that African-American female athletes would have more physical success attribution statements, but the data from Table 2 reveal that white female athletes were also given credit for their physical abilities. Furthermore, the median for physical failure attributes, mental success attributes and mental failure attributes was zero. This means that at least half or over half of the athletes received a zero for these three variables. With such a large number of athletes not being coded in these categories, the medians resulted in a zero value. Mental failure attributes had the lowest percentage.

Table 3 shows the results of all the hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 states that African-American female athletes will be portrayed as unfeminine and white female athletes as feminine. The means for both groups were very close with whites receiving 2.83 and African-Americans 2.74. As with Table 2, these results indicate that most of the statements
describing female athletes leaned heavily toward the neutral side, which was unexpected. As a result, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.
Table 1. Percentage of respondents in each category of the independent variable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White American</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. Var.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Median</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How feminine athletes are portrayed (a)</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of statements attributing success to physical attributes (b)</td>
<td>49.02</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of statements attributing failures to physical attributes (b)</td>
<td>10.07</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of statements attributing success to mental attributes (b)</td>
<td>8.98</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of statements attributing failures to mental attributes (b)</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of words about each athlete</td>
<td>1,939.21</td>
<td>1,387.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of inches about each athlete</td>
<td>42.35</td>
<td>36.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of stories about each athlete</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 1=very feminine, 2=feminine, 3=neutral, 4=unfeminine, 5=very unfeminine
(b) The percentage of statements about the athletes that fit this description
Table 3. Analysis of variance in dependent variables by the variable race, comparing only African-American and white American women athletes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dep. Vars.</th>
<th>African-Am. Mean (Std Dev)</th>
<th>White Am. Mean (Std Dev)</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How feminine athletes are portrayed (a)</td>
<td>2.74 (.80)</td>
<td>2.83 (1.83)</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=12</td>
<td>N=31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of success credited to physical attributes (b)</td>
<td>48.81 (31.95)</td>
<td>49.10 (32.43)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=11</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of failure credited to physical attributes (b)</td>
<td>3.18 (7.17)</td>
<td>12.60 (17.92)</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>p=.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=11</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of success credited to mental attributes (b)</td>
<td>12.36 (18.51)</td>
<td>7.73 (14.80)</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=11</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of failure credited to mental attributes (b)</td>
<td>.00 (.00)</td>
<td>2.23 (5.36)</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=11</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>2,554.75 (1,387.05)</td>
<td>1,700.94 (1,296.30)</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>p&lt;.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=12</td>
<td>N=31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inches</td>
<td>50.17 (33.22)</td>
<td>39.32 (29.83)</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=12</td>
<td>N=31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Stories</td>
<td>3.00 (1.95)</td>
<td>1.97 (1.25)</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=12</td>
<td>N=31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 1=very feminine, 2=feminine, 3=neutral, 4=unfeminine, 5=very unfeminine
(b) The percentage of statements about the athletes that fit this description
Hypothesis 2, which states that white female athletes will receive more coverage than African-Americans, was also not supported. As Table 3 shows, the opposite was true. African-Americans had significantly more words and stories than whites.

Hypothesis 3 states that the success of African-American athletes would be attributed to their physical abilities and their failures to their mental ineptness, and conversely that the success of white female athletes will be attributed to their mental abilities and their failures to physical flaws. The results only partially supported this hypothesis. As Table 3 shows, there were no significant differences in the physical success attributes given to white and African-American female athletes and the means for both groups were very close. The results on physical failure attributes weakly supports Hypothesis 3 with white female athletes having a slightly higher mean than African-Americans. For mental success, African-Americans received more statements, but it was not statistically significant. There were no mental failure statements for African-American female athletes.

In summary, Hypothesis 1 was not supported. The neutral scores show that African-American and white female athletes were portrayed similarly. Hypothesis 2 was not supported with the results being the opposite of what was predicted as African-Americans received more coverage than
whites. Hypothesis 3 was weakly supported by only one of four hypothesis tests. There is some evidence to suggest that failures may be more likely to be attributed to physical factors for whites than for African-Americans.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

This study examined the differences in the coverage of African-American and white female Olympic athletes in the New York Times. An interpretation of the previous literature on the relationship between women athletes and the media implies that there was very little press coverage of African-American female athletes, and what existed leaned towards the unfeminine side since the majority of them participated in sports considered masculine. The limitation with the coverage of white female athletes was that their accomplishments were often trivialized and writers tended to focus on their feminine attributes (Hilliard, 1984). The literature also suggests that the success of African-American female athletes would be credited more to their physical abilities than their mental abilities and the reverse for white female athletes (Harris, 1991).

