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Representations Of Women's Football In The News

by

Alex James Colley

Canterbury Christ Church University

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Abstract

The disparity of coverage within print media between men's and women's football is significant (WSFF cited in Topping, 2012). Women's football in the last ten years has experienced growth in terms of the number of women taking part in the game, however the growth in coverage within women's football seems to be slow to react. This thesis analysed the men's World Cup of 2014 and the women's World Cup of 2015 to investigate the extent of the disparity between men's and women's football. It acknowledges whether women are being fairly represented within The Mirror, The Daily Mail, and The Guardian in comparison to men. To answer this question, a combination of both content and discourse analysis was applied to 911 articles. The results show that even during times of heightened popularity women's football still experiences significantly less coverage than their male counterparts. This shows that the disparity found in other studies historically is still being experienced today. Moreover, there are significantly less female journalists than male journalists involved in the construction of news stories creating significant problems for the ecology of journalism. Further investigation is needed to analyse whether this exists across a greater number of institutions in the UK. Moreover, it would also be beneficial to explore whether this is indeed the case in other countries, acknowledging whether there are still high levels of patriarchal dominance within the economy of football journalism.

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INTRODUCTION

“The assumption I get is, the sports editors assume people don’t want to read about women’s football” (Powell, in Creighton, 2011)

The number of women playing football professionally in the UK has more than doubled between 2001 and 2007, increasing from 55,500 to 147,302 female players (Simmons, 2007). The popularity of the women’s game has grown significantly through events such as the women’s World Cup, which broke records in terms of TV popularity with a 2.5 million peak in viewership. Despite the increase in popularity, academics have expressed concern that, in recent years, within the broadcast and print industry, women are continuously underrepresented (Boyle and Haynes 2010). These concerns are highlighted by the Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF), which concluded that the disparity of coverage within print media between men and women’s football is significant (WSFF cited in Topping, 2012). The difference in popularity between men’s and women’s football is evidenced historically; in the UK for example, women’s football experienced a turbulent past and was even banned in 1921 by the Football Association (FA) of England and Scotland officially, however it implicated women in Ireland and Wales as well. Although this ban was eventually revoked in 1971 (BBC, 2014) the ban itself had far-reaching implications for the women’s game. Initially, it denied the chance for the game to grow professionally and economic ramifications resulted from this. Consequently, the number of women pursuing a career in professional football is significantly lower than men, and one reason for this is monetary differences (Thompson and Lewis, 2014).

A further example of the English and Scottish FA segregating the men’s game from the women’s is given by Hope Powell, the former England women’s manager, who recounts in a Guardian article that at the age of 12 she was forced to stop playing for her school football team because of her gender (Cadwalladr, 2011) causing much controversy at the time. Powell’s early struggles because of her gender, present one of the key issues that women’s football has faced from its formation, in that women’s sport - not just football - is often segregated in our culture. In support of the claims made previously, evidence of this appeared within my undergraduate dissertation, the unequal coverage between men and women’s football emerged as a subsidiary finding. The undergraduate dissertation analysed a sample of 465 newspaper articles and discovered that only two articles featured women’s football. This master’s thesis expands the scope of the findings

within the undergraduate dissertation in order to broaden research into women's football. This substantial disparity supports the hypothesis of segregation between men's and women's football and the coverage of sport in general. Indeed, evidenced accounts regarding the history of the women's game are few, leading it to be labelled as the 'hidden history' of football, which is often under studied and makes identifying the challenges that the women's game has previously faced, imperative in contemporary studies (Williams, 2017).

These historical examples demonstrate early forms of influence that patriarchal institutions, such as the FA in England and Scotland, can have in support of cultured hegemony within society. These cultural assumptions manifest themselves in the media when journalists report women's football and are simply due to a lack of inclusion within mainstream media itself. An example of this was evidenced in a recent study which found that only 2% of articles and 1% of images within print media were devoted to covering female athletes and women's sport (Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, 2009). On an economical level, this lack of inclusion creates significant problems, as it damages the commercial viability of women's football in the grand ecology of journalism. Additionally, the lack of inclusion also has cultural ramifications, as print and e-media still shape our culture. Raymond Williams also links the broadcast and the newspaper industry and discusses the implications of their need for commercial viability (Eldridge and Eldridge, 2005). Through the exclusion of articles covering women's football within print and online news outlets, these institutions risk further damaging the women's game. However, articles will only be written with the intention of commercial interests and this, for Williams, damages the integrity of the print industry as, in this example, the institutions are placing less value on the women's game in comparison to the men's game. Realistically, if institutions continue to be patently less inclusive of the women's game, it is likely that women's football will become more stigmatised, which could lead to men's football being labelled as the more popular version of the sport, thus damaging women's football. A recent example of this can be found on websites that include football in online journalism. There have been recent calls by academics to include isolated tabs on the websites that clearly separate the men's football from the women's, in order to avoid the mental connection that consumers may subconsciously make, that men's football is the only version of the sport (Revel and Gareau, 2014). Revel and Gareau (2014) discuss to what extent e-media contributes to the imbalance of commercial power that women's

football has, and this will be explored in more detail in the literature review of the thesis. The argument highlighted by Revel and Gareau that women’s football does not share the same commercial viability as men’s is compelling and will be a central theme of this thesis.

Commercial viability within print media is especially relevant in the modern day as the industry has been in decline for many years with institutions such as the Daily Mail reporting profit losses of 29% in 2016 (Greenslade,2016). In addition to this, a paper by Lisa George shows evidence that the internet is one influence which ‘attracts younger, educated, urban individuals away from daily newspapers’ (George, 2008). This has resulted in institutions becoming increasingly more selective with regards to the stories they choose to utilise, particularly in relation to football, as it is such a popular sport in the UK and therefore receives significant coverage within mainstream media. The issue of the representation of women in football has received increased attention from multiple outlets in recent years, primarily due to controversy within the media itself. For example, in 2011, Andy Grey was fired from Sky due to his comments regarding a lineswoman. He was reported to have said that she: “Probably doesn’t know the offside rule” (Gibson, 2011). Moreover, new female football leagues have recently emerged, which increasingly sexualise women’s football, despite claiming to be fighting for gender equality. One serious example of this is ‘lingerie football’, which encourages women to play in as little clothing as possible, with an intent to increase viewership, an image of which is included here. As can be seen on the website homepage, the women wear revealing football kits,



Lingerie Football League official website homepage. Accessed: 12th June 2017

Sepp Blatter, the former head of FIFA, has been reported to have ‘urged’ women footballers to wear tighter shirts and more revealing shorts to ‘make the female game more attractive’ (Mullock, 2015). Gemma Hughes, the founder of Lingerie Football League UK, insists that the sexualisation of women will attract sponsorship for the women’s game. Feminists would argue that this is damaging to the women, because they are not being recognised as professional sporting individuals and skilled players, but are being recognised for their heteronormative sexuality, which promotes male gaze (Mulvey, 1975). The findings of this thesis come at a crucial time, as the founder of Lingerie Football League UK is adamant that, today, the only way to guarantee sponsorship and for women to progress in football, is by sexualising the female players, to make their participation in the sport more attractive to a male audience. This has unsurprisingly caused controversy amongst academics many of whom have found that men reporting on women’s football often portray them as over-sexualised and are misogynistic when writing about female footballers (Kane et al., 2013).

This thesis will explore the representation of women’s football in both print and e-media. It will contrast and compare the differences between the style and coverage of the men’s and women’s game on the two platforms. Moreover, the project will utilise feminist theory put forward by Judith Butler, a leading theorist in the feminist movement, who has written extensively on performative gender and the construction of gender within culture. This will allow for a comprehensive understanding surrounding the construction of both the male and female genders in journalism, showing how the media reinforces masculine and feminine gender norms within football journalism. To achieve this comprehensive understanding, images of female and male professional footballers will be examined, and the image of the woman footballer will be scrutinized using Mulvey’s ‘male gaze’ theory to explore to what extent it can be claimed that the media is sexualising women in football, and if these female players are being sexualised, how far this differs from the men’s game. Again, this analysis will tell us whether there are significant differences in the ways in which both the genders are being utilised to either highlight what the institutions are trying to say, but also to show what tactics they employ in their style of reporting, in order to analyse the different ways in which the players are constructed. This will show whether there is still an under-representation of women’s football in print media, as there was in 2012, and how the coverage changes during times of heightened

interest in women's football such as the women's World Cup in 2015. This will show firstly the commercial valuation that print media is putting on women's football and secondly, it will compare how the representations differ within the newspapers themselves and the strategies they implement when reporting on men's and women's football. Closely related to this, the researcher will also explore how many male and female journalists are writing the articles.

As this study concerns itself with various issues in football surrounding women and the marginalisation of women's football, the feminist movement and its advancements, over the past few decades, naturally play a significant role in this thesis. Patriarchy, for instance, is one paramount term which has had, and continues to have, a major impact on women's football and therefore has a presence throughout the thesis. This issue and issues closely linked to patriarchy will be explored on a deeper level within the following literature review, which explores both the developments of the feminist movement, and women's football from a historical perspective. For the benefit of the reader, a concrete definition of patriarchy and the different ways in which this term can be understood will be explored from various perspectives, including the views of significant figures in the feminist movement. Patriarchy literally means 'rule of the fathers'. From this, it is clear to see why this term plays such a pivotal role in the feminist movement and furthermore in this thesis. Briefly, the issue of patriarchy governs the top-down approach of male dominance which, historically, has damaged the significant growth of women's football over the past century.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminist Theory

Patriarchy and feminism have been closely interlinked throughout the last century. Patriarchy, in short, refers to the imbalance of power between men and women and acknowledges the power that men exert over women. Patriarchy is defined by Watson and Hill (2012:220) as a “society ruled by or dominated by men: patriarchy means father, thus patriarchy relates to a culture shaped and governed by the interest of men”. It explains that generally men hold the most powerful positions and dominate roles that are influential in society, for example within journalism. Both liberal and radical feminists claim that patriarchy exists throughout all aspects of our modern world. This is important because it shows that despite the many advancements that have been made by women since the start of the 20th century, including securing the right to vote in the UK and having female political leaders in many powerful countries in the world, our society remains male-dominated. This can be seen in various top-level jobs with high salaries, where the gender pay gap can still be observed (Fortin, Bell and Böhm, 2017). Even in 2017, it is not just the wage gap which shows the inferiority of women, but also the percentage of women in top-level positions is significantly lower than their male counterparts.

Feminism is seen as having three distinctive and separate ‘waves’ which will be explored at length further on in this thesis. Each wave of feminism confronts the issue of a patriarchal society and its implications for women, as it consolidates what feminists fundamentally hope to eventually achieve; the reversal of the oppression of women. The main difference between liberal and radical feminism, in terms of the patriarchy, is their belief in the ways patriarchy affects society.

