

One World, One Dream: Comparisons of the Newspaper Coverage of the 2008 Beijing

Olympic and Paralympic Games

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ABSTRACT

This study compared and explored the newspaper coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympic (OG) and Paralympic Games (PG) by a Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*. The methodology for this study was mixed methods design which uses both quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time and with equal weight. From the results of quantitative comparisons, there were huge differences in the amount of the size and frequency between the 2008 OG (August 8-25, 2008) and PG (September 6-17, 2008). With regard to size, there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) for both articles and photographs between the OG and PG (Olympics: articles= 1908.64 sq. inches, photographs= 1888.11 sq. inches; Paralympics: articles= 70.51 sq. inches, photographs= 97.38 sq. inches). In terms of frequency, there were a total of 302 articles and 333 photographs for the OG, whereas for the PG there were 11 articles and 9 photographs. With regards to the gender of athletes, male athletes received more coverage than female athletes in the OG, but female Paralympians received more photographic coverage than male Paralympians. The page location of text, most textual and photographic coverage was located primarily in the sports section. The amount of the Olympic coverage for Canadian (domestic) and international athletes was equal; whereas for the Paralympics, Canadian athletes were covered more often than international athletes. In both OG and PG, individual sports received more textual and photographic coverage than team sports. Competitive shots occurred more frequently than non-

competitive for the OG, whereas the PG had more non-competitive photographs. In the OG, the head and whole body shots were more frequent than upper-body, whereas for the PG, full-body shots received more frequent coverage than other shots. The Olympic photographs used colour more often than the PG. From the results of qualitative comparisons, the researcher found that there were 372 keywords categorized into eight high order themes and 23 low order themes for the OG: (1) Predicting game results; (2) Reporting game results; (3) Athleticism; (4) Sports and politics; (5) Sports and ethical issues; (6) Sports and nationalism; (7) Sports and the media; (8) Sports and the economy. For the PG, there were four high order themes. Each high order theme had each one low order theme from 18 keywords: (1) Reporting game results; (2) Athleticism; (3) Sports and ethical issue; (4) Equality between Paralympians and Olympians. There were three overlapping high order themes between the OG and PG. Discussion of the quantitative and qualitative results and guidelines for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Media's Role in Sport

The media has been recognized as a power structure in society and has the ability to influence societal values and beliefs. Almost every person in an industrialized country is affected by the words and images of the media on a daily basis (Boyle & Haynes, 2000; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Scherer & Jackson, 2004).

Sport is more than a mirror or miniature of society; it “shapes how we think and what we value” (Crossman, 2007, p.10). Jackson, Scherer and Martin (2007) said, “sport is an important conduit for the transmission of images, symbols and meanings that are central to our society” (p.178). Moreover, sport, as a social institution, is closely linked with the media. This relationship is symbiotic, because these dissimilar partners need each other to maintain and extend their influence. According to Rowe (1999), sport and media are mutually dependent: “It is little wonder that the relationship between sport and the media is commonly described as the happiest of marriages” (p. 32).

Newspapers and Sport

Newspapers are one of the most prevalent media forms along with television, radio and the Internet (Crossman, Vincent & Speed, 2007). Weis (1986) stated that the three

characteristics of newspaper text should “present something, say something about its producers and animate the reader to certain thoughts or actions” (p. 239). Information from newspapers is absorbed and assimilated by readers with different levels of knowledge and interests. As a result, newspapers play an important role in socialization and education because of their critical ability and more reflective, considered presentation of ideas and images than television and the Internet (Vincent & Crossman, 2007).

The sport section is one of the most popular and widely read sections of the newspaper (Boyle & Haynes, 2000; Coakley & Donnelly, 2009). Although newspaper circulation in North America has been declining annually since the late 1980s, the size of sports sections has increased (Vincent & Crossman, 2007). This trend may be a reflection of the pervasiveness and importance of sport in today’s society (Knoppers & Elling, 2004). Also, because the sport section is a popular read in newspapers and because newspapers are a business, it is in the publishers’ best interests to give readers what they want (Eitzen & Sage, 2009)

Hegemony Theory

Italian social and political theorist and activist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) used the term hegemony to describe “the power of dominant classes” (Ritchie 2007, p.35). According to Gramsci, the power and control of dominant classes is through a process of developing consent among the populace. Political, ideological, and cultural norms are used to obtain hegemonic

dominance as well as create consent from the members of the ruling group (Hardin, Dodd, & Chance, 2005). This dominance is never complete as alternative ideologies or oppositional forces always challenge hegemony (Hardin, Lynn, & Walsdorf, 2005; Lewis, 1992).

Maintaining hegemonic power in a peaceful society by a ruling class is done through the use of political parties, the assistance from educational institutions, religious groups, and the mass media (Lewis, 1992). Media of all sorts, including both electronic and print media, are important to the function of cultural hegemony in society (Croteau & Hoynes, 2000).

Media and Hegemony of the Able-bodied in Sport

Media narratives about sporting events help define, normalize, influence and reflect dominant societal values and beliefs about gender, class, race and body. Historically, sport has been synonymous with upper class, Caucasian and able-bodied males (Kane, 1988). Sport, reinforced by the media as a hegemonic social institution, naturalizes the dominant group's power and privilege over women, the lower class, minority racial groups and people with physical disabilities through a bias towards the dominant group's coverage. Therefore, hegemony exists in sport as well as in other institutions in society and is supported and reinforced by the media's coverage (Pedersen, 2002).

Just as the media reinforce that female athletes are subordinate in sport (Connell, 1987, 1993, 2005), the media also strengthen the hegemony for the able-bodied in sport through their

biased and stereotypical coverage (Barnes, 1992; Campbell & Oliver, 1996; Thomas & Smith, 2003). Sporting events for athletes with disabilities are usually covered in newspapers as features, not sports because their bodies do not reflect the socially constructed norm (Shapiro, 1993). According to Golden (2003), people with disabilities are depicted in sport as “pitiable and pathetic; the superhuman cripple or supercrip; maladjusted; a burden; or unable to live a successful life” (p.79). The media reinforce able-bodied supremacy and subordinate athletes with disabilities (Nixon, 2006). Consequently, it can be argued that the symbiotic effect between sport and the media operates hegemonically to produce and promote the dominant ideology of a body order which refers to differences and inequalities between able and disabled-bodiedness (Farnall & Smith, 1999; Greenberg & Brand, 1994).

The Summer Olympic (OG) and Paralympic Games (PG)

The Olympic Games, revived in 1896 by Pierre de Coubertin, is the most prestigious sporting event in the world (Guttman, 2002; Vincent, Imwold, Masemann & Johnson, 2002). From the 241 participants from 14 nations in 1896, the Games have grown to nearly 10,500 competitors from 204 countries at the 2008 Summer OG in Beijing (International Olympic Committee, 2008).

In 1948, Sir Ludwig Guttman, who was working with World War II veterans with spinal cord injuries at Stoke Mandeville Hospital in Aylesbury, began using sport as part of the

rehabilitation programs of his patients (BBC, 2004). In July 1948, symbolically coinciding with the opening of the OG in London, the Stoke Mandeville Games for the Paralyzed launched the first competition for wheelchair athletes. In 1960, when the Rome OG was held, Guttman brought 400 wheelchair athletes to the Olympic city to compete. Thus, the modern Paralympics (Paralympics) was born. In 1976, the Paralympic Winter Games took place in Ornsköldsvik, Sweden with 250 skiers from 14 nations competing (CNNSI, 2000; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001).

In 1988, the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) decided that the Games should be truly “Parallel,” so the PG was staged two weeks after the OG at the same venue and using the same facilities as the OG. This historical event served to increase the credibility of the PG. Recently, more than 4,000 athletes from 148 countries competed in 20 sports at the 2008 Beijing PG in China. Gold medals were awarded in 472 events. The slogan at those games was ‘One dream, One world’ (International Paralympic Committee, 2008).

Quantitative and Qualitative Studies for Newspaper Coverage

Quantitative and qualitative methods accomplish different purposes and answer different kinds of questions (Bryman, 2001; Creswell, 2005). Both methods have the capacity to create valuable knowledge, but differences exist between how the research is conducted. A brief overview is given here of the definition of quantitative and qualitative methods and

examples are shown using the two methods in analyzing newspaper coverage.

Quantitative Studies

Quantitative studies which are based in realism and empiricism tend to ask 'why' questions, start with a theory or hypothesis, and seek to identify relationships between variables (Bryman, 2001; Cresswell, 1994). Quantitative studies involve numerical data to describe, explain, predict, determine and generalize a causal relationship. For quantitative analysis of the media coverage, numbers are used to measure the characteristics and concepts of the coverage for both textual and photographic articles. Typical variables examined by previous studies of the print media coverage include gender, location, colour of textual and photographic articles.

Most quantitative research concerning print media coverage has primarily focused on discrepancies in the amount of coverage afforded to women's and men's sports (Crossman et al., 2007; DePauw, 1994; Pfister, 1987; Phillips, 1997; Rohlena, 2007; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Sherrill, 1997; Thomas & Smith, 2003; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999; Vincent et al., 2002). Researchers point out that subordinate groups such as female athletes still received an inequitable amount of coverage when compared to male athletes, although female athletes competing in the Olympic Games received more coverage than females in other international sporting events.

Athletes with disabilities have not had extensive newspaper coverage. Since the 1990's

studies have indicated that coverage of elite athletes with disabilities is rare. Chang and Crossman (2008) who analyzed the coverage of the 2004 Summer OG and PG by a South Korean national newspaper, *The Chosun Ilbo*, reported that there were significant differences in the size and frequency of textual and photographic coverage. The 2004 OG received 3002.2 sq inches and 3043.9 sq. inches in textual and photographic coverage respectively, while the PG were given 248.9 sq. inches and 197 sq. inches in textual and photographic coverage. There was a total of 261 articles and 220 photographs for the OG, but only 16 articles and 17 photographs for the PG. The results indicate that there were on average 15.3 articles and 13 photographs per day during the OG while *The Chosun Ilbo* had on average 1.23 articles and 1.3 photographs per day during the PG.

These results are similar to those of Golden (2003) who analyzed the coverage of the 2002 Winter OG and PG. She investigated the top six mainstream American daily newspapers (*USA Today*, *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Daily News* and *The Houston Chronicle*) and found that there was a total of 2561 articles for the OG and only 13 articles for the PG. Furthermore, on average there were 28 articles per day for the OG and 0.4 articles per day for the PG during the 6 weeks.

Thomas and Smith (2003) analyzed the English newspaper coverage of the 2000 Sydney PG and reported that only 62 articles and 47 photographs were published by four major

newspapers: *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Times* and *The Guardian* over 14 days (M=1.1 articles per day). These results concurred with those of Schantz and Gilbert (2001) who compared and analyzed newspaper coverage of the 1996 Atlanta PG in France and Germany. They found 36 articles from France and 68 articles from Germany during a period of one and a half months. In the French print media there were only 0.9 articles per day, while Germany published on average 1.7 articles per day.

In contrast, Vincent et al. (2002) analyzed newspaper coverage of the 1996 OG. There was a total of 1425 newspaper articles and photographs in the UK, US and Canadian newspapers. The average number of articles and photographs published from the newspapers per day was 21.6. The conclusion from these studies was that disabled sport and athletes with disabilities did not receive as much coverage as the OG and athletes without disabilities.

Qualitative Studies

Qualitative studies are more subjective in nature. The studies ask 'how' or 'what' questions, tend to describe the nature of people, their experiences and the meaning of those experiences and use language data to understand, explore and describe (Berg, 2004). The method seeks to examine, explore and describe areas of human life through the inductive generation of substantive themes or theories (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Qualitative studies on newspaper coverage of sport have primarily focused on gender.

For example, Vincent and Crossman (2007) explored how three broadsheet newspapers from different nations described selected male and female tennis players using textual analysis which is one type of qualitative method. They found that narratives about Maria Sharapova “emphasized femininity.” For example, Simon Barnes (2004a) wrote an article that described Sharapova’s ‘youthful immaturity’:

It was also a classic teenager’s performance. Sharapova in mid-point is a thing of grace and certainty. In the striking of the ball and the manipulation of opponents, she is the finished person. But in between points she is a teenager again and a typically daft one at that. The pre-serving ritual involves a halt, a glare at the target area, a fiddle with the hair left and a fiddle with the hair right, like an underage drinker about to try to make a convincing entry into a pub. And then the two bounces and the ball toss: and shazzam! Instant woman, instant female athlete filled from top to toe with power and self-belief (*The Times*, p.69).

With regard to the coverage of Roger Federer, these newspapers tended to support the theory of male hegemony. For example, Simon Barnes (2004b) described Roger Federer as a great artist and sportsman:

It is as if a Mozart symphony had been somehow translated into sport: an expression of unapologetic genius, unreachable virtuosity, talent of an order that is as far beyond reach as it is beyond analysis. That same illusion is sometimes to be seen in Muhammad Ali at his fastest and finest, in George Best, in David Campese, in the Brazil football team of 1970. And if that seems to be paying Federer a high and rare compliment, it is because that is intended (*The Times*, p. 37)

In this study each newspaper reported on the athletes in similar ways regardless of national origin. However some qualitative studies on newspaper coverage of sporting events have nationalism as a primary theme. For example, Vincent and Crossman (2009) examined

three Australian newspapers' narratives about Australians, Lleyton Hewitt and Alicia Molik, who competed in the 2005 Australian Open Tennis Championships. They used textual analysis to analyze how the Australian newspapers' gendered narratives intersected with nationalistic narratives about the two hometown favourites. Many of the narratives described Hewitt as a patriot. For instance, before Hewitt's match against David Nalbandian on Australia Day, Jim Courier, a former Australian Open champion, previewed the match describing how "Hewitt 'the Patriot' was prepared to '...battle for nation and self'. Courier reminded the readers of *The Age* how "as a consummate Australian who is hard-working, straightforward and proud Hewitt sacrificed his world ranking to prepare to compete for Australia in the 2003 Davis Cup final" (*The Age*, Wednesday, January 26, 2005, p. 2).

Previous studies of female athletes competing in international levels described them as being in a traditional, stereotypical, feminine gender role (Bernstein, 2002; Harris & Clayton 2002; Vincent, 2004). However, in the case of Molik, narratives from three selected Australian newspapers focused on her Australian nationality and her athleticism. When Molik beat Venus Williams in the fourth round and when she was matched against No. 1 seed Lindsay Davenport on January 26th, Australia Day, Patrick Smith (2005) noted, "the crowd chanted 'Molik, Molik' and spontaneously sang "Advance Australia Fair" the national anthem" (*The Australian*, Thursday, January 27, 2005, p. 30).

This analysis pointed out that in selected Australian newspapers under certain circumstances in international sporting events the national identity of the athletes is more important than their gender. This same analysis was supported by Bruce's (2008) research on the relationship between female athletes and nationalism. She investigated the relationship between gender ideology and nationalism and found that the amount of coverage was closely related to medal winners who win for their own nation irrespective of gender. Wensing and Bruce (2003) stated that "coverage during international sports events ... may be less likely to be marked by gendered...discourses or narratives than reporting on everyday sports, at least for sportswomen whose success is closely tied to a nation's sense of self" (p. 393).

Golden (2003) explored why selected reporters from different nations covered the 2002 Winter OG and not the 2002 Winter PG and why certain reporters and news organizations chose to cover the 2002 Winter PG, using semi-structured interviews with 10 Olympic reporters and 10 Paralympic reporters. She inductively categorized emerging themes and interpreted patterned relationships and found that reporters who participated in the OG said that the PG were "not a real competition" and showed "a lack of audience interest and appeal" (p. 82). The contradictory and ambivalent newspaper discourses about the PG from reporters in the OG juxtaposed praise for the PG as a mega sporting event. For example, an American newspaper reporter stated that the PG were an unreal competition when he explained why he wasn't going

to cover them:

First of all, we're exhausted and want to go home. Also, I don't think the two events (the Olympics and the Paralympics) should be together at all. They have no relation to each other. It (the Paralympics) is not a real competition. You wouldn't hold a high school tournament in Yankee Stadium. You wouldn't hold an amateur competition at Madison Square Garden (Anonymous, interview, February 12, 2002)

This example for the lack of audience interest and appeal was from an Austrian

broadcast journalist who shared his perception of audience interest:

No one is interested. No one wants to watch it. It is hard to produce a program that no one wants to watch... Although, it is good for the athletes to cover them. Austrians do well at the Paralympics, but no one knows who they are. They are not celebrities. I don't know who they are. I couldn't name one right now. (Anonymous, interview, February, 10, 2002)

On the other hand, when the Paralympic reporters were interviewed, they gave some of the reasons why they were covering the PG: "raising disability awareness" and "their recognition that the Paralympics are newsworthy" (p.86). Some news organizations wanted to cover the PG because it would give a chance for readers to learn more about the PG and people with disabilities. For instance, a Japanese reporter noted that he was covering the PG partly as a means of raising disability awareness:

In Japan, the disabled are not seen. They are in their apartments, they are alone. My editor wanted me to cover the Paralympics so that the readers could learn more about them. He (the editor) covered the Paralympics in Nagano, and he feels strongly that it should be covered as a real competition. (Tanaka, interview, March 9, 2002)

All reporters interviewed during the Paralympics period stated that the PG is a real competition and although it was smaller, there was an audience for coverage of the PG. For

example, Thomas Hahn, a German print reporter with *The Suddeutsche Zeitung*, noted:

There are disabled people as well which are reading newspapers - that's my experience when I'm at events in Germany – that disabled people are very well interested in Paralympics for example. It is definitely a small audience but there is an audience. I think you shouldn't punish them in not reporting anything about this. In my newspaper it's a tradition that we always cover the Paralympics. (Hahn, interview, March 14, 2002)

The Significance of This Study

Some studies have performed a content analysis of the newspaper coverage of the OG and PG (Öztürk, 2006; Pfister, 1987; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Thomas & Smith, 2003; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). However, there has been no direct comparison of the media coverage between the OG and PG held in the same year until Chang and Crossman's (2008) and Golden's (2003) studies. Therefore, a direct comparison will provide a better understanding of the difference in coverage between elite athletes with and without disabilities.

Most of the studies about media coverage have used either qualitative or quantitative studies as methodology (Crossman, Vincent & Speed, 2007; DePauw, 1994; Pfister, 1987; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Sherrill, 1997; Thomas & Smith, 2003; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). Therefore, the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches will provide a better understanding of research problems by proving the differences in the size and frequency of the newspaper coverage between the OG and PG and by describing the similarities and differences

in narratives of the OG and PG.

Purpose of This Study

The purpose of this study is to compare and explore the textual and photographic newspaper coverage of athletes with and without disabilities in the 2008 Beijing OG and PG using Canada's *The Globe and Mail*.

Research Questions

Quantitative Research Questions and Hypothesis

The main quantitative research question guiding this study is: Does *The Globe and Mail* cover the OG and PG differently (in terms of the size, page location, gender of athletes, nationality of athletes, type of sport, competitive shots, field of view and colour)?

The specific questions guiding this study are:

1. Are there differences in the size of the newspaper coverage between the OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail*?
2. Are there differences in the frequency of the newspaper coverage between the OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail* (in terms of page location, gender of athletes, nationality of athletes, type of sport, competitive shots, field of view and colour)?

Formal hypotheses will be constructed from the following statements.

1. There are significant differences in the size of the newspaper coverage between the

OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail*.

2. There are significant differences in the frequency of the newspaper coverage between the OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail* (in terms of page location, gender of athletes, nationality of athletes, type of sport, competitive shots, field of view and colour).

Qualitative Research Questions

The main qualitative research question guiding this study is: What are the similarities and differences in narratives of the OG and PG Games from *The Globe and Mail*?

The specific questions guiding this study are:

1. What kinds of keywords are generated from textual coverage by *The Globe and Mail*?
2. What types of themes are generated in the process of categorizing keywords?
3. What are the similarities and differences in the themes categorized from the OG and PG in *The Globe and Mail*?

Delimitations of the Study

1. The results of this study are specific to a Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, from which the articles came, and may not be applicable to other newspapers.
2. The results of this study are specific to coverage of the 2008 Beijing OG and PG and may not be applicable to coverage of other sporting events.

3. The coded articles from *The Globe and Mail* were specific to the time frame during the OG and PG (August 8th until 25th 2008 for the OG and September 6th until 18th 2008 for the PG).
4. The number of textual and photographic articles from the PG is small when compared to those from the OG and may influence the results.

CHAPTER 2

Method

This study employed both a qualitative and quantitative research design. The research method has been called “integrated” or “combined” in the sense that two forms of data are blended together (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Steckler, McLeroy, Goodman, Bird & McCormick, 1992). However, the most frequently used name is “mixed methods research” (Creswell & Piano Clark, 2007, p.6). To solve both quantitative and qualitative research questions at the same time, mixed methods research is the most appropriate because this design enables the study to provide a better understanding of research questions than either approach alone. Of the diverse mixed methods designs available, the researcher chose a triangulation design for this study. This design is the most common and well-known approach to the mixed methods.

This study attempted to understand how Canada’s *Globe and Mail* covered the Olympic (OG) and Paralympic Games (PG) differently in terms of the size and frequency of textual and photographic articles. It also explored similarities and differences in narratives between the OG and PG in the selected newspaper. The process of the triangulation design was used in this study. This design uses the quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time and with equal weight. According to Creswell and Piano Clark (2007), this design is used “to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic to best understand the two different research problems

and is also used when the researcher wants to directly compare and contrast similarities and differences between qualitative findings and quantitative statistical results” (p.65).

Based on the triangulation design, Figure 1 shows a visual diagram of the procedures of this study in which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected, analyzed and interpreted at the same time. The researcher chose *The Globe and Mail* as the main source of data for this study and collected and analyzed the quantitative and qualitative data using the procedure of each quantitative and qualitative method. Finally, the researcher achieved an overall interpretation based on the quantitative and qualitative results.

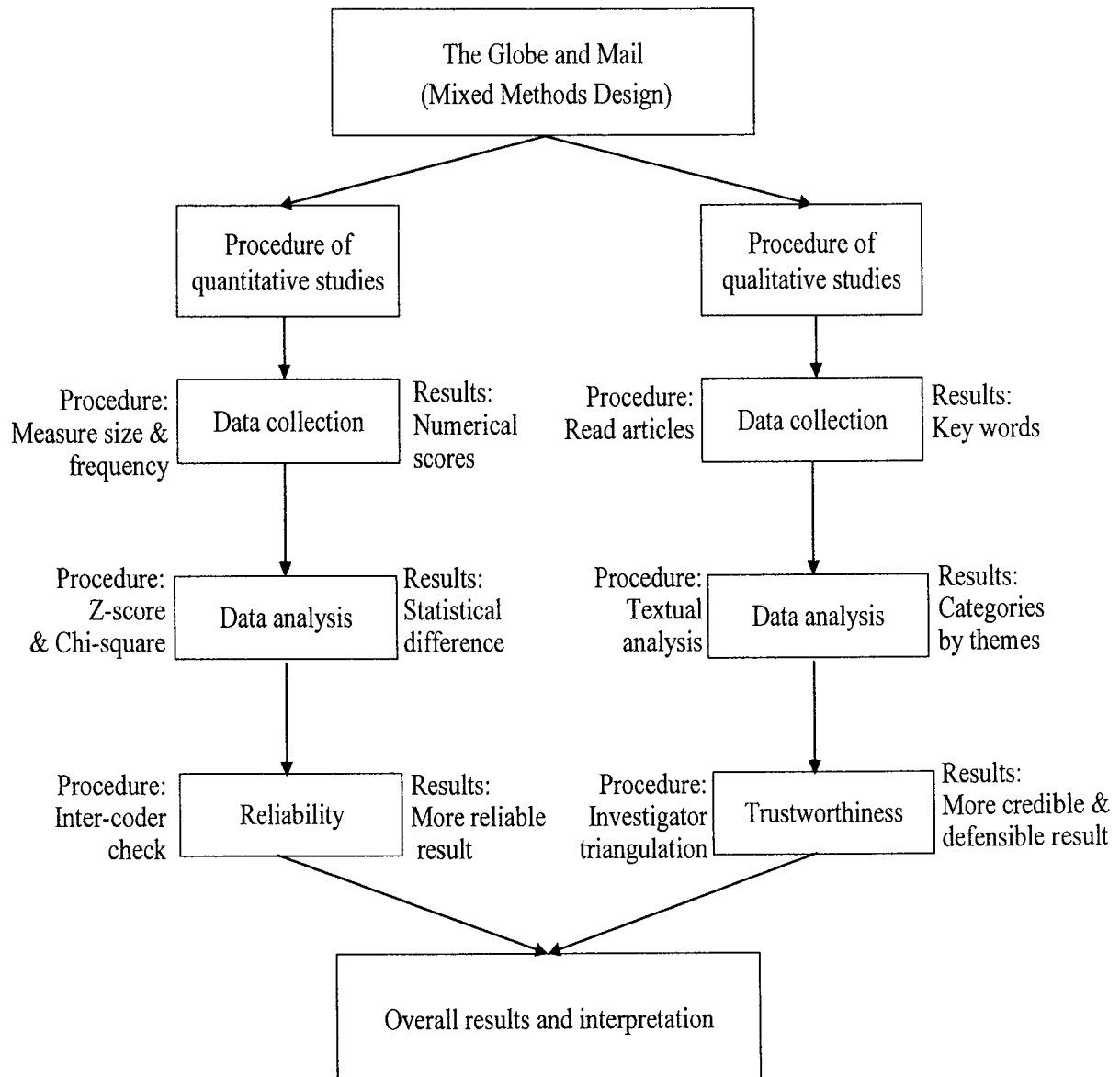


Figure 1. Visual diagram of the procedures in this study

(Note: Visual diagram based on Creswell & Piano Clark, 2007, p.46)

Sample

For the purpose of this study, the researcher chose *The Globe and Mail* among Canadian newspapers because this newspaper has national prominence and nationwide circulation, readership and extensive sports coverage.

The Globe and Mail was collected from the 8th of August, 2008 to the 25th of August, 2008 for the 2008 Beijing OG and from the 6th of September 2008 to the 18th of September, 2008 for the PG. The newspaper was collected from Monday to Saturday because the newspaper does not publish a Sunday edition.

A Brief History of The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail has a long and distinguished history. George Brown founded *The Globe* in 1844 to court the support of the Clear Grits, precursor to the modern Liberal Party of Canada. The newspaper began as a weekly with a circulation of 300, and by October 1853, had become a daily with a circulation of 6,000. In 1888, the Jaffray family obtained control and kept it until 1936 and as its influences and circulation grew, the newspaper adopted the slogan ‘Canada’s National Newspaper’ (Globelink, 2008a).

In 1936, the paper (with a circulation of 78,000) was sold to a young financier named George McCullagh. He acquired *The Mail and Empire* (circulation 118,000) a few weeks later, and absorbed it into *The Globe* under the new name, *The Globe and Mail*. During the next four decades, there were several new owners. In 1980, Thomson Newspapers Ltd. of Toronto acquired control of the newspaper. *The Globe and Mail* claims to produce “Canada’s best and deepest coverage of national, international and business news” (Globelink, 2008a).

The Globe and Mail is a division of *CTV Globemedia Publishing Incorporated*. The

Monday to Friday national circulation of *The Globe and Mail* is 322,807 with a national readership of 1.32 million and the Saturday edition has a national circulation of 410,285 and a national readership of 1.24 million (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2008). The biggest readership group among the readers is university graduates, post-graduates, managers and professionals, those in households with incomes of \$125,000 or greater, or those personally earning \$100,000 or more. Sixty four percent of *The Globe and Mail* readers are men, but the present readership of women has grown by 4.9% compared with the 2006 readership (Globelink, 2008b).

Procedures of Quantitative Studies

Data Collection for Quantitative Studies

For quantitative studies, textual and photographic coverage related to the 2008 Beijing OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail* constituted the data that were coded into categories. The categories for textual articles included size, frequency, page location, gender of athletes, type of sport and nationality of athlete, while photographic articles included size, frequency, page location, gender of athletes, type of sport, nationality of athlete, competitive shots, field of view and colour (see Appendix A).

The researcher measured the size of the entry in square inches and recorded the frequency of textual and photographic articles of *The Globe and Mail's* coverage. Page location

included four possibilities: 1) the front page of the newspaper, 2) the front page of the sport section, 3) the remaining pages of the sport section or 4) the remaining pages of the newspaper other than the sport section. Gender was categorized as 1) male, 2) female, 3) both male and female or 4) non-applicable (NA). NA means that the article and photograph did not focus on people who were related to the OG and PG, but rather something pertaining to the OG and PG, for example, Greek culture, facilities, opening and closing ceremonies (Crossman et al., 2007). The type of sport was categorized as either 1) individual event, 2) team event, 3) both or 4) unspecified and nationality of athlete was classified into 1) Canadian athlete 2) international athlete 3) both or 4) unspecified. Photographs were categorized by type as either 1) competitive scenes or 2) non-competitive scenes. Competitive shots mean that athletes are depicted actively participating in their own sport, while non-competitive scenes show that athletes are not depicted actively participating in their own sport and are physically doing some other sport or are depicted in a non-sport setting (King, 2007; Vincent et al., 2002). The field of view was categorized into 1) head shot, 2) upper-body shot, 3) full-body shot, or 4) unspecified. Finally, photographs were categorized by whether they were black and white (B&W) or colour.

There are instructions for measuring the size and counting the frequency for both textual and photographic coverage (Vincent, 2000). When measuring textual coverage, the researcher measured an article (column) that had a headline, excluding 'the headline', 'the sub-headline',

'sidebars', 'sports results', 'statistical leaders lists' and 'team standing charts' from analysis. The researcher also treated the continuation of an article from one page to another page as the same article. In photographic coverage, when measuring the size of a photograph in square inches, photographic coverage should not include the caption pertaining to the photograph. The researcher followed these rules when measuring the field of view; the head shot should show the whole head, the upper body shot should be from the waist up and the whole body shot should show the whole body from foot to head.

Data Analysis for Quantitative Studies

The researcher used z-scores for proportions based on sample size and mean from both articles and photographs of the OG and PG to compare differences in size between the textual and photographic coverage of the OG and PG. Descriptive statistics were used to compare differences in the frequency and percentage between both events and other variables because the sample size of the PG was small.

Previous studies (Capranica & Aversa, 2002; Crossman & Vincent, 2007; Vincent et al, 2002) used analysis of variance (ANOVA) to compare differences in size between the coverage of international major sporting events (the OG, the PG or the Wimbledon Championships) and the sub-variables. In this study, however, the researcher chose z-scores for proportions due to substantial differences in the total coverage caused by the difference of the period in which both

events were held.

If a one-way ANOVA were used, difficulties in the interpretation of the results would likely occur because both events have different sampling periods and different sample numbers indicated by previous studies. The Chang and Crossman (2008) study is a good example. The average size of coverage of male athletes for the OG was 11.15($n=112$), while the average size of coverage of male athletes for the PG was 14.33 ($n=8$). There were statistically significant differences ($p<.05$) between the two competitions. That is, male athletes competing in the PG received significantly more coverage in size than male athletes in the OG. However, there existed different sample numbers (112 for the OG, 8 for the PG). The total number of pages for the sampling periods (17 days for the OG, 12 days for the PG) was 740 for the OG and 480 for the PG. Therefore, the researcher used the z-score for proportion. The proportion of coverage of male athletes in total newspaper coverage during the OG was .0049% while the proportion of coverage of male athletes in total newspaper coverage during the PG was .0007%. There was a statistically significant difference ($p<.05$). Thus, the researcher had to determine if such a comparison was meaningful. As mentioned above, due to data limitations such as sample size and proportion of coverage for both events with respect to the number of pages for the sampling periods, the researcher used a z-score for proportions using standardized scores for comparisons of coverage size from the OG and PG.

Reliability for Quantitative Studies

For this study, to reduce researcher bias, a second coder was used for the initial examination of articles in this textual analysis to reinforce the intercoder reliability (Kian, 2006). According to Krippendorff (2004) and Mayring (2000), the presence of a second coder assures that results are not the subjective interpretation of a single researcher and thus add objectivity to a textual analysis.

The researcher of this study is a Master's candidate in sport sociology. He has participated in nine research projects as an assistant researcher and published an article. He completed his master's degree in South Korea using the mixed methods design and also performed a study which analyzed newspaper coverage of the 2004 Athens OG and PG using the quantitative method. The second coder is studying under the same supervisor as the researcher. He has already taken a research methods course. However, his knowledge of the OG and PG was limited, which served as a perfect complement to the author.

In order to evaluate the intercoder reliability, checks were performed prior to actual data collection as well as throughout the data collection period. During the training phase, both coders independently coded ten articles and ten photographs randomly selected from the newspaper in order to familiarize themselves with the coding sheets and protocol and reduce discrepancies in measured size and frequency and recorded contents between coders. Scholars argue intercoder

reliability should be near 90% (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Therefore, when an agreement percentage of over 90 percent was established during the training phase, the actual data collection phase of the study began.

The second reliability check was performed during the actual data period and agreement was all above .962 (25% of the textual sample which was 78 of 313 articles). These high reliability figures are reasonable because the two coders have a thorough understanding of how to measure and because the content is very apparent (location, gender of athlete, type of sport, nationality of athlete, etc.).

Procedures of Qualitative Studies

Data Collection for Qualitative Studies

For qualitative studies, textual coverage related to the 2008 Beijing OG and PG from *The Globe and Mail* constituted the data that were coded by keywords and phrases. First of all, to identify stories from a textual article covering the 2008 Beijing OG and PG by *The Globe and Mail*, the researcher read the coverage and gave a number to each story. Through this procedure, the researcher found a total of 372 stories from 302 textual articles about the OG and a total of 18 stories from 11 articles about the PG.

Data Analysis for Qualitative Studies

In this study, the researcher employed textual analysis which is one kind of qualitative

method. According to Vincent and Crossman (2007), textual analysis “is an unobtrusive and nonreactive tool that can be used to reveal the explicit and subtle meanings conveyed in newspaper narratives” (p. 83).

This analysis commenced with the reading of textual coverage and the researcher identified stories from the textual articles. It is important to do this because a textual article may have two or three different stories. Therefore, in this study, the unit of analysis came from a story. In the next step, the researcher extracted keywords (meaning units) from the stories and explored the patterns between similar keywords and categorized the patterns and labelled them as a theme.

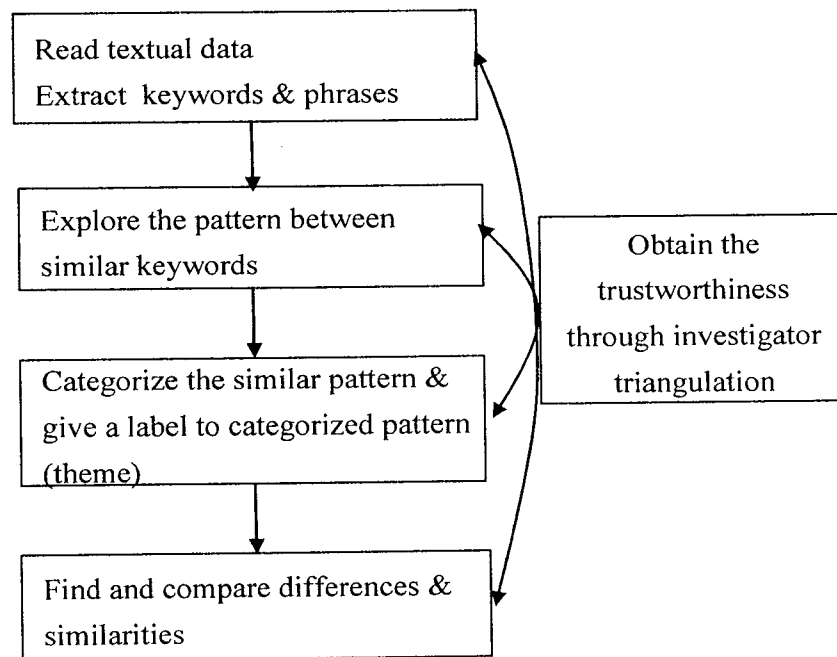


Figure 2. The process of textual analysis (Berg, 2004)

After the various themes were established by this process, the researcher compared the differences and similarities between the OG and PG in *The Globe and Mail* and how the

newspaper described normative definition of athletes with and without disabilities. The process of textual analysis is shown in Figure 2.

Trustworthiness of Qualitative Studies

Since a qualitative study depends on the human judgment and discipline of the researcher, it is necessary to indicate why a researcher should be believed (Tutty, Rothery & Grinnell, 1996). In this study, the researcher used investigator triangulation to establish the trustworthiness of the qualitative data. Investigator triangulation involves using several different investigators and evaluators in an evaluation project. The findings from each evaluator would be compared. If the findings from the different evaluators arrive at the same conclusion, then validity has been established (Thurmond, 2001).

In this study, trustworthiness of data analysis was established through use of a coding system which included extracting key sentences, formulating key words from these and developing clusters of themes. Newspaper articles on the OG and PG were analyzed by two researchers independently, including one experienced in qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2008). The researcher, the second coder and thesis supervisor met to discuss and synthesize preliminary findings at the end of each stage.

CHAPTER 3

Results

The primary purpose of this study was to compare and explore the textual and photographic newspaper coverage of athletes with and without disabilities in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games (OG) and Paralympic Games (PG) using a Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*. This study employed mixed methods which use both a qualitative and quantitative research design at the same time. First, the quantitative results will be presented, followed by the qualitative.

Quantitative Results

The Globe and Mail published 302 articles and 333 photographs for the OG and 11 articles and 9 photographs for the PG. The newspaper is divided into many different sections; news, globe sports, globe review, globe life, globe Toronto, report on business, globe travel and globe focus. The majority of the articles and photographs pertaining to the OG and PG was found in the sports section.

Size of Articles and Photographs

The sample sizes, the proportion of articles and photographs with respect to total coverage, z-scores, and *p*-value for the OG and PG are presented in Table 1 and 2.

1) Size of articles

The differences in total size for textual coverage of the OG and PG were statistically significant ($p < .001$), with the OG ($n = 302$) having a total article area of 1908.64 sq. inches and the PG ($n = 11$) taking 70.51 sq. inches. In terms of the amount of coverage for the entire newspaper, the Olympic coverage accounted for 0.063% while coverage related to the PG was only 0.0032%. These values indicate that the OG received 21 times more coverage than the PG. The average size of the article for the Paralympic coverage ($M = 6.41$ sq. inches) was larger than that for the Olympics ($M = 6.32$ sq. inches).

Table 1

Comparison of z-score for textual coverage of the OG and PG

Variable	Events				z-score	p
	Olympics		Paralympics			
	Total (in ²)	Proportion	Total (in ²)	Proportion		
Texts	1908.64 ^a	.0063	70.51 ^b	.0003	-3.47	.001

Note. Actual proportion of total coverage should be multiplied by 100.

^a $n=302$, ^b $n=11$

2) *Size of photographs*

The comparison of photographic size between the OG and PG was also significantly different ($p < .001$). The total space for photographs for the OG ($n = 333$) was 1888.11 sq. inches,

while the PG had 97.38 sq. inches. In terms of the total space allocated to photographs for the entire newspaper, the OG had 0.63% and the Paralympics 0.04%. In other words, the OG had approximately 16 times the photographic coverage of the PG. However, the size of photographs for the OG ($M=5.67$ sq. inches) was, on average, smaller than the PG ($M=10.82$ sq. inches).

Table 2

Comparison of z-score for photographic coverage of the OG and PG

Variable	Events				z-score	p
	Olympics		Paralympics			
	Total (in ²)	Proportion	Total (in ²)	Proportion		
Photographs	1888.11 ^c	.0063	97.38 ^d	.0004	-3.39	.001

Note. Actual proportion of total coverage should be multiplied by 100.

^c $n=333$, ^d $n=9$

Frequency of Articles and Photographs

1) Gender of athletes

There were 313 articles (OG = 302, PG = 11) and 342 photographs (OG = 333, PG = 9).

As Table 3 shows, textual articles about male athletes (40.4%) in the OG were more frequent than those with female athletes (25.8%), both male and female athletes (15.2%) and unspecified (18.6%), while textual coverage of the PG focused primarily on both male and female athletes

(54.5%).

Table 3

Frequency and percentage of textual coverage by gender and events

Gender	Texts	
	Olympics Frequency (%)	Paralympics Frequency (%)
Male	122(40.4%)	2(18.2%)
Female	78(25.8%)	1(9.1%)
Both	46(15.2%)	6(54.5%)
Unspecific	56(18.6%)	2(18.2%)
Total	302(100%)	11(100%)

As Table 4 indicates, photographic articles about male athletes (55.6%) in the OG were more frequent than female athletes (33.9%), both male and female athletes (6.0%) and unspecified (4.5%), whereas coverage of the PG focused primarily on female athletes (66.7%) compared to male athletes (22.2%).

Table 4

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by gender and events

Gender	Photographs	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Male	185(55.6%)	2(22.2%)
Female	113(33.9%)	6(66.7%)
Both	20(6.0%)	-
Unspecific	15(4.5%)	1(11.1%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

2) Location

As seen in Table 5 and 6, the vast majority of textual and photographic articles related to the OG (texts = 78.8%, photographs = 66.1%) and the PG (texts = 81.8%, photographs = 66.6%) was located in the sports section. The coverage of the OG was found primarily on the remaining pages of the sports section and also on the front page of the sports section for both textual and photographic articles. The remaining content relating to the OG was split between the front page and inside pages of the newspaper. The PG coverage was mostly located on the front page and the remaining pages of the sports section. The coverage of the PG had only one photograph on

the front page of the newspaper and two textual and photographic articles on the remaining pages of the newspaper.

Table 5

Frequency and percentage of textual coverage by page location and events

Location	Text	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
FPN	16(5.3%)	-
FPSS	18(6.0%)	2(18.2%)
RPSS	220(72.8%)	7(63.6%)
RPN	48(15.9%)	2(18.2%)
Total	302(100%)	11(100%)

Note. FPN: The Front page of the Newspaper
 FPSS: The Front Page of the Sports Section
 RPSS: The Remaining Pages of the Sports Section
 RPN: The Remaining Pages of the Newspaper

Table 6

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by page location and events

Location	Photographs	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
FPN	17(5.1%)	1(11.1%)
FPSS	44(13.2%)	3(33.3%)
RPSS	176(52.9%)	3(33.3%)
RPN	96(28.8%)	2(22.3%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

Note. FPN: The Front page of the Newspaper
 FPSS: The Front Page of the Sports Section
 RPSS: The Remaining Pages of the Sports Section
 RPN: The Remaining Pages of the Newspaper

3) Nationality of athletes

As Table 7 shows, textual articles about international athletes (35.2%) in the OG were more frequent than those with Canadian athletes (30.1%), both Canadian and international athletes (18.5%) and the unspecified (16.2%), while textual coverage of the PG focused primarily on Canadian athletes (45.4%) and both Canadian and international athletes (36.4%).

Table 7

Frequency and percentage of textual coverage by nationality and events

Nationality	Texts	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Canadian	91(30.1%)	5(45.4%)
International	106(35.2%)	-
Both	56(18.5%)	4(36.4%)
Unspecific	49(16.2%)	2(18.2%)
Total	302(100%)	11(100%)

Table 8

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by nationality and events

Nationality	Photographs	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Canadian	135(40.5%)	4(44.4%)
International	164(49.2%)	2(22.2%)
Both	21(6.3%)	2(22.2%)
Unspecific	13(3.9%)	1(11.2%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

As Table 8 indicates, photographic articles about international athletes (49.2%) in the OG were more frequent than Canadian athletes (40.5%), whereas coverage of the PG focused primarily on the Canadian athletes (44.4%) compared to international athletes (22.2%).

4) *Type of sport*

An analysis of textual and photographic articles with respect to the type of sport showed more frequent coverage of individual events than team events in both the OG (texts = 42.1%, photograph = 57.1%) and PG (texts = 54.5%, photograph = 77.8%) (see Table 9 and 10).

Table 9

Frequency and percentage of textual coverage by type of sport and events

Type of sport	Texts	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Individual	127(42.1%)	6(54.5%)
Team	87(28.8%)	2(18.2%)
Both	30(9.9%)	1(9.1%)
Unspecific	58(19.2%)	2(18.2%)
Total	302(100%)	11(100%)

Table 10

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by type of sport and events

Type of sport	Photographs	
	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Individual	190(57.1%)	7(77.8%)
Team	97(29.1%)	1(11.1%)
Both	3(0.9%)	-
Unspecific	43(12.9%)	1(11.1%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

5) Field of view

As Table 11 shows, the field of view of photographs related to the OG gave the head (37.5%) and whole body shots (36.3%) more frequent photographic coverage than upper-body (21.6%), whereas for the PG, full-body shots (55.6%) received more frequent coverage than those of head shots (11.1%) and upper-body shots (33.3%) combined.

Table 11

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by field of view and events

Field of view	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Head shot	125(37.5%)	1(11.1%)
Upper-body shot	72(21.6%)	3(33.3%)
Whole-body Shot	121(36.3%)	5(55.6%)
Unspecific	15(4.5%)	-
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

6) Competitive versus non-competitive

Competitive photographs (54.2%) occurred more frequently than non-competitive (45.8%) for the OG, whereas the PG had more non-competitive photographs (55.6%) (see Table 12).

Table 12

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by competitive type and events

Competitive type	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Competitive	181(54.4%)	4(44.4%)
Non-competitive	152(45.6%)	5(55.6%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

7) Colour of photographs

Of the 333 Olympic photographs, 254 (76.3%) were in colour, versus five of nine (55.6%) for the PG (see Table 13).

Table 13

Frequency and percentage of photographic coverage by colour and events

Colour	Olympics	Paralympics
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Black and white	79(23.7%)	4(44.4%)
Colour	254(76.3%)	5(55.6%)
Total	333(100%)	9(100%)

Qualitative Results

Twelve dominant themes (OG = 8, PG = 4) which consisted of low order themes (OG = 24, PG = 4) emerged from the textual analysis. After reading the articles, the researcher summarized the content of each article (see Appendix B), extracted key words from summarized contents (see Appendix C), explored the common patterns between similar keywords (see Appendix D) and finally categorized the similar patterns as a theme (see Appendix E). In this process, the researcher, the second coder and thesis supervisor constantly discussed the results from each stage to search for dominant themes from the 313 articles examined in this study.

Olympic Games

The Globe and Mail published a total of 302 articles during the OG. The researcher extracted a total of 372 key words from them and categorized 372 key words into eight themes. The eight high order themes emerging from the textual analysis were 1) predicting game results (88 key words, 23.7%), 2) reporting game results (86 key words, 23.3%), 3) athleticism (65 key words, 17.5%), 4) sports and politics (39 key words, 10.5%), (5) sports and ethical issues (39 key words, 10.5%), 6) sports and nationalism (23 key words, 5.9%), 7) sports and media (18 key words, 4.9%), and 8) sports and economy (14 key words, 3.7%). Each theme had low order themes under its umbrella.

1) *Predicting game results*

Predicting game results was the most frequently referred to theme (88 out of 371 key words). The theme included five low order themes: anticipation for medals, expectation of game results, predicting game results based on the rivalry between nations or athletes, introduction of sports celebrities and prediction of their performance and introduction and prediction of a sports event which needs more explanation to help readers' understanding.

a) *Anticipation for medals*

An article on expectations for medals from the Canadian rowing team, described that the power of the Canadian paddle would likely end the country's medal drought in Beijing:

Canada won no medals during the first week of the Beijing Games, but that should change this weekend as Canadian athletes move into their element – racing small boats with muscle power. Since the 1992 Games in Barcelona, the Canadian national rowing team has amassed 16 Olympic medals and dozens of world titles. That collection should grow this weekend, as rowers in the men's and women's eights, and the men's pair, the lightweight women's double and the men's lightweight four have won a place in their finals. And next week attention will shift to kayaker Adam Van Koeverden (Hammer & Sekeres, ID145, August 16, p. A13).

In this quote, the hero and heroine were Canadian athletes. That is, *The Globe and Mail* focused primarily on Canadian athletes, when the newspaper published stories on the anticipation of medals.

b) *Expectation of game results*

The expectation of game results was another low order theme. These articles focused on

who would win a medal, who would be the strongest rival against the potential winner and what would happen in a specific sports event. Main characters of most articles which covered these subthemes were both top athletes in the world and Canadian athletes who have high performance skills. Perhaps allocating the space to top Canadian and international athletes is to increase readers' interest for the OG and to provide useful information to readers. An article on women's triathlon showed a clear example:

Carolyn Murray of St. Albert, Alta., would seem to have the best chance of the three Canadian women entered in the event, which will go on Monday at 10 a.m. (Beijing time). Murray won a World Cup event in South Africa this season and placed second at an International Triathlon Union event in Hong Kong last year... Smart money says one of the Australian Emmas will be a factor. Emma Snowsill has won three world championships since 2003 and three World Cup events this year. Emma Moffatt has two victories and two second-place finishes on the World Cup circuit in the past two seasons (Sekerer, ID156, August 16, p. S5).

c) Predicting game results based on the rivalry between nations or athletes

There were articles on predicting game results based on the rivalry between athletes or nations. One of the articles that described predicting game results based on the rivalry between Japan and China in male gymnastics was titled "horizontal bar, Japan are China's main obstacles..." and the article predicted "China and Japan will fight for gold and silver" (Quoted from Reuters, ID 60, August 12, p. S2).

d) Introduction of sports celebrities and prediction of their performance

Like the subtheme about predicting game results based on the rivalry between athletes or

nations, articles on sports celebrities also gave readers expectations about how sports figures contribute to the winning of their country's team. One example was China's basketball hero, Yao Ming. Fred Lum, who wrote an article on Yao Ming, described him in one of the sport section articles of *The Globe and Mail* as a symbol of the country as well as the best player:

For Mother China, Yao Ming is a torch runner, a flag-bearer, a hero, a philanthropist and a symbol of the country. The government called him a "model worker"... When he (Yao) made the game's first basket, an unlikely three point shot, the noise was deafening and when he left after 13 points with 4 minutes 40 seconds to play, he raised one fist and received a hearty farewell (Sekeres, ID 32, August 11, p. S1).

e) Introduction of a sports event which needs more explanation to help readers' understanding

Articles on the introduction and prediction of a sport event unfamiliar to readers included explanation of the rules and regulations of an acquainted game and expectation for the event result. The following stated what the decathlon is, when the event starts and who will be the winner:

The decathlon starts Wednesday night and it is held over two days... Ten tests over two days, sometimes likened to the legendary labours of Hercules and traditionally bestowing the title of world's greatest all-around athlete to the winner. It is a test of endurance, strength and technical skill involving two sprints, three throws, three jumps and two more demanding runs. The first day of competition on Thursday will involve the 100 metres, long jump, shot put, high jump and 400 metres. The test on Friday will be the 110-metre hurdles, discus, pole vault, Javelin and 1,500 metres... The three medalists from Athens return but the pecking order changes. World-record holder Roman Sebrle, 33, of the Czech Republic won gold but has a hamstring injury. Bryan Clay, second for the U.S. in 2004, has a world-leading 8,832 points this year. Kazakhstani Dmitry Karpov, third in Athens, won Goetzis, Austria, this year with 8,504 points (Sekeres, ID 216, August 20, p. S5).

2) Reporting game results

The fundamental role of the print media is to report correct facts to readers (Kieran, 1998). Newspapers play two important roles in saying something to readers and animating the readers to certain thoughts or actions about an article. The results in sports are an inevitable product. Consequently, when reporting articles about the OG, newspapers provide a keen and critical coverage.

Reporting game results was the second most frequently presented in the newspaper coverage of the OG by *The Globe and Mail* (86 out of 371 key words). This theme contained two low order themes: reporting game results and reviewing and analyzing game results. These low order themes appeared in the same article. *The Globe and Mail* provided a more detailed description about medalists or athletes with high performance skills. Others who did not make the podium received two or three lines. An article on the Canadian Track and Field team is a good example:

The medal that hurdler Priscilla Lopes-Schliep of Whitby, Ont., captured was much more than a piece of bronze hardware. It was Canada's 13th medal of the Beijing Olympics, moving the Canadian team past the total of 12 in Athens in 2004... The spectres went away as Lopes-Schliep, 25, stood on the track at the end of the race, surrounded by 91,000 spectators in the Bird's nest, staring at the video screen "for what seemed like 10 days," Lopes-Schliep said. She'd finished the race in a lunging pack, and an analysis would later show that only 0.02 seconds separated second place from sixth (Christie, ID 217, August 20, p. S5).

The best result involving the track event had been the performance of Jessica Zelinka of London, Ont., who finished sixth in the heptathlon with a Canadian record of 6,490 points (Christie, ID 217, August 20, p. S5).

3) *Athleticism*

The next theme, athleticism, had a total of 65 key words from the Olympic coverage and consisted of three subthemes: overcoming physical and psychological difficulties such as injuries and pressure from the public, devotion to team and athletes dominating a game.

a) Overcoming physical and psychological difficulties.

The ultimate goal for many high performance athletes is to represent their country in the OG and PG. In the process, athletes can confront obstacles such as injury and pressure for winning. For example, a Canadian gymnast, Kyle Shewfelt who was the 2004 gold medalist broke both kneecaps during a routine training session on November, 2007 and recovered to compete at the 2008 Olympics:

I have a daily goal, a goal for each apparatus and an attitude goal as well... During my recovery I did a lot of weight training (with trainers and therapists)... We've been training twice a day, six days a week. Our first training session goes from 10 a.m. until 12:30. The second goes from 4 p.m. until 6:30. In all, we're in the gym for five hours... In just nine months, he went from relying on a wheelchair to recapturing his status as a world-class gymnast. This past week in Beijing, he only narrowly missed qualifying for the final eight in both the floor and vault competitions (White, ID 183, August 18, p. L4).

Athletes who won a medal in previous OG or international competition received excessive pressure to win from the media and the public. The burden of expectations is one of

the important factors which affect an athlete's performance. A Canadian kayaker, Adam van Koeverden, is a good example. He was under a lot of pressure from the media and Canadians and consequently, failed to win a medal in K-1 1000 (Blatchford, 2008). However, after disappointment in the 1,000 metres, he came back to earn a medal in the 500.

“AVK faced it head on. He didn't flinch from the truth of his failure, but looked at it squarely, mystified, bewildered, but already you could see that even in his agony he was trying to analyze it” (Blatchford, ID 295, August 25, p. S5) .

b) Devotion to team

As an Olympic athlete, no greater glory can be gained than winning a medal. However, some athletes sacrifice themselves for their teams and countries. Brent Hayden, who passed up the 200 metre freestyle semi-finals to join Canada's 4×100 metre relay team, was a great example of devotion to team and country:

Brent Hayden went for team glory instead of individual gain on Monday morning, taking himself out of the 200-metre freestyle semi-finals to help the Canadian men's relay team swim for a medal (Maki, ID 49, August 11, p. S6).

c) Athletes dominating a game

In the Beijing OG, an athlete who attracted public and media attention was Michael Phelps. This swimmer won a total of eight-gold medals and holds the record for the most gold medals at a single Olympics. This eight at the 2008 Beijing Games surpassed American swimmer Mark Spitz's seven-gold performance at Munich in 1972. As a result, his extraordinary performance dominated the Olympic coverage in *The Globe and Mail*. Maki and Trevisan

described his excellent performance as follows:

On the pool deck, waving those massive arms (he has a 6-foot-7 wingspan), stomping about with those flipper-like size-14 feet, or just chilling out in his headphoned way to rapper Lil Wayne – mere seconds before the race begins – Phelps definitely stands out. But only because the camera can't keep away, and can't quite reconcile the difference between his ritualized Zen-like focus (including precisely 2 and 1/2 arm flaps on the starting block) and the violent physicality that's about to erupt as he sets out to swim faster than anyone has done before... "It's his physical ability. It's his ability to race," says USA swim coach Mark Schubert, rhyming off Phelps's clear advantages, "it's his ability to get excited when he needs to and to come down when he needs to come down" (Maki & Trevisan, ID 148, August 16, p. S1 and 2).

4) *Sports and politics*

Organized competitive sports have long been connected with politics, government and the nation-state (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009). In this study, the researcher discovered articles on the relationship between sports and politics during the OG. There were 39 key words and two subthemes: improvement of Canadian sports environments and the role of sports over political issues.

a) *Improvement of Canadian sports environments*

The Beijing OG was the last OG which will be held prior to the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Therefore, the newspaper reported various problems that happened in the Beijing OG and *The Globe and Mail* gave suggestions on new policies to develop Canadian sports. The biggest issue was related to funding. From the start of the opening ceremonies until August 16, Canada had not earned a medal. As a result, directors from some

sports organizations questioned the funding policy from the Canadian government. Lane MacAdam, executive director of Sport Excellence which oversees a part of Canadian amateur sport funding indicated that “There’s no question when the proposals went forward we knew full well that adjustments a year to 18 months prior to the Games would not have a huge impact” (Walton, Sekeres, Maki & Trevisan, ID 99, August 14, p. A1 and 11). The head of the Canadian Olympic Committee, Chris Rudge, suggested a new policy for sports funding:

The COC chief said 35 improvements had been made in the COC’s athlete-support programs since Athens, but Canada needs more athletes in its system, more and better sport facilities and increased federal support to help convert world championship results to Olympic results. “I appeal to Prime Minister (Stephen) Harper for all of the \$30-million (a year) we asked for,” Rudge said. “Put an order-in-council, now. ... “If we’re going to play with the big boys and be a G-8 nation, let’s be G-8 all the way” (Cheung, Lum & Ridewood, ID 289, August 25, p. S1).

b) Role of sports over political issues

The Globe and Mail released stories on the role of sports over political issues between nations. Just one day before the Olympics began, there was an armed conflict between Georgia and Russia. After it happened, Georgia considered withdrawing from the Olympics, but the country’s president, Mikheil Saakashvili, instructed his country’s 35 member team to remain in Beijing. Later Sunday morning, Georgia won its first medal, as Nino Salukvadze took the bronze in the women’s 10 metres air-pistol competition. After the competition, the Russian silver medalist, Natalia Paderina, shared the podium with Salukvadze. The Georgian shooter stated:

“This is a small victory for my people,” Salukvadze told Agence France-Presse. Of

Paderina, she added: “When it comes to sport, we will always remain friends. If the world were to draw any lessons from what we do, there wouldn’t be any wars.”
(Quoted from *New York Times*, ID 46, August 11, p. S6)

Another example was in a baseball game between the United States and Cuba. This event showed how political foes can compete in harmony. David King, a journalist of *The Globe and Mail*, focused on the game rather than the politics between the United States and Cuba:

Stands filled with baseball fans, passionate baseball fans. Two teams, the United States and Cuba, with a high degree of skill, if somewhat different mindsets about the game and very different looks: the Cubans in their luminescent all red uniforms, pants worn long and baggy, Manny-style; the U.S. team in crisp, traditional white... Secure and happy in the knowledge that the sour-faced men who think they own this game are far away. They even played that most heavenly of tunes: *Take Me Out to the Ball Game* (King, ID 155, August 16, p. S4).

5) *Sports and ethical issues*

Every sport has rules and regulations which ignite many ethical issues for athletes, coaches, sponsors, referees, and fans. During 17 days in Beijing, various ethical issues in the biggest sporting festival were witnessed. *The Globe and Mail* reported 39 stories about deviance in sports including falsifying the ages of contestants, biased judging, and doping, human rights, racism and sexual issues.

a) *Falsifying the ages of contestants*

The age of six Chinese female gymnasts was a contentious issue during the Games. According to the regulation of the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG), gymnasts must turn 16 during the Olympic year to be eligible. Concerns over eligibility of the six-members of

China surfaced before the Olympics and continued during the OG. When the women's team won the team event, the U.S national team coordinator, Martha Karolyi, called into a question the ages of some of China's gymnasts. "One of the girls has a missing tooth, (but) I have no proof, so I can't make an affirmation... certain countries go by the rules, but certain countries may not" (Macur, ID 111, August 14, p. S6). As a result, the FIG and IOC began an official investigation. Although the IOC announced that there was no evidence of cheating, the suspicions persisted.

b) Biased judging

Another issue referring to judging also came into question. Some referees in gymnastics, boxing, shooting and wrestling made controversial decisions and this raised questions in *The Globe and Mail*. A Swedish wrestler's story exemplifies this issue best. The 33 year old Armenian born wrestler, Ara Abrahamian, accepted his bronze medal, stepped off the podium and threw it away to protest what he called "a corrupt system". He told reporters "I think the semi-final shows that FILA (wrestling's governing body) does not play fair. I didn't deserve to lose. The system is corrupt" (Maki, ID 129, August, 15, p. S4). Ara Abrahamian continued, "This is political" (Maki, ID 129, August, 15, p. S4). Some athletes and coaches admitted the political power and the bias from referees. A coach of the Canadian men's trampoline, Dave Ross, seemed to agree with biased decisions from referees. He stated:

The judges from Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland, France, Australia and Belgium were marking harder across the board, Ross said, compared with the

qualification round last week... Ross also pointed out that European judges tend to look at Canadians as “outsiders from the colonies” (Walton, ID 207, August 20, p. S2).

c) Doping

Doping was one of sports’ ethical issues. In *The Globe and Mail*, most coverage about doping focused on doping tests with new technologies. The IOC President, Jacques Rogge, predicted, “There will be 30 to 40 positive doping tests at the 2008 Olympics” (ID 3, *The Globe and Mail*, August 8, p.S2). Meanwhile, John Fahey, the head of the World Anti-Doping Agency said, “Cheats who think they can escape detection today could find themselves unmasked and stripped of medals when new technologies are used in the future” (ID 3, *The Globe and Mail*, August 8, p.S2).

d) Racism

It was viewed as racist when 15 members of the Spanish Olympic basketball team slanted their eyes to appear Chinese. The advertisement was debated (Sekeres, 2008). Although team members said, “It was never intended to be offensive” many people of Chinese origin were angered by it. Victor Wong, executive director of the Chinese Canadian National Council, said, “This photo is deeply offensive and racist - it’s surprising that members of an Olympic team preparing for the Games in Beijing of all places would show such poor judgment” (York & Sekeres, ID 100, August 14, p. A11). The next day, Jose Calderon who was a member of the Spanish team and who is the Toronto Raptors guard apologized for the photo. “We didn’t mean

to hurt anyone. We apologize to Asian people if they were offended” (Sekeres, ID 132, August 15, p. S5). He reasoned:

“Spain is one of the most multicultural countries in the world. Maybe some people in Spain come through like that, but in England or the U.S. they have the same problem. We don’t feel we did something bad. It’s wrong to interpret it as racist” (Sekeres, ID 132, August 15, p. S5).

e) Sexual issues

Most articles on sexual issues in sports focused primarily on female athletes and described them as sex objects (Blatchford, 2008). In *The Globe and Mail*, journalists seemed to have two totally different perspectives on sexual issues. The first was about publicizing equestrians by highlighting female riders’ sex appeal. An article quoted from Agence France-Pressé titled, “sex sells for equestrians” and said:

As if show jumpers don’t look glamorous enough in their breeches and boots, riders and the officials of the sport are debating whether sex is the key to attracting more fans and money... This month, two (female) show jumpers were pictured in the *Daily Telegraph* wearing little more than boots and whips... A senior official of the sport’s controlling body, the International Equestrian Federation who did not wish to be identified, described the use of scantily clad young women to raise show jumping’s profile as “vulgar” (quoted from Agence France-Pressé, ID 247, August 21, p. S6).

The other story from Christie Blatchford showed a different perspective on using sex. She said, “It’s an individual choice to be a nude model” (Blatchford, ID 81, August 13, p. A13). She had had an interview with Waneek Horn-Miller who was a former Canadian water polo player and who had appeared on the cover of Time Magazine naked. Ms. Horn-Miller

emphasized that the female athlete's body plays an important role in shaping an image of a healthy woman:

“Look”... “It’s one chance every four years to get out an image of a healthy athletic woman instead of an underweight, underage model. Athletes’ bodies are much healthier – and they’re functional... It’s natural to look for the body ideal... as humans, we like the physically good-looking, the beautiful” (Blatchford, ID 81, August 15, p. A13).

f) Human rights

Although the Chinese said they were trying to improve conditions in human rights, many articles published by *The Globe and Mail* proved that human rights was still a huge concern. In the weeks before the opening ceremonies of the Beijing Olympics, there had been hardly any good news for the OG and China. The narrative from most of the Western media had focused on poor human rights, repression of Tibetans and other minorities, harassment of the foreign press, pollution and censorship (The Globe and Mail, August 9, 2008 p. A15). To sum up, China was still not democratized. However, comments by the press on these problems changed after the successful opening ceremonies. With regard to the improvement of human rights in China:

Despite severe limitations, there are hundreds of new legislative enactments that protect property rights and workers’ rights. China has abolished a system that restricted freedom of movement among regions, and citizens can hold on to their passports to travel abroad (Jiang, ID 17, August 9, p. A15).

However, during the OG the tone of the newspaper on China’s human rights was reversed when the IOC criticized the Chinese government because it did not allow protests at the

designated zones:

In reality, many of those who applied were detained or jailed by the authorities, human rights groups say, arguing that China used the protest zones as a propaganda tactic to give the appearance of complying with international standards, while actually using the application process to identify potential protesters. IOC spokeswoman Giselle Davies made it clear that the IOC is unhappy with China's refusal to allow protests at the designated zones (York, ID 228, August 21, p. A13).

Based on statistical data from Reporters without Borders, York wrote more critical articles about human rights in China after the closing ceremonies:

If there was an alternative Olympic medal list for human rights violations, it would contain numbers like these: 53 detained pro-Tibet activities, 77 rejected protest applications... Instead, it arrested at least 15 people who asked for permission to protest in the official zones (York, ID 288, August 25, p. A9).

Interestingly, however, many Chinese said "they were willing to accept further sacrifices to preserve the environmental gains that were achieved during the Olympics" (York, ID 286, August 25, p. A9). It appears that the Chinese think the success of their own country has priority over confronting challenges, while people outside of China focus primarily on the quality of life such as human rights and social reform.

6) *Sports and nationalism*

The media helps people to see and feel their national identity. In other words, readers and audiences are encouraged by newspapers and TV to read and see the news as part of their own identity (Hartley, 1992). When teams and athletes representing their own country are competing against teams and athletes from other countries, the sports events are usually

structured in an “us versus them” among athletes, coaches and fans by the media (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009).

In this study, the researcher found 23 stories on the relationship between sports and nationalism that emerged from the textual analysis.

a) Reinforcing national identity

Athletes who represent their country were most often representatives of national identity. As a result, *The Globe and Mail* also used Canadian athletes as a vehicle to reinforce national identity. Huynh, who won gold in women’s freestyle wrestling and was a Vietnam refugee, was an example. The article described Canada as a broad-minded nation by emphasizing Huynh and her family’s previous nationality:

It was the most splendid of moments: the gold medalist standing a top the podium and crying to the strains of *O Canada* while her parents, two Vietnam refugees wearing Go Carl T-Shirts, watched from the stands, the Proudest of Canadians... “I am very proud of her,” Huynh’s father, Viem, told a Vancouver newspaper. “Her work so hard on the path. Now she makes something here. Canada play larger part for her to make it. I’m very happy” Asked whether being in China had made the experience even more special, Viem said: “I don’t think about it because, you know, now I’m in Canada for almost 30 years. I’m a Canadian now” (Maki, ID 179, August 18, p. S5).

b) Nationality

Another issue was sports and nationality. Some athletes wanted to get a chance to show excellent performance skills in a new nationality. However, their decision made fans and officials from their mother countries disappointed. There were two slightly different stories about a

change of nationality. The first was about De Guzman, who was born in Toronto and wanted to show his soccer skills in the OG by changing his Canadian nationality to that of the Netherlands.

Jeff Blair commented negatively on his renunciation of Canadian nationality:

...He knows that his playing for the Netherlands will not sit well with some people in Canadian soccer. His decision upset fans and officials who envisioned him playing for the Canadian team, just like his brother Julian, who plays for Deportivo Coruna in Spain (Blair, ID 19, August 9, p. S1).

The other story was about Becky Hammon who was born in the United States, but played for Russia. However, *The Globe and Mail* focused on her athletic ability unlike De Guzman:

The pre-Olympic Diamond Ball tournament was her first with the team, and it included a blowout loss to the United States. But Russia has improved as a team as Hammon has put her mark on the squad. "You always have a chance, but it's a long shot," She (Hammon) said (Quoted from *New York Times*, ID 243, August 21, p. S6).

Different narratives about two athletes seemed to be due to their different nationality: Becky Hammon from the United States but De Guzman from Canada. In other words, Canadian newspaper coverage on the nationality issue was more critical about their own athlete than an athlete who did not hold Canadian citizenship.

7) *Sports and the media*

Eighteen articles on the media covered by *The Globe and Mail* were about other media forms including TV and the Internet.

a) Comments on the OG broadcasting

During the OG, *The Globe and Mail's* columnist, William Houston, regularly wrote articles about Olympics Broadcasting. He introduced readers to the CBC broadcasting schedule and praised CBC's efforts as Canada's Olympic broadcaster for 12 years:

The CBC, after a 12-year run as Canada's Olympic network, leave the arena with a record that includes thorough coverage, live programming any time of day and a high standard of broadcasting... At these Games, the CBC devoted 15 of 24 hours every day to coverage. And on two of three weekends, every hour of the day was filled, but for 90 minutes (Houston, ID 301, August 25, p. S8).

However, since the CTV, the *Globe and Mail's* subsidiary, is taking over Canada's Olympic broadcast rights for Vancouver 2010 and London 2012, he also made some critical comments on the CBC's broadcasting as followed "This also will be the CBC's most expensive Olympics. The corporation paid \$ 45-million for the rights, well above the previous high of \$ 33-million for Athens (Houston, ID 7, August 8, p. S3).

b) New media

On the other hand, the introduction of the Internet has changed sport fans' information access methods. With this change, the CBC took its first big step into the digital world by providing 1,500 hours of online content. William Houston wrote on the digital world in the OG and said, "The important and lasting story of the Beijing Olympics is the extraordinary technological advances" (Houston, ID 270, August 23, p. S2). He seemed to praise the attraction

of websites for the Beijing Olympics:

The TV numbers have been very good and the online traffic even better...At CBCSports.ca, the numbers are also large. The website has received more than 27 million page views, compared with 1.2 million over the same period last year (Houston, ID227, August 21, p. A 12).

However, Christie Blatchford had a different stance on the new media form. She

described her experience on blogging and criticized:

“It was posted on The Globe’s Games Blog at 10:23 a.m., Beijing time. Mr. Sekeres wrote three paragraphs”... “And journalism wasn’t meant to be a conversation, anyway. It was maybe a monologue, at its most democratic a carefully constructed dialogue. If readers didn’t like or agree with the monologues in paper A, they bought paper B. What was most important about their opinions was that they thought enough to spend the coin... The thing that I know, as all the editors I have had also know, is what I didn’t get to confide or write or commit to paper, because someone else had the good sense to put on the brakes. There are no brakes, and thus there is no joy, in blogville” (Blatchford, ID 227, August 21, p. A 12).

In her quotation, she said that reporters had only a couple of minutes to write and file a story because readers wanted to read and see information immediately provided from the OG, especially the big events (Blatchford, 2008). As a result, reporters did not make thoughtful copy and readers did not obtain articles of high quality.

8) *Sports and economy*

The Globe and Mail published 14 articles on the relationship between sports and the economy.

a) The economic effects of the OG

Most articles were on the effects of economic development as a result of the OG. Angela Barnes, an investment reporter, said:

“In the past six Olympic Games, there had been an average 19.12-per-cent increase in the hosting countries’ stock indexes in the six months following the Games. The gain in the 12 months after the Olympics was even larger – at 26.14 percent” “Not all the gold in the Olympics is going to be made by the athletes; savvy investors are going to make some, too” (Barnes, ID 10, August 8, p. S 8).

She explained that the infrastructure construction and system establishment for the Olympics gave a lasting boost to the hosting countries’ economy. Therefore, although the growth in those hosting countries showed a certain degree of decline, the hosting country’s economy maintained a relatively high speed of growth (Barnes, 2008).

b) Global corporate sponsorship

The other stories about the relationship between sports and the economy focused on global corporate sponsorship. The large corporations that sponsor particular events know the costs and benefits associated with the events. Nike was looking to the men’s basketball for one of the big medal moments that companies crave from the OG. Basketball is the top sport in China and other developing markets where Nike hopes to win over consumers. Knight, a co-founder of Nike, said in an interview with *The Globe and Mail*:

We (Nike) see this year’s games – which drew the company’s largest Olympics investment ever – as a success. It created a new product for every sport and outfitted 22 of the 28 federations... In U.S. men’s basketball, Nike outfits 11 of 12 players,

including NBA superstar Kobe Bryant, who has spent several summers in China building relationships and is mobbed wherever he goes. (Quoted from *The Associated Press*, ID 249, August 21, p. B7).

However, Nike faced unexpected disappointments because of the withdrawal of Chinese hurdler Liu Xiang and they lost the spotlight to competitors such as Speedo, which endorsed Michael Phelps and who created the famed LZR Racer suit, and Puma which outfitted Jamaica's Usain Bolt who swept the 100 and 200 metre sprints.

Michael Phelps was a key figure in the Beijing Olympics, so corporations tried to use him to boost bottom lines by paying huge sponsorship money. The Kellogg's company was one of them and they announced, "The record-setting swimmer (Michael Phelps) will soon be appearing on boxes of our brand 'Kellogg's Frosted Flakes and Corn Flakes'" (Quoted from *The Associated Press*, ID 220, August 20, p. S6). Speedo, which made his swimsuit, also promised him a one million dollar bonus. Alan Middleton who is a marketing professor with the Schulich School of Business at York University commented on the effect sponsorship can have:

It will be money well spent for Speedo, since Mr. Phelps is becoming known as the Tiger Woods of swimming and will soon be able to command Tiger-like endorsement dollars (Hartley, ID 121, August 15, p. A1).

Paralympic Games

The Globe and Mail published a total of 11 articles during the PG. The researcher extracted a total of 18 key words from 11 articles and categorized them into four themes: 1)

reporting game results (7 key words, 38.8%), 2) athleticism (4 key words, 22.2%), 3) sports and ethical issues (4 key words, 22.2%) and 4) equality between Paralympians and Olympians (3 key words, 16.8%).

1) *Reporting game results*

Studies have shown that newspaper coverage on the Paralympics is results-oriented (Chang & Crossman, 2008; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Thomas & Smith, 2003). In other words, the print media only gave space for records and medals to athletes with disabilities on the podium without additional explanation about them. However, an article by the *Canadian Press* talked about both athletes who were and were not on the podium and they not only showed results, but gave various explanations for winning or losing. One of the articles that portrayed Chantal Petitclerc, a Canadian Paralympic wheelchair sprinter and winner of the women's 100 metre, described how she overcame psychological pressure and achieved success:

“I’m not used to chasing. I am just really happy that I overcame the pressure when I saw they were ahead. My start wasn’t that great. But I wanted to get a gold medal in my first race because I have a really busy week ahead” (Quoted from *The Canadian Press*, ID 307, Sept. 11, p. S2).

Another example explained external factors that an athlete with disabilities can not control. Lauren Barwick who finished first in the freestyle test dressage said, “It’s phenomenal as I only started riding the horse (Maile) four days ago. She was down with a high fever and a lung infection” (Quoted from *The Canadian Press*, ID 307, Sept. 11, p. S2).

Chang and Crossman (2008) who compared the differences between the 2004 Olympics and Paralympics in the Korean newspaper, the *Chosun Ilbo*, noted that the space for the Paralympic coverage was limited. The paper only reported the competitive shots and focused on the medal winners. In contrast to *The Chosun Ilbo*, *The Globe and Mail* not only published an article quoted from *The Canadian Press* on the records of athletes who were not on the podium, but described how they felt about their performance. Breton, one of the men's cycling sprint team members said, as follows:

“We're very pleased with our race. We didn't make any mistakes and that earned us a strong result. We gave our maximum and our relays were smooth. That helped us beat the time we earned at the Pan Am Championships last year” (Quoted from *The Canadian Press*, ID 307, Sept. 11, p. S2).

2) Athleticism

In many previous studies, athletes with disabilities were described as ‘victims’ rather than ‘real athletes’ (Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Thomas & Smith, 2003). According to Golden (2003), people with disabilities have been depicted in sport as “pitiable and pathetic; the superhuman cripple or supercrip; maladjusted; a burden; or unable to live a successful life” (p.79). When athletes with disabilities do break into mainstream sports pages, it is either in a story about the “super crip” mold or a story involving controversy over the athlete. In this study, however, *The Globe and Mail* portrayed some athletes with disabilities as real athletes or the best Canadian athletes. Petitclerc was described as a sports heroine, nation builder and trailblazer.

James Christie reported about her as follows:

Petitelerc shows that everything is possible. She has been a symbol for the recognition of wheelchair athletes as equal players, rather than victims of accidents. In 2002, she was the first Canadian athlete in a wheelchair to gain a Commonwealth Games medal that was included officially in the count for Canada, no more a demonstration participant. In 2006, she led the Canadian team into the massive Melbourne Cricket Grounds as the flag-bearer. In the sports world, coach Peter Eriksson said Petitelerc made the Paralympics more professional and competitive (Christie, ID 312, Sept. 17, p. S3).

In contrast to previous research that framed athletes with disabilities as victims and subordinate, the best medalists with disabilities were represented in ways that emphasized their performance skills as real athletes.

3) *Sports and ethical issues*

The researcher found some articles from *The Globe and Mail* on human rights for people with disabilities in China. This theme is unique to *The Globe and Mail* compared to previous studies of the PG (Chang & Crossman, 2008; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Thomas & Smith, 2003). Those articles explained the current situation of people with disabilities in China and how the Chinese government wanted to introduce policies to give better opportunities to people with disabilities by hosting the PG. Geoffrey York, a *Globe and Mail* reporter covering the PG, commented on the situation of people with disabilities in China and suggested some ideas to improve their treatment.

China's 83 million disabled people are almost invisible, rarely seen in public. They have endured decades of discrimination and neglect in a society. Six out of 100 people

have disabilities, but most of them stay at home. Few taxis and buses can carry wheelchairs. We unconsciously lock the disabled people at home... The sporting event will make a huge difference in Chinese awareness of the disabled people (York, ID 303, Sept. 6, p. A19).

4) *Equality between Paralympians and Olympians*

The Globe and Mail published articles comparing Paralympians to Olympians to emphasize the excellent performance of athletes with disabilities. When Geoffrey York, a reporter of *The Globe and Mail*, reported about the Canadian wheelchair rugby team, the paper stated the team to the national rugby team without disabilities:

They (wheelchairs rugby players) train just as hard as able-bodied athletes...
 “Mainstream is (our) dream”, “And it’s not a pipe dream. Every time people see our sport, they agree that it’s a spectacular sight” (York, ID 309, Sept. 15, p. S1, S9).

Blatchford compared Petitcherc who won five gold medals in wheelchair racing to Usain Bolt of Jamaica who won 100 metres, 200 metres and 400 metre relay gold medals. She also compared Michael Phelps of US who won eight gold medals in the Olympics to Petitcherc to emphasize the value of her performance:

Petitcherc’s performance stood out for the Paralympics the way record setting sprinter Usain Bolt of Jamaica and gold-covered swimmer Michael Phelps of the US did at the Olympic Games last month (Blatchford, ID 313, Sept. 18, p. S2).

CHAPTER 4

Discussion and Conclusions

This study analyzed the coverage by *The Globe and Mail* of the Beijing Olympic (OG) and Paralympic Games (PG) in 2008 using mixed methods. This concluding chapter is divided into three primary sections. The first two sections focus on discussion of results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis and summary of the comparison of the both OG and PG. The final section provides suggestions and recommendations for future research.

A Summary and Discussion of the Quantitative Results

Size of Articles and Photographs

Overall differences were found between the textual and photographic size given to the OG and PG. That is, the OG received more coverage (articles: more than 20 times, photographs: more than 22 times) than the PG. With respect to the frequency of coverage, *The Globe and Mail* published an average of 16.8 articles and 18.5 photographs per day during the OG and an average of 0.6 articles and 0.6 photographs per day during the PG.

According to Chang and Crossman's study (2008) which analyzed the differences between the OG and PG in a South Korean newspaper, *The Chosun Ilbo*, the difference in the amount of coverage between the OG and PG was primarily based on the commercial logic between sports and media, referred to in the literature as mediasport, which has come together

for their mutual symbiotic benefit. Clearly, mediasport is a valuable commodity to owners of media and sports corporations, because it is relatively cheap to produce and attracts large global audiences. As a result, sport provides a high profit margin for the media. To run a newspaper successfully as a big business it needs to sell to as large a readership as possible. As Burstyn (1999) noted “sport sells newspapers and newspapers sell sport” (p. 105). Consequently, because people are more interested in the OG, publishers give readers more OG articles (Chang & Crossman, 2008; Coakley & Donnelly, 2009). The result of this study shows that *The Globe and Mail* also follows the commercial logic of news’ values as the Korean newspaper did. Perhaps when the PG generates as much profit as the OG, *The Globe and Mail* will give it more coverage.

This study supports the findings of Chang and Crossman (2008) who found a vast discrepancy in textual and photographic coverage between the OG and PG. Therefore, consistent with the previous literature (Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Gilbert, 2001; Thomas & Smith, 2003) this study found that the PG were underrepresented in terms of textual and photographic coverage when compared to the OG. Despite the continuing progress in sports opportunities and legal rights for athletes with disabilities, they continue to be stigmatized because their bodies do not meet hegemonically prescribed ideals of physicality (Nixon, 2007). As a result, unequal coverage of the OG and PG found in this study also contributes to reinforcing the hegemony of the able-bodied.

Frequency of Articles and Photographs

1) Gender of athletes

In this study, male athletes received more textual coverage than female athletes in both the OG and PG. This result is because there is a positive correlation between the amount of coverage and the ratio between male and female athletes who were participating in the OG and PG. According to statistics from the IOC (2008) and IPC (2008), 35% (1,380 of 3,951 athletes) of the 2008 Paralympic participants (a four percent increase from the 2004 PG), were female athletes, while 42% (4,746 of 11,196 athletes) of the 2008 Olympic participants (1.7% increase from the 2004 OG) were female athletes. Team Canada had a total of 143 athletes [63 female (44%) and 80 male athletes (56%)] representing Canada at the 2008 Beijing PG, whereas for the OG, Canada sent 332 athletes [146 female (44%) and 186 male athletes (56%)] . These results support those of Chang and Crossman (2008) who examined the 2004 Athens OG and PG and Schantz and Gilbert (2001) who examined the 1996 Atlanta PG and found a positive correlation between the amount of coverage and the ratio between male and female participants.

However, when compared to the textual coverage given to women in other sports (Öztürk, 2006; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Schell & Duncan, 1999; Sherrill, 1997), the female Paralympians received equitable textual coverage in *The Globe and Mail*. Interestingly, with regard to photographic coverage for the PG, female athletes with disabilities received more

photographic coverage (66.7%) than did female Olympians (33.9%). This result indicates that *The Globe and Mail* published more photographs of disabled female athletes despite the lower participation percentage for disabled female athletes (44%). This result is influenced by the number of medals won by female athletes. This is contrary to the Connell's theory of masculine hegemony which reinforces heterosexuality, aggression and assertiveness (Connell, 2005). Of a total of 50 medals the Canadian team won, female athletes in the PG won 31 medals (62%). This result indicates that there is a positive relationship between the amount of coverage and the number of medals obtained for the PG more so than the ratio between the number of female participants and coverage. However, Chang and Crossman's (2008) study did not show that female athletes in the PG were pictured more often than male athletes although Korean female athletes with disabilities won more medals than Korean disabled male athletes. There needs to be additional studies to confirm if a relationship exists between the amount of coverage for female athletes and the number of medals obtained by females in the international sporting events.

2) Location

Sixteen articles and seventeen photographs during the OG were found on the front page of the newspaper which is considered the most important part of the newspaper (Vincent, 2000), while for the PG, only one photograph was found on the same page. These results indicate that the PG were considered to be of less interest than the OG. The OG articles (texts = 78.8%,

photographs = 66.1%) and PG articles (texts = 81.8%, photographs = 66.6%) were primarily located in the sports section. However, *The Globe and Mail* allotted two pages more on average to the sports section known as “the Olympic special section” than they did before and after the OG. Consequently, the difference in the number of pages devoted to the Olympic and Paralympic coverage and the difference in the number of articles and photographs on the front of the newspaper between the OG and PG reinforced readers’ prejudice that the PG is a trivial event and Paralympians are not “real athletes” (Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Thomas & Smith, 2003).

3) *Nationality of athletes*

The amount of the Olympic coverage for Canadian and international athletes was equal, whereas for the PG, Canadian athletes were covered more than international athletes. This result is consistent with the study by Chang and Crossman (2008) who showed that the 2004 OG gave an equitable amount of coverage for both Canadian and international athletes but coverage of the PG mostly covered Canadian athletes.

Global sporting events such as the OG and PG offer a useful place in which sporting nationalism can be investigated (Lee & Maguire, 2009). In this study, differences in the amount of coverage for Canadian and international athletes between the OG and PG suggest that there exists a different discourse on nationalism. Nationalism in the OG is reinforced by highlighting

Canadian athletes' performance and those winning against athletes from other countries, whereas for the PG, nationalism is strengthened by only describing Canadian athletes' achievements.

4) *Type of sport*

Overall, the textual and photographic coverage provided more frequent coverage of individual events than team events for both the OG and PG. This result depended on the number of medals obtained by the athletes. Of a total of 18 medals obtained by Canadian athletes in the OG, athletes participating in individual events won 12 medals (66.7%) (IOC, 2008) versus 45 of 50 medals (90%) for the PG (IPC, 2008). Chang and Crossman (2008) found the same result. When athletes who participated in individual events won more medals, the Canadian newspaper had more coverage of athletes participating in individual events than team events. This result indicates that there is a close relationship between the number of medals obtained and the amount of coverage for both the OG and PG.

5) *Competitive versus non-competitive*

Photographic coverage focused on competitive shots (55%) for the OG, while the Canadian newspaper published less competitive photographs (44%) for the PG. The researcher thinks that *The Globe and Mail* did not print textual and photographic articles about athletes with disabilities because the newspaper does not consider them as "real athletes" and the PG as an important sporting event. The images of competitive Olympians and non-competitive

Paralympians might have reinforced the perception that athletes with disabilities are passive, weak and unathletic. Therefore, the greater proportion of non-competitive rather than competitive photographs reinforces the traditional representation and perception that athletes with disabilities are passive human beings.

These results support Klein's (1988) finding that approximately 60% of photographs of Olympic athletes showed them in competitive situations. Moreover, since the PG have been considered as less physical than the OG (Thomas & Smith, 2003), the fact that the PG were given less competitive photographic coverage compared to the OG is reasonable. However, Chang and Crossman's (2008) study did not show that athletes with disabilities were pictured in non-competitive photographs more often than able-bodied athletes. Further research is needed to confirm this claim.

6) *Field of view*

In the past, a photograph of the entire body of disabled athletes in the newspaper was not usual or socially acceptable (Hardin, 2006; Thomas & Smith, 2003). However, this study found differences regarding the field of view of photographs between the OG and PG. More specifically, there was a tendency to show the whole body of Paralympians more often than Olympians. This finding is consistent with Chang and Crossman (2008) and Schantz and Gilbert's (2001) studies. The reason why *The Globe and Mail* provides more whole body shots than head or upper body

shots is to give visual cues for Paralympians and the PG to readers. According to Hardin and Hardin (2004), photographs provide important cues and better understanding about articles.

Consequently, the whole body shots may help to capture the readers' attention and interest about Paralympians and the PG.

7) Colour of photographs

There were more colour photographs than black and white for the OG, whereas coverage for colour and black and white photographs was equally represented in the PG. Usually, colour photographs are recognized as more visually attractive to the readers (Vincent, 2000). This result suggests that the OG are more important sporting events than the PG.

Summary of Quantitative Results

From results of quantitative comparisons of newspaper coverage of the 2008 Beijing OG and PG, the researcher reaffirms traditional or dominant conceptualizations of able-bodiedness, masculinity and nationalism.

First, *The Globe and Mail* strengthens the hegemony for the able-bodied in sport through the unequal amount of coverage between the OG and PG (Barnes, 1992; Campbell & Oliver, 1996; Chang & Crossman, 2008; Thomas & Smith, 2003). This difference helps maintain the able-bodied hegemony in sport by implying to readers that the OG and Olympians are more important than the PG and athletes with disabilities based on the number and size of articles and

photographs focusing on both Games.

Second, although there are an increasing number of women participating in the OG and PG and society's perception of women athletes and athleticism has changed (Vincent, 2000), *The Globe and Mail* pays more attention to male athletes by publishing a higher number of textual and photographic articles compared to female athletes in the OG. This difference helps maintain and strengthen masculine hegemony in sport and society (Hardin, Lynn, Walsdoft & Hardin, 2002; Kian; 2006; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999). According to Pedersen (2002), by not providing coverage of female athletes or at least minimizing coverage of female Olympians, the media "reproduce and reinforce the dominant ideology of gender order in society (p. 305)". However, in this study, the researcher also found one result which was contrary to the traditional conceptualization of masculinity. In the PG, female athletes received equal amount of textual coverage but they received more photographic coverage than male athletes. This result may indicate that dominant masculine hegemony is declining in the PG.

Finally, nationalism in the PG is more evident than in the general newspaper coverage of sports (Schantz & Gilbert, 2001). In the OG, textual and photographic coverage had similar ratios for Canadian athletes and international athletes, whereas coverage of the PG focused primarily on the Canadian athletes. According to Schantz and Gilbert (2001), the PG has become a mere instrument of nationalist and parochial logic with newspapers only covering domestic athletes

and their performances, whereas during the OG readers are informed about all the records and a greater number of international athletes.

A Summary and Discussion of the Qualitative Results

Discussion of the OG

1) Predicting game results

In this study, the researcher found that the dominant narratives from *The Globe and Mail* during the OG were predicting game results which included five low order themes; anticipation for medals, expectation of game results, predicting game results based on the rivalry between nations, introduction of sports celebrities and prediction of their performance and introduction and prediction of a sports event. The reason the newspaper published this theme most often was because sports are unpredictable (Crossman, 2007). If the outcome of a sport contest was predictable, the competition would not excite the audience. According to Costas (2000), “In any sport, the anticipation of what might happen is almost as important as what actually happens (p.133)”. Since mega sporting events such as the OG capture more interest from the public, newspapers give space to articles predicting game results (Billings & Eastman, 2002). Consequently, to increase the interest of readers, *The Globe and Mail* published more articles about the prediction of the event results with information about team rivalry, the celebrities and new sporting events.

2) *Reporting game results*

Reporting game results is another major theme published by *The Globe and Mail* during the 2008 Beijing OG. Newspapers play an important role in bringing the reader a fresh account of contemporary happenings with accuracy (Jeffres, Cutietta, Lee & Sekerka, 1999). This function of newspapers is to help readers become better informed and help them make wiser decisions by providing facts about, for example, national and international politics, business and sports.

Since people are more interested in the OG, audiences want to know the results of performances and games and newspapers deliver accurate and prompt results. Consequently, *The Globe and Mail* provided a more detailed description about the Olympic medalists and their performances than other athletes who did not make the podium. According to Coakley and Donnelly (2009), media coverage highlights winners because winning seems to be more valuable in the sports culture.

3) *Athleticism*

Society expects Olympians to be ambitious, confident, bold and courageous (Hargreaves, 1990; Louise, 2000). Those characteristics are described as athleticism. The journalists in this study often wrote about athletes who overcame physical and psychological difficulties, were devoted to their team and dominated their sports. This practice may be because newspaper coverage about high performance athletes increases people's awareness about organized sports

(Crolley & Teso, 2007; Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

Similarly, Vincent (2000) and Yu (2009) found that newspaper coverage emphasizes athletes' achievement and performance. For example, when athletes face and overcome obstacles such as injury and the pressure to win, newspapers describe them as heroic (Yu, 2009). The other example of athleticism is when athletes sacrifice themselves for their team and when they have outstanding performances during the games. Yu's study (2009) shows that the media report about athletes who sacrifice themselves for the team and have excellent performances and are regarded as national icons. This study indicates that devotion to the team and domination in sports are closely related to nationalism (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). In other words, devotion to a team can be interpreted as patriotism for their own nation. A good example of sharing characteristics of both athleticism and nationalism is when Brent Hayden took himself out of the 200 metre freestyle semi-finals to help the Canadian men's relay team. One journalist, Maki, of *The Globe and Mail* described him as "a national celebrity" instead of a medalist (*The Globe and Mail*, August 11, 2008 p. S6).

4) *Sports and politics*

From this analysis, the researcher discovered two low order themes on the relationship between the OG and politics: improvement of Canadian sports environment through funding and the role of sports over political issues. Many nations use the OG to establish and reinforce their

nation's identity and legitimacy on the world's stage and nations believe that, when athletes win medals, their national image is enhanced around the world (Kidd, 1991). This belief is the reason why many governments offer financial funding to their promising athletes and also give financial rewards for winning medalists in the OG. Journalists, Christie and Trevisan of *The Globe and Mail* said that "after four barren days without medals in Beijing, Canada's athletes and sports administrators were already pointing accusatory fingers at the government for lack of funding" (*The Globe and Mail*, August 13, 2008 p. A13). They also said that the Canadian government needs to invest in elite winter sports as the host country of the 2010 Winter OG because it is a chance for the Canadian government to announce to the world its existence as a nation with a strong sports performance (Eitzen & Sage, 2009). *The Globe and Mail* also published two narratives about the role of sports over politics. The first story was when a Russian shooter who had won silver invited the the Georgian shooter who had won bronze to share the podium with her. This story made a very strong point because at that time of the OG there was an armed conflict between Georgia and Russia. The other was when the United States and Cuba competed in harmony in a baseball game. They showed that sports can override politics. Similarly, there are many examples of political situations that have affected sports: ping-pong diplomacy between China and the United States in 1972 and the Soviet Union and the United States' boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 OG. All of the above examples demonstrate that sport is a tool of

foreign policy and sport can be used as a prelude to formal relations between countries (Yu, 2009).

Evidenced from this study, sports and politics have a reciprocal relationship. In other words, governments frequently are involved in sports to promote the prestige and power of a nation and sports are used as a political vehicle to reproduce values associated with the dominant ideology (Houlihan, 2000).

5) Sports and ethical issues

International sporting events are plagued with a variety of “unethical” practices such as violence, cheating and drug-use. In the 2008 Beijing OG, we witnessed this where the notion of ‘winning at all costs’ has eroded sportsmanship (Volkwein, 1995). Sport ethics depend on ethical norms in society in general. The public is interested in sport being conducted in an ethical manner in top level sporting events. As a result, *The Globe and Mail* published stories about various ethical issues such as falsifying the ages of the contestants, biased judging, doping, racism, sexual issues and human rights violations to pique the readers’ interest.

In the context of sport, deviant behaviour such as falsifying the ages, biased judging and doping occurs when athletes are willing to do anything to win and when coaches and administrators wish to reinforce national identity using athletes’ success (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009). According to Seltzer and Glass (1991), it is not surprising that athletes use drugs, cheat

and violate rules to reach these goals. The actions taken by athletes are supported by coaches, administrators and referees to enhance their won status and the nation they represent.

Racism is a major theme which often appears in media coverage of sports (Eastman & Billings, 2001; Sabo, Jansen, Tate, Duncan, & Leggett, 1996; Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004). During the 2008 OG, an incident occurred when the Spanish men's basketball team slanted their eyes to appear Chinese. *The Globe and Mail* published four articles about the issue.

Other concerns at the OG have been gender and/or sexual issues (Bernstein, 2002; King, 2007; Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999; Wensing & Bruce, 2003; Vincent et al, 2004). Most articles from *The Globe and Mail* during the OG addressed narratives publicizing sports using the sex of female athletes. Similarly, Knight and Giuliano (2003) and Shugart (2003) note that newspapers and sports magazines have frequently used images of female athletes as a way to publicize sports and sport organizations. On the other hand, *The Globe and Mail* published articles about the beauty of the female athletes' body because their healthy and beautiful body plays an important role in shaping an image of a healthy woman.

The last issue is about human rights. *The Globe and Mail* published articles about human rights violations in China. According to Kidd and Donnelly (2000), human rights in sport focus primarily on participation in sports of minority groups related to gender, class, race and body. In the 2008 Beijing OG, however, the issue was not about sport but about China and Chinese

people. Before the Games began, most of the western media had focused on the poor human rights of the Chinese, the repression of Tibetans and other minorities and the harassment of the press because of the communist structure China has. Therefore, *The Globe and Mail* paid more attention to human rights about Chinese people than human rights issues pertaining to sports.

6) *Sports and nationalism*

The media describes the OG as “war without weapons” (Drehle, 2000). This symbolic war shows that success in international sporting events such as the OG can trigger pride among a nation’s citizens and can unite a nation. According to Eitzen and Sage (2009), “the OG and other international sports competitions produce and promote an ‘us versus them’ feeling among athletes, coaches, politicians, the press and citizens” (p. 200). This indicates that international sporting events and nationalism are closely intertwined. Similar to previous studies (Darnell & Sparks, 2005; Hargreaves, 1992; Tzanelli, 2006), this study found a relationship between sports and nationalism. *The Globe and Mail* used Huynh who won gold in women’s freestyle wrestling to reinforce nationalism. In the 2004 OG, Darnell and Sparks (2005) found the Canadian media tried to strengthen national identity using a Canadian athlete, Simon Whitfield who won a gold medal in the triathlon. They noted:

As well as highlighting Whitfield, these narratives also indirectly asserted the legitimacy of sports as a terrain in which Canadian identity is expressed. This occurred as Whitfield’s story became connected to a diffuse but well-established understanding that, although Canadians are a culturally diverse and geographically dispersed people,

Canadian athletes transcend these differences and reveal an underlying identity and nobleness of character that is laudatory and uniquely Canadian (p.358).

In this sense, both the Huynh and Whitfield cases highlight the ideological connection in Canada between sports and national identity.

7) *Sports and the media*

During the OG, a *Globe and Mail* columnist, William Houston, regularly wrote articles about the OG broadcasting. In his column, he introduced the CBC broadcasting schedule and praised CBC's efforts as the Canadian representative of the OG broadcasting. However, since the CTV, *The Globe and Mail's* subsidiary, is taking over Canada's Olympic broadcast rights for Vancouver 2010 and London 2012, Houston also wrote some critical comments on the CBC's broadcasting for the OG which could be contributed as a critical evaluation about a rival broadcasting company.

In addition to the OG broadcasting, *The Globe and Mail* published negative and positive articles about new media forms such as the Internet. The Internet has expanded the quantity of sports reporting because the internet allows users to use and access in real-time the OG when compared to other media forms (Real, 2006). However, another *Globe and Mail* journalist, Christie Blatchford, was critical of reporters who did not have enough time to write and file a story in their blogs because readers wanted to read and see quick information about the OG (*The Globe and Mail*, 2008). As a result, reporters were not as careful or as thorough with the content

of their articles which meant that readers did not receive high quality information pertaining to the OG and PG.

8) Sports and the economy

The media evaluate the OG in terms of economic value and financial benefit and also assess athletes participating in the OG in terms of endorsement potential and media personas; their popularity depends on corporate names and logos which support them (Coakley & Donnelly, 2009).

In this study, the researcher found articles about the relationship between the OG and the economic effects of China, the host nation. According to Toohey and Veal (2000), the OG is no longer just a sporting event. The Games include cultural, political and economic components. More specifically, the OG are seen as a media event, tourist attraction and marketing opportunity. Peruss (2004) said the OG is an event that can potentially have a significant economic impact on the host city and host nation. A common feature of the Toohey and Veal and Peruss' studies is the economic effects of the OG.

The Globe and Mail also published articles about global corporate sponsorship for successful athletes. Corporations such as Nike, Speedo, Puma use sports stars as vehicles for global expansion and as symbols of success to create marketing handles for their products.

Therefore, corporations have invested much money into sports heroes and heroines because

newspapers tend to give more space to sports celebrities. This is a triangular relationship between the media, sport and corporations (Mason, 1999). Consistent with this study, Smart (2007) investigated the relationship between global sport sponsorship and the emergence of the sport celebrity and pointed out that celebrities serve as exemplars of consumer life-styles to which readers are enticed to aspire to through reading newspapers. For this reason, *The Globe and Mail* gives more space to articles describing sports celebrities.

Discussion of the PG

1) Reporting game results

Newspapers publish sport-specific information concerning PG winners (Chang & Crossman, 2008; Golden, 2003; Thomas & Smith, 2002). Similarly, Schantz and Gilbert (2001) who analyzed the Paralympic coverage in four French and four German newspapers wrote “we could not find a patronizing attitude concerning the defeat of athletes, simply because the newspapers did only talk about medal winners (p.84)”. Contrary to previous research, in this study, the researcher found that textual discourse in *The Globe and Mail* was about disabled athletes who were and were not on the podium and they not only showed results, but gave detailed explanations for winning or losing. These findings support those of Thomas and Smith (2003) who found that the performances of athletes with disabilities were often reported in similar ways to those of able-bodied athletes with particular emphasis on records, medals and

results without describing an athlete's disability. Although *The Globe and Mail* has little space for the PG and Paralympians, the newspaper pays more attention to the PG and athletes with disabilities than was found in previous research.

2) *Athleticism*

In *The Globe and Mail*, the researcher could not find articles describing athletes with disabilities as “victims” or “super crips”. Instead, the reporters portrayed some athletes with disabilities as “real athletes” or “the best Canadian athletes”. In contrast to previous studies that described athletes with disabilities as “overcoming their disability” and “victims of tragic misfortune” (Barnes, 1992; Golden, 2003; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Schell & Duncan, 1999), the best medalists with disabilities in *The Globe and Mail* were represented in ways that emphasized their superior performance skills. This reflection of coverage about the PG and Paralympians can be considered as the change of a stereotypical perception of disability in Canadian society.

3) *Sports and ethical issues*

Despite the Chinese government's assertions that human rights would improve if Beijing was chosen to host the Olympic Games, there were negative narratives from *The Globe and Mail* on poor human rights in China (The Globe and Mail, August 9, 2008 p. A15). During the OG, various human rights issues such as the repression of Tibetans and other minorities, the harassment of the foreign press, pollution and censorship were reported through the media and

when the PG began, the human rights of Chinese people with disabilities was included.

The researcher found that the human rights issue for people with disabilities is unique to *The Globe and Mail* compared to previous research for the PG (Chang & Crossman, 2008; Golden, 2003; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Smith & Thomas, 2005; Thomas & Smith, 2003).

4) Equality between Paralympians and Olympians

As Thomas and Smith (2003) mentioned, there was a tendency for Paralympians to be compared to athletes without disabilities because Olympic athletes are considered to be the best athletes in the world (Schell & Duncan, 1999). In this study, the researcher found there were similar findings. *The Globe and Mail* frequently compared the top Canadian athletes with disabilities to the top international athletes at the OG. For example, Petitclerc, who won five gold medals in wheelchair race, was labeled “the Paralympian equivalent of Usain Bolt, a Jamaican Olympic sprinter” (*The Globe and Mail*, September 18, 2008, p. S3). This comparison of these athletes could be explained by the fact that *The Globe and Mail* appeared to have extended their style of coverage following the relative success of athletes at the PG to that of the OG. Consequently, this comparison indicates that Paralympians could be considered among the best athletes in the world (Schell & Duncan, 1999; Smith & Thomas, 2005).

Summary of Qualitative Results

From results of qualitative comparisons of newspaper coverage of the 2008 Beijing OG

and PG, the researcher found that there were not only differences in the number of both high and low order themes between the OG (8 high order themes, 24 low order themes) and PG (4 high order themes, 4 low order themes), but differences in the content of those themes.

With respect to the number of themes, the OG covered a variety of themes with various low order themes. For example, except for overlapping themes (reporting game results, athleticism and ethical issue) from the OG and PG, the PG had only one theme which compared the Olympians and the OG with Paralympians and the PG. This result indicates that a small amount of coverage of sports with disabilities follows the trend of lack of coverage for people with disabilities generally, which creates the notion that people with disabilities are not fully a part of society (Nelson, 1994; Nixon, 2007; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Thomas & Smith, 2003).

The researcher wants to compare the differences in the content between the themes. For instance, in a theme about a relationship between sports and ethical issues which overlapped from both the OG and PG, the OG had six low order themes, falsifying the ages of the contestants, biased judging, doping, racism, sexual issues and human rights violations and the content of each low order theme was reported in detail, whereas for the PG, the theme was covered as a simple issue. This example shows that the newspaper coverage of the PG is not newsworthy. This result is consistent with Golden's study (2003) which analyzed the dissimilar coverage of the 2002 OG and PG through interviewing journalists who covered the OG and PG.

According to her study, the reporters covering the PG stated that “there were good stories there”. However, many reporters in the OG and PG noted that the Paralympians can not compete on the same level as the Olympic athletes. They compared the PG to the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA) and spoke of both as sports that had not caught on and were not that popular.

As mentioned in previous research (Barnes, 1992; Golden, 2003; Hardin, 2006; Hardin, Lynn, Walsdoft & Hardin, 2002; Thomas & Smith, 2003), able-bodied hegemony was prevalent in the newspaper coverage between the 2008 Beijing OG and PG. The Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, seems to produce and reproduce the dominant ideology of a body order through publishing articles with numerous high and low order themes and reporting varied content about the OG when compared to the PG.

Conclusion of the Study

This study has examined the coverage by a Canadian national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, of the 2008 Beijing Summer OG and PG. Research conducted in the 1990s and the early 2000s had found that both print and electronic media trivialized and marginalized athletes with disabilities and disability sport. The depiction of athletes with disabilities in the press has largely focused on them overcoming their disabilities. Furthermore, their achievements have been undermined by associating them more as ‘supercrips’ than athletes in their own right (Hardin &

Hardin, 2004; Schantz & Gilbert, 2001; Schell & Dancan, 1999; Thomas & Smith, 2003) In contrast to previous studies, this researcher could not find any article which corresponded to the 'supercrip' stereotype.

Despite taking the PG more seriously by treating them like bona fide athletes when compared to previous studies, the researcher has found evidence that newspaper coverage of athletes with disabilities and the PG is often absent and that existing coverage does not have a variety of narratives about the PG and athletes with disabilities. Consequently, the small amount of coverage and the limited narratives of the 2008 Summer PG in Beijing by *The Globe and Mail* when compared to those of the OG reflect the limited value placed on the PG and athletes with disabilities. The limited journalism afforded by *The Globe and Mail* concerning the 2008 Beijing Summer PG may impact negatively on matters regarding disabilities that might be of significance to Canadians and may be indicative of indifference regarding all issues about disabilities.

However, some results give a hopeful message to us. First, masculine hegemony is declining in the PG by giving more coverage to female Paralympians and the narratives about Paralympians are changing from 'supercrips' to 'real athletes'. Those small steps may contribute to changing readers' attitudes and thoughts about people with disabilities and the PG.

Recommendations for Future Research

A more comprehensive study on the comparison between athletes with and without disabilities needs to be completed for other international sports competitions such as the Commonwealth Games which was the first major international multi-sport event to include elite athletes with disabilities in its main sports program and medal table (Smith & Thomas, 2005). The direct comparisons between athletes with and without disabilities in other international sporting events will provide a better understanding of the social representation of athletes with disabilities and disability sport in the media and extend the generalization of the finding.

Additional studies are needed to determine if the able-bodied hegemony is present in the Internet coverage of the OG and PG, since there are few investigations which examine the body-related Internet sports coverage. According to Kian (2006), “research on Internet sport media coverage is in its infancy (p.111)”. These studies could compare content within specific Web sites on the OG and PG, or analyze content from an Internet site of a newspaper and mainstream sport sites such as CBC SportsLine and ESPN Internet. This analysis will provide a better understanding of the difference in the description of elite athletes with and without disabilities between the newspapers and new media forms.

In a previous study, the researcher analyzed the Korean newspaper, *The Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage of the OG and PG and this study investigates *The Globe and Mail*'s coverage between

the OG and PG. Therefore, future cross-cultural studies would improve our understanding of the social representation of athletes with disabilities in the western and eastern media. Also, a cross-cultural analysis of the same Games will give researchers insight into the nature of the textual coverage furthering our perceptions of how athletes, both with and without disabilities, are seen by the western and eastern media respectively.

There are few studies concerning the attitudes and experiences of people who write and edit newspaper articles (Hardin, 2005; Kian, 2006). A limitation of this study is that the researcher did not know how the sports editor made decisions about what to cover for the 2008 OG and PG and how journalists construct their coverage of athletes, with and without disabilities competing in the OG and PG. This limitation could be overcome by surveying or interviewing newspaper journalists and sports editors. Future studies could also compare the attitudes and perceptions of sports reporters and editors toward covering the OG and PG. Therefore, follow-up studies interviewing sports journalists and editors could help answer these questions and provide a better understanding of how they produce and reproduce dominant hegemony of the able-bodied.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Quantitative coding sheet (Example)

Type a question for help

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	E	F	G	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI		
1	size			event				gender				page location				nationality				type of sport				competitive type		field of view				colour	
2	width2	length2	total	OG	PG	male	female	both	none	F of N	F of SS	I of SS	I of N	nation	international	both	none	individual	team	both	None	competitive type	non-com	head	upper	whole	none	colour	B&W		
3			13.22	1		1				1				1				1				1				1			1		
4			19.71	1				1					1		1							1			1				1		
5			0.98	1		1						1			1							1			1				1		
6			9.24	1		1						1		1				1				1			1				1		
7			2.52	1		1						1		1				1				1			1				1		
8			14.06	1				1				1					1	1				1				1			1		
9			7.02	1		1							1		1							1			1				1		
10			2.34	1		1							1	1				1				1				1			1		
11			2.43	1			1						1	1					1			1				1			1		
12			2.34	1		1							1	1				1				1				1			1		
13			2.13	1		1							1	1				1				1			1				1		
14			2.21	1		1							1	1				1				1				1			1		
15			2.13	1		1							1	1							1		1		1				1		
16			3.72	1			1						1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
17			10.75	1			1						1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
18			16.46	1			1			1				1						1		1			1		1		1		
19			7.79	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
20			26.96	1		1							1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
21			1.75	1		1							1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
22			1.20	1		1							1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
23			1.93	1		1							1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
24			1.53	1		1							1		1			1				1			1		1		1		
25			5.21	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
26			10.54	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
27			19.03	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
28			6.91	1		1							1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
29			1.06	1		1							1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
30			1.06	1			1						1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
31			1.06	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
32			0.94	1		1							1	1				1				1			1		1		1		
33			23.11	1				1					1		1						1		1		1		1		1		
34			0.86	1		1							1		1						1		1		1		1		1		

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Appendix B: Summarizing the Olympic and Paralympic coverage (Example)

Date	id	Summaries
		Introduction to AVK and the pressure he faces because of past success and
808	1	being named Canada's flag bearer - pressure and expectations of a medal in K-1 500 and 1000 M
808	2	Dealing with Beijing's poor air quality-environment
808	3	Problems with doping and drug testing at the Olympics - doping
808	4	Daniel Nestor's road to the Olympics and his partner selection - expectation of a medal in men's double tennis
808	5	Canada's cycling team and the route of the cycling race - expectation of a medal in men's and women's road cycling race
808	6	Canadian cyclists to watch - intro to road cycling
808	7	CBC's coverage plan for the Beijing Olympics – media and sports
808	8	Hayden has more confidence since his turbulent experience in Athens; looks for more success in Beijing - expectation of a medal in men's 100m freestyle
808	9	How the Aus/Can swimming rivalry died; Australia's program moved forward, Canada's makes no improvements and had less government support - rivalry

between Aussie and Canadian swimming team

808 10 China's stock market should see a rise post Olympics and some stock's to watch
- the relationship between the OG and host country's economy

808 11 How different employer's are making the games accessible to employees at
work; how will this effect productivity - firms' effort for improving the
productivities (economy)

808 12 With all the new methods to connect to media (blackberry etc.) how to keep
results a secret until you can watch - new media and the OG

808 13 Bodies such as Ms. Torres's are very hard to get, it takes a lot of work and
commitment. Bodies like these are not for everyone. - new standard of body by
appearance of old aged athletes (a change of the body culture in our society)

809 14 What hosting the Olympics' means to the people of China - means of the OG to
Chinese (Opening ceremony)

809 15 World records will be broken in Beijing - expectation of new records in major
events such as swimming, 100m, 110 hurdle

809 16 Don't let the glamour of the Olympics over shadow the human right issues in
China - human rights

Appendix C: Extracting keywords from summarized contents (Example)

Date	id	Keywords
808	1	Pressure and expectations of a medal
808	2	environment
808	3	Doping
808	4	Expectation of a medal
808	5	Expectation of a medal
808	6	Intro a sport event
808	7	Sports and media
808	8	Expectation of a medal
808	9	Rivalry between Aussie and Canadian team
808	10	Sports and economy
808	11	Sports and economy
808	12	Sports and media
808	13	Body culture and the OG
809	14	The OG and national identity of Chinese
809	15	Expectation of game result (expectation of new records)

Appendix D: The Common patterns between similar keywords by alphabetical order (Example)

A nation dominating a sport event-168-818

A nation dominating a sport event-195-819

A nation dominating a sport event-202-819

A nation dominating a sport event-283-823

A nation dominating a sport event 2)-256-822

A nation dominating a sport event 2)-279-823

A nation dominating a sport event and game result-92-813

A nation dominating sports events-146-816

Age and performance (heath issue)-298-825

Anticipation for the 2012 OG-222-820

Athleticism-140-815

Athleticism (age issue) 2)-57-812

Athleticism (coaching)-124-815

Athleticism (coaching) 1)-296-825

Athleticism (coaching) 2)-263-822

Athleticism (dedication to family)-177-818

Athleticism (devotion for family) 1)-105-814

Appendix E: Categorizing the similar keywords as a theme (Example)

OLYMPICS

**Predicting Game Results (Expectation of a Medal and Game result, Rivalry, Sports
Celebrity, Athletes of Great Promise, & Intro sports events) - 88**

Expectation of a medal-131-815

Expectation of a medal-142-816

Expectation of a medal-145-816

Expectation of a medal-151-816

Expectation of a medal-152-816

Expectation of a medal-156-816

Expectation of a medal-167-818

Expectation of a medal-190-819

Expectation of a medal-208-820

Expectation of a medal-234-821

Expectation of a medal-236-821

Expectation of a medal-27-809

Expectation of a medal-275-823

Expectation of a medal-4-808