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Sports reporting and gender: Women journalists who broke the locker room barrier

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In 1978, a *Sports Illustrated* journalist and her editors filed a civil rights lawsuit against Major League Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn simply so she could do her job. The journalist, Melissa Ludtke, wanted access to the New York Yankees' locker room so she could gather the same interview information her male counterparts reported. The legal tactic worked: The court in 1978 granted Ludtke an injunction after ruling that the Yankees' discriminated against her by barring her from the locker room because of her sex.¹ The decision opened doors for female sports reporters. But it did not stop the sex discrimination.

Twelve years later, players in the New England Patriots locker room sexually harassed Lisa Olson, a reporter for the Boston Herald, as she tried to interview them. The players verbally chastised her and held their genitals near her face. Afterward, media coverage spurred a public debate about whether female sports journalists belonged in male locker rooms. The Patriots' owner, Victor Kiam, publicly called Olson a "classic bitch."² Some in the sports community dubbed her a "looker," accusing her of wanting to be in the locker room to see naked men.³

This study, conducted three decades after the ruling involving Ludtke, examines through their own words the experiences of female sports reporters who gained access to the locker room. It also asks how discrimination against female sports journalists has changed since 1978.

The research question is: How do female journalists who broke the locker room barrier perceive their influences on male-dominated sports journalism?

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Feminist theory and sports journalism

During the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, women argued they were entitled to the same rights and opportunities as men; that they should be equal to men. Liberal feminist theories at the time called for women to defy patriarchy and demand equal treatment in the workplace and in society.⁴ Many of those efforts achieved only partial success by the 2000s, especially in the workplace. For example, in 2007, women earned 80 cents for each dollar a man earned.⁵ In 2008 women held only 15.7 percent of Fortune 500 corporate officer positions⁶ and only 12 women served among the Fortune 500 chief executive officers.⁷ In journalism, women make up about 37 percent of newspaper newsroom employees,⁸ 40 percent of television news workers and less than 23 percent of radio newsroom employees.⁹

Journalists who adhered to 1970s liberal feminism, believing men and women should be equal, asserted that increasing the numbers of women in newsrooms would create more equitable news coverage and equality in the workplace. In the case of sports writing, this would mean more coverage of women's sports and more hiring and promotion opportunities for women sports journalists.¹⁰ But despite the fact that more women began entering newsrooms in the 1970s, the predictions of equality had not been achieved by the end of the 21st century's first decade.

A 2005 study examined the liberal feminist assertion that more women in sports journalism would increase coverage of women's sports and opportunities for female journalists.¹¹ Hardin and Shain found the proposition was untrue. Female sports journalists in 2005 continued to face harassment and discrimination in their workplaces and even accepted their own marginalized status as part of the job.¹² Still, a majority of women surveyed in Hardin and

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Shain's study said they were satisfied with their jobs. Ten years earlier, a Miller and Miller survey with follow-up interviews revealed similar feelings about job satisfaction among female sports reporters.¹³ Therefore, the women willingly participated in their own oppression within the patriarchal structure—mainly because they desired a sports journalism career. Miller and Miller also found that women sports journalists endured workplace discrimination from males, including condescension, lack of equal opportunity, sexual harassment and degradation of their work.¹⁴

The hegemonic structure of American newsrooms always has focused on males and men's activities. Sports news departments are notorious for employing few women and including little coverage of women. This is true despite increased sports participation by girls and women since Title IX, the 1974 federal law guaranteeing equal sports opportunities for males and females in publicly funded schools.¹⁵ Since Title IX took effect, high school female athletic participation has increased by 904 percent and college female participation by 456 percent.¹⁶ Coverage of women's sports has not followed these trends. In 2004, Adams and Tuggle found that ESPN's *SportsCenter*, arguably the most influential sports program on American television, devoted only a minuscule amount of coverage to women's sports.¹⁷ In fact, the study followed a similar review conducted before the advent of the professional Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) and Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA) and found that *SportsCenter* coverage of women's sports actually had dropped. The authors concluded that women's sports were "of secondary importance" on *SportsCenter*. A 2008 study of newspaper sports coverage found that newspapers with female sports editors failed to produce more content about women's sports than those with male sports editors in the same news market.¹⁸ Women

