

A Critical Investigation of Media Representations of Sport-Related Pain and Injury

Jordan Zacher^{1,2}, William Bridel¹

Faculty of Kinesiology, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta¹;
School of Public Health, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta²
Corresponding author: zacher@ualberta.ca

ABSTRACT

Abstract: Academic literature has consistently demonstrated that athletes are socialized to accept a culture of risk, which is thought to be inherent within sport. In accepting this culture of risk, sport-related pain and injuries are normalized. This normalization is reinforced by the media through the glorification of primarily male athletes who play through their pain in largely contact sports. The purpose of this study was to investigate how *CBC Sports Weekend* constructed sport-related pain and injury across a variety of sports. Twenty broadcasts that aired from August – December 2019 were selected and subjected to thematic analysis. The results indicated a paradoxical representation of sport-related pain and injury. *CBC Sports Weekend* reinforced a culture of risk and rewarded athletes for taking successful risks and toughing it out through injuries across a wide range of sports. At the same time, broadcasters showed concern for athletes' health and well-being following a fall, crash, or injury. Importantly, these paradoxical narratives demonstrated an improvement in how sport-related pain and injury is portrayed, augmenting recent academic literature that suggests sport-related pain and injury media narratives are shifting towards prioritizing health.

In 2010, 4.27 million Canadians over 12 years of age suffered an injury; 35% of these injuries occurred while participating in sport/exercise (Billette & Janz, 2015). In Canada, sport related injuries are estimated to cost \$187 million per year (Parachute, 2015). With implications on athletes' short- and long-term health alongside the financial cost, sociologists have been interested in the culture of risk in sport and how the media represents athletes who play through pain and injury. Critical studies of pain and injury in the media have primarily focused on male sports, particularly at elite and professional levels; there is a dearth of literature on women's sports as well as representations of "peripheral" men's sports. To address this gap in the literature, the purpose of this project was to investigate how a Canadian sports television program constructed pain and injury across a breadth of both women's

and men's sports. This study provides additional understanding of media representations of sport-related pain and injury in the Canadian context and discusses potential future research in sociocultural sport studies. The two following research questions guided this study: (1) How does the media construct sport-related pain and injury across a variety of sports? (2) What do constructions of sport-related injury in television broadcasts reveal about contemporary social norms and values in relation to sport and athletes' bodies?

Sport and the Culture of Risk

Sport contains a narrative that socializes athletes to accept risk. Through accepting this "culture of risk," athletes normalize pain and injury obtained while playing sports (Nixon, 1993). Normalizing pain

and injury is encompassed by a sporting ethos that expects athletes to continue playing through pain and return to play as soon as possible after an injury (Malcom, 2006; Nixon, 1993). A variety of sports normalize pain and injury, ranging from American football (Nixon, 1993; Sanderson et al., 2016) to rowing (Pike, 2004) to ballet (McEwen & Young, 2011).

Socializing athletes to accept injuries as a normal part of sport begins at a young age, (Curry, 1993; Malcom, 2006) although players more invested in the sport are more likely to adhere to the sporting ethos (Malcom, 2006). Specific to male athletes, it has been argued that boys learn to play through pain to prove their toughness and masculinity (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Curry, 1993; Robertson, 2003; Spencer, 2012; Young et al., 1994). This is in part due to the fact that "sport became institutionalized as a way of nurturing in boys the values necessary for manhood (competitiveness, toughness, desire to win, superiority)" (Robertson, 2003, p. 707). The relationship between pain, injury, and masculinity in the context of sport, however, is complex. For example, Agnew and Drummond (2018) contend that male Australian football athletes who participated in their study played through pain because they enjoyed the sport and the success associated with hard work and discipline, not to prove their masculinity. Additionally, while rugby players appeared to accept pain and injury as relatively normal, they were not necessarily naïve or uncritical about corporeal damage (Pringle & Markula, 2005). Hence, scholars argue that critical reflection about pain and injury demonstrates the potential of negotiating masculinity beyond dominant constructions aligned with pain and injury.