Radical feminism has been influential in social change campaigns for women’s rights such as campaigns against domestic violence and for this reason has been a prominent factor when conducting a study into feminism and sport (Mackay, 2015). Radical feminism recognises four major factors of the patriarchal system; firstly, they recognise male supremacy in culture, secondly, they understand violence against women by men includes both prostitution and pornography - this differs from other strands of feminism - thirdly, there is a significant focus on male supremacy in relationships, they

reject the stereotypical view of the woman being the mother in society and that women too can have careers and other priorities aside from procreation. Radical feminists also accept that heteronormative relationships are damaging to women, as same-sex couples do not have a position in the nuclear family model and thus their gender does not define their power within the relationship. In the 1970s, radical feminists were responsible for campaigns against domestic violence and for same-sex marriage. Finally, radical feminists insist that women should dominate higher levels in society and they even go as far to suggest that men should be removed from all positions of power (Mackay, 2015). Radical feminism has also been accredited with the change in the role of the father, with men now playing a much more significant role in the upbringing of their children; consequently, paternity leave is now a legal requirement for fathers in the UK. Both the increasing role of the father and the introduction of statutory paternity leave, now give woman more options in terms of if and/or when they return to the workplace. During the conception of radical feminism this opportunity for working mothers would never have been thought possible and shows the steps that radical feminism has taken against the traditional patriarchy, which continues to exist in society today.

Patriarchal dominance within sports journalism will be a central theme throughout this thesis, and as such, it is essential to provide a sound definition of patriarchy and the impact it has had and continues to have on modern day society. Historically, within football, there has been strong evidence that this has certainly been the case, as seen in the example of the 1921 ban on women's football by the leading figures of football in England and Scotland at the time, the FA (Williams, 2017). This ban not only had great implications on the growth and popularity of women's football, it also meant that after the ban there was no professional space for women to engage in the game. While it appears that notions of patriarchy within feminist theory seem to be mainly geared around the oppression of women, it is important to acknowledge that it also has implications for men (Richards, 2014). A patriarchal society has a substantial impact upon women in society and can cause many problems for them in various aspects of their lives.

The problems caused by the patriarchy are not, however, exclusive to the women of society. One example of how patriarchy impacts men can be seen when analysing the physical health of male footballers. In the last ten years, academics such as Stanistreet, have noted a correlation between higher mortality rates among men within societies where

higher levels of patriarchy are present (Stanistreet et al, 2005). They also found an increase in health issues amongst men outside of football. They theorise that these health issues could be avoided if society acknowledged the power that the patriarchy has over both sexes. On the other hand, it should also be recognised that despite men seemingly benefitting in a multitude of ways from a patriarchal system, due to the gender norms accepted by society and men adhering to the cult of masculinity, men often see themselves as unable to express thoughts and emotions in the same way that women are able to. This is one reason that may explain why statistically more men commit suicide than women (Siddique, 2014), due to their inability or unwillingness to discuss emotions and feelings, because in our modern-day society this is widely seen as a ‘female’ or ‘womanly’ behaviour. On a more sombre note, evidence of this can also be seen through the reluctance of many men to discuss domestic violence and physical or sexual assaults. The feeling that men are being emasculated through assault and are therefore cautious to discuss these cases is something which continues to be, largely, unrecognised. A clear link can be seen between male behaviour and the normality and expectations of a patriarchal society (Coyle and Morgan-Sykes, 1998).

It is important to acknowledge that football has primarily always been viewed as a male centric game by both the media and society that women have, in the past, not entered which has caused tension and conflict between the genders (Bell, 2012). Furthermore, when analysing how women are being represented in the media, feminist theory should be present to underpin whether there is a change in representation between women and men within sports journalism. This section will analyse contemporary feminist theory regarding issues surrounding power and representation and will apply them to football, in order to analyse how women are being represented within contemporary media and the issues they face in comparison to men.

Specifically in the last five years, there have been numerous challenges to the concept of patriarchy. Both academics and journalists have argued that it is, indeed, an outdated concept in our society, and is not helpful when analysing gender equality in contemporary media (Hodson, 2010). Hodson challenges the very notion of patriarchy by claiming that there are several factors which hold both men and women back and it is not simply down to the patriarchal system, rather other issues are to blame instead, such as “ethnicity, class and economics and education” (Hodson, 2010). This view has been

labelled 'Kyriarchy' (Hodson, 2010) which was developed by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. While gender is incorporated in the theory, it is not the sole reason for oppression but rather a combination of other aforementioned aspects, and it is a culmination of all these aspects that "intersect to oppress us all" a quote taken from Harvard theologian Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza by Nichi Hodgson in *The Guardian* (Hodson, 2010). Hodson continues by taking the controversial view even further by claiming that one of the biggest so-called 'sins' of feminism is that it is entirely focused on women's oppression and not men's. This links with the previous idea, whereby men too can suffer from a patriarchal society, although clearly not in the same ways as women. The major aspect that sets the theory of kyriarchy apart from patriarchy is the fact that oppression has an impact on both genders and not just women. In contemporary society, kyriarchy and patriarchy are facilitated by a capitalist system, which can be seen in most of the Western world. There are several separating factors that are put forward by theorists of kyriarchy, which emphasise the differences and even the injustices between different people within society. These factors can include not just gender but also class, ethnicity and sexuality. The relationship between capitalism and patriarchy work together in modern society; they fundamentally co-exist as the ideals of the traditional man at work and woman at home, which fit the capitalist framework to a large extent (Hartmann, 1976).

In recent years, two main groups of feminists have emerged dominant when discussing the layers of inequality within football: Liberal feminists and radical feminists. Liberal feminists challenge conventional arguments put forward historically by men, who believe that due to biological differences, women are inferior, especially within the context of sport. Conceptually, liberal feminism follows a similar strand of argument as Butler, as these feminists claim that gender itself should not determine one's destiny, rather gender is culturally learned within society (Butler, 2011). Within football this is evidenced at an early age as boys and girls experience early forms of gender segregation within the school playground. For example, the places of play are often reserved mainly for boys with young girls isolated, unless they can indicate that their ability is of a similar standard as boys (Epstein et al, 2001). Furthermore, it is common for young girls who are interested in a 'boy dominant' sport to be ridiculed, or at least segregated from other girls because of gender stereotyping, which is present even in the minds of young children. This demonstrates how ingrained patriarchal values are within society. Even though the

age restriction has been elevated by one year, the FA across Britain do not allow women and men to professionally play football together after the age of sixteen (FA, 2014). Liberal feminists, like other strands of feminism, campaign for the equality between men and women and challenge historical views produced from patriarchal dominance. Importantly, Dunn and Welford (2017) credit liberal feminists as one of the leading reasons for gains that women have made regarding the emergence of equality in football. The values that liberal feminists promote have successfully opened the game up to women looking to play the game professionally. Recent years have seen an influx in women coming from abroad to play in the newly created women's professional leagues, such as the WSL (Women's Super League) (Williams, 2013).

While liberal feminism has been praised for gains made for women, especially regarding football, significant criticism has been initiated from some academics. One interesting point raised by Caudwell (2011) argues that the changes liberal feminists have implemented have mainly benefitted white middle-class women. This is significant and causes problems because football, traditionally, has a lower-class stigma attached to it (Jolly, 2010). For Caudwell, this meant that the benefits only helped the minority rather than the majority. This shows a clear correlation to kyriarchy which encompasses class as a major differentiating factor between people of society. Additionally, it can be argued that although the changes have helped women's football, realistically, it has caused other class-based tensions between white middle-class and lower-class women.

Criticism also comes from radical feminists who have argued that the changes implemented by liberal feminists are trivial, because while more women are indeed playing football, liberal feminists have failed to challenge the gendered dominance within sport and the culture of patriarchy within football (Dunn and Welford, 2017). Moreover, this view is shared by Fielding-Lloyd and Mean (2008:141) who argue that affirmative action policies like those produced by liberal feminism cause problems when applied to a highly masculine ecology; in this case, English football. In short, affirmative action policies fail to make an impact on the institutions that produce inequality, thereby having little or no effect on the source of masculine dominance. As Dunn and Welford (2017:147) claim: "the emphasis on promoting woman's football as a sport in its own right, as pleasingly and appropriately different to the men's game, mean it is likely to remain on the

margins, outside the mainstream, 'malestream', sporting discourse, 'outside' real football".

This quote demonstrates the criticisms posed by radical feminism. It acknowledges the fact that the promotion of the women's game is a positive and successful necessity, however it recognises the barrier that remains between men's and women's football and consequently the 'us and them' label, which separates the two versions of the sport and causes the devaluation of the women's game. Instead of simply making the game more attractive to women, radical feminists aim to change the labels given to men's and women's football. Additionally, the fact that there has been no apology from the FA either in England or Scotland regarding the banning of women's football in 1921, is also an example of how liberal feminism has had a limited impact. While the FA has changed elements of football to try and push for equality, the reality is the damage of the 1921 ban has already put women's football back a century, causing arguably irreversible damage to attempts for equality (Williams, 2003).

Radical feminism gained significant momentum in the late 1960's. Chronologically, it gained recognition and notoriety during the rise of second wave feminism, however in the UK in the late 1970s there was a key split into two of the major groups associated with feminism 'liberal' and 'radical'. One of the main aims of radical feminism was and still is to end violence against women, and their argument that men's violence against women continues to facilitate gender in-equality. Within recent years, the movement has been extremely focused on issues such as rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment, to combat the oppression of women (Dean, 2011). Radical feminism has been successful in many aspects, but one of their more notable successes came in highlighting the issues above and moving them into public discourse; moreover, they are accredited with other successes. One such success is the idea that men should now take a more active role in childcare. This has had two effects; firstly, it shifts the image of the woman away from matriarchal, thereby challenging heteronormative gender roles which have been assigned to women in the past. Furthermore, it challenges traditional notions of gender ideology, which would not have existed 20 years ago, thus indicating the cause and effect that the movement has had over time. Ellen Willis claims (1984:92) "It was radical feminism that put women's liberation on the map, that got sexual politics recognised as a public issue". This quotation highlights the true value that radical feminism has had in the

past, which continues to this day in contemporary society, thus influencing this study to a large extent.

Within this sample period there seems to be a strong indication that very little has changed in regard to the progression of women's football in print coverage, especially within the last few years. Print coverage may be one specific example, since in other ways female footballers are receiving more exposure than before. Within the last twenty years, the visibility of female footballers on televisions in Britain has increased substantially not just in advertisements but also on television shows themselves, such as Alex Scott participating in and winning *Bear Grylls: Mission Survive* in 2016 (Daly, 2016). The lack of print coverage however has been noted in criticisms from radical feminism, which argue extensively that the challenges from liberal feminism have not been substantial enough, especially concerning football. Within this sample, the over-sexualisation of the images of women extended both to the players and fans alike, indicating that sexism and misogyny still exists within the media today. At its very core, radical feminism challenges some of the central arguments put forward by liberal feminists.

While liberal feminism explores the implications of women not holding positions of power, radical feminism explores this issue at a deeper level, focusing on both the biological and social issues created by patriarchal power. One of the greatest strengths of radical feminism is that it creates a direct link between men's sexuality, and its domination over women within all aspects of their careers (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002). The sexuality of men plays an increasingly important role in the creation of the image of the woman, especially when we analyse football. Interestingly and as early as 1994, academics such as Creedon et al claim that there is an element of control in the media with regards to the type of clothing that the women athletes wear and the objectification of women within the media itself (Creedon et al, 1994). This claim, despite being over 20 years old, still stands today within contemporary media this has recently manifested itself and was found evidenced in the sample. Whilst, it may not be the case that the football league chooses what the women wear per se; both the journalists and the institutions frame the image of the women to over-sexualise them. Laura Mulvey's male gaze theory links intrinsically to this view and whilst it focusses on cinema, it can and should also be applied to imagery.