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sports editors, the study showed, approached sports coverage in their newspapers the same way as their male counterparts; they followed the practices of male-dominated newsrooms and focused overwhelmingly on men's sports. A primary reason for this disparity, according to Creedon and Smith, is that women's sports fail to earn the lucrative amounts of money that men's sports earn. "It's all about the money," Creedon and Smith state.¹⁹ For example, in 2008, the men's National Basketball Association (NBA) earned \$3.57 billion in revenue.²⁰ The WNBA earns an estimated \$85 million in annual revenue.²¹ Therefore, The WNBA's annual revenue represents about 2.3 percent of the NBA's.

Clearly, the liberal feminist theory of equality between the sexes has gained little ground in the male-dominated realm of sports. As Donovan notes, "Many 'gender-neutral' laws have failed to benefit women because they neglect the contingencies of most women's social situations."²² Feminist theory that recognizes women's differences and "standpoint" may address these needs but still treat women as separate from men. Donovan proposes an alternative feminist approach that takes a more "comprehensive view that recognizes the interrelationships among all living beings."²³ In sports journalism, this would require an acknowledgement that women's sports are a significant part of the athletic world. It also would demand a halt to the marginalization of female sports journalists and would permit and encourage more women to enter sports journalism as a profession.

Jumping the locker room barrier

Women who took on sports reporting from the 1970s to the 1990s entered a boys' club in which they truly were outsiders. Even today, 95 percent of sports editors are male and women

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compose only 12.6 percent of sports staffs.²⁴ In comparison, more than 40 percent of high school and college athletes are female.²⁵

When Ludke won her injunction in 1978, it granted her access to the Yankees' locker room but did not necessarily affect other sports or team practices. Reform and institution of formal equal-access rules in professional sports lasted into the 1980s and led to the formation of the premier group for women sports journalists, the Association for Women in Sports Media.²⁶ Still, women faced and continue to face severe obstacles. Olson's harassment in the Patriots' locker room took place several years after the gender barrier supposedly had been broken. Evidence shows women continue to face sexism. Women's obvious physical difference in male locker rooms labels them as outsiders. Gaining access to the athletes in the locker room is a status symbol in the sports reporting world from which women sometimes are shut out.²⁷ Hardin and Shain found that women in sports media "seem to accept discrimination and harassment as 'par for the course'" of what they must endure on the job.²⁸ They accept their own marginalization willingly and operate within the male-dominated structure of sports, the study found.

Approaching the locker room as outsiders, women reporters were accused by some males in the sports world of ogling rather than reporting professionally, when a simple towel could have solved their modesty problem. Disch and Kane discussed the "looker" accusation in a 1996 article, calling it an attempt by males to undermine a female journalist's authority and power when she challenges the patriarchal structure.²⁹ By portraying her as an intruder who enters the locker room with the purpose of viewing naked players, males automatically tag her as "different." Disch and Kane note that the sports world emphasizes sex differences by

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categorizing sports as men's and women's as well as performances in the same sports (e.g., marathon running) separately.³⁰ Therefore, female sports journalists are forced to behave differently from male journalists, by NOT looking, in order to avoid being labeled a "bitch."³¹ Because they are treated differently from men, women are forced to accept their own oppression as sports journalists, allowing sex discrimination to continue.

Method

This study employs in-depth interviews with female journalists who lived through the era in which women fought for access to professional male sports locker rooms. Using their experiences described in their own voices, it seeks to show how the efforts of these women influenced the workplace climate for future women sports journalists.