Beyond conceptualizations of masculinity, the body of literature on socialization and sport-related pain and injury asserts that the sporting ethos of accepting pain and playing through injury is present across most, if not all, sporting contexts. The sporting ethos is accepted and even rewarded in various ways. First, playing through pain and injury is perceived as part of the job of professional athletes by coaches and management, and constitutes "the good professional"

(Roderick & Waddington, 2000, p. 169). Additionally, due to the extensive time commitment of training and competing, competitive athletes' social life can become dominated by their sporting subculture (Pike, 2004). Therefore, athletes unable to maintain significant relationships outside their sport lose outsider perspectives that might challenge this sporting ethos.

Another factor that socializes athletes into accepting the sporting ethos is the negative consequences associated with removing oneself from the game/competition. Since playing through pain and injury is the norm, athletes who removed themselves from their sport due to injury are stigmatized by coaches, fellow athletes, and (in the case of professional athletes) management (Pike, 2004; Roderick, 2006; Roderick & Waddington, 2000; Young et al., 1994). Therefore, athletes often continued playing through pain to avoid the negative emotions of shame, guilt, and depression (Roderick et al., 2000; Young et al., 1994).

The last factor that influences athletes playing through injuries is the role of medical professionals. Paradoxically, there exists a culture of precaution that tempers the culture of risk in the negotiation of treatment between clinicians and patient-athletes (Safai, 2003). Clinicians are often under pressure from management to clear elite and professional athletes to play, while still being subject to the Hippocratic Oath, otherwise stated as 'do no harm'. This clinician conflict sometimes results in athletes receiving questionable medical advice compared to non-patient-athletes (Charlesworth & Young, 2004; Roderick & Waddington, 2000; Safai, 2003).

Sport-Related Pain and Injury in the Media

Critical study has focused on media representations of sport-related pain and injury, with a particular interest in the reification of dominant gender and sport discourses. Previous studies observed that the media praised tough aggressive athletes who sacrificed their body for the team (Messner et al., 2000; Trujillo, 1995). Additionally, Trujillo (1995) notes that football is an aggressive game that legitimizes violence through alienating the body. The body is described as a weapon

to be used in whatever way necessary to win. However, these studies are limited to male sports in America and were completed over 20 years ago.

More recent studies suggest that the media is beginning to prioritize safety over performance and athletic success, “sports journalists are becoming more aware of the serious nature of sports injuries and adjusting their attitudes accordingly” (Sanderson et al., 2016, p. 17). Similarly, Anderson and Kian (2012) argue that the media is starting to support health and safety over glorifying athletes who play through pain and injury. A softened notion of masculinity is suggested to allow athletes to make decisions in the best interest of their health without having their masculinity questioned (Anderson & Kian, 2012; McGannon et al., 2013). Despite evidence of a shift in the media’s representations, a narrative still exists that perpetuates the norm—athletes should sacrifice their body for success (Sanderson et al., 2016).

Methodological Approach

I adopted a poststructuralist epistemology with a relative ontological perspective, which states reality is indistinguishable from subjective experiences (Levers, 2013). Poststructuralism posits that there is power in the creation and production of language: language not only describes what is happening, but also defines it. The media plays a significant role in this social process (Millington & Wilson, 2016). In this way of thinking, language plays a powerful role in creating and maintaining social norms and practices.

I adopted an ethnographic research method to investigate media representations of pain and injuries during national and international sporting competitions. This approach aims to understand social interactions, perceptions, and behaviors within a given setting (Reeves et al., 2008). I chose *CBC Sports Weekend* because it covers a wide range of sports and has a large Canadian viewership with 5-million viewers in 2018 (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Revenue Group, 2019).

