

**IS THE REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE ATHLETES
IN THE SERBIAN MEDIA GENDER BALANCED?
REPORTS FROM THE 2012 OLYMPIC GAMES**

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Abstract. *The aim of this paper was to present an analysis of media coverage of athletes during the 2012 London Olympics, to determine whether there is a difference in media coverage between male and female athletes and possibly differences in ideological gender modeling in sport. The sample of the research material consisted of articles published from July 27th to August 12th, 2012, found in the archives of the sports sections of daily newspapers (Politika, Kurir), as well as the portal of the RTS public broadcasting system, which is at the very peak of the most accessed media in Serbia. The results have shown that there was a greater number of articles on men's sport ($p=0.01$), a greater number of words in articles depicting men ($p=0.01$) and more photographs depicting male athletes ($p=0.01$). The analysis of individual compared to team photographs shows that men were represented more in groups than individually, and that women were to a greater extent represented individually. The results indicate that female athletes are represented more on the field than outside of it, and that men are more often represented at higher levels of body exposure (levels three and four). The general conclusion can be drawn that female athletes in the Serbian media were quantitatively less represented, but that their representations in photographs were more gender balanced than expected based on previous research.*

Key words: *sport, gender, the media, content analysis, the Olympic Games*

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1. INTRODUCTION

In a pilot study carried out in Serbia (Živković, Ranđelović, Bojić, 2016) with the aim of quantifying the presence of female athletes in the electronic media in Serbia for the duration of the Olympic Games (OG) in 2012, it was determined that in relation to the number of articles, men's sports are four more times present as women's sports. Since there is a lack of other research in Serbia on this topic, this research should determine the extent to which and the manner in which female athletes are present in the Serbian media, that is, whether the representation of athletes in the media is equal in terms of gender.

Research carried out in other countries provides somewhat more favorable results in favor of female athletes. In the research of Capranica (Capranica, Minganti, Billat, Hanghoj, Piacentini et al., 2005), which included an overview of the representation of female athletes from several countries in the media for the duration of the OG in Sidney in 2000, it was indicated that of the overall number of analyzed articles, those dedicated to female athletes made up 29, 3%, while those dedicated to male athletes is 51, 8%, while 18, 9% of the articles are classified as being of a mixed type. Despite the increased participation of women in sport, the increased number of competitions for women and the increasing popularity of women's sport among the supporters, there is still a lack of media coverage of women's sport. Certain longitudinal studies into the media coverage of women's sport confirm that women's sport is being neglected, and even ignored (Duncan, Messner, & Williams, 2005).

The Olympic Games have proved themselves the primary location for the analysis of gender bias in sport, because men's and women's competitions are contained within a single framework and represent a competition which provides media coverage for all sports for both genders. As a result, several studies have been carried out based on the theory that athletes are generally represented in accordance with their gender stereotypes, where in the greatest number of studies, it can be concluded that female athletes are marginalized in the media reports on Olympic sports (Billings & Angelini, 2007). The electronic media also gives more attention to the male population in the field of sport (Bruce & Wensing, 2012).

The readers of sports newspapers are able to see a significantly greater number of men in photographs (George, Hartley, & Paris, 2001). When it comes to photographs of female athletes, for the duration of the OG we can note that there is a better proportion in the number of published photographs than is the case in everyday reporting. An analysis of the number of photographs from the OG shows that the percentage of female athletes ranges from 33.5 (OG 2000, four European countries) (Capranica, 2005) up to 43.4% (OG 1996, USA, Canada, Great Britain) (Vincent, Imwold, Masemann, & Johnson, 2002). Hardin et al. (2002) analyzed the photographs from the OG in Sidney published in American daily newspapers. It was determined that the photographs of men make up 52%, while those of women make up 48% of the overall number of photographs, which is close to the actual gender representation of American athletes at the OG (55% men and 45% women). Capranica et al. (2005) determined that similar reports were published in several other countries (Belgium, Denmark, France and Italy), where the actual gender representation of athletes was covered in similar percentages in the reports.

Even though the percentages speak in favor of gender equality (if we were to neglect the fact that during the OG the reports on female athletes was increased significantly), underneath the seemingly gender balanced image of the reporting, there are numerous hidden meanings.