The questions, developed from the theoretical basis, were open-ended, straightforward and designed to elicit candid responses. The questions allowed the respondents to freely express their opinions in an evolving conversation with the researcher, a "dialogue" as Lindlof describes.³² Candid responses from those who actually lived through this period in journalism, were intended to provide an "insider perspective" on the gender segregation of the locker room as a venue for sports reporting.³³

The interviews, which lasted from 45 to 90 minutes, were conducted by telephone because of the wide geographical distribution of the women involved. One respondent could answer only by e-mail. Twelve women, ages 42 to 64, participated in the in-depth interviews. They worked, currently or previously, for several publications, including: *Sports Illustrated*, *The New York Times*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *USA Today*, the *Houston Post*, the *New York Daily News*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Orlando Sentinel*, the *San Jose Mercury-News*, *The*

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Arizona Republic, The Orange County Register, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and The San Diego Union-Tribune. The women were recruited based on a literature review and on word-of-mouth recommendations. All agreed to use their names in the study.³⁴ All ages noted in this study were at the times of the interviews in January and February 2009.

After the interviews were completed and transcribed, the researchers analyzed the texts for themes by studying the transcripts and organizing the information to answer the research questions. The comments were categorized according to overall themes, including: perceptions of barriers and resistance encountered from athletes, coaches, colleagues and managers; perceptions of on-the-job sex discrimination; benefits and drawbacks of working as a female sports journalist; views of women's sports coverage in media; and predictions for the future of women in sports journalism. The women's words were used to describe and illustrate their experiences and influences in sports journalism.

Results

Some women who were contacted turned down the interviews, citing time concerns with their busy jobs. Others said they did not want to talk about their unpleasant past experiences. One woman sent an e-mail explaining, "It all really does not apply to me anymore. I'm sure you will get feedback from those more recently in sports journalism."³⁵ However, 12 women from the era agreed to share their personal experiences. Some had remained sportswriters and others had entered other areas of journalism or different professions. One had retired.

Gender barriers

Most of the women reported working endlessly to gain respect from colleagues and the subjects they covered. They said that often they had to work twice as hard as their male

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colleagues. They fought constantly to gain equal access to locker rooms. Interestingly, some faced more opposition from male journalists than from the athletes. “It was like you had to be ‘on’ every day,” said Julie Ward, 64, a former editor at *USA Today* and reporter at the *St. Louis Post-Democrat*. “You were held to a higher standard.³⁶

Gail Shister, 57, now a news writer for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, recalled that several male sportswriters in 1970s New Orleans and Philadelphia would not speak to her, mainly because she demanded admission to the locker room. “I would not tolerate being kept out of the locker room when they went in. So what happened was that no one could go in the locker room.”³⁷ The male beat writers’ hostility grated emotionally on Shister. “It was very depressing, particularly on a beat where you travel a lot. You get dependent on these guys to be your friends, and they didn’t want me there. They didn’t eat with me, drink with me. That was one of the reasons that after seven years I got out of sports.”³⁸ Shister later made a national name for herself writing about television for the *Inquirer*.

Spiteful attitudes from male sportswriters also were the norm for Karen Crouse, 46, a sportswriter for *The New York Times*. Throughout Crouse’s 25 years in journalism at 10 different publications, her career has been a constant fight for acceptance and equality. “Everywhere I have been with the exception of *The New York Times* I feel like I have been fighting the gender wars more inside than outside … I would go to events like the Super Bowl where there are so many seats in the main box and the rest in the auxiliary box. I used to always get designated to the ‘aux box.’ They wanted to be with all their friends—‘Hey look at me; I am in the press box at the Super Bowl.’ Every day there was something.”³⁹ The treatment put her on edge, affecting her outlook on work and life, she said. “When you feel you are not equal, it does things to you. I

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used to be the person who walked in and smiled at everyone and be the press box social director.

But now you will find I am much more standoffish because people have not been very nice.”⁴⁰

A series of lawsuits in the late 1970s and early 1980s, including *Sports Illustrated’s* against the Yankees, ultimately opened male athletes’ locker rooms to female reporters. Some coaches and players were not happy. Several women journalists discovered the equal access for which they had battled so long became a cruel trap of embarrassment and harassment.