Within this project, elements of over-sexualisation relating to the language and imagery used were found in some articles and these have been analysed further within the critical discourse analysis. Approaching this thesis from a radical feminist perspective allows the researcher to challenge the top-down mechanic of patriarchy and intrinsically analyse the mechanics of oppression that institutions still utilise when writing about women's football. Furthermore, a radical feminist approach always reiterates the fundamental need to "recreate sport into forms that celebrate women's values rather than those more traditionally associated with masculine aggression" (Scranton and Flintoff, 2002). This recreation for women would mean a separation from their male counterparts and for the ability to be recognised independently, possibly leading to greater economic and cultural support.

Although radical feminism has been praised for its social achievements in recent times, it is essential to understand some of the key criticisms to radical feminism. Firstly, one of the biggest criticisms of radical feminism is its focus on biological reductionism and essentialism (Scranton and Flintoff, 2002). It is difficult to claim that our behaviours are simply down to our biology and is more logical to argue that behaviour is a mixture of both social conditioning and biology (Scranton and Flintoff, 2002) therefore, to tarnish all men as supportive of the patriarchal movement may be extreme. The suggestion that men's oppressive nature is innate, based on gender, is also difficult to justify. Another criticism is that implementing changes imposed by radical feminism would make it difficult for men and women to work together. Moreover, it has also been argued that radical feminism fails to acknowledge the class struggles intersecting different classes of women (Willis, 1984). In Ellen Willis' essay 'Radical Feminism and *Feminist Radicalism*' she makes the argument that some of the early followers of radical feminism were white, middle-class women; this in turn means most of their views and political ideology benefitted a minority of women and not the majority found in football. This is a significant issue as football is one of the most widely played sports in the world, so the nature of the sport intersects different classes of women, therefore, it is a significant flaw of radical feminism.

Applying Butler's ideas put forward in 'Gender Trouble' (Butler, 2011) is essential because it gives the reader an indication into some of the reasons for misogyny within women's football in the UK; as Butler ascertains that misogyny is solely a masculine trait.

It intrinsically analyses how gender can impact the women transgressing into a historically masculine environment. Moreover, Butler's work tells us that ideas of sex and gender are not interconnected, but rather the idea of sex is socially constructed through culture, both sexuality and gender are performed and there is a direct correlation between sex and one's sexuality (Woodward, 2017). Woodward applies Butler's work to football directly, arguing that within football, sex and sexuality often intertwine leading to tension within the heteronormative world of football. Woodward (2009) dismisses critics that claim the biological differences between men and women have an influence on their ability to play the game, as it can be argued that both men and women's bodies can be trained and adapted for any sport, therefore the athletic potential for both men and women should be equal. Fundamentally, this poses another challenge to the hegemony of male dominance within football, arguing that women should not only be able to play football without fearing judgement or segregation, but they also have the potential to play at the same level as men.

Woodward (2009) makes it clear that women can essentially train themselves to the same athletic ability as men, therefore there should be no reason for segregation between men's and women's football. It is important to acknowledge the cultural connotations that football itself holds, because although women and men may be able to play on the same level, for women to be accepted into the sport there needs to be cultural acceptance by the consumers of the game.

Arguments which have emerged more recently show that football is intrinsically linked with misogyny (Woodward, 2017). This has been evident in recent years; for example, women playing football in both Northern Europe and the USA experienced "verbal and ideological forms of intimidation" (Caudwell, 2016:309). Caudwell (2016) notes, however, that much of the abuse towards women was based on traditional stereotypes given to women. Furthermore, abuse has also manifested itself in the media. In 2011, for example, both Andy Grey and Richard Keys made sexist comments regarding a lineswoman. This is extremely telling for many reasons; firstly, this level of sexism occurred not only in a public space, but the comments were made on Sky during a Premier League game. Secondly, although there seemed to be repercussions for both individuals as they were fired from Sky Sports for their comments, they later joined another company where they were free to comment on games again. The implications can therefore be

described as reasonably minimal for the presenters, but the effects for the lineswoman were major, as it undermined her professional ability. Karen Brady, the vice-chairman of West Ham United Football Club has commented that she is ‘genuinely disappointed’ and that ‘what really upsets me is the fact only females in our industry are judged by their gender. And that is categorically wrong’ (The Telegraph, 2011). This example shows how it is ingrained in the mentality of people that even today women are still believed to be incapable of understanding or playing football on a professional level. The commentators’ words demonstrate that they view women as being invasive of their masculine sport. Further on in the interview, Brady mentions the fact that there were many comments made off-air, which shows that the commentators knew that the opinions were not suitable and yet were still made in the vicinity of a woman (The Telegraph, 2011). Moreover, the fact that there has not been a significant growth in the number of female referees or lineswomen supports the theory that women are avoiding becoming officials in the professional game or that when they are referees for men’s matches, even amateur ones, women are faced with marginalisation and sexism (Forbes, Edwards and Fleming, 2014).

SPORTS JOURNALISM AND WOMEN'S FOOTBALL IN THE NEWS

This thesis focuses specifically on the print media industry, and it is important to have an understanding of the dynamic of sports journalism within the ecology of the journalism sector itself, and in effect directly comparing it to other forms of journalism. This is essential, because it shows how different types of journalism are viewed by the institutions and journalists themselves, additionally it also shows the commercial valuation that newspaper editors put on football and sports journalism as a whole. Within contemporary studies which involve print media this is crucial, as the very nature of the print journalism industry has changed dramatically in recent years. This is partly due to the decline in readership (Jackson,2105) and is an issue which will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

A recent paper produced by Raymond Boyle poses the argument that for many, sports journalism has been characterised as 'soft journalism' as it lacks the scrutiny and rigor found in 'hard journalism' (Boyle,2017). Crolley and Hand (2013) give us a clear definition of the differences between hard and soft journalism. They claim that stories which focus on "gossip, scoops, exclusives, biography" can be labelled as 'soft journalism' whereas stories labelled as 'hard journalism' focus on factual analysis which is backed up by evidence and objective in the nature of the reporting (Crolley and Hand,2013:14). This distinction between so called 'hard' and 'soft' journalism has been challenged historically, with some journalists arguing that it is easier to find truth in sports journalism than it is to find in political journalism for example (McIlvanney,1991, cited in Boyle and Haynes, 2009). Regardless of how sports journalism is viewed by the media, it cannot be disputed that the sports section of the newspaper still carries commercial weight for the institutions and is considered one of the most integral parts of the newspaper. Boyle (2017) argues that this is due to sports journalism's ability to cater its stories to the young male demographic making it one of the biggest and most popular sections of the newspaper (Boyle, 2017). Within sports journalism, it has also been acknowledged that there is a key difference within journalistic practice between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, more specifically the amount of freedom the journalists have to choose what stories to print. Tabloid newspapers give little room for journalistic digressions, whereas broadsheet institutions allow for more flexibility for their journalists (Boyle,2017).

One of the major developments of the last ten years has been the internet and e-media and this has extensively changed the way in which sports journalism has operated (Siapera and Spyridou,2012). Siapera and Spyridou (2012) write that the rise of the internet has led to a decline in journalism's overall power within the media. They pin this on the rise of websites and mobile applications by delivering our news directly to us and often for free, which for many has replaced the need for the newspaper. This was evidenced in a Guardian report, which claims that national daily newspaper sales declined by half a million between 2014 and 2015 (Jackson, 2015). Moreover, it was also reported in 2012 that The Guardian itself utilised so called 'citizen journalists' on the online version of the website for their stories across multiple topics, crucially this represented a collaboration of the professional and the public. This not only changed the way in which news was being produced, in that information could now be accessed on the internet, and from new sources such as social media, it also gave institutions the opportunity to save money on professional journalism staff. The Guardian claimed at the time that this simple change was in a bid for the institution to save a total of £25 million and thus ensure their survival (Rushton, 2012). For sports journalism, this was also monumental, as it meant guest journalists from football would now have the ability to write stories for the newspapers.

To combat the decline of print journalism, many news outlets have had to transition into web-only format meaning that these institutions have lost money from the revenue of the papers sold; however also important to note is that they now have the opportunity gain revenue from other methods such as online advertising and subscriptions. The Guardian is an excellent example of this, the newspaper developed a digital first policy and in a study conducted by Peter English (2015), it was found that out of 548 articles counted, over 70 percent of them were developed for the web first. The internet has also changed the dynamic in a different way, some newspaper institutions save stories exclusively for their print newspapers. This means that there is increased competition among journalists to get their stories featured online. Moreover, it also means that while the commercial valuation of web articles is lower than if it was in the actual newspapers themselves, the value of getting the news available to the public quickly and being the first to publish the news and beat the competition is essential and will often take priority over profit (English, 2015).

Outlining the current conditions for the sports journalism market helps to situate the state of the ecology of women's football. The previous two paragraphs gave insight into some of the challenges and developments within sports journalism over the last ten years. The next paragraph will focus on women's football in the news analysing modern studies which focused on the English market and the Australian market which reveal how women's football journalism is received in different markets within contemporary media around the world. Firstly, one of the most important findings among studies by academics in recent years is that women's football has featured slow or little change in the last 100 years. Pfister supports this claim by arguing that women were only being found on the outer limits of sports coverage, he argues that quantitative studies in recent years have acknowledged that "less than 10% of either newspaper space or broadcasting time is devoted to women's sport" (Pfister, 2015: 641). Consequently, this was also highlighted by other academics who argue that the women's game is not in favour within media institutions globally, this manifested itself in other studies which looked into the women's World Cup of 2015. Black and Fielding-Lloyd found that while the 2015 women's World Cup saw increased coverage of women's football, the crucial defining factor was the way in which women were depicted within the media. They found that the women were being represented as outsiders within the sport through various discursive techniques within the articles. This led to the men's version of the game being represented more positively in comparison to the women's. However, despite the setbacks that women's football has faced in recent years there has been developments in women's sports journalism in recent times.

The issues facing contemporary print media have impacted the way in which it operates especially in the sports journalism market. As well as this, women's sport also faces significant issues. An abundance of studies focuses specifically on the representation of women's sport in the media, finding specific studies which discuss the representation of women's football exclusively is difficult. Analysing these studies is useful because it provides insight into the ways in which print institutions operate concerning women's sports which shows how they deal with women's football. One study which analysed the way in which sports, such as netball and football were being represented within Australian newspapers found that women's sport has now actively incorporated itself into the daily beat of national newspapers, however the representation that they have in the newspapers is small in comparison to men's. Sherwood et al (2017) give three reasons for this, firstly,

the sports newsroom is dominated by men. Secondly, the general assumption is that the readership is male, and the players are male. Thirdly, the repetitive nature of the newsroom and the fear to disrupt routine influences the content being produced. Earlier, it was discussed that the sports section of the newspaper holds a tremendous amount of weight for the institutions, and in the Australian study, this was no different. Sherwood et al (2017) claims that if women featured regularly within the newspapers and on the institutions websites, it would be commercially damaging for the men's versions of the games and thereby would decrease the commercial value. This is important because the amount of revenue that the institutions make determines the types of stories they choose to use, and as has been found in other studies this usually excludes women's sports (Gee and Leberman, 2011). This correlates with historical findings which argue that men's professional sports are limiting access for women (Suggs,2015). Sherwood's study (2017) is insightful in other ways too, through interviews with sports journalists both male and female it successfully demonstrated the inner workings of the sports news institutions in Australia. Sports journalists face guidance from their institutions and editors. Using Sherwood's study as a case study, journalists are given 'beats'. These are themes which journalists are assigned to follow, it allows a journalist to gain significant experience with a topic and build deeper relationships with their sources. (Sherwood, 2017) Sherwood et al make it clear that these beats in the newsroom are often assigned by men to service the hegemonic nature of masculine sport and this means that often women's sports stories are indeed overlooked. This study, however, is quick to recognise that despite this journalistic practice taking place in most newsrooms regularly, some journalists like the ones used in Sherwood et al's study are conscious to try and balance the number of stories they produce for both men's and women's sport. Therefore, it is the decision of the institutions to attempt to break historical routine in the creation of news stories.