The ways in which women are represented in the media send important messages to the consumers of media content, regarding the role and position of women in society. As Lubina et al. stated: “the modern media today, especially the television and internet, are closely bound to the production and embodiment of cultural identities. Namely, through the conscious use and repetition of stereotypes among the recipients of information, on a subtle level archetypal features of men and women which society has already constructed through the category of gender are established” (Lubina, Brkić Klimpak, 2014). Sturken and Cartwright (2001) claim that photographs are a powerful tool for the creation of preferred meaning. Due to the possibility of seeming natural, realistic and authentic, and through selection, composition and manipulation, a seemingly naïve representation of some event can be politically motivated (Duncan, 1990), or can support various stereotypes. In almost every society traditional the social definition of women speaks of the fact that women should be subjected to the dominant, male gender. That is why it is not expected of women to participate in sports which promote competitiveness and physical exertion (Leonard, 1980). In the study of Hardin, Chance, Dodd & Hardin (2002) it was indicated that women’s team sports received six hours less of air time on television and had a smaller number of photographs published compared to the female athletes who participated in individual sports in the US for the duration of the OG in Sidney. Lee (1992) cites that in team sports power and control are realized through team work, with the aim of achieving victory. That is why female athletes who take part in sports are often neglected in the media, while more information is reported on female athletes who take part in individual sports (Alston, 1996).

Tuggle & Davis (2012) studied the representation of women in the media during the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008 and compared them with that of previous years. Olympic media coverage is more important for female athletes than male ones, since they cannot receive great media attention in the period between the games. They determined that the participation of the female athletes improved in the summer games of 2008, compared to the previous years, but still 97% of the media coverage of women’s events was dedicated to “socially acceptable” sports. Research which is based on qualitative analyses indicates that women are more often represented in “traditional” non-contact sports, such as: golf, tennis, ice skating, and gymnastics (Bryant, 1980).

Women in sport are represented in non-sport environment, which might be seen as an attempt for their participation in sport to be degraded, or even rendered meaningless. A great problem in representing women in the media is that this representation is virtually missing where it is needed. Women in the media are not as present as are the men, we might even say that they are virtually invisible. When they are represented, they are generalized and represented as mothers-housewives, exclusively good-looking and young, with an indication that their place is in the kitchen or in the bedroom, and their intelligence is questionable. It is a model created by the media and is known as the “normal and desirable woman”. The representation of female athletes does not deviate from the established portrayal of women in the media. Furthermore, one part of the photographs representing female athletes does not even refer to their participation in sport (Alston, 1996). Over the last few years, on the sports pages we can find an increasing number of texts on the wives of famous athletes, their families, but also their beauty (Jones, 2006). When it comes to representing female athletes on the front pages of newspapers, we can note that women are rarely represented as active participants in sport, and there is a greater probability that they will be presented in passive or traditionally female poses (Buysse and Embser, 2004). The aforementioned studies also confirm that

the language used by the media is a powerful tool in emphasizing gender differences. Descriptions which include sports skills are often excluded from the descriptions of female athletes. Instead, the descriptions emphasize esthetic attributes, and/or the focus is on the femininity or lack of thereof. Male athletes are mostly described as energetic, strong both mentally and physically. Female athletes are instead represented based on stereotypes according to which women are physically weak, and maybe even emotionally weak (Quayle, Wurm, Barnes, Barr, Beal, et al., 2017).

Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) cited in their research that the exclusion of female athletes from media representations is actually symbolic denial of the power of women. Individual sports (combat sports, some athletic disciplines) which require power and endurance, or include elements of risk, are considered inappropriate for women. On the other hand, sports such as tennis, swimming, synchronized swimming, figure skating and gymnastics are traditionally considered women's sports (Pirinen, 1997). Pirinen cites that women's competitions in traditionally male sports are awarded less media attention than purely traditionally male or traditionally female sports. Crossman, Vincent & Speed (2007) also indicate that female athletes receive more media attention if they participate in traditionally female sports.

The belief that women do not belong in sports, or that they are not as important as male athletes was also established on the basis of portraits of female athletes in revealing photographs. In a study carried out by Godoy-Pressland (2014) it was indicated that almost 60% of female athletes have on American national television been presented in leotards or bathing suits in gymnastics, swimming and diving activities. The conclusion of this research was that the official American broadcaster of the Olympic Games present the viewers with images of sports which were not based on gender equality.

2. METHOD

The aim of this paper is to present the analysis of the reports on female athletes in the Serbian media during the Olympic Games in London in 2012, in order to determine the percentage of the media representation of women's sport in the newspapers in Serbia, as well as to determine whether there is a difference in the media representation and coverage of male and female athletes, and possibly in that sense, in the ideological modeling of gender in sport.