I recorded *CBC Sports Weekend* every week from August through to December 2019. I purposefully selected twenty broadcasts (~33 hours of coverage) to capture a wide variety of sports. After the programs were selected, I performed a close viewing during which I took notes as a researcher would “in the field” (Bridel, 2015). I recorded as much detail as possible to provide rich materials to analyze, with specific interest in how commentators framed injuries that occurred during the broadcast or an athlete’s recovery from previous injuries. In addition, I noted any absence of commentary about sport-related pain and injury; while what remains silent is excluded from discussion, the silence nevertheless contributes to knowledge about a subject.

I performed a thematic analysis using NVivo 12 to identify patterns of meaning in the dialogue of the broadcasters, as described by Braun and colleagues (2016). This method is unanchored to a specific theoretical framework or type of data; however, it acknowledges the importance of theoretical knowledge and is transparent with theoretical assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Moreover, I employed a recursive reflexive approach that encouraged thoughtful reflection about the data and fluidity throughout the research process. As such, themes are constructed from the data and are neither hidden nor waiting to be found (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Themes were created in relation to the research questions, concepts from existing academic literature, and unique ideas that emerged from my analysis of the broadcasts.

Results

The three themes created were: (a) precaution; (b) normalizing risk; and, (c) resiliency. The most frequent and consistent commentary across the broadcasts was related to the sport itself; this included commentary of the action, explanation of rules, and discussion of athletes and their past performances. As such, while comments about pain and injury were present throughout the broadcasts, they were not usually the primary focal point.

Precaution

Broadcasters made comments I identified as “precautionary” in 75% of the broadcasts. Precaution was then broken into four sub-themes: concern for an athlete after a fall or crash; athletes’ prioritizing health over competing; concern for younger, inexperienced athletes; and acknowledgment of a dangerous situation. In this study, I focus on the two most prominent sub-themes: concern for an athlete after a fall or crash and athletes prioritizing health over competition. It is worth noting that heightened precaution was observed in relation to discussing younger, less experienced athletes who were considered to have a low probability of reaching the podium.

Concern for an Athlete Following a Fall/Crash

Expressing concern for an athlete’s well-being after a crash or fall was the most common sub-theme. The first example of this occurred after an athlete fell during a snowboard cross race: “there’s [athlete] on the left side catching that toe edge, a bit of a scorpion fall. Hopefully she’s okay from that wipeout” (December 21st, 2019). The next two quotes demonstrate a similar concern for the athletes in bobsleigh and luge. Each of these sports has a high element of risk as athletes travel at high speeds. As one commentator states, “really hope that [the athletes] are okay, you can see that they’re taking big blows with that heavy sled up against the wall. They’re trying to turtle inside that protective shell” (December 7th, 2019). Similarly, another commentator remarks:

[After the athletes’ repeatedly hit into each side as the race ends] Yikes! That’s called ping ponging when you just hit one wall after another, after another and you just can’t stop. It is not fun, it’s very painful on your shoulders, very painful on your ankles and not a great way to end a run on a World Cup [as first responder comes to the scene] you can see the grimace, he probably hit his ankles and shoulders.... The look of pain in his face is real...it looks like they’re not hurt which is a great, great sign! (December 14th, 2019)

In both examples the commentators showed a high level of concern for the athletes during their crashes. In the luge example, the commentator also states how the athlete did not appear to be hurt in contrast to hoping the athletes were not hurt, as was the case in the bobsleigh example. This concern for athletes’ health and wellbeing was also present in artistic gymnastics, another sport with a high element of risk: “she’s in real pain, that’s the big concern right now” (October 12th, 2019).