During the course of the study, however, there has been significant developments in the field of Women's sports journalism which is important to mention. Derby County football club in collaboration with the University of Derby announced that in January 2018, it would be introducing three scholarship opportunities for the Derby women's football team players to study on the football journalism course that the university offers. This is important, because it marks one of the first instances where football clubs and universities have collaborated in order to encourage more women to enter the field of sport journalism. Other notable women who have pursued a career in football journalism after

their careers in women's football include Kelly Smith and Alex Scott. The programme was set up by a former freelance journalist and it is a demonstration of the direction that individuals are now taking to try and encourage more female journalists to enter the profession.

History of Women's Football

To acknowledge the contemporary issues surrounding women's football regarding the lack of representation in comparison to men's football, it is paramount to analyse the history of women's football and the challenges that the game has faced. There can be no doubt that the past has influenced the state of the game in the 21st century and it is important to note the changes in recent times. One of the most influential governing bodies within the ecology of football is the FA. The English version of the FA was established in 1863, and the Scottish equivalent was founded in 1873, they governed most aspects of football in the UK historically and to the present day. This is significant because the FA in England and Scotland played a major role in the dismissal of women's football in the early part of the 20th century (Williams, 2017). The first recorded women's international game between England and Scotland took place in 1881, indicating the first recorded start of the professional women's game in the UK. While 1881 marked the official start of women's football in the UK, Williams notes that the game officially did not gain popularity until the early 20th century after the First World War; for example, in one charity game in 1920, crowd numbers soared with an estimated 55,000 people who came to watch the game held at Everton football club (Williams, 2017). The popularity proved short-lived however as women's football was banned by the FA in England and Scotland in 1921. This meant that women were no longer allowed to play the game in the same spaces as their male counterparts. The ban was subsequently not lifted until 1961 (Williams, 2017). This is one of the earliest examples of women's football facing segregation from the male game. It is also an early example of the patriarchy dominating women's football; in this case, the male hegemony of the FA of England and Scotland determining the course of women's football. While 1921 seemed conclusive for the women's game, it was also the year that the game gained commercial interest from businessmen, who acknowledged that commercial viability was present in the women's game. This is significant, as it marked the first instance that women's football was actively recognised, and the female players classed as professionals (Williams, 2017). It can be

noted that 1921 appeared as a contradiction for women's football, as on the one hand it was faced with segregation but contradictorily it also gained commercial notoriety from businessmen, indicating the potential that business saw within the game. Lopez has commented that with the lift of the ban in 1961, female interest in football grew substantially in the 1960s (Lopez, 1997). She makes it clear that developments in other countries, such as Germany, the USA and Scandinavian countries significantly outweigh the developments for women's football, which have up until 1997 when her book was published, far been achieved in the UK (Lopez, 1997).

Between the years of 1991-2015, women's football has become much more popular; however, it has still fallen victim to issues which have undoubtedly prevented the sport from making progress. One relevant example of this can be seen in the first women's World Championship, held in China in 1991, as it was marked by controversy when FIFA argued that the hosting nation were to make no money from the occasion and additionally the FA subsequently wouldn't lose any money from hosting the event (FIFA, 1988:3). This is significant because it shows the valuation that women's football was given and "defined women's football as an amateur spectacle rather than a professional mega event" (Williams, 2017). Moreover, this supports the idea that some institutions still did not recognise the commercial viability of the sport, something that had been recognised as early as 1921 by other businessmen. The mood regarding women significantly changed recently in 2011, when Germany hosted the women's World Championship, to such a large extent that academics have recognised this event as a turning point regarding the popularity of women's football. During the women's World Cup final in 2011, over 7,100 tweets per second were being sent via Twitter regarding the World Cup final. This is significant because the number of tweets regarding the game was higher during the World Cup than other events such as the Royal Wedding and the death of Osama Bin Laden (Fanning, 2011). Moreover, 2012 was more significant for women's football as the London Olympic games of 2012 had a record crowd attendance of over 660,000 (Fanning, 2011).

Historically, men and women's football has been treated differently in the commercial market and there has been a number of examples of this which will be discussed in this paragraph. Firstly, male football teams and players are themselves treated as brands making them valuable to print institutions, which means increased investment

and support for men's football in comparison to women's football, which receives minimal support (Adams et al, 2009). Evidently, this is still the case, as of 2015, The Guardian claims that not one female footballer has attracted any sort of brand sponsorship even during the women's World Cup of 2015. Moreover, within the article, it is made clear that male footballers such as David Beckham have sponsorships from fashion brands such as Armani and they argue this type of sponsorship should extend to women's football, to make the game more economically attractive for professionals (Cocozza, 2015). However, it remains essential to question Adams' findings because women's football is growing in the UK, and at the time of Adams' writing it can be argued that women's football was still in a state of transition and growth. This is further demonstrated by the fact that in the same article The Guardian argues that 2015 was a successful year for the women's game. The Guardian references the fact that viewership received a 2.5 million peak during the women's World Cup, which demonstrates the increase in popularity. Indeed, while print institutions historically have placed more importance on their coverage of the male game, there can be no doubt that other news outlets such as the Guardian are producing more articles promoting the women's game and pushing for equality within the game. This could be partially due to their liberal agenda which makes these types of stories attractive to this institution. The articles promoting women's football at first glance are minimal, perhaps due to the nature of sports journalism in the 21st century. Messer (2002) even argues that the nature of sport carries a "cultural centre of masculinity" and therefore women's achievements within sport are degraded or often ignored within journalism. A significant problem with coverage regarding women's football is that newspapers coverage is not consistent and follows no routine (Pfister et al, 2002).

As aforementioned, the underrepresentation of woman's football goes beyond economics and speaks volumes regarding the situation concerning gender relations in the 21st century. Moreover, work on gender studies and football have found that the emergence and increase in popularity of woman's football in recent years can be viewed as a direct challenge to the hegemony of male dominance within the capitalist news market (Clark, 2011). While Clark's article notes this challenge in hegemony, it is acknowledged within the article that this contest is having little effect on the state of journalism. Others such as Adams et al (2014) challenge this view claiming it is having a drastic impact and changing the very nature of the reporting itself, as historically the

newsroom has been defined in 'male' terms (Carter et al, 1998). However, both Adams and Carter make it clear that the ecology of women's football is dependent on the investment by various stakeholders and the 'gatekeepers' of the newsroom; although the journalist personally may want to be increasingly inclusive of woman's football, the reality is they are at the whim of the institutions. To combat this 'male dominance' the suggestion has been made that more female journalists should be hired within the sports newsroom to create a gender balance. However, simply hiring more female journalists ultimately will fail to make an impact, as many of them will still adopt masculine tendencies set out by the institutions (Tamir and Bernstein, 2011). Naturally, this has had and continues to have, a detrimental effect on sport, as it is increasingly encouraging a segregation between men's and woman's sports, not simply regarding football but also between male and female sport in more general terms. This essentially is leading to more serious issues such as sexism and leaving football fragmented rather than united. This is supported by Connell (2000, 54) who explains that "The global economic system can be described as 'male' in terms of its interest and character, in that a 'transitional business masculinity' is dominant". There is, however, a significant flaw in Tamir and Bernstein's argument, as the generalisation of institutions values causes problems.

Moreover, in recent years there has been a rise in academics conducting studies regarding feminism and the representations of female footballers in capitalist media. For instance, Ravel and Gareau (2014) developed a study which analysed the ways in which the French national women's team were represented in online articles of the French Football Federation, the official governing body of football in France, and *L'Équipe* a popular French newspaper. They analysed how both these institutions presented articles during the 2011 women's World Cup and the 2012 Olympic Games in London. The findings indicated that there was a noticeable difference in the way women's and men's football was being referred to. For example, both websites made a distinction between 'football' and 'women's football' and for Revel and Gareau (2014) this creates an unnecessary discrepancy between the two, leading the reader to believe that men's football is the truer version of football. Moreover, they acknowledged that the tabs on the websites themselves made finding articles relating to women's football difficult. They argue that this is an obvious sign of 'marginalization' and 'subordination' (Revel and Gareau, 2014: 838). This facilitates conclusions found in other studies which have found that ultimately,

in comparison to men's, women's football again lacks the same commercial interest, which means that the websites put less emphasis on the stories themselves (Mean, 2010).

This 'marginalization' and 'subordination' between the two sexes causes considerable tension within the wider ecology of football journalism, more specifically, the sexual economy of media (Merrill et al, 2015). Referring to Laura Mulvey's 'male gaze' theory of 1975, which describes the relationship that the viewer has with content on screen, with particular reference to film, she argues that the viewer is usually viewing content through heterosexual male eyes. In effect, this means creators of the content essentially sexualise female characters to appeal to the heteronormative man, which means that the female characters are constructed to be looked at by the man (Mulvey, 1975). This is extremely relevant within the ecology of football journalism, as it has been noted in other studies that woman's football is formatted in a way to attract men's attention through the sexualisation of the players themselves as a misogynistic marketing strategy. Many print institutions acknowledge that 'sex sells' therefore this sexualisation of women plays a key role in the marketing of woman's football (Kane et al, 2013). A recent example of this would be through the recent rise of so called 'lingerie football'. Lingerie football describes a recent variation of football which first started in the USA, but has recently transitioned over to the UK. It is simply a game of football played by women in their lingerie. When it first appeared in the UK, it unsurprisingly sparked controversy. Gary Neville and others allowed the league to use their hotel (Presscott, 2015), this facilitation of the sport by a mainstream Manchester United footballer led to claims by feminists that he was 'setting women's football back 25 years' (Presscott, 2015). Essentially, the very nature of 'lingerie football' has sexual connotations and promotes 'male gaze', as it invites attention to the players, not because of their athletic abilities, but instead focuses solely on aesthetics. This intrinsically links with 'male gaze' as Mulvey would argue that the tournament is ultimately set up for a male audience and in the article a quote is used implying that men are only coming to the games for voyeurism. This example is important because as other academics have found, this type of representation has damaging social effects for women, often leading them to think that physical attractiveness is more important than their actual ability (Ravel and Gareau, 2014). Again, this links back to the idea that women's athletic ability is being overlooked (Ravel and Gareau, 2014).