Michelle Himmelberg’s editors at the *Fort Myers* (Fla.) *News-Press* threatened to sue the Tampa Bay Buccaneers in 1979 when the team denied her locker room access. First, the team banned all reporters—male and female—from the locker room. After backlash from the male sportswriters, the team built a separate interview room, which male reporters humiliatingly nicknamed the “Himmelberg wall.”⁴¹ The actions eventually pushed the National Football League to allow women locker room access but not until the late 1980s. “I was blamed for the decisions that teams made to create equal access. In Tampa, the sports editor of the major daily (newspaper) publicly accused me of ‘just trying to make a name for myself’ when I challenged the Tampa Bay Buccaneers on their discriminatory practices.”⁴²

When Melanie Hauser, 56, covered the Houston Oilers in the 1980s, her employer, the *Houston Post*, wrote an editorial protesting women reporters in the locker room. “I was floored. I was one of the NFL writers. I couldn’t believe they had written that. I went to the editorial board and asked them, ‘What are you thinking?’ It was at my own paper.”⁴³

However, some women, especially those who entered newsrooms in the 1980s, said they felt somewhat accepted. Ann Killion, 47, now a columnist for the *San Jose Mercury News*, said she enjoyed competing with male journalists covering the San Francisco 49ers. “One of the most

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attractive things about the job was the people. Were some guys resentful? Yes. Were some guys dicks? Yeah. Were some women jerks? Yeah.”⁴⁴

Paola Boivin, 48, columnist for *The Arizona Republic*, said she never quite belonged to the boys’ club. “I always felt a little bit like a novelty act. For the most part my colleagues treated me as an equal. Sometimes I got comments about equal-opportunity hiring or ‘it will be easy for you to get a job.’ You never felt like you were one of the pack.”⁴⁵

During the fight for locker-room access, women came up with creative solutions to get their stories. Julie Ward waited under a tree near the clubhouse at Augusta National Golf Club to interview golfers at the Master’s Tournament. When she finally gained admittance to the locker room at a Professional Golf Association tournament in Tulsa, she learned a secret: “In the locker room for golf they only take off their shoes!”⁴⁶

While her locker room experience was tame, several female sportswriters faced a backlash of harassment incidents in the 1980s and early 1990s:

●A hockey player pushed Lawrie Mifflin, 58, now a senior editor at *The New York Times*, out of the visiting team’s locker room after a New York Islanders hockey game. She worked as a sportswriter for the *New York Daily News* from 1976 to 1981. Mifflin recalled: “When I came in the locker room one of the players was shouting obscenities and grabbed me by both of my arms and physically marched me out of the locker room. I went and found the coach immediately and said, ‘You have a policy on your team allowing everyone who is credentialed into the locker room after the game. I think you should speak to the player and let me go back in and do my job.’ The coach agreed with me.”⁴⁷

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● In the 1980s, Melanie Hauser was covering an NFL game when a naked player whispered in her ear, “Aren’t you embarrassed?” She answered “loud enough for everyone to hear, ‘No, I’m used to dealing with assholes.’ Then I said, ‘Thank you, I am going to get out of here before it gets worse.’ And I never looked back and I never found out which player it was.”⁴⁸

● In 1985, Paola Boivin was covering a Major League Baseball game for a Southern California newspaper. She went to the locker room for the away team, the St. Louis Cardinals, to interview third baseman Terry Pendleton. Inside, “I felt something land on my shoulder. Some guy had thrown a jock at me. I didn’t recognize him. He said, ‘Are you here to interview someone or look at a bunch of guys’ dicks?’ Another reporter saw it happen and asked if I wanted him to get Terry Pendleton. He got him and took him outside. Terry apologized and said he would help.”⁴⁹

● The same year, Joan Ryan was covering a United States Football League game for the *Orlando Sentinel* when a player threatened her in the locker room with a long-handled razor used to cut tape. Ryan said she “felt something going up my leg. I turned around and left, feeling humiliated. But I still got my story. The upshot of the whole thing is that the president of the team was watching this unfold and laughing. It’s one thing for the players to be acting like little boys but another for an executive. That’s when I said there really is a problem in this industry.”⁵⁰ (The USFL folded in 1986).