Athletes Prioritizing Health Over Competition

In this sub-theme, commentators mentioned athletes’ health in relation to past injuries, which were presented as an “information update” during broadcasts. For example, this commentator discusses an injured halfpipe skier who chose not to compete in the competition because she was following concussion protocol:

[Canadian skier] is the reigning Olympic champion, she got a concussion training in New Zealand. She’s resisting to hurry back to competition, here’s her Instagram post—she’s following concussion protocol. Missing the first WC of the season and getting ready for what she calls her favorite event, the winter X-games. (December 21st, 2019)

While this example highlights an athlete choosing to not rush back into competition “too early”, the next quote represents an athlete’s decision to retire from their sport entirely:

[Athlete] announced retirement from BMX racing earlier this week.... [Athlete] has been struggling with a serious concussion that he sustained in the WC in Azerbaijan last year with post-concussive symptoms continually flaring up since. The 27-year-old made the tough choice to retire for his own health. (November 23rd, 2019)

Both of these quotes focus on the athletes’ decision to remove themselves from a competition or from the sport entirely because of a prioritization of their health.

These examples are both related to concussions, suggesting a heightened precaution surrounding head injuries. This is supported by Safai (2003), who noted that head injuries were constructed as non-negotiable by athletes in the physician-patient/athlete relationship. A culture of precaution seems to be especially enforced when an injury involves the head and brain, a point to which I will return in the discussion.

Normalizing Risk

Donnelly (2004) defined “risk taking” within sport as having knowledge of the possibility of failure but proceeding anyways. Informed by this definition, comments that normalized risk were noted in 90% of the 20 programs viewed. The three sub-themes constructed were: expectations and rewards, risky metaphors, and nonchalance.

Expectations and Rewards

The first way this theme manifested was in comments that rewarded athletes taking risks. This is seen in the following comment made after an artistic gymnast – who was just outside the podium – elected to perform a more difficult vault than she previously did in qualification:

...and injuries can happen in sport, but I give this woman all the credit for going for the more difficult vault. She knew the door was open and she went after it... Well what an excellent competition for [gymnast]. Going for it on the vault, unfortunate injury at the end there (October 12th, 2019)

The gymnast’s decision to take that risk was applauded because she was constructed as being a contender for the podium. However, risk was also rewarded more subtly through quotes such as “go big or go home” (December 21st, 2019) from halfpipe skiing, or “oh he is a daring kick returner! As he takes that one in full flight” (November 23rd, 2019), stated during a university football game.

In addition to rewarding risk, commentators condemned athletes who they thought were conservative by specifically using the word “tentative”. This idea is represented in the following quote from downhill skiing, where speed is a primary factor:

Good speed, good time. A little more tentative coming through Gun Barrel, sometimes those speeds when they get so high can get into your head, “man I’m going so fast I don’t want to fall” but gotta’ get that out of your mind and concentrate on having those smooth aerodynamics. (November 30th, 2019)

Interestingly, the commentator in this quote speculates on the cognition of the athlete during their run. As viewers we do not know if what was speculated was actually the case. The following quote also comments on the athlete being more conservative in their moguls run and the consequence: “perhaps just a little too tentative through the mid-section giving up some time on the points” (December 7th, 2019). Both of those quotes were taken from a skiing discipline where being “tentative” was constructed as preventing the athlete from succeeding.

While not as common, there were also instances when commentators normalized risk by commenting on the inevitability of injuries and how injuries are expected, which is demonstrated in the following example:

Well hey that is the way to do it, you are going to get injured in alpine skiing hopefully not with a broken leg, smaller ones hopefully. But when you do break your leg, tear a knee ligament, you come back and you’re fourth in that race where you broke your leg, man does that feel good. (November 30th, 2019)

Risky Metaphors

The first way this sub-theme was demonstrated was in comments referencing war through militaristic language. For example, this quote from coverage of artistic gymnastics states: “watch the way she fights and attacks all the landings” (October 12th, 2019)

or, more overtly during university football: “you can see like a heat seeking missile on the quarterback, just gets there in time” (November 23rd). This also occurred more subtly with the common use of the term “battle”, as shown in the next three examples taken from snowboard cross, rhythmic gymnastics, and short track speed skating: “look at the battle going on, [athlete] and [athlete] locking elbows there getting a little gritty” (December 21st, 2019), “what kind of battle are we going to have today?” (September 28th, 2019), and “she’s in a battle here” (November 30th, 2019), respectively. Commentators also normalized risk through biblical allusion: “[after the women bobsleigh pair crashed and walked out and down the track] ‘but you know it’s a baptism by fire for young pilots’ who come to Lake Placid, we just saw that’ ” (December 7th, 2019). This saying—baptism by fire—is also a reference to a soldier’s first experience with battle, demonstrating another metaphoric use of militaristic language (Kenton, 2018). This use of militaristic language portrays sport as a battleground, which serves to normalize risk by comparing sport to war.