While 'lingerie football' may be an extreme example of how Mulvey's 'male gaze' theory infiltrates women's football, it is important to include, because it speaks volumes regarding the relationship between the capitalist news market and women's football. Moreover, it shows how the representation differs from men and in which ways it is similar, while it can be argued that men's football does incur a similar amount of 'female gaze'. In some advertising campaigns, male footballers are overly sexualised to gain the attention of the viewer, (Miller, 2003) to a similar extent as female footballers, however it cannot be argued that the stigma is the same. Male footballers are still remembered and praised for their athletic ability, whereas in comparison, women are not. Additionally, this conceptual idea that 'sex sells' in football journalism has drastic consequences for women in the workplace of journalism. Some believe that the media is essentially supporting the patriarchal power structure, through using gender stereotyping, and this causes significant issues for female football journalists (Hammer,2009).

The number of women who enter the profession of sports journalism is limited and speaks volumes regarding the ecology and gender make-up of the news room. For example, a study conducted by Hardin and Whiteside (2009) discovered that only 6% of sport editors and 10% of reporters in the sports newsroom were female, although this may have since changed, these percentages are still very telling of 21st century sports journalism. They suggest that instead of women making up an actual number in the newsroom they are falling under 'positive discrimination' and they are being hired to simply tick a box legally, rather than being hired solely on merit. This gender stereotyping essentially follows the traditional constructed inherently masculine discourse within the news media (Houston 2008). This means for female sports journalists making a successful career in football journalism can be difficult and progressing in the profession invoke unforeseen challenges (Strong, 2007). Whereas their male counterparts in comparison are given many more opportunities, and to some extent, sports journalism is viewed as a 'private boys' club' where it is difficult to gain entry as a woman (Eastman & Billings, 2000). Moreover, Hardin and Whiteside make it clear that the nature of the sports newsroom is inherently viewed as masculine, alluding to the fact that their gender is a sign of weakness. Despite some prominent female pundits and sports journalists having a position in commentary, such as Sue Barker or Gabby Logan for the BBC, men still outnumber women in this industry, especially within sports journalism (Nicholson, 2007). This can lead to women losing out on a long-term career in sports journalism and Hardin

and Whiteside (2009) even argue that sports journalism is even like a 'revolving door' for women with people entering and leaving the profession quickly. This indicates the issues of women in the workplace. Nicholson (2007) like Hardin and Whiteside (2009) notes that women are genuinely conflicted regarding their advancement in the profession, indicating they feel unsupported by management above them, leading them to leave the profession to find other work. This indicates the institutions are not supportive of female journalists and this is perhaps due to the nature of journalism itself. In journalism, the aim is to remain objective and detached from values that exist in many other jobs. Emotions are not solely absent from journalism, but the reality is many institutions expect them to be absent from the work itself (Robinson 2005).

METHODOLOGY

To investigate the representation of women's football within print media, a combination of Content and Critical Discourse Analysis, more specifically Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, has been applied. This combination not only produces statistical data through the application of quantitative content analysis, but also allows the researcher to examine the data in more detail using discourse analysis. As this project is derived from a feminist perspective, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar, 2007) provides a useful framework to conduct the examination of the discursive practices around women's football. This chapter provides a review of the methodological approach, explaining how it is utilised within the study, and provides an explanation for the sampling process and criteria. The combination of Content Analysis with Critical Discourse Analysis provides a more thorough understanding of the language used to depict women's football, as the former allows for deep analysis of the language used "beyond the sentence", allowing for greater insights into the power structures that underpin specific linguistic choices (Fairclough, 1995). This historical analysis will provide a comparison of how female footballers are being represented during times of heightened popularity, for example during the women's World Cup, which hypothetically offers different coverage in comparison to normal sporting days. This will demonstrate whether there is a key difference in the style of reporting during times of popularity, indicating whether women's football is featured predominately regularly or simply in times of national competition. The next two paragraphs will discuss the decision for choosing the sample period studied, it will also discuss what the researcher considers an article and to clarify the different types of articles that were discovered when conducting the research. Deeper discussion into the newspaper selection itself is discussed further in this thesis.

This period of analysis focused on an eight-day sample which encompassed a busy period for men and women's football within sports journalism. This was a deliberate choice as it gave significant amount of data for analysis, more importantly it facilitated the possibility to find the most articles relating to women's football. It was predicted that women's football stories would be incorporated into the daily 'beat' of the institutions selected thereby giving increased opportunity to find articles relating to women's football. As other studies, which have been conducted in a similar way have acknowledged, finding women's sports stories can be challenging, despite the increase in participation

(Sherwoods,2017). While the thesis produced ample data for analysis, it is important to recognise that this sample in the ecology of print media represents a snapshot of time and therefore it is not possible to make wider assumptions regarding whether or not there has been increased or a decreased coverage. Nonetheless it was possible to compare the findings to other studies, thereby giving increased insight into the representation of women's football in contemporary print media.

The researcher counted all relevant articles that appeared in the search results in all three of the institutions websites in order to create statistical data for analysis. All of the articles used in this study were skimread to ensure their relevance and then were analysed more closely using content analysis. On the websites, two main types of articles appeared, articles which consisted of images and text and articles that only featured images. Duplicate images that were used in multiple articles were still counted, as they were still being utilised by the journalists who carefully selected them. Even articles that contained predominately only images were included in the study as the images also gave insight into the representation of women. The researcher discounted video stories, because in this study it was considered to be a different type of journalism. Moreover, many institutions use video clips from third party sources that are not associated with them. Word length varied by institution The Guardian featured the longest articles, followed by The Daily Mail and then The Sun. It was noted that often football stories transgressed into other categories such as 'news' and 'economics'. These were scanned and counted if relevant, if football was only mentioned in one sentence or only a few words of the article this was discounted, as it was not the main theme of the article.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined by Wright (1986: 125-126) as a research method for the "systematic classification and description of communication content according to certain usually predetermined categories". Berger defines content analysis further, explaining that it is used for "obtaining statistical data from a collection of texts that are similar in some respect" (Berger, 2013: 345). Content analysis is widely considered to be one of the most used research methods when undertaking any research involving media and communications (Berger, 2013). Content analysis usually consists of a combination of the three strands of analysis; conventional, summative and directed (Hsieh and Shannon,

2005). In this thesis, a combination of counting and coding will be applied; the process of coding involves systematically combing through text with an aim to analyse the amount of times a word or theme is mentioned. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), this is the summative strand of content analysis. Coding will be utilised in this thesis to analyse words used in the articles themselves and to see whether an article is more positive or negative in the style of writing. This combination of both allows the researcher to analyse how the journalists are trying to portray men's and women's football and whether there is a difference within the style between them. Counting will indicate the total numbers and frequency of the articles in the sample. Both coding and counting will be used to compare the opening four days and the closing four days of both the 2014 men's World Cup and the 2015 women's World Cup. The characteristics of content analysis makes it one of the most viable options when analysing newspapers, as data is easily accessible and the systematic nature of content analysis produces ample data for analysis. Producing statistical data useful when comparing two samples, this makes comparing the frequency and number of articles easy showing key differences between the two.

There are significant strengths in using a content analysis within a study. Firstly, the method is unobtrusive, as it does not involve human subjects directly, therefore ethical issues are not present. As representation studies often carry some level of emotional attachment and response through other research methods such as semi-structured interviews which can cause issues, content analysis avoids these aforementioned issues. Gender issues can be a sensitive topic for various reasons, so deciding against undertaking a methodological strategy involving interviewing for example was a conscious decision. Moreover, it covers contemporary as well as historical issues and the data collected can be grouped and quantified. This means that it is easy to analyse the results and provides statistical data for analysis (Berger, 2013). Moreover, the method is cost effective and the data is also easy to obtain and work with. The data can be accessed at any point and is number-based so it is easily quantifiable (Berger,2013). This will be beneficial for this project, as it deals with a large amount of numbers, this allows direct comparison of the two sample period providing numerical data to discuss. However, it is also important to consider the implications and challenges of content analysis; one issue that presents itself is coder reliability. When conducting coding, it is important to ensure reliability, and one way in which this can be achieved is by having another researcher who checks for reliability and continuity. Berger claims that within academia a reliability score of 90% or

over for the findings is required to be considered as acceptable (Berger, 2013). Within this sample, the researcher used a second individual to check the results which confirmed the results as reliable.

When conducting a content analysis there are six main questions that should be answered:

“1. Which data are analysed? 2. How are they defined? 3. What is the population from which they are drawn? 4. What is the context relative to which the data analysed? 5. What are the boundaries of the analysis? 6. What is the target of the interfaces?” (Krippendoff, 2008).

From the start of the sampling, the researcher must consider these six questions to decide what is and is not useful or relevant to the study. As well as being the first question presented by Krippendoff, the data to be analysed is also the first thing that has to be considered when deciding to undertake a research project of this kind. Furthermore, these questions fundamentally can function as a basis upon which one can organise and structure data collection on a large scale such as this.

A fundamental suggestion put forward by Berger is that, when conducting content analysis, the researcher should consider the historical perspective, and include it within the project (Berger, 2013). This is essential, because it creates a comparison of how things may have developed or changed over time. Historical analysis is important, in this case especially, because the concept of feminism has changed considerably over time, the historical aspect of this project will allow a direct comparison between older studies which analyse men's and women's football as discussed within the literature review. Content analysis will give an indication of how many times women's football is featured within the newspapers, in comparison to articles about men's football, and the type of terms journalists include when writing news stories about women's football. The purpose of this is to give insight into the frequency and style of both the men and women's sample. Moreover, the number of journalists will also be counted to determine the amount of male and female journalists constructing stories about football, this is crucial because it will whether there is a significant difference between them as it could influence the content being produce. Moreover, it will show which gender holds the most power when constructing stories about football, thereby showing whether there is still an imbalance in

power between men and women and if there is still patriarchal dominance within football journalism.

Content analysis was not only used to count how many articles were produced in the sample period and the number of female and male journalists, but it was also used to analyse the language use within the articles. The results can be seen in the language use section of the results. This study focuses on the representation of women's football and as such positive and negative words were counted in order to determine whether the language of the journalists was more positive or negative. Therefore, the results give a snapshot into the language choice implemented by the journalists showing any differences when writing about men and women's football.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis or (CDA) is the study of words either written or spoken, in short it is the study of the language beyond what is written (Fairclough,1995). However, the word 'language' can be misleading as CDA can be expanded to different forms of messages such as images, music and symbols, which are all crucial elements for the duplication of messages in society (Forchtner, 2012). CDA is interdisciplinary in nature, and this study combines content analysis with CDA producing a mixed method study. The combination of content analysis and Discourse Analysis facilitates the deeper understanding of language beyond the sentence and allows for a deeper analysis of the images utilised in the articles to underpin the power behind the articles (Fairclough, 1995) which is something that Kress and van Leeuwen argued for as early as 1996. Moreover, CDA has often been hailed as one the best methods to utilise when investigating power and gender (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Although the majority of the findings in this study can be quantified as 'content analysis', CDA was applied to images and sentences within the articles in the sample period especially in the 'sexism and misogyny' section of the results. Moreover, the method was used to analyse specific sentences used in the articles in order to analyse how the journalists were representing the women featured and the power imbalance between the individuals being represented and the journalists themselves. The utilisation of images in this study also tackled key criticisms from academics that CDA is 'linguistically defined' (Van Dijk,1994).