The results of this study were exceedingly surprising in that African-American female Olympic athletes were given significantly more coverage as evidenced by the number of words and inches in the New York Times. Furthermore, rather than focusing on feminine attributes for white female athletes and unfeminine traits for African-American female
athletes, the results show that both were described similarly. Since there were more white female athletes in the sample, the expectation was for the overall description to be more feminine. Also, both races were credited for their physical abilities, with almost half of the statements attributing their successes to athletic talent.

This study was very similar to the one done by Harris (1991). She tested coverage of African-American and white female athletes using the comments of television announcers who did play-by-play for women's college basketball and volleyball. Harris found that there was a tendency for commentators to attribute the success of African-Americans to their physical capabilities and the success of white female athletes to their mental abilities. Harris' results were significant for her hypothesis with African-Americans receiving an average of 28.1 physical success statements and whites averaging 44 mental success statements. In this study the opposite resulted with African-Americans actually receiving more mental success statements than whites, although this finding was not significant. Another interesting finding was that African-Americans did not receive any mental failure statements.

The use of television coverage as opposed to newspaper coverage may be responsible for this difference in results between these two studies. Commentators tend to discuss athletes more during live coverage, whereas a reporter will
not be as detailed in a newspaper story. Also, commentators
do not go through the editing process that reporters must
adhere to. For example, a reporter must send his/her story
to the editor who will make certain changes are made.
Commentators, on the other hand, have more freedom to
express themselves. Harris’ findings for announcers to
blame lack of mental ability for African-Americans’ failures
and lack of physical ability for whites’ failures was not
significant; her findings, however, tend to show more mental
failure statements for African-American women and more
physical failure statements for white women.

The fact that African-Americans received more space was
shocking; however, these results were skewed a bit with
certain athletes getting huge coverage, such as basketball
players Teresa Weatherspoon and Teresa Edwards. Also,
stories on team sports covered more than one athlete which
gave African-Americans more space. Although successful
white female athletes such as Mary Lou Retton and Janet
Evans had five or more stories, the heavy coverage of team
sports such as basketball, in which Edwards and Weatherspoon
were often mentioned, outweighed the coverage of sports like
gymnastics and swimming. Another reason for this difference
may be the small sample of women in the study and the use of
only one newspaper. The Times is not known for having a
large sports section as other newspapers such as USA Today.
The result that the coverage of African-American and white female athletes tended to be neutral reveals that the attitude of femininity toward female athletes as a whole could be changing. The literature clearly suggests that African-American female athletes would be described in unfeminine terms because they mostly participate in sports that exhibit strength (Cahn, 1991). The evidence shows that the Times did not describe African-Americans in that manner; the same occurred with white female athletes not being described in feminine terms.

Since most of the studies on women mentioned in the literature review were done in the early and middle 1980s, these findings suggest that women’s sports are being taken more seriously. Contrary to Hilliard’s (1984) study, female athletes in this study were not evaluated on standards of feminine beauty, and the tendency of the media to ignore African-American athletes, as Edwards (1969) found, has definitely improved as the findings of this study indicate. On a whole, these findings show that female athletes are not being covered according to the traditional biases of society mentioned in the literature review.

The results are not consistent with the canon of feminist and womanist theories which focus on the subjugation and denigration of women. Since feminists are basically concerned with agents of oppression in the social structure, media coverage of women, whether they are
athletes or not, would be of vital interest to them. The fact that white female athletes are being recognized for their physical abilities rather than their looks is not consistent with the feminists' tenets that the male-controlled society have relegated women to being weak and helpless. White feminists would view these results as evidence that the media are not ascribing to these roles which they believe hinder the social mobility of women.

Womanists would view African-American women receiving slightly more mental success statements than white female athletes as encouraging. These findings, however, do not address the race as a whole. Unless similar results are found in a study on African-American men, womanists would not view these findings as totally progressive since their primary objective is to help eliminate oppression for both sexes in their race.

Limitations

The major limitation of this study was the small sample size of 43 athletes. As mentioned, if more newspapers had been used for this study, more athletes would have been in the sample and the results would have been more generalizable. Another limitation was the selection of sentences and sentence phrases for the coding instruments. Only sentences and sentence phrases that tested Hypotheses 1 and 3 were picked. A more comprehensive analysis might have been achieved if the femininity and performance statements
had been compared in context with all of the statements written about the athletes.