Based on the initial assumptions, the following hypotheses were proposed:

- H1 – There are more articles and words in the articles written on male athletes, as well as more photographs depicting male athletes and more males authoring the articles.
- H2 – Women are more than men represented in individual than in team sports in the media; a significantly smaller number of texts represent the category of the so-called “female” than “male” sports; women are more often depicted in environments that are not sports fields in photographs; women are more often depicted in “inactive poses” in photographs; women are more often depicted individually in photographs; women more often appear photographed from a “below eye level angle” than men.
- H3 – Women are more often depicted in strong emotional states on photographs (sorrow, crying, hugging) than men;
- H4 – Women in photographs are more often presented in “nude-like” depictions.

The application of both qualitative and quantitative methods was necessary in order to provide data for this research. In order to evaluate hypothesis H1, quantitative analyses were used to determine the number of articles, the number of photographs, and the proportions of the studied variables in relation to gender. Hypotheses H2-H4 were tested using the content analysis of selected articles and the photographs published in them.

Content analysis is a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative descriptions of the manifestation of the content of communication” (Berelson, 1952). It enables us to view a large number of texts by means of a systematic quantification of media content, using predetermined categories and providing a statistical analysis of the data (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003). As a quantitative method, content analysis numbers and measures categories such as words, phrases or images (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Content analysis was a popular method for the study of gender differences in media representations, since it can determine recurring patterns which can shape our attitudes, values and convictions (van Zoonen, 2004). By using content analysis it is possible to make deductions on how the media cover and represent male and female athletes.

Following the data collection procedures and the analysis which Neuendorf (2002) suggests, the researcher primarily identifies the possible content which should be studied, based on the theoretical framework and previous consideration of the information on the media coverage of athletes. In the second step, the coding of the suitable categories is performed, which represent the content of texts in a specific way.

The coding structure as one of the research methods which has proven effective in numerous studies, was also used in the study of photographs, which enhances this kind of study. The material coding methods can determine whether the photographs of female athletes are related exclusively to some sports event or were made on occasions which do not belong to any type of sport or sporting event, and whether they indicate an attempt at degrading their participation in sport. If the photo-material is based on photographs of female athletes depicting them in certain moments of sports competitions and during the active participation in sport, this contributes to the creation of an image of the equality between women with men in terms of media representation and coverage.

The gender of the athlete, the gender of the author of the text, the sport, category of sport, type of sport, the place where the athlete is being depicted, the level of activity, the angle of the camera recording, emotions displayed in photographs, the level of exposure of the body, and the number of words in the text are variables coded for the purpose of this research, and defined with certain changes based on the research of certain authors who dealt with similar problems.

The gender of the athlete is coded (a) male, and (b) female; (c) both; (d) neither.

The gender of the author of the text: (a) male, and (b) female, (c) neither, (d) cannot be determined, (e) does not exist;

The name of the sport: the names of individual Olympic sports;

The category of sport: a) male, b) female, c) gender neutral;

The type of sport: (a) team sport, (b) individual sport;

The place of depiction of the athlete: (a) on the field, (b) outside the field

The level of activity: (a) active (that is, the athlete is on the move and is clearly doing something specific), (b) passive (for example, the athlete kissing a medal or posing);

The angle of the camera: (a) below eye level, (b) at eye level, (c) above eye level;

The emotions displayed in the photographs: (a) sorrow, (b) crying, (c) joy, (d) hugging;

The level of body exposure: (a) level one, (b) level two, (c) level three, (d) level four.

These categories were selected because they enable the analysis of the ways in which certain differences in relation to gender can be emphasized. For example, the difference in the camera angles in relation to gender would reflect the different framing of power (with the "upper" angle which imbues the subject in the photograph with power, while the lower angle is transferred onto the viewer); the differences in the way in which sport, movement and competition are represented in terms of gender would heighten the concepts of sexual differences and abilities if one group would more often be represented as active and competitive, for example, in comparison to another (Hardin, et al., 2004).

Photographs were selected because they are powerful cultural communicators; they are "equally burdened by ideology" as text, which renders them important as a text for critical analysis (Curri et al., 2002). Photographs are also visual magnets which give the readers a more specific impression stronger than the text; they offer a subjective message with the façade of objectivity in a live, unforgettable and "easily readable" format (Duncan, 1990). Also, they are easily accepted through their repetition in the mass media.