The researcher followed the guidance laid out by Fairclough, who provides a comprehensive guide when analysing CDA data. Fairclough, states that the first stage of analysing a text should involve interpretation, the second involves description and third involved interpretation again, this circular method of conducting CDA is beneficial because allows for a balance between analytical and descriptive research (Fairclough,1992). What separates CDA from other research methods is the analytical nature of the method itself and is the favoured method for studies which deal with issues of power. For Foucault, the dominance of power through discourse appears normalised, therefore it is seen in abundance within the media (Seale, 2002) and within journalism this power is omnipresent. Another key strength for using Foucault's techniques is that he is not only going concerned with power among writing, but he also recognises that the conditions in which these messages are created must also be analysed (Ali and Batool,2015). And this was attempted in this study through the counting of some external conditions of the study, like for example the number of female and male journalists writing the stories.

Studies that have utilised CDA in the past have often focused on promoting social change, traditionally CDA aligns itself with the political left (Blommaert and Bulcaen,2000). This benefited the study as it incorporated feminism as a major element because it can identify social issues this is something which other research methods often miss. In recent years new strands of CDA have emerged as a result of its alignment with the political left such as Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, which will be explore in the next section. Research that involves feminism and deal with discourse must explore this research method as it combines popular feminist theory with critical analysis which helps when dealing with issues of representation or power.

FEMINIST CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This section will examine Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) which is a combination of feminism and Critical Discourse Analysis. FCDA will be used on the corpus to analyse both the newspaper articles and adverts, applying feminist theory to analyse the representations of women's football. Undertaking a research project that analyses notions of feminism will logically explore notions of power and hegemony, naturally the most appropriate research method for the researcher to use when exploring these concepts has traditionally been discourse analysis within a Foucauldian perspective. While Discourse Analysis customarily has been the most useful research method, various academics such as Lazar, in the last ten years have utilised a combination of discourse analysis and feminism. The blend of discourse analysis and feminism has been termed as Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) (Lazar, 2007). Lazar (2007) introduces the concept in her book "Feminist Critical Discourse analysis: studies in Gender Power and Ideology: Gender, power and ideology in Discourse" but writes at length about this method in a journal produced a year earlier entitled "Feminist critical discourse analysis: articulation a feminist discourse praxis" (Lazar, 2007). The following paragraphs will outline the themes put forward in her journal, which provide the researcher a useful guideline when utilising FCDA.

At a fundamental level, the aim of FCDA is to provide a further understanding in the ways in which the complex notions of power and hegemony are utilised within the media, and the ways in which discourse is facilitating hierarchal top-down mechanics associated with nodes of patriarchal dominance in society (Lazar, 2007). It is important to acknowledge the word 'associated' because Lazar recognises that this top-down mechanic is detrimental to both men and women. An example of this is indicated in post-feminist advertisements, i.e. while some perfume adverts solely focus on the empowerment of women, it is often at the expense of the men in the adverts, and for Lazar it is this degradation that causes significant issues. She states "Structurally, the gender order remains dualistic and hierarchical, but the players have been switched" (Lazar, 2007: 159). This is telling, because it suggests that instead of tackling the issues created by gender order and hierarchy, in this case the media is simply using notions of the empowerment of women for advertisement purposes, rather than real social change. It can therefore be argued that the problem with women's football, while it is now utilised in mainstream

media more often, it is also presented in a way which solely promotes the woman's game intrinsically, but controversially makes the pioneering of female football.

The research method, like conventional discourse analysis, is interdisciplinary which makes it versatile and applicable. Lazar notes that many academics working under the frame of CDA when dealing with issues of gender and gender relations adopt a feminist perspective. She provides a historical example within the journal which gives an indication into historical feminist perspective of traditional forms of CDA, as Cameron (1998: 969-970) explains "[CDA] is one of those broadly progressive projects whose founders and dominant figures are nevertheless all straight white men". While this is a marginalising statement, which is easily critiqued, it provides insight into some of the issues of CDA.

Using FCDA has several strengths which makes it beneficial to utilise in a study. Firstly, the combination of CDA and feminism can provide a rich discussion for social change. Indeed, one of the biggest strengths of a FCDA is its political stance on gender, because it is intent on discovering and demonstrating the power issues within discourse. Furthermore, it allows for the analysis of both text and visual media equally, neither is favoured over the other. For the researcher, this means that FCDA offers a 'corrective approach' for studies which favour one text or another, leading to a more comprehensive study, as both are incredibly useful when analysing gender issues. While in traditional forms of critical discourse analysis, there has been a significant increase in the use of a corpus containing both forms of media, for example text and visual media. By analysing the corpus from a feminist perspective, the researcher can get a greater insight into the texts being researched. Additionally, another strength within FCDA is the fact that it gives feminists a direct voice in academia, allowing a greater discussion within feminist theory.

While Cameron's article gives great insight into what constitutes a FCDA it also provides the reader with a clear critique within studies that exclusively examine women. The label 'women' carries significant issues. Lazar (2007) argues that the label traditionally applies to middle class white women; however, there are significant issues with this, as middle class white women do not represent the entirety of the female population. Therefore, Lazar suggests that studies involving feminism should incorporate women from different ethnic backgrounds to gain greater understanding and appreciate the

bigger picture. This approach will be effectively managed in this study, because the corpus will feature articles from other countries to ensure a fair representation of a range of ethnicities. It will also allow for a significant insight into the ways that different media outlets portray women's football abroad and at home, showing a greater understanding among the wider ecology of football. Although this project deals with key issues within feminism, Lazar (2007) outlines the importance of reflexivity when utilising the research method. She notes that feminists using this method need to be in a constant state of self-reflection.

Pilot study: Euro Tournament

To test whether online articles counted would yield sufficient results and to form the hypothesis, two of the sample newspapers were selected, The Daily Mail and The Guardian, and articles were counted for the Euro 2012 acting as the male period and the Euro 2013 acting as the female sample, respectively. The Euro period for the men's football lasted a month, starting 08/06/2012 and ending 08/07/2012. The total number of articles counted during the Euro 2012 period stood at 526 articles for The Guardian and 699 for The Daily Mail. During the women's Euro period the total stood at 20 for The Guardian and 9 for The Daily Mail. This pilot study seems to suggest that there may be a disparity between men and women's football within online print journalism. A significant finding indicated that within this sample The Guardian focused the most on the women's football, dedicating double the number of articles in comparison to The Daily Mail. From this pilot study, the coding sheet was refined and developed to analyse the language used. The initial data allows the researcher to form a hypothesis regarding the outcome of the study, with the main hypothesis following the trend of the euro results, being that The Guardian will have the most articles regarding women's football and that there will be a significant disparity between the men's World Cup and the women's.

Newspaper Selection

The decision to use online articles from the newspapers, instead of articles within the traditional print versions of the newspapers themselves, was a conscious decision by the researcher. Within the UK, and other countries such as Australia and the United States, traditional print media has been impacted heavily by the advancement and increased

availability of the internet, which has naturally led to increased consumption of content through the medium of the web, something that did not exist in the past (Steen, 2008). This is important because it has changed the very nature of print institutions, leading to convention and schedule changes adopted by institutions in order to combat and develop the change. For the institutions themselves, it means they can produce new stories and articles at all hours of the day and has also led to an increase in the number of citizen journalists being able to contribute to the news, resulting in less reliance on professional journalists. Moreover, on the internet, institutions such as The Daily Mail even utilise other news agency companies such as Reuters to gain content for their stories, which provides the researcher with opportunities to analyse how the institutions are using the stories online to convey the message matching the institutions style. This is fundamental when dealing with representation, as message construction ultimately dictates the representation an institution or individual gives when constructing the story.

With regards to sports journalism specifically, it has been argued that the nature of the department means that it is extremely suitable and applicable to produce ‘web-first’ articles (English, 2011). Web-first articles refers to articles which are solely meant to appear on the internet first. One relevant example of this would be in the use of ‘Live from’ articles which are used on an institution’s website to discuss the play-by-play of the game, giving similar coverage seen in other areas, such as broadcast journalism. Peter English found in his study that The Guardian in 2009 employed this strategy putting them at “the forefront of the industry” (English, 2011:155). While this tactic is now employed by the majority, if not all, of print institutions in recent years, it is useful to analyse how the sample newspapers implemented and reacted to the changes. These articles were found in all three newspapers and often included multiple journalists who were in charge or reporting the events of the match. The nature of the traditional newspaper makes it difficult to include all the days’ stories, instead the newspapers condense the best stories that they wish to include and are much more selective; however, this is not the case within the online versions of the newspapers. There is the desire to report the news 24 hours a day and seven days a week, so the editors are far less selective, often resulting in multiple stories about the same topic being produced.

The print industry still contributes significantly to British society, although the consensus by academics seems to suggest that it is in sharp decline. Print versions of the

paper are certainly still prominent. A recent study from 2017 which measured that popularity and usage of the print versions of the papers themselves and found that 88.5% of people still came to the print versions of papers to consume the news (Thurman, 2017). Although print media may be experiencing significant issues, it is still, for most people at least, the active source of the news. One of the significant differences between online and print version of the newspapers is the way in which the stories are selected for the papers themselves. There is a stringent process when deciding which stories are selected and developed for the print versions. Additionally, it is important to remember that stories selected to be placed in the newspaper are carefully selected in comparison to online media, where a stringent selection process is also still practiced; however, the major difference is that there is much more room for the stories. Due to space constraints, the process of story selection within the print versions of newspapers must be much stricter.

The three newspapers that have been selected to analyse the representation of women's football are The Guardian, The Daily Mail, and The Mirror. This section will give an overview of the papers themselves, their political swing and styles of the papers and the reasons for choosing them. It is important to note that the researcher is focused solely on the online versions of these newspapers. This overview is critical, while the medium may be different from the traditional print versions of papers the internal political message of the institutions themselves remain prominent, even within the online articles. Relevant examples of this will be highlighted in the results section of this thesis, through the discourse analysis, and the use of language chosen when discussing women in the articles, to demonstrate the political nature of the writing itself, will be examined. All three newspapers provided ample and complete number of articles to analyse on the websites.

The Daily Mail is a British tabloid newspaper that circulates daily with its sister paper The Mail on Sunday operating at weekends. The paper aligns itself with the political right, outwardly supporting the Conservatives. On 16th December 2016, The Daily Mail saw a circulation of 1,491,264 copies (Ponsford, 2017). The daily circulation figures as of 3rd March 2017 stand at 1,511,357 average papers sold per day (Newswork, 2017), demonstrating their popularity in the UK, although it is important to note that these statistics represent year-on-year declines for the newspaper, with most institutions seeing a 10 % decline in readership figures. Despite this, the institution of The Daily Mail owns

close to 30 percent of the market share in terms of consumption rates. What separates The Daily Mail from other UK newspapers is their demographic figures. The newspaper shares the biggest readership among a female audience; this primarily makes it one of the strongest choices when analysing the representations of women's football which, theoretically, should be more prominent within The Daily Mail. The Daily Mail is also the only newspaper that features a significant women's section named 'Femail', which is unique amongst the three newspapers chosen.