The second way that “risky metaphor” was present was through referencing boxing, a traditionally violent masculine sport. The first example of this occurred when the broadcaster used a boxing analogy to build excitement in the last set of a volleyball game: “just like a boxing match in the last round. Canada on the ropes they turn the USA around and got them on the ropes. Who is going to get the knockout blow?” (October 12th, 2019). A boxing reference was also used to emphasize a skier’s win during a halfpipe competition: “[Skier] from Calgary Alberta delivering a knockout punch in the second run of the secret garden! That was impressive!” (December 21st, 2019). The boxing narrative also played out more subtly when describing athletes who were favorites to win, in short track speed skating and snowboard cross, respectively: “we keep saying heavy hitters but [athlete] had a great 1000m run going for her” (November 30th, 2019) and “we are certainly seeing a lot of heavy weights moving on” (December 21st, 2019). Interestingly, every statement in this sub-

theme occurred either during an exciting moment in the broadcast or to build excitement in the program.

Nonchalance

Comments were coded as “nonchalance” when a crash or injury was downplayed by the commentators, if mentioned at all. In the following excerpt from my field notes, athletes’ health and safety were not mentioned and the commentary focused on the impact the injury had on the game. This is demonstrated in the first example when a soccer player “went down” after a collision:

[No comment from the broadcaster as the trainer goes over to player on the ground and looks to be doing a neurological test. Commentary is about the team’s defense and how this penalty leads to an opportunity off the upcoming set piece] (October 26th, 2019)

Here, after the player went down, the commentary focuses on the penalty and the resulting opportunity rather than the player. This focus on the penalty was also seen after a tackle during a football game: “[comments on roughing the passer call] ‘[Athlete] draws some extra yardage for his team’ [after being hit after the throw]’ (November 23rd, 2019). And in a men’s Rugby Sevens game, where an injury was framed as an inconvenience for the other team:

[South African player on the ground rolling in pain – no one comes over to him and nothing initially by commentators. Trainer comes over while commentator is still talking about previous play] “The injury has just stopped that momentum and unfortunately allowing South Africa to reset on defense” (December 7th, 2019)

Not commenting on a potential injury, or by framing it as an “inconvenience”, exemplified “discursive silence” in so much as what is not spoken is often as powerful as what is.

Resiliency

The majority (70%) of the broadcasts viewed included references that were coded into the theme of resiliency. This theme was broken into multiple sub-themes the two most relevant to this manuscript are the “Comeback” and resiliency, risk, and reward.

Injured Athletes and the “Comeback”

This sub-theme was created from my observations of commentators celebrating athletes who had returned from a previous sport-related injury to earn a place on the podium. This was notably evident during the men’s downhill skiing program after a skier, who previously crashed in a race during the 2018 season, won the race:

Yea that’s great news for him, he had struggled so much with injuries. So proud of that guy and how hard he works to come back from injuries. It’s like he’s been injured from head to toe. It’s not just one thing for him, it’s one or the other. (November 30th, 2019)

In this case, the athlete’s work ethic to get back into competition was admired and rewarded. Emphasizing an athlete’s work ethic to return to competition was also present in the dialogue between two commentators during a women’s trampoline final:

[Image of athlete sitting on a windowsill with an air cast] But the last 12 months have not all been smooth, look at the big boot on that left ankle which she broke back in the spring in Belarus. It’s been a long road to recovery. ... And what Canadians need to admire in this young woman is her work ethic and her pure love for this sport. She worked so hard to get back to be in this position. Three months ago, she just got back onto the trampoline. (December 7th, 2019)