Time was also a factor in that the researcher only had one quarter (10 weeks) to complete this research. With more time, the researcher would have been able to use more newspapers and perhaps test more variables such as photographs and placement of stories.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study can be expanded in several ways which have already been mentioned. Again, the use of more newspapers would put more athletes in the sample and provide more sources of comparison. Newspapers such as USA Today or the Washington Post have large sports sections. Testing pictures, such as action shots versus non-action shots would provide pertinent information. Just from scanning the stories, most of the African-American female athletes were shown running or jumping while the white female athletes were shown in less action shots, such as standing on the podium to receive their medals.

Also, other media could be used such as radio and magazines. Using radio might bring about the same results as Harris (1991) using play-by-play announcing. Magazines would probably yield different results from newspapers because they do more feature stories on athletes.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Bryant, J. (1980). A Two year selective investigation of the female athlete in sport as reported in the paper media. Arena Review, 4,(2) 32-44.


Appendix A
Athlete Identification Numbers
002  Sandra Neilson
003  Kim Peyton
005  Joan Lind
007  Michelle Richardson
008  Mary Lou Retton
009  Rebecca Twigg
010  Connie Carpenter
012  Julianne McNamara
013  Tracey Caulkins
014  Flo Hyman
015  Joan Benoit
016  Evelyn Ashford
017  Valerie Brisco-Hooks
018  Rita Crockett
019  Wendy Wyland
020  Mary Decker
021  Janet Evans
023  Jackie Joyner-Kersee
024  Chris Evert
025  Florence Griffeth Joyner
026  Louise Ritter
027  Mary Ellen Clark
028  Summer Sanders
029  Jenny Thompson
030  Kim Zmeskal
031  Karen Josephson
032  Sarah Josephson
033  Shirley Babashoff
035  Susan Morgan
036  Anne Donovan
038  Cheryl Miller
039  Nancy Hogshead
040  Paula Weishoff
041  Mary Meagher
042  Kelly McCormick
043  Teresa Edwards
044  Michele Mitchell
046  Teresa Weatherspoon
047  Katrina McClain
048  Zina Garrison
049  Shannon Miller
050  Gail Devers
053  Jennifer Capriati
Appendix B
Coding Instrument #1  July  30, 1993

Coder ____________________________

Directions: Each comment is a sentence or sentence phrase. Each comment is followed by a series of two questions about the nature of the statement. With the definitions given below concerning how to define the nature of the statement, circle the answer that corresponds best to the comment.

Physical abilities - of or pertaining to physical strength, endurance or natural ability. Statements like "Player X has the swiftness of a gazelle" and "Her speed on the track enabled her to glide past her opponents." Words that describe strength, power or control.

Mental abilities - of or pertaining to intellectual capability. Statements like "Player X was focused throughout the entire game" and "Her sharpness enables her to read defenses well." Words that describe the superior mental ability of an athlete such as alert, smart, intelligent and focused, Harris (1991).

Attributions of Success - words or phrases that relate an athlete’s performance to mental or physical abilities. For example, "Player X read the zone defense very well" and "Player X’s build enables her to over-power her opponents."

Attributions of Failures - words or phrases that relate an athlete’s performance to lack of mental or physical abilities. Statements like "Player X is not sharp enough to execute the half-court offense" and "Player X’s muscle tone will lessen her chances of winning the high jump."

1. she was in control from start to finish

Does this statement imply
1. physical success   2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure   2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable
2. she outkicked Kornelia Ender, the East German

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

3. Miss X, a major threat in the 200 freestyle, has not looked sharp enough to beat her

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

4. she had trouble with the bow oar

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

5. Miss X would catch up at the wall, turn and glide off

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable
6. Miss X broke out fifth at the start and rowed strongly and steadily through the competition

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

7. she challenged Miss Scheiblich, twice a world champion, over the last 250 meters but couldn’t quite pull ahead

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

8. Miss X, America’s fastest freestyler, stayed close enough

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

9. X and X had bucked a headwind of 3.7 meters a second, one meter stronger than the breeze that blew for the final

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable
10. She will be counted on to control the backboards.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

11. X, at 5-11 a complete player who has overcome criticism that she was a one-dimensional scorer, lead the backcourt players.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

12. Her speed and leg strength give her the power to execute breathtaking aerial flips and twists in her floor exercise routine as well as her vaults.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

13. Miss X is strictly a pedal pusher.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
14. her athletic ability has enabled her to pedal all the way to Europe