The Guardian is a broadsheet daily newspaper, founded in 1821, and associates itself with the left and is more liberal in its style of writing, however it is mainly described as 'centre-left'. In 2016, the print edition of the newspaper had a daily circulation of around 162,000 copies (Ponsford, 2017). The key difference between this paper and the two other newspapers selected is that it features significantly fewer stories regarding sports and, in fact, segregates sports stories away from the main body of the paper. The other two place sport at the back of their papers. All papers segregate the sport into different sections, which is natural in print media. The Guardian solely excludes the stories to a separate section of their newspaper, with the exceptions of sports stories that feature a political or economic aspect; an example of this being the England vs France football match of 2015, which crossed the boundaries of sports and politics so was featured on both.

The Mirror is also a British tabloid newspaper which was founded in 1903 and has typically supported Labour. The Mirror is owned by Trinity Mirror Media Company and in December 2016, The Mirror saw a circulation of 716,923. In this sample selection, The Mirror received the biggest fall in readership from last year, experiencing a 11.68% fall (Ponsfield, 2017). The Mirror aligns itself with Labour and therefore is centre-left in its political stance. Interestingly, during its conception in 1903, Lord Northcliffe claimed that it was originally made and tailored for a female audience. While other newspapers within this sample have developed elements of their papers for a female audience, The Mirror is the only newspaper whose conception began with women in mind (Goldsmith, 2012). The Mirror is synonymous with sport and both the website and the newspaper features dedicated sections for football, with the print edition reserving coverage to the back of the newspaper.

Analysing these three newspapers offers a comprehensive review of current and popular newspapers in the UK, and it will show whether there is a difference, or similarity, in the way they portray both women and men's football. The study encompasses four days for the women's sample and four days during the 2014 and 2015 World Cups. It is recognised that this study utilises one broadsheet and two tabloid newspapers; however, the sample produced an ample amount of data for analysis. The choice was made to try and analyse three different newspapers from different ends of the political spectrum, and while it can be argued that The Guardian and The Mirror are similar in their political stance, the difference between them is their style of writing; The Guardian is a broadsheet and The Mirror is tabloid. The Daily Mail is significantly different in terms of its political leanings and this is what separates it from the two in the sample.

FINDINGS

Total number of articles

The total number of articles counted totalled 911 and encompassed an 8-day period, which comprised of the first four opening and the last four closing days of both the men and women's football tournaments. As broken down in Table 1, this consisted of 823 (90% of **all** articles) classified as male articles and 93 (10% of **all** articles) classified as female articles. The Mirror had the largest number of articles in both the male and female sample, 342 and 56 respectively. The Daily Mail had the lowest number of articles in both the male and female samples with 183 and 18 respectively. Finally, The Guardian had 298 male articles and 19 female articles. The number of articles for The Mirror in the male sample represented 42% of all male articles and 50% of all female articles.

Newspaper	Male Sample Total & (% males only)	Female Sample Total & (% females only)
The Daily Mail	183 (22%)	18 (19%)
The Guardian	298 (36%)	19 (21%)
The Mirror	342 (42%)	56 (60%)
Total & (% overall papers)	823 (90%)	93 (10%)

Table 1: Total Articles: Male and Female Samples

The table above shows the total number of articles counted during the June and July sample period for both the men and women's tournaments. Tables 2 and 3 below give individual breakdowns of the two samples to demonstrate the differences between the opening and closing days of the tournaments themselves. This will be discussed further in the discussion section to give an overview of the number of articles during the start and end of the tournaments respectively.

Newspaper	Male sample 12-15th June 2014	Female Sample 7th to 10th June 2015
The Daily Mail	108	17
The Guardian	213	5
The Mirror	247	23
Total	568	45

Table 2: Showing the June sample results

Newspaper	Male sample 10-13th July 2014	Female Sample 2nd to 5th July
The Daily Mail	75	1
The Guardian	85	14
The Mirror	95	33
Total	255	48

Table 3: Showing the July sample results

The total number of articles produced during the opening and closing four days of the 2015 women's World Cup are similar, with only a small variation of three articles between the two. The men's sample, however, produced differing results, with the newspapers seemingly reducing the coverage towards the latter end of the tournament itself. This meant that in the men's sample, there was a significant disparity in the number of articles between June and July, with July featuring less than half of the articles in comparison to June. This may be due to external factors, such as the absence of the home country in this case England, in the competition. The result of England being eliminated meant that there was a significant drop in coverage offered by the institutions themselves resulting in less articles being produced, perhaps indicating the decrease in interest in readership or the commercial valuation of the stories changing. It is important to note, however, that the opposite occurred within the women's sample. In July, for example the coverage increased slightly, with a total of three more articles being produced during the last four days of the women's tournament, thereby devoting more stories to the England women's team and their significant achievements during the campaign.

Another important acknowledgement was made during the counting process, which showed there were instances where the England teams performance during the

women's World Cup was directly compared to the men's, and in some instances their performance was praised as greater than the male teams. All the institutions viewed the success of the women's team as substantial; however, when compared with the men's tournament they still produced significantly less articles. While the research cannot indicate for certain whether the cultural valuation indeed changed because of the success of the women's game, the numbers seem to suggest that this could be the case. Institutions such as The Mirror and The Guardian increased their coverage during the latter stages of the women's World Cup at a heightened time of success for the women, however, it could indicate a cultural peak in popularity for women's football, a peak that is based on the success of the women's team. While this was the case for two newspapers in the sample, importantly, this was not evidenced in The Daily Mail, as it appears the newspaper significantly dropped their coverage of the women's tournament in the latter stages of the women's world cup, regardless of their success.

Comparing the frequency of coverage during the tournaments for both the men and women indicates a disparity between them, with the newspapers favouring coverage of the male game in comparison to the female game. Comparing the newspapers directly offers the reader an insight into how football is being utilised by the three institutions, and whether there is a variation between men and women's football. The numbers indicate that The Mirror featured the most articles relating to football stories and men's and women's football; this was then followed by The Guardian, which featured the second largest number of articles relating to both men's and women's football, and finally by The Daily Mail which featured the least number of articles for both genders. The Mirror is synonymous with sport, and so perhaps this result is unsurprising; however, what was surprising was that The Guardian featured more stories surrounding football than The Daily Mail.

The variation in the frequency of the articles themselves was additionally a key finding, as between June and July women's football featured a similar amount in the total number of articles. During the sample period however, it was evident that some of the newspapers significantly dropped the frequency of their coverage for example, The Daily Mail, which in the women's sample only offered one article relating to women's football. If the men's sample is compared directly with the women's during similar periods of competition, the men's football articles featured significantly more, and this was uniform

among all three institutions. To summarise, when comparing the frequency of coverage of women's and men's articles during this time, there is a clear disparity between them, with the newspapers favouring coverage of the male game in comparison to the female game.

The data shows that during the men's World Cup, almost double the number of articles were written in comparison to the closing days. One reason for this could be that coverage for both the genders significantly drops when the host nation, in this case England, is no longer in the tournament, and therefore focus of the consumer drops making world cup stories less popular. This is demonstrated by the July women's World Cup sample through The Daily Mail, as it appears to decrease its coverage significantly in the latter stages of the tournament. It is also important to note the July sample for the men, as the results suggest that the newspapers selected seem to be producing a similar number of stories with only a 10-article difference between The Daily Mail and The Guardian and The Guardian and The Mirror. This is a key finding as is not reciprocated in women's tournament the differences between the number of articles featured are sparse perhaps indicating the commercial valuation that the papers are putting on two tournaments. The differences in the amount between the three newspapers varies from substantial - as seen in June's results - to minimal seen in July's results. This shows the difference between the frequency and style of coverage of the two months indicating how it shifts and changes in peak times. It also shows how the coverage changes when the host nation is eliminated and what impact this has on the coverage. In this sample, the coverage drastically changed in the last four days of the World Cup with the absence of England, within the male sample the coverage drastically declined but within the female sample coverage increased slightly and there were still substantial articles devoted to the England women's team and their significant achievements during the campaign.

Gender of Journalists

Gender	The Mirror Total & (%)	The Daily Mail Total & (%)	The Guardian Total & (%)	Overall Total	Overall %
Male	319 (94%)	158 (86%)	206 (68%)	683	83
Female	6 (2%)	4 (2%)	20 (7%)	30	4
Unknown	5 (2%)	18 (10%)	54 (18%)	77	9
Multiple	8 (2%)	4 (2%)	21 (7%)	33	4
Total	338 (100)	184 (100)	301 (100)	823	100.00

Table 4: Gender of Journalists (total and %) from Male Sample

Gender of Journalist – Male Sample

Table 4 shows a total of 823 journalists with 110 either classified as unknown or multiple. In the male sample, 83% were male journalists, 4% were female, 9% were unknown and 4% Multiple. When looking more specifically at the gender percentages for each paper within the male sample in Table 4, The Mirror utilised 94% male journalists, 2% female journalists with 2% unknown and 2% multiple journalists. The Mirror had the highest male percentage, joint lowest female percentage and lowest unknown/multiple percentage. The Daily Mail utilised 86% male journalists, 2% female journalists and 12% joint unknown/multiple journalists. The Mirror had the second highest male percentage, joint lowest female percentage and second highest unknown/multiple percentage. The Guardian utilised 68% male journalists, 7% female journalist with a joint 25% unknown/multiple journalists. The Guardian had the lowest male percentage, highest female percentage together with the highest unknown/multiple percentage.

Gender	The Mirror Total & (%)	The Daily Mail Total & (%)	The Guardian Total & (%)	Overall Total	Overall %
Male	16 (84%)	8 (45%)	15 (27%)	39	42
Female	2 (11%)	4 (22%)	24 (43%)	30	33
Unknown	1 (5%)	6 (33%)	16 (28%)	23	25
Multiple	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1	1
Total	19 (100%)	18 (100%)	56 (100%)	93	100

Table 5: Gender of Journalists (total & %) from Female sample

Gender of Journalist – Female Sample

Table 5 shows a total of 93 journalists with 24 either classified as unknown or multiple. In the female sample, 42% were male journalists, 33% were female, 25% were unknown and 1% Multiple. When looking more specifically at the gender percentages for each paper within the female sample in Table 5, The Mirror utilised 84% male journalists, 11% female journalists with 5% unknown and 0% multiple journalists. The Mirror had the highest male percentage, the lowest female percentage and lowest unknown/multiple percentage. The Daily Mail utilised 45% male journalists, 22% female journalists and 33% joint unknown/multiple journalists. The Mirror had the second highest male percentage, second highest female percentage and highest unknown/multiple percentage. The Guardian utilised 27% male journalists, 43% female journalists with a joint 30% unknown/multiple journalists. The Guardian had the lowest male percentage, highest female percentage, which is a similar pattern to the male sample, together with the highest unknown/multiple percentage.

Gender of Journalist: Comparison of Male and Female Samples

When comparing the two samples for the gender of the journalists, the female sample represents only 10 of the overall sample and the unknown/multiple percentage is twice as high in the female sample, when compared with the male sample (26% vs. 13% respectively). The gender of journalists in the male sample is predominantly male (84%) and whilst the gender of journalists in the female sample also shows that there were more male journalists, it should be noted that at 42%, this is half of that recorded in the male sample. The gender of the female journalists in the female sample is much higher than in the male sample (33% vs 4%), and as such, the difference between the male and female journalists in the female sample is much closer than that seen in the male sample (79% vs. 9%).