2.1. Reliability

In content analysis it is important to determine reliability (Neuendorf, 2002). Intercoder reliability is the extent to which different coders achieve the same results among various characteristics of classification (Lombard, Sinder-Duch & Bracen, 2002). The multiple coding procedure was used to code the articles. Two coders independently coded articles selected both as pilot data and as the actual data. The author was one of the coders. Both coders were trained and acquainted with the coding system through provided instructions which explained how to view elements important for certain variables and which provided certain illustrative examples. Each coder coded 60 articles (which dated from another time period and were not part of the study) for the purpose of training. Intercoder reliability was calculated using a percentage agreement (Kassarjian, 1977). The intercoder reliability for this subsample ranged from 83,3%-100%. The minimal level of 0.80 for the intercoder reliability coefficient was usually the standard (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005); Using Cohen's Kappa, the extent of agreement between the coders was determined, and had a value of 0.72 for all the variables.

The differences between the coders were solved through a discussion. Then the procedure was repeated for the 60 articles from the group which was set aside for analysis. Intercoder reliability for this sub-sample ranged from 90%-100%. The value of Cohen's Kappa in this case was 0.74 for all the variables.

2.2. The sample of research material

The sample of research material was based on the online editions of the Serbian media. Two daily newspapers were selected (Politika, Kurir), as well as the portal of the RTS public broadcasting system. This focus was determined primarily because newspapers still play an important role in presenting the Olympic Games (Markula, 2009). Newspapers are one of the more advanced media forms, and the sports section is one of the most important and more widely read newspaper sections (Coakly, 2003).

The sample of sub-data consisted of articles taken from the web pages of the aforementioned media. This decision was based on the fact that more and more people are reading news online. What contributes to this is the great number of people who use mobile devices to access newspaper websites by means of smart phones or tablets. As a result,

the newspapers realize great readership through their online services, which makes them a relevant research subject.

For the realization of the research and the performance of the representative analysis, the goal was to select representative Serbian media which have a great national circulation and differ in their format and means of representing media information, in order to study that range of press discourse better. Based on the monitoring system data for the number of visitors to a website, these portals have high numbers of visitors and high numbers of viewed pages.

Thus, the sample was made up of two daily newspapers and one media portal, which differ in the way they represent information and are found at the very top of the most visited media in Serbia. All the articles published from July 27 to August 12 were taken from the archives of the sports section of these media and analyzed. These dates correspond to the dates of the ceremonies of the openings and closings of the Olympic Games in 2012.

2.3. Methods of data analysis

The following methods were implemented in the research: the descriptive method, certain statistical methods, systematization, and quantitative-qualitative content analysis.

3. RESULTS

The obtained results were viewed through the proposed hypotheses.

H1 – There are more articles and words in the articles written on male athletes, as well as more photographs depicting male athletes and more males authoring the articles.

As seen in table 1, the studied media dedicated almost three times as much attention to male athletes than to female athletes, and there is a statistically significant difference between them. A significantly small number of articles refer to both, or are articles where male and female athletes were not the focus.

Table 1 Number of articles (texts)

	Men	Women	Both	Neither	Total	χ^2	df	p
Number articles(Δ)	374	132	32	38	576	533.500	3	0.000
	(+230)	(-12)	(-112)	(-106)				

Note: Δ is the difference between the noted distributions and expected distributions in theory.

The texts devoted to men's sports and male athletes were on average greater than those which refer to female athletes. The average number of words for articles about male athletes is 299, and about female is 235. The overall volume of texts dedicated to men is three times greater (111 754 words, as opposed to 31 062). However, the texts with the greatest volume were on average those in which there was mention of both. This is a result of the fact that such texts mainly presented a retrospective of sports events or were an indication of upcoming ones, and sometimes both.

More attention was dedicated to male athletes (almost twice as much), in terms of representations on photographs, as compared to female athletes, and this difference is

statistically significant. Considerably fewer photographs showed both of them in focus together. The fewest photographs were related to topics of a more general character.

The female authors of texts are virtually non-existent. What is characteristic of this category is that most of the news is obtained from agencies, or that the author does not exist, or cannot be determined since only the initials have been provided. This difference is statistically significant.