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

15. with a furious thrust of her bicycle at the finish line, Miss X caught her younger rival

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

16. and in the fourth lap, Miss X broke away for a lead for over 90 seconds, a hard push

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

17. Miss X ..... also sprinted in the final 200 meters to edge ____ in the 79-kilometer event

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable
18. she made a twisting jump shot in the lane just after the ball had nearly been stolen

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

19. she made a steal, led a break, and found Miss ___ for a lay-up

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

20. she banked in a short jump shot

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

21. and there was the defensive work of X, once considered a one-dimensional, if spectacular scorer

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
22. despite her high-flying tumbling, she had earned a 9.95 instead of a 10 on the compulsory floor exercise

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

23. then X, ........ sprinted away from Conny Van Bentum

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

24. she got another 10 on the floor exercise, upstaging Miss

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable

25. Miss X led the Americans with sharp play early in the third game

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both 4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure 2 mental failure
3. both 4. not applicable
26. Miss X came on when her teammates lagged in the fifth

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both           4. not applicable

27. Miss X made three key spikes while bringing her team its last six points and the match

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

28. Miss X, ........ sparked the turnaround with her spikes and blocking ability at the net

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both           4. not applicable

29. Miss X again was instrumental in the 9 point surge with two blocks and two spikes

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both           4. not applicable
30. but in recent months she has had problems with her weight and her stroke

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

31. Miss X, with her soaring, acrobatic vault

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

32. Miss X for dazzling displays on both the uneven parallel bars and the floor exercise

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

33. Miss X, whose unusually powerful style

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable
34. it was a sparkling exercise, with high-flying, faultless tumbling segments and grace on the floor between

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both       4. not applicable

35. and when she whips through her bars routine, the (legs) slice the air like knives

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both       4. not applicable

36. they (legs) slice wickedly fast

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both       4. not applicable

37. Miss X moves so fast she looks as if she might soar off the apparatus except for the fact that she also looks so totally in control

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both       4. not applicable
38. she certainly stuck it

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

39. she descended from all that midair twisting and turning in perfect form, landing upright and still

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

40. her landing was a bit precarious, as if she might fall

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

41. on the beam, Miss X had two shaky landings, one a forward flip and one on a back walkover

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
42. Miss X scored a 10 with some dazzling tumbling

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

43. Miss X packed even more power into her tumbling runs

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

44. X with her swooping spikes

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

45. the United States rallied for a 15-13 victory with Miss X, at 6 foot 5, slashing overhand spinning serves that barely go over the net and explode downward like a Fernando Valenzuela screwball

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable
46. X, the world record holder in the women’s 100-meter dash, won twice today, both times without seeming to have to work very hard

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

47. she took a calculated risk, ran away from the field after passing the three-mile mark

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

48. here her body held up and she broke the Olympic record of 11.01 seconds by Annegret Richter

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

49. her legs flipped so far over her entry that she sent a wave washing toward the edge of the pool and she scored only 51.24 with mostly 6’s from the judges

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable
50. X ran down Kathy Cook of Britain at the top of the stretch

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

51. a powerhouse at the net, who was not her strongest tonight

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

52. Miss X projects an aura of complete, even cheerful confidence about her dangerous specialty

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

53. Miss X sprawled to the infield and lay there

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable
54. Miss X bounced off the track onto the infield and lay prone

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

55. but a complete player who can perform equally well in the backcourt or on the wing

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

56. she scored consistently well the rest of the way and bolstered her position

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

57. led by X, who scored 24 points and was able to penetrate inside repeatedly

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable
58. she hit a one hander while falling down

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success  
3. both  4. not applicable

59. but she swims with boundless energy and single-mindedness

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success  
3. both  4. not applicable

60. she sprinted home on the final freestyle leg and won the gold medal

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success  
3. both  4. not applicable

61. X, ..... has been the starter at point guard but lacked ____’s flair and ability to harass an opposing player

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success  
3. both  4. not applicable
62. but it was X at the controls, running the fast break, forcing bad passes and hurried shots

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

63. but she does not have the speed of Heike Friedrich of East Germany, her major rival in the 400

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

64. X, the world record holder and 1987 world champion, skimmed over the 100-meter high hurdles in 12.69 seconds

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

65. X, who flew flawlessly over the 10 hurdles

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2. mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
66. she broke the world record in the women’s long jump of the heptathlon, leaping 23 feet 10 1/4 inches today as she continued to dominate the two-day event.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

67. her long jump performance smashed the mark of 23 9 1/2

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

68. her lead was so substantial that she could have just walked around the track twice and won the women’s test of stamina and overall ability.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

69. what’s more, she accomplished it by jumping off the right foot instead of the left, to take the stress of her knee.