Gender of Journalist: Comparison of Papers

When comparing the three papers in the male sample, all three papers had a higher percentage of male journalists, which is not unsurprising given the overall percentage of male journalists at 83% of all male articles. However, in the female sample, The Guardian is the only paper to have a higher percentage of female to male journalists (43% vs. 27% respectively). When compared with the other two papers, The Guardian also has the highest percentage of female journalists in the male sample; however, at 7%, this is still considerably lower than the males at 68%.

When comparing the unknown/multiple percentages of all three papers, the Mirror has the lowest percentage of journalists that fall in to this category and is consistent between both sample i.e. 4% male sample vs. 5% female sample, which means that the results for this paper indicate that this paper does not regularly rely on external agencies for their stories, in either male or female reporting. The unknown/multiple percentages are considerably higher in the female sample for both The Mirror and The Guardian, which suggests that these two papers use external agencies more than The Mirror, but also more regularly for female football reporting than male football reporting. For example, there is a 21% difference between the male and female sample for the Daily Mail and a 15% difference for The Guardian.

The results again show a disparity in the gender of journalists writing the football stories. When correlating the data from all the papers, many of the journalists constructing the stories were men. Even within the female sample there seemed to be few female journalists, with the exception of The Guardian, which seems to utilise more. However, there is a key issue within the findings in that The Guardian had the most journalists classed as 'unknown'. This is important for several reasons and tells us that the newspaper utilised agencies in the production of the stories. While the other newspapers also utilised agencies, The Guardian utilises them heavily in both the men's and women's samples. This hints at the valuation that the newspapers are putting on the stories, as the information is often pulled from other journalists work. The utilisation of agencies makes the job easier for the journalist because the content is simply taken from elsewhere and referenced in the text and it allows the institutions journalists to focus on other stories. This shows that the stories are being constructed elsewhere. On reflection, it would have

been beneficial to have categories which broke down whether the articles were classed as 'Reuters' or 'staff' in order to analyse this in more detail. However, the results are still beneficial when conducting a study into representation because it shows how journalists, during this time, were utilising outside sources, rather than their in-house journalists. This, in turn, shows how the institutions are utilising other sources to gain news content, rather than simply relying on their journalists, which is a significant finding when analysing representation.

The disparity between the number of women and men constructing the stories regarding the tournaments differs in each of the samples. The male sample was larger than the smaller sample for females. As this is the case, when comparing the two samples, it is important to look at the percentages, rather than using journalist numbers, in each sample. Within the male coverage of the game there seems to be little or no female journalists. Interestingly, whilst there are still more male journalists in the female sample, the difference is far less than that shown in the male sample. The research showed the extent to which newspapers utilise agencies to create their stories; this is again evidenced through some articles referencing 'Reuters' or simply 'agencies'. This made the identification of the gender of the journalists difficult to trace, so in these instances the journalists were simple coded as 'unknown'. However, this caused significant problems for the researcher, as determining gender was crucial in the analysis. Furthermore, it is important to note that if there were more than one journalist, regardless of gender, it was coded simply as 'multiple'. While there were several instances of this happening during the course of the research, it did not significantly impact the numbers, and still gave an indication into how male and female journalists were constructing the news.

Images

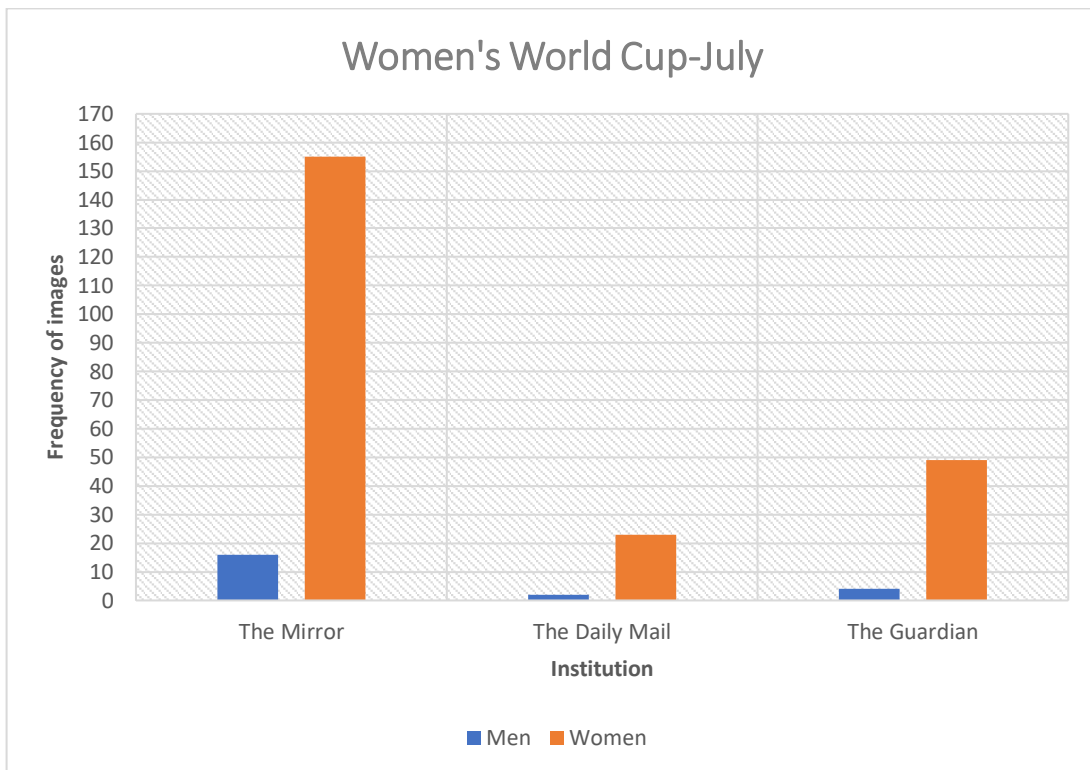
The images published within the articles gave insight into how the newspapers themselves were presenting both men and women and the frequency that these images appeared within the articles. Within this sample there were significantly more images of men than women. This is evidenced in the graphs below (see Graphs 1 and 2). Within this sample, the total number of images of men counted within the men's sample often doubled the total number of images counted for the women's sample. The Daily Mail, for example, included a number of male images which stretched into the thousands. The newspapers themselves varied in how many images they used. Ultimately, this was down to their style.

For example, there were many times when The Guardian would only utilise one image in an article, whereas other newspapers, such as The Daily Mail, would utilise on occasions ten or even twenty images in one article. The Mirror utilised the most pictures in their articles and this is seen through the last three days of the men's World Cup. The Mirror used a total of 832 images of men in their articles, whereas in comparison The Guardian only utilised 362. One of the key reasons for the significant disparity in the number of images used between the institutions was due to the style of articles that they produced. For example, The Mirror and The Daily Mail offered articles which featured live, play-by-play, broadcast style coverage of some of the significant matches during both the tournaments. The play-by-play articles were picture heavy and often featured links to picture galleries taken by professional photographers. This meant that there were some newspapers utilising more images than others, and this impacted the numbers heavily. Especially newspaper articles that were text heavy, such as the ones found in The Guardian. It is also important to note that these live action articles were more prominent in the men's game than in the women's, naturally leading to a disparity in the number of images used. Additionally, some newspapers featured links to photo articles these were included in this study, because they were still utilised by the journalist in order to create or add to the story. The way in which the journalist utilises these images can give an indication into how they are wishing to portray the sport or the individual, therefore it would not be logical to leave them out.

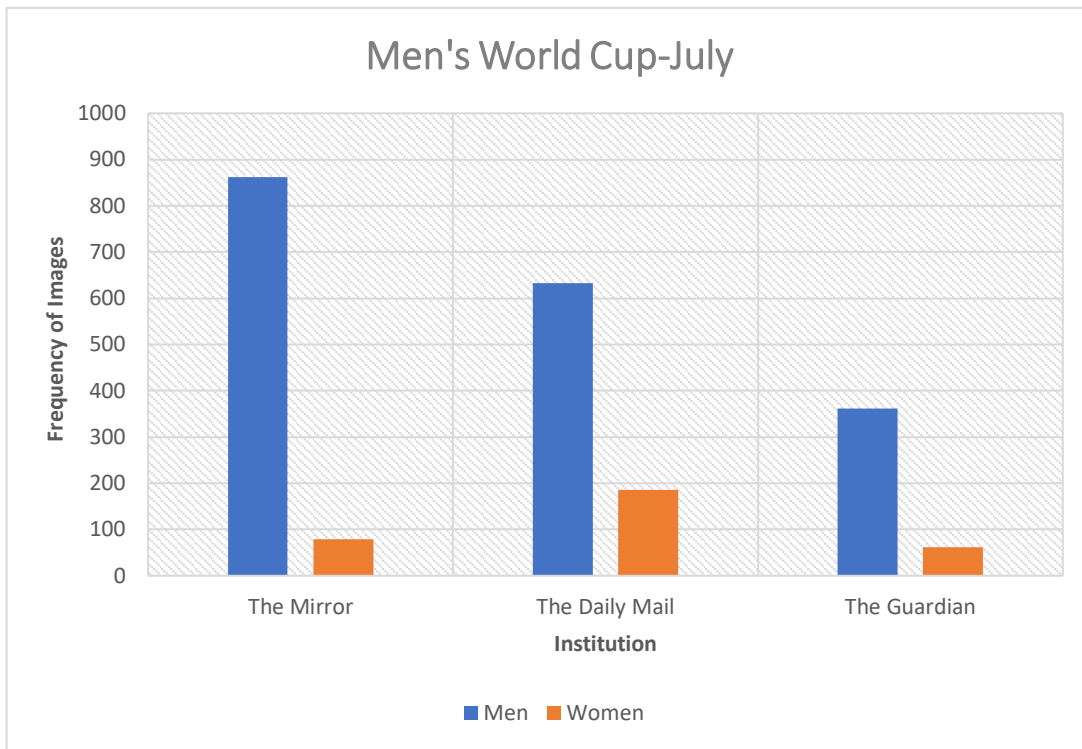
Comparing the number of female and male journalists gave an insight into the total number of men and women writing football stories, which is important because it shows the gender imbalance between men and women sports journalists. The total number of women journalists counted across both samples accounted to 60, in comparison with the male sample which amounted to 722, (56 for unknown and 34 for multiple). This shows us that within this sample, during peak times in sport, male journalists were being utilised more than women, backing up claims from other academics who argue that women are marginalised from sports journalism. The results are alarming, as it appears that the journalists are predominately male, therefore they are given the power when creating the image of women's football. While it is important to note that there were significantly more articles reporting on men's football, and this appeared to have a negative effect on the number of women reporting on football, the opportunity and sheer number of articles written would provide ample opportunity for women to cover the games. Unfortunately,

this was not the case, and the sample provided evidence that football journalism is mainly covered by men. Again, this is important because the man, in this instance, has cultural hegemony within football journalism, and within these three papers, when talking about men's and women's football. This is significant because it means female professional journalists are