● In 1990, a San Francisco 49ers player pulled out his penis in front of the *San Jose Mercury News*’ Ann Killion. It was during the same week as the Lisa Olson harassment incident in the New England Patriots locker room. Killion recalled: “The 49ers handled it right away. Guys came up to me and said, ‘[the player] is crazy’ and I found out later he really was crazy.

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Killion said she left locker room that day because she felt like she was going to cry, which was unusual for her. When she went home that night, she discovered why she had felt so emotional: hormones. “I took a pregnancy test and found out I was pregnant with my first child.”⁵¹

For many of the women, interviewing athletes in the locker room was awkward. Most said they compensated by behaving and dressing as professionally as possible. Karen Pearlman of *The San Diego Union-Tribune* pointed out, “I’m a woman so I’m going to look the way I look but I have never gone out to look seductive or call attention to myself. I don’t wear high heels and a dress.”⁵²

A men’s locker room is an uncomfortable place for any woman, said Mary Schmitt Boyer, 53, who has worked 32 years as a sports journalist for several newspapers, most recently the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. “Now it is no big deal because I am old enough to be Kobe Bryant’s mother. But when guys are your age, it is awkward … I’ve learned that if you act professionally then the athletes will treat you professionally. You don’t giggle, you don’t tell dirty jokes, you act as a professional reporter. And a lot of times it is still awkward.”⁵³

Melanie Hauser said she often carried “a large clipboard so that it covered things that shouldn’t be seen.”⁵⁴ And Paola Boivin said: “To tell you the truth, I am still not comfortable doing it. I feel I have a right to be there, but I still am not comfortable. I am going to do whatever it takes not to stand out. I don’t want people to notice me.”⁵⁵

Joan Ryan, 49, who worked 13 years as a sports journalist for papers including the *Orlando Sentinel*, *San Francisco Examiner* and *San Francisco Chronicle*, said she recalled “coaches and players who would look at you like you are a prostitute or something, like, what

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kind of a woman would come into a locker room. I am not a girly-girl. I don't wear makeup. I just kept my head down and said, 'I'm not going anywhere.'"⁵⁶

Columnist Killion noted that when she was a beat writer, "I used to feel nauseous each time I went into a locker room. It's 'Lord of the Flies.'"⁵⁷

Telling great stories

Ultimately, as much as the locker room pained women sportswriters, it paved their pathways to great stories. Most of the women said they approached the sports beat differently from their male colleagues. Talking to athletes in the locker room gave them unprecedented access to ask questions and seek out human-interest angles. They said they often looked for different kinds of stories from their male counterparts.

For example, when Crouse took on the New York Jets beat for *The New York Times*, "I decided I was going to cover the beat differently. A lot of writers cover the X's and O's and the groin strains. I wanted to try to flesh out the people who play this violent game. Why do they put themselves through this? I set out to tell the story of these players as people, not as cogs in the machine."⁵⁸ One of her best beat stories evolved from a rapport she built with wide receiver Laveranues Coles. "He let me know he had been sexually abused as a child. The story ran six days later. He had never told anyone. It became a big story." Another time, she began talking to defensive back David Barrett, mainly because he was dressed in the locker room. She asked him a question about his positive attitude and he told her his sister had raised him. Crouse asked for the sister's phone number. "She told me this story, their mother, a single mother, went out one night and never came back. She's still a missing person." In a follow-up interview, Barrett told Crouse that "in all the stadiums he goes, he wonders whether this woman is going to come up

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and say, ‘David, I’m your mother.’ Here’s a great story. One of the beat writers told me someone else said, ‘Who cares about David Barrett, he’s not even a star.’ I am very attuned to the people who are not stars. I know the people who are not stars work harder or just as hard as the stars for less reward. I am never going to shy away from a story because the person is not the best player in the room.”⁵⁹

Women sportswriters tend to ask different types of questions from men, Pearlman said. “I’ve gotten better interviews than men because women tend to open up more. I like to pull someone off to the side … I’m more into the people than the games. I like the stories behind the games, the human interest. I just happen to know sports very well.”⁶⁰