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
70. if there were any doubts that she is the best female athlete in the world, they were dispelled when she landed in the sand pit

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

71. today she stubbornly fought two teen-agers throughout the day

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

72. X, who has dominated women’s butterfly races since she was 14, overcame erratic training, won a bronze medal

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable

73. since then, she has struggled with motivation and concentration

Does this statement imply
1. physical success 2. mental success
3. both        4. not applicable
74. her small size is a disadvantage at times because she often has to take three strokes to a large opponent’s two

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

75. her small muscles require less rest before a big meet and thus she can do heavy training longer than most other swimmers

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

76. she bolted to the lead

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable

77. You had to find playing time for the slick-shooting X

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both   4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both   4. not applicable
78. she has been so dominating inside that the United States can afford to play three guards

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both     4. not applicable

79. she tried hard to mix up her game with a combination of serve-and-volley and back-court tactics

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both     4. not applicable

80. she ran the curve easily, accelerated in the stretch and seemed completely relaxed as she won by 4 meters

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both     4. not applicable

81. she has been an Olympian three times, an experienced player that can be counted on for leadership

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both     4. not applicable
82. but she has all the right moves on the court

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

83. using her ball-handling ability in the open court and penetration to score several baskets in the lane

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

84. she seemed to be breezing in the final

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

85. X, who sometimes suffers from dizzy spells when she hits the water in an awkward position, was steady from the beginning

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
86. but she floated languidly through the final yards when she might have stroked to the contact pad

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

87. she sprinted the final leg in 54.01 to pass the Chinese anchor

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

88. she swam to a comfortable victory in the 800-meter freestyle

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

89. but she blasted to the top with a vault of 9.975

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
90. it was only 100 meters that she traversed this afternoon at the Barcelona Olympics, faster than seven other to win a remarkable race and a gold medal for the United States

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both           4. not applicable

91. she, though, went on to take the bronze in the uneven bars, the silver in the balance beam with a theatrical routine

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both           4. not applicable

92. she blasted down the straightaway to a gold medal in the women’s 100-meter final

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both           4. not applicable

93. she began smartly, running 12.85 in the 100-meter hurdles to immediately take the lead

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both           4. not applicable
94. she ran around the track fast enough in 2:11:78 to bring home the gold, all right

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

95. they received near-perfect scores for their matching egg-beater kicks

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

96. the powerful 27-year -old hitter ....... literally punching holes through the Dutch defense

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

97. she bobbled and lost control of the ball with her team trailing by 3 points

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
98. it all blew away in a windstorm of steady backhands and forehand on the line by X

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable

99. the second set went on serve, X growing stronger by the minute

Does this statement imply
1. physical success  2. mental success
3. both  4. not applicable

Does this statement imply
1. physical failure  2 mental failure
3. both  4. not applicable
Appendix C
Coding Instrument #2  July 30, 1993
Coder ________________

Directions: Each comment is a sentence or sentence phrase for you to determine if coverage is feminine or unfeminine.

Unfeminine coverage - words or phrases that describe an athlete in terms such as powerful and muscular; anything pertaining to strength and control.

Feminine coverage - words or phrases that describe an athlete in lady-like terms, such as beautiful, graceful, delicate, frail, weak, dependent, fearful and emotional; femininity is anything that is womanly.

Using the bipolar scale ranges of 1-5, with 1 representing feminine, 5 unfeminine and 3 neutral, please write the number that you think best describes the comment.

1. visibly disheartened after fading to third at the finish ___

2. she was almost too stunned by emotion for words as she dabbed at her eyes with tissues on the victory stand, her lips tightly but proudly puckered until a grin emerged at the close of the Star Spangled Banner ______

3. said blonde X ___

4. because her time of 56.81 seconds was an American record, she was a happy loser _____

5. but only X wears earrings on the water _____

6. she climbed out of the boat smiling clear up to her reddish hair ___

7. X, the pretty little coxswain, comforted her as she sat with her head between her knees until the dizziness passed _____

8. her coach, who set her on a straight ahead path that was not easy for girl blossoming into a young woman _____

9. she became interested in boys and makeup _____

10. the first thing you notice about Miss X is that she is
slim _____

11. at 4 feet 9 1/2 inches and 95 pounds, with powerful looking thighs and calves, Miss X is built more like a short, sturdy soccer player than like the elfin female gymnasts of past Olympics _____

12. and with her dazzling smile and infectious energy, her floor exercise performance captivates audiences ..... and judges ___

13. the cool and reserved Miss X _____.