Athletes’ work ethics were not always mentioned. In the next example, a track and field athlete competed in the world championships three weeks after pulling a muscle. Instead of mentioning his work ethic and rehabilitation, the athlete was praised for defying expectations by competing:

It’s amazing that he finished 2nd here. 3 weeks ago, he pulled up in Zagreb holding his hamstring fading from the lead to 4th place in 10.2 seconds and many people thought he wouldn’t be here. (September 28th, 2019)

Resiliency, Risk, and Reward

Athletes who continued to play through sport-related pain or injury were framed by commentators in a way to emphasize their toughness and determination to continue playing. This was demonstrated during a university football game when a player, described by a fellow teammate as a “fearless leader”, walked off the field on his own accord after not moving on the turf for several minutes:

[Announcer 1:] “Look at that warrior”

[Announcer 2:] “You know it’s going to take a lot to take him off the field ... it is going to take a lot to have him sit on the sidelines for the rest of the game” (November 23rd, 2019)

Even though this player did not return to the game, neither his toughness nor masculinity were ever questioned. This statement implied that since he could not return to the game, the injury must be severe. Similar sentiment was expressed by the commentators during a men’s soccer final:

There was some question about [player’s] fitness coming into today. Suffered a head-on-head injury a week ago, received clearance to be good to go. In fairness [player] played 50 games for Canada. Have to not be able to walk to not play today. (October 26th, 2019)

The next quote was coverage from a rugby women’s sevens game after a player made a tackle to end the half, which resulted in a bleeding nose: “fantastic commitment from [player]. They will patch her up at half time and send her out again” (December 7th, 2019). This quote not only emphasize the athlete’s toughness, but also reproduce the normalization of risk. The injury was not assumed to be serious and as such there was no doubt that she would not be able to return to play.

While more present in collision and contact sports, narratives celebrating the resilient athlete and displays of toughness were not limited to these sports. For example, a broadcaster speculated on the pain of a rhythmic gymnast during her routine, based on her facial expression and the kinesiology tape on her knee:

Beautiful pirouette work from [gymnast] despite the evident [emphasis added] pain that she is in and one winces to look at the taping on the leg as she extends herself, she is so flexible despite all of that. (September 28th, 2019)

In reference to this quote, it is important to note that kinesiology tape can be used for many reasons aside from pain management; however, that along with the facial expression likely led to the comments made that further reinforce what are constructed as displays of resiliency.

Discussion

My analysis revealed paradoxical representations of pain and injury in the media. Commentators sometimes expressed concern for athletes' health and safety, especially following a fall or crash. At the same time, commentators normalized risk and praised athletes who took risks in the so-called quest for athletic success. These juxtaposed ideas sometimes occurred in the same breath. Finally, narratives that rewarded athletes' resiliency to continue playing through pain and return from injuries were also observed.

My study suggests that progress has been made in how sport-related pain and injury is constructed by the media. A primary example of this progress is my observation of precautionary narratives and comments that demonstrated genuine concern for an injured athlete, or for an athlete who crashed during the competition. Previous media analyses (see Messner et al. 2000; Trujillo, 1995) did not make any reference to a precautionary narrative. More recent research has suggested, however, that the media is beginning to prioritize athletes' health and safety, but this prioritization seems to relate particularly to

head injuries (Anderson & Kian, 2012; Sanderson et al., 2016). Similar to these two studies, I also observed a heightened precaution surrounding head injuries that possibly reflects an increased awareness and concern regarding the long-term impacts of head injuries among athletes, the public, and the media (Sanderson et al., 2016). It will be interesting to investigate whether this trend extends to other physical injuries and even to mental health and wellness moving forward.