Some male athletes told female reporters stories they most likely would not have confessed to men, Joan Ryan noted. “There were many players that opened up more to women. I’d have conversations and get these great stories and columns because they would open up more. I truly was interested. You also could ask what was considered the stupid question, like, ‘What do you actually think about when you step up to the plate? I think women are much more open to going outside the lines a little bit and sometimes players really responded to that.”⁶¹

Killion said being female has worked to her advantage because athletes want to talk to her about their personal lives. “I have been able to break down some walls because I am a woman. I’ve been to Jerry Rice’s house and done stories about his wife almost dying in childbirth and Joe Montana’s horse ranch and done stories about him getting into the Hall of Fame. I feel like a lot of the stories wouldn’t have happened had I been just another beat guy.”⁶²

Several of the women said the ability to make personal contact with players and write about their lives kept them interested and inspired in their sportswriting careers. “I think women

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are excellent writers and great reporters and some of the best in the business,” said Hauser. “Hopefully, at the end of your career you can look back and think, I met a lot of great people and I’ve done a lot of great stories and I am fulfilled.”⁶³

Women’s sports coverage

Women’s sports have not been celebrated like men’s, so amid a shrinking newspaper industry, some of the female sportswriters expressed concern that girls’ and women’s sports participation never will receive equitable coverage. The culture of sports reporting naturally focuses on men’s sports. As Gail Shister explained, “For male sportswriters to be asked to cover a female sporting event is considered an insult and to ask a woman to cover a male event is considered a privilege. There is not going to be a rush to cover women’s sports unless there is an opportunity for some hot women to look at. Another reason is the vast majority of readers are male. Because of that, if you are looking to serve your audience, men like to read about men.”⁶⁴

Lawrie Mifflin said perception is the issue: “Sports editors believe that that [men’s sports] is what their audience wants to read about, whether they are right or wrong. Their belief is that a majority of readers are interested in men’s professional sports.”⁶⁵

Sports fans primarily are male, but the women acknowledged that media coverage, or lack thereof, plays a role in maintaining the status quo. “Thirty to forty years after Title IX, girls are playing sports but not really watching sports,” Ryan said.⁶⁶ However, many of the journalists said they had made extra efforts to cover women’s sports. “As a sportswriter I need to work harder to make those stories interesting so people will want to read them,” Boivin said.⁶⁷

It all comes down to the bottom line. The sports industry generated an estimated \$213 billion a year, with men’s sports making up the majority of revenue and women’s sports only a

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fraction of it.⁶⁸ In an economically disastrous period for the news industry, coverage of women's sports and employment of female sportswriters is not likely to boom, the women said. "Right now women are losing jobs just like men are," Hauser noted.⁶⁹

Still, the progress made in the 1990s and 2000s is visible. Boivin pointed out with chagrin: "I think back to 10 years ago when I'd check my voicemails at work and people would say, 'You're an idiot woman who knows nothing about sports.' Now they're just, 'You're an idiot.'"⁷⁰ Himmelberg said she is proud of her peers: "These women have earned respect and acceptance because they behave like professionals and they have a passion for sports."⁷¹ And Ludke, the plaintiff in the 1978 Yankees lawsuit, noted: "The reason we don't hear a lot about women sportswriters today is because they are not battling to be heard. They are just out there doing their job."⁷²

Discussion and conclusion

Clearly the women who broke the locker room barrier brought about significant change in the sports journalism industry. They kicked down doors that still are open to women today. They suffered resistance, loneliness and harassment to provide opportunities for themselves and their successors. Still, these interviews show that despite the efforts of these pioneering journalists, women have not achieved equity in sports journalism.

Women remain minorities in the male-dominated world of sports. Their bylines continue to appear few and far between on sports pages. Coverage of women's sports in various forms of media continues to be minuscule compared to content about men's sports. Women still are marginalized as workers in sports departments and as subjects in sports media.