14. Miss X, ..... contrary to her demure appearance ....... gave her adversary just such a push _____

15. Miss X, a precocious young rider from Seattle ____

16. the Coloradan .... won by an eyelash from her teammate ____

17. 16-year-old Miss X was smiling and waving as she put on her blue United States warm up suit over her red and white leotard _____

18. She waved with her left hand to the applause _____

19. but she is as muscular as a miniature linebacker ..... her brown hair is shorter than that of some boys _____

20. now she is back at the top, relaxed to a fault _____

21. her adorably perky personality has kept her in the national spotlight _____

22. with large tan freckles that splash across her milk-pale skin and the black eyeliner rimming her enormous eyes, Miss X looks like a delicate fawn _____

23. her legs are frail-looking, but they are all lean muscle _____

24. with an elegant slightly-arched line to her slim body ___

25. she is 21 years old now, almost elderly for a swimmer ____

26. the 16-year-old acrobat ____

27. she looked up at him with those big cocker-spaniel eyes
28. what this chunky teen-ager accomplished with those back-to-back 10s was somewhat comparable to, say Reggie Jackson hitting a homer on each of the last two times at bat to win the seventh game of the World Series _____

29. she raised her arms and smiled _____.

30. now this is the new idol, ..... very short, very powerful _____

31. she is 30 years old, ancient for her sport _____.

32. today Miss X appeared .... intent, expressionless, relaxed _____.

33. on the victory stand, Miss X cried form the start of the medal presentation to the end of the national anthem _____.

34. but Miss X did not yield, and she won and set off and emotional binge _____.

35. Miss X, a 5 foot 8-inch leaper _____.

36. she fusses over her new Vidal Sassoon haircut and describes her favorite activity as shopping for clothes _____.

37. the worldly and talented American spiker _____.

38. whatever makeup she had on earlier had been washed away by her tears of disappointment at not winning the Olympic gold medal _____.

39. below her uncombed brown hair, her eyes were hollow from weeping _____

40. slowly she wobbled across the track, her arms around two men, one of them her fiance _____

41. the tears were in her eyes again as she put her hand to her face _____.

42. her voice was breaking now, but she continued _____.

43. up behind the microphone she was sobbing now, her face in her hands _____.

44. she departed as she had arrived .... in his arms _____.

45. this time she was crying again _____.

46. if she has muscles, she hides them well ____

47. she is an extrovert ____

48. her smile at the finish line said she had been successful on both counts ____

49. in victory, she was joyful, but composed, relieved that the four year chase had ended ____

50. for once, the gregarious high school senior was at a lost for words ____

51. her workouts are so difficult that male college swimmers who occasionally train with her cannot do them ____

52. she is bubbly and relaxed, so at ease that she sometimes yawns just before a race ____

53. this slim compulsive athlete ____

54. but when the Italian had her in trouble, her fighting spirit deserted her ____

55. both are trim, but they have the muscles of body builders ____

56. sometimes she races in the Olympics with her braided hair in a speed-skating hood, and sometimes the hood discarded, her uncovered hair flows through the air at high speed _____

57. the glowing smile and the fingernails and the hood and the pre-Olympic one-legged running suits leave the impression of cockiness ____

58. the woman behind that image is quiet and soft-spoken and stays home a lot to read and write ____

59. she has blonde hair and a twang as thick as Texas barbecue sauce ______

60. she pumped her arms in triumph ____

61. she stood atop the platform, ankles over the edge, and leaned forward, as still as a car’s hood ornament _____

62. she will dive gracefully into the pool, then groan her way through every which stroke against her rival ____

63. she jealously guards her world record in the 100-meter
freestyle ____

64. most of the coaches agreed that she appeared nervous at the start and that she was flustered by the pressure ____

65. she sobbed with disappointment at her silver medal ____

66. she was emotionally drained as she faced reporters ____

67. she said she wasn’t crying even though tears flowed down her cheek ____

68. her nasty mug, a radical departure from the permanent smile she said would grace her face in Barcelona, lasted for only a few meters ____

69. X, fatigued from participating in five different events and apparently intimidated by the Chinese swimmers, finished fifth in the 50-meter freestyle ____

70. she was near tears ____

71. they are more athletic with their four-minute routines ____