Within my analysis, there were no specific examples of commentators questioning male athletes' masculinity in the event they could not return to competition. The absence of questioning male athletes' masculinity could reflect what Anderson and Kian (2012) describe as a softening notion of masculinity in the North American context. While the media glorified and valorized athletes who played through pain and injury, this was observed in the majority of the sports viewed. Therefore, the pervasiveness of rewarding and glorifying resiliency demonstrates how these narratives extend beyond sports that are constructed as masculine (e.g., American football). The idea of resiliency reflects the normalization of risk and taken-for-grantedness of pain and injury in sport, whereby there are certain expectations of athletes and their bodies. Resiliency is only expected and rewarded because there is perceived value in overcoming obstacles. Furthermore, I observed militaristic language across a wide variety of sports - short track speed skating, university football, artistic and rhythmic gymnastics, not solely in popularized male sports as previously observed (see Messner et al. 2000; Trujillo, 1995). This demonstrates the pervasive use of militaristic and violent language in the sporting context which further reinforces that while progress has been made, there remains a need to chip away at dominant constructions of sport-related pain and injury reproduced through media broadcasts. This is particularly important as the media is a powerful social institution that contributes to the creation and maintenance of cultural norms and values (Millington & Wilson, 2016). The paradoxical representations of pain and injury reveal the complexity of the intersections of dominant sport discourse with broader social norms and values.

Concluding Comments

My work contributes to knowledge about contemporary sport discourse by revealing the paradox between prioritizing athletes' health and safety and rewarding athletes who display resiliency and take risks in their quest for success. My results suggest that while there is some improvement in media representations of sport-related pain and injury, "taken-for-granted" ideas about pain and injury nevertheless remain circulating in the context of sport and the larger cultural context. Evidence of the latter reflects the need for more critical thought if sport is to live up to its full potential as a health-positive pursuit.

Moving forward, research should attempt to better understand how different and sometimes competing narratives about pain and injury are consumed and how they influence athletes' decisions and behaviors. Such research would help improve the understanding of media consumption in relation to pain and injury in sport, a focus that is currently lacking in the literature. There is likely much to be learned from understanding how athletes navigate the paradox. Additionally, future research should consider the potential influence(s) of commentators' age, gender, and cultural values with a view to understanding whether these factors might impact how sport-related pain and injury are constructed. Lastly, since the *CBC Sports Weekend* broadcasts analyzed for this research occurred from August to December, there is greater representation of fall and winter sports. Future research could focus on spring and summer sports to determine and interpret similarities and differences to produce a more well-rounded and holistic understanding of contemporary representations of sport-related pain and injury in Canadian sport media.