H2 – Women are more than men represented in individual vs. team sports; a significantly smaller number of texts represent the category of the so-called “female” than “male” sports; women are more often depicted in environments that are not sports fields in photographs; women are more often depicted in “inactive poses” in photographs; women are more often depicted individually in photographs; women more often appear photographed from a “below eye level angle” than men.

Table 2 indicates that men are increasingly more present in texts on individual and on team sports than female athletes, and this difference is statistically significant. The distribution indicates that men and women are represented more in individual sports compared to team sports.

Table 2 Individual/team sport

	Men		Women		Both		Neither		Total	
Individual	230	(61.5%)	97	(73.5%)	12	(37.5%)	9	(23.7%)	348	(60.4%)
Team	134	(35.8%)	33	(25.0%)	7	(21.9%)	4	(10.5%)	178	(30.9%)
Neither	4	(1.1%)	1	(0.8%)	3	(9.4%)	13	(34.2%)	21	(3.6%)
Multiple	6	(1.6%)	1	(0.8%)	10	(31.3%)	12	(31.6%)	29	(5.0%)
Total	374	(100.0%)	132	(100.0%)	32	(100.0%)	38	(100.0%)	576	(100.0%)

$$\chi^2 = 245.925; df = 9; P = 0.000; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.377$$

There are more texts labelled “male”. However, most of the texts were dedicated to sports which were categorized as gender neutral (as many as 2/3 of all the texts), and that the sports which were categorized as “female” are minimally present and have received the least amount of attention. The difference is statistically significant. Both male and female athletes were significantly more represented on the field in photographs than outside the field, and that the male athletes were significantly more represented than female athletes in both categories, but that the female athletes were more prevalent and, represented in the field more than outside of it. Table 3 indicates that men and women were significantly more present actively, but that the men dominate in this category as well (both in active and inactive representations). The results indicate that this difference is statistically significant.

Table 3 Active/inactive representation

		N	Mean	SD	t	df	sig
Active	men	576	0.8611	1.56199	6.066	1116.797	0.000
	women	576	0.3455	1.31232			
Inactive	men	576	0.2743	0.69615	4.077	929.629	0.000
	women	576	0.1372	0.40895			

Men are more frequently represented as a group than individually, although that difference is not too great, and that women are to a greater extent represented individually than as a group. The difference is statistically significant in both categories.

Table 4 indicates that one of the most represented angles of camera shooting was below eye level for both women and men. Women were mostly represented below eye level and least above eye level, but the men were also more often represented below eye level and least at eye level. The difference is statistically significant in all three categories.

Table 4 Angle of recording

		N	Mean	SD	t	df	sig
Below eye level	men	576	0.5486	1.25153	3.943	1149.963	0.000
	women	576	0.2587	1.24444			
At eye level	men	576	0.2951	0.58951	4.899	1072.251	0.000
	women	576	0.1441	0.44729			
Above eye level	men	576	0.2969	0.82170	5.467	772.960	0.000
	women	576	0.0938	0.34625			

H3 – Women are more often depicted in strong emotional states on photographs (sorrow, crying, hugging) than men

Table 5 indicates that the most prevalent emotion represented on the photographs was happiness among both men and women. The results indicate that sorrow and crying were more present among the men, but that was primarily because the overall number of photographs of men was greater than that of women. Overall, sorrow and crying as negative emotional states were still not significantly more present in the photographs compared to the other categories. Most photographs belonged to the undetermined category, where certain emotions could have been defined, but were classified in this category since they were not represented as special categories. The differences were not statistically significant, except for the category undetermined.

Table 5 Emotions in photographs

		N	Mean	SD	t	df	sig
Sorrow	men	576	0.0434	0.25679	2.289	879.405	0.022
	women	576	0.0156	0.13743			
Crying	men	576	0.0104	0.13146	0.259	1150	0.796
	women	576	0.0087	0.09284			
Happiness	men	576	0.3802	0.76866	2.407	992.023	0.016
	women	576	0.2396	1.17284			
Hugging	men	576	0.0382	0.25422	2.281	909.876	0.023
	women	576	0.0104	0.14409			
Undetermined	men	576	0.5503	1.24170	4.763	1131.506	0.000
	women	576	0.2222	1.09191			

H4 – Women in photographs are more often presented in “nude-like poses”

Table 6 indicates that men are more often represented in the third and first level of body exposure, and least of all in the fourth.

Table 6 Level of body exposure (nude-like poses)

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Level 1	men	576	0.208	0.645	-0.828	860	0.408
	women	576	0.257	1.252			
Level 2	men	576	0.248	0.533	6.759	900	0.000
	women	576	0.076	0.297			
Level 3	men	576	0.519	1.475	5.450	791	0.000
	women	576	0.153	0.652			
Level 4	men	576	0.160	0.603	6.020	597	0.000
	women	576	0.007	0.083			

Women were most often represented in the first and third level of exposure, and least of all in the fourth. The results indicate that men were represented in more exposed levels than women (third and fourth). The reason for this was the large number of articles on water polo players of Serbia who achieved a significant amount of success, and as a result were more photographed, and the photographs, due to the nature of the sport, belong to this category. Statistically significant differences between men and women do not exist only for the first level of body exposure.

4. DISCUSSION

The subject matter of this research were newspaper articles (texts and accompanying photographs) on sport of the online issues of three different sources (POLITIKA, KURIR, RTS), which through their writing could influence the formation of the media image of female athletes and which could contribute to their affirmation and marginalization, depending on the way the information on the sporting events they were participating in was presented. The goal of the research was to represent the analysis of the reports on female athletes in the Serbian media during the Olympic Games in London in 2012. The content analysis of the newspaper articles (texts and photographs) led to some interesting findings and representations of male and female athletes in the media. Bearing in mind the current research into this problem, it was expected that the media coverage of female athletes still represents a problem in contemporary society.

The results of the analysis of a number of articles have indicated that there were almost three times as many articles in which the main actors were men, (65%) compared to women (23%). This research supports the results from previous studies where male athletes were more dominantly represented in the media compared to female athletes (Lumpkin & Williams, 1991; Lee, 1992; Lenskyj, 1998; Pedersen, 2002; Bishop, 2003; Billings & Angelini, 2007; Bruce & Wensing, 2012; Wolff, 2014). The results of the analysis of the number of words (the text volume) have indicated that the texts on men were on average longer than those on women. Taking into consideration the overall number of words, data was obtained that the overall volume of the texts on male athletes was three times higher compared to the texts on female athletes. Some other studies have also confirmed that media attitude to writing about male and female athletes, where the male athletes were allocated more textual space than the female ones (Alexander, 1994; Lavrinc, George, et al., 2001; Doupona-Topič, 2006). The analysis of the articles published in the studied media included photographs as well, depicting male and female athletes. In previous studies, but

also in our analyses, female athletes were most often depicted in a way which primarily enhances their physical appearance. The number of photographs is also an important element in viewing the significance which is associated to certain sports events, but also the actors in these events. The photographs were often more convincing than words. Within this research, and based on the number of photographs, we determined that male athletes were represented more and that they were given more attention (61%) (almost twice as much), when they were photographed than were female athletes (34%). This fact also agrees with the research of Jones (2010).

Certain previous research (Alexander, 1994; Etling, 2002; Lapchick, Brenden, and Wright, 2006) which analyzed the participation of women and men in authoring sports texts indicates that this category may indicate the greatest differences between men and women participating in sport. In our research, men were also more present as the authors of texts, while female authors of texts almost do not exist. Based on the results, a hypothesis H1 can be accepted.

There are certain stereotypes in the stories of male and female athletes. In the cases when the story includes only or predominantly men, attention is focused on the group. The reason for that is probably the popularity of men's team sports. On the other hand, attention in stories on women has a tendency of being focused on the individual, and the reason for that is that the sports in which women participate and which are covered in the media are usually individual sports (Leiknisdóttir, 2006). Team sports are usually experienced as "more male" than individual sports, and the media have the tendency to represent women athletes as competing in individual, and not team sports (Tuggle & Owen, 1999). The analysis of the differences in relation to the prevalence of men and women in individual and team sports in our research indicates that men are more present in texts on individual and on team sports than women, but that female athletes are more represented in texts on individual sports than team ones. Other research also confirm this attitude of the media in this category (Lee, 1992; Jones, 2010).

The categorization of sports into male, female and neutral was made based on a division which was dominant in several similar studies (Hardin et al., 2002; Jones, 2006; Petca, Bivolaru, & Graf, 2013) and which indicate that "male" sports are more often allocated more space in the media than female ones. The analysis has shown that this hypothesis has partially been confirmed, since there are actually more texts in the category labelled as "male" (33%). However, most of the texts were dedicated to sports which were categorized as belonging to the neutral category (58%, almost 2/3 of all the texts), and the sports which were classified as belonging to the category of "female" were minimally represented (1%) and received the least attention.

Within this research we obtained data that both male and female athletes were significantly more represented on the field in photographs than outside of it (a ratio of 83% - 17%) and the male athletes were significantly more present than female athletes in both categories (74% - 26% - on the field, 76% - 24% - outside the field), but that the female athletes were more represented and depicted on the field than outside it (26% - 24%). However, there is still the fact that the women were less present in this research category as well.

In accordance with the dominant patriarchal ideology, men are expected to be active, aggressive, feisty, and women are expected to be passive, emotional, gentle (Berger, 1972). This kind of approach is in a particular way reflected both in sport and in the tendency of women to be represented as less active in the media. In her research, Duncan (1990)

found that men were framed as active subjects, while women were usually framed as inactive or passive objects. These findings agree with those of other studies (George et al., 2001). However, there are studies in which the obtained results were different. The studies of Canadian, South African, British, and American newspapers reported that men and women are usually depicted as active or taking part in sport, and that the percentages differ very little in terms of gender (Lee, 1992). Hardin et al. (2002) determined that 78% of women and 81% of male athletes were represented in “active photographs” in American newspapers. Comparing the media reports from Great Britain, the USA and Canada, Vincent et al. (2002) cite that women and men are most frequently represented in active (competitive) situations (women, 51%; men, 52%). Women were somewhat more often represented in inactive poses, but the men were usually posing for photographs. Within this research, the obtained results indicate that both are represented in more active than inactive poses (a ratio of 78% - 22%), but that men dominate this category as well (both in active and inactive representations).

Women who compete in team sports are insufficiently represented or ignored in sports photographs (Tuggle & Owen, 1999). At the OG in 2004, women participating in individual sports suited to men stood a three-time greater chance of being represented in photographs than women competing in team sports (Jones, 2006). This kind of relationship was found in other similar studies (Đorđić et al., 2013; Godoy-Pressland & Griggs 2014). The analysis of individual as opposed to team photographs within our research indicates that men were represented in groups more than individually, and that women were significantly more represented individually. Based on the results, a hypothesis H2 can be partially accepted.

Duncan (1990) tried to offer an interpretation of sports photographs based on various communicative characteristics of photographs. One of the conclusions was that the cameras represent women below eye level and men in elevated positions, which suggests positions of inferiority and superiority. Hardin et al. (2002), however, obtained results which indicate that a greater percentage of men are represented in the photographs from a lower angle, and in all the newspapers the men had a greater probability of being represented from a lower rather than an upper angle. In our research, the results indicate that the most frequently used angle of recording was below eye level (48%), and the other two were used equally (26%). Women were mostly represented below eye level (32%) and least of all above eye level (24%), but men were also represented from this angle. Based on the results, a hypothesis H3 can be partially accepted.

Some previous studies resulted in a concept that women were often infantilized, represented in highly emotional contexts and unable to control their emotions. Within the research of Petca, Bivolaru & Graf (2013), photographs were analyzed with the aim of determining certain emotional states (sorrow, crying, joy, hugging). Based on the facial expressions of the male (and female) athletes in the photographs, each was ascribed one of the previously mentioned emotions established in the coding schema. If none of the emotions could be identified, it was classified as undetermined. The results have shown that the most widely present emotion in the photographs was happiness, for both the men and women. The results show that both sorrow and crying were more present among men, but that this was primarily because the overall number of photographs of men was greater than that of women. Overall, sorrow and crying as negative emotional states were not to a great extent present in the photographs compared to the other categories. Thus, we could conclude that hypothesis H3 was not confirmed in this research.

Another category which was studied in this research was based on traditional stereotypes but also the results of some research. Petca, Bivolaru & Graf (2013) analyzed whether women in the photographs were more often represented with a higher level of body exposure (nude-like poses). Within our research, the results indicate that men were usually represented in the third and first level of body exposure, and least of all the fourth. Women were usually represented in the first and third level of exposure, and least of all in the fourth. The results indicate that the men were represented in exposed levels (third and fourth) more so than the women. The reason for this is the larger number of articles on water polo players from Serbia who achieved significant success, and because of that were extensively photographed, where due to the nature of the sport they belong to the more exposed category. Statistically significant differences between the men and women do not exist only in the first level of body exposure. Based on that, we can conclude that this hypothesis was not confirmed in this research.

5. CONCLUSION

In the first half of the twentieth century, the modern Olympic Games were still games dominated by men. Sports media reporting in that period also strengthened the perception of male dominance, considering the greater prevalence of men at the OG. However, male dominance at the Olympic Games, as well as the promotion of gender stereotypes, significantly decreased over time. Considering that the involvement of male and female athletes at the Olympic Games in 2012 was 55% to 45%, the quantitative difference in the presence of both genders at the OG is not very significant. However, we can still note the imbalance in the media representation of male and female athletes. The prevalence of male athletes in the media suggests that sport is still dominated by men, while women are still assigned lesser importance. In addition, by presenting a greater prevalence of male athletes in relation to female athletes, the media often strengthen the stereotype that sport is specific to men, and limit women to stereotypical gender roles. Because the media are given great importance in contemporary society, the imbalance in reporting on male and female athletes can contribute to the inequality among men and women in society. This research has led to interesting findings on the representations of male and female athletes in the Serbian media. Based on previous research, which suggested that the amount of media representation of female athletes still represents a problem in society, certain hypotheses were formulated.

The results indicate that male athletes were almost three times more present in sports texts, that significantly more is written about them (more than three times), that they were more visually represented in photographs (almost twice as much), and that there are practically no female authors of sports texts. Male athletes are more present both in individual and team sports in total, and female athletes are followed more in individual sports. Men and women were overall more represented on the field, as well as in active poses, but male athletes are dominant here as well. Women are more represented individually in photographs, and men in group. Female athletes are not as often recorded on camera from above, as men are. The difference in strong emotional states within this research did not confirm previous findings, since there was no expressed difference between men and women in this sense, nor in the case of body exposure (nude-like poses). Viewed in total, the findings of this research in the Serbian media indicate that there is still an imbalance in the way male and female athletes are represented and that in that sense there is a need for certain changes.

This research is one of the rare studies carried out in Serbia on male and female athletes by comparing them based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative elements. The research is based on the previous studies, but was expanded by focusing and guiding analyses towards special cases and a sample which had not previously been studied. This research provides a contribution by giving new data for comparison with previous research. The choice of a particular sample-case for analysis inevitably limits the generalization of the results. Irrespective of that, the research can contribute to the existing body of literature by providing results which indicate the variations in the representations of women and men in sports media. This issue is important because the media have a great influence on how men and women are perceived in society. The representations of athletes (male and female) in the sports media can offer interesting evidence on how men and women are viewed differently. This is certainly important, since sport and the media produce and reproduce the norms of the ideology of gender roles. Thus, the research could contribute to raising awareness on how media representations of athletes play part in the structuring of gender norms which support and promote gender inequality.

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DA LI JE ZASTUPLJENOST SPORTISTKINJA U MEDIJIMA U SRBIJI RODNO URAVNOTEŽENA? IZVEŠTAVANJE SA OLIMPIJSKIH IGARA 2012.

Cilj ovog rada bio je da se predstavi analiza izveštavanja o sportistkinjama u medijima tokom Olimpijskih igara u Londonu 2012. godine, odnosno da se utvrdi da li postoji razlika u medijskom izveštavanju između sportista i sportistkinja i eventualno razlika u ideološkom modelovanju roda u sportu. Uzorak istraživačkog materijala činili su članci objavljeni od 27. jula do 12. avgusta 2012. godine, pronađeni u arhivama sportskih rubrika dnevnih novina (Politika, Kurir), kao i na portalu RTS-a, koji su među najčitanijim elektronskim medijima u Srbiji. Rezultati su potvrdili hipoteze o većem broju tekstova o muškom sportu ($p=0,00$), većem broju reči u člancima koji prikazuju muškarce ($p=0,00$) i više fotografija koje prikazuju sportiste ($p=0,00$). Analiza pojedinačnih u poređenju sa timskim sportovima pokazuje da su muškarci na fotografijama više zastupljeni u grupama nego pojedinačno, a da su žene u većoj meri prikazane pojedinačno. Rezultati pokazuju da su sportistkinje zastupljenije na terenu nego van njega, a da su muškarci češće zastupljeni u višim nivoima izloženosti tela (tri i četiri). Može se izvesti opšti zaključak da su sportistkinje u srpskim medijima kvantitativno manje zastupljene, ali da je prikaz žena na fotografijama rodno uravnoteženiji nego što se očekivalo na osnovu prethodnih istraživanja.

Ključne reči: *sport, rod, mediji, analiza sadržaja, Olimpijske igre*