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The women in this study proved they were professional journalists and not “lookers” who entered locker rooms to see naked men. They simply wanted to do their jobs. In fact, they described a “Lord of the Flies” atmosphere that at times subjected them to humiliation. But that did not stop them. They found encouragement by landing some of the best stories of their careers. They credited this work in part to male athletes who revealed personal experiences in interviews with them, perhaps because male athletes felt more comfortable with women or because the female journalists were willing to ask different, more personal questions than males. In this way, their differences from men may have benefited them.

Unfortunately, the liberal feminist assertion that women could achieve equality in the sports journalism arena appears to be all but dead in 2009. Women have made strides since the passage of Title IX and the breaking of the locker-room barrier. But they are nowhere near equal in sports newsrooms and in sports content. Their difference from males continues to set them apart. Josephine Donovan’s proposal of an alternative feminist view that likely would embrace women’s role in sports and society also appears to be only a fading dream. Women continue to be minor players in the sports industry. Although the journalists in this study fought hard, progress has been snail-like. With the current downsizing of newspapers and other media, both men and women are receiving fewer opportunities. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the sports-journalism industry will push in the near future for more equity among the sexes. Women who enter and remain in the profession must continue to accept their marginalized status in a man’s world. However, women who are willing to take on the challenge and break down barriers placed in front of them can keep changing the face of sports journalism little by little.

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² Sherry Ricchiardi, “Offensive Interference,” *American Journalism Review* 26, 6 (December 2004/January 2005), 54.

³ Lisa Disch and Mary Jo Kane (1996). “When a looker really is a bitch: Lisa Olson, sport and the heterosexual matrix.” *Signs* 21, 2, 278-308.

⁴ Josephine Donovan (1993). *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism* (New York: Continuum), 171-173.

⁵ U.S. Department of Labor, Women’s Bureau, <http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/Qf-ESWM07.htm> (accessed January 2, 2009).

⁶ Catalyst, “Statistical Overview of Women in the Workplace,” http://www.catalyst.org/file/172/qt_statistical_overview_of_women_in_the_workplace.pdf (accessed January 2, 2009).

⁷ CNNmoney.com, “Fortune 500,” <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/2008/> (accessed January 2, 2009).

⁸ American Society of Newspaper Editors, Annual Census 2008. <http://www.asne.org/files/08Census.pdf> (accessed January 2, 2009).

⁹ RTNDA, The Association of Electronic Journalists, “RTNDA/Hofstra Survey 2008,” <http://www.rtnda.org/pages/posts/rtnnahofstra-survey-women-and-journalists-of-color-advance-in-local-broadcast-news247.php> (accessed January 2, 2009).

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¹² Hardin and Shain, “Strength in Numbers?” 814.

¹³ Phyllis Miller and Randy Miller, “The Invisible Woman: Female Sports Journalists in the Workplace,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, 4 (Winter 1995), 883-889.

¹⁴ Miller and Miller, “The Invisible Woman,” 884.

¹⁵ Pamela J. Creedon and Roseanna M. Smith, “Women Journalists in Toyland and the Locker Room,” in Pamela J. Creedon and Judith Cramer, (Eds.), *Women in Mass Communication*, Third Edition (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage, 2007), 147-148.

¹⁶ Women’s Sports Foundation, “2008 Statistics - Gender Equity in High School and College Athletics: Most Recent Participation & Budget Statistics,” <http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/Content/Articles/Issues/General/123/2008-Statistics--Gender-Equity-in-High-School-and-College-Athletics-Most-Recent-Participation--Budget.aspx> (accessed January 2, 2009).

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¹⁸ Tracy Everbach, “Still in the minor leagues: A comparison of women’s sports coverage in female- and male-edited newspaper sports sections,” *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal* 23 (2), Spring 2008, 58-68.

¹⁹ Creedon and Smith, “Women Journalists in Toyland and the Locker Room,” 156.

²⁰ Plunkett Research, Ltd. “Sports Industry Overview,” <http://www.plunkettresearch.com/Industries/Sports/SportsStatistics/tabcid/273/Default.aspx> (accessed January 8, 2009).

²¹ Scott Rosner and Kenneth L. Shropshire, *The Business of Sports* (Sudbury, Mass.: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2004), 348.

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