References

- Agnew, D., & Drummond, M. J. N. (2018). Accepting pain and injury as a career “norm” within the context of a masculinised Australian football subculture. In C. Fogel (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on gender and sport* (pp. 195–211). Common Ground Research Networks.
- Anderson, E. D. (2009). The maintenance of masculinity among the stakeholders of sport. *Sport Management Review*, 12(1), 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2008.09.003>
- Anderson, E., & Kian, E. M. (2012). Examining media contestation of masculinity and head trauma in the National Football League. *Men and Masculinities*, 15(2), 152–173. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X11430127>
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Weate, P. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 213–227). Routledge. <https://uwe-repository.worktribe.com/output/3123247/using-thematic-analysis-in-sport-and-exercise-research>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Bridel, W. (2015). From bar bet to fitness craze for weekend warriors: A genealogical analysis of the Ironman ® triathlon. *Leisure/Loisir*, 39(1), 81–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14927713.2015.1074399>
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Revenue Group. (2019). *CBC Sports Weekend*. <https://www.cbc.ca/revenuegroup/cbc-sports-weekend.html>
- Charlesworth, H., & Young, K. (2004). Why English female university athletes play with pain: Motivations and rationalisations. In K. Young (Ed.), *Sporting bodies, damaged selves* (pp. 163–180). Elsevier.
- Curry, T. J. (1993). A little pain never hurt anyone: Athletic career socialization and the normalization of sports injury. *Symbolic Interaction*, 16(3), 273–290. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1993.16.3.273>
- Donnelly, P. (2004). Sport and risk culture. In K. Young (Ed.), *Sporting bodies, damaged selves* (pp. 29–57). Elsevier.
- Parachute. (2015). *The cost of injury in Canada*. https://parachute.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Cost_of_Injury-2015.pdf.
- Kenton, W. (2018, March 1). *Baptism by fire*. Investopedia. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/baptism-by-fire.asp>
- Levers, M. D. (2013). Philosophical paradigms, grounded theory, and perspectives on emergence. *SAGE Open*, 3(4), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013517243>
- Malcom, N. L. (2006). “Shaking it off” and “toughening it out”: Socialization to pain and injury in girls’ softball. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(5), 495–525. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241605283571>
- McEwen, K., & Young, K. (2011). Ballet and pain: Reflections on a risk-dance culture. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 3(2), 152–173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2011.572181>
- McGannon, K. R., Cunningham, S. M., & Schinke, R. J. (2013). Understanding concussion in socio-cultural context: A media analysis of a National Hockey League star’s concussion. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 14, 891–899. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.08.003>
- Messner, M., Dunbar, M., & Hunt, D. (2000). The televised sport manhood formula. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 24(4), 380–394. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723500244006>
- Millington, B., & Wilson, B. (2016). Media research: From text to context. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 152–163). Routledge.
- Nixon, H. L. (1993). Accepting the risks of pain and injury in sport: Mediated cultural influences on playing hurt. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 10(2), 183–196. <https://journals.humankinetics.com/view/journals/ssj/10/2/article-p183.xml>

- Pike, E. C. J. (2004). Risk, pain and injury: "A natural thing in rowing?" In K. Young (Ed.), *Sporting bodies, damaged selves* (pp. 151–162). Elsevier.
- Pringle, R., & Markula, P. (2005). No pain is sane after all: A Foucauldian analysis of masculinities and men's experiences in rugby. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 22(4), 472. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.22.4.472>
- Reeves, S., Kuper, A., & Hodges, B. D. (2008). Qualitative research methodologies: Ethnography. *BMJ*, 337(7668), 512–514. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.a1020>
- Robertson, S. (2003). "If I let a goal in, I'll get beat up": Contradictions in masculinity, sport and health. *Health Education Research*, 18(6), 706–716. <https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cyf054>
- Roderick, M., Waddington, I., & Parker, G. (2000). Playing hurt: Managing injuries in English professional football. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35(2), 165–180. <https://doi.org/10.1177/101269000035002003>
- Roderick, M. (2006). Adding insult to injury: Workplace injury in English professional football. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 28(1), 76–97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9566.2006.00483.x>
- Safai, P. (2003). Healing the body in the "culture of risk": Examining the negotiation of treatment between sport medicine clinicians and injured athletes in Canadian intercollegiate sports. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20, 127–146. <https://journals.humankinetics.com/view/journals/ssj/20/2/article-p127.xml>
- Sanderson, J., Weathers, M., Grevious, A., Tehan, M., & Warren, S. (2016). A hero or sissy? Exploring media framing of NFL quarterbacks injury decisions. *Communication and Sport*, 4(1), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479514536982>
- Spencer, D. C. (2012). Narratives of despair and loss: Pain, injury and masculinity in the sport of mixed martial arts. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 4(1), 117–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2011.653499>
- Statistics Canada (2015). *Injuries in Canada: Insights from the Canadian community health survey*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/82-624-x/2011001/article/11506-eng.htm>
- Trujillo, N. (1995). Machine, missiles, and men: Images of the male body on ABC's Monday Night Football. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12(4), 403–423. <https://journals.humankinetics.com/view/journals/ssj/12/4/article-p403.xml>
- Young, K., White, P., & McTeer, W. (1994). Body talk: Male athletes reflect on sport, injury, and pain. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11(2), 175–194. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.11.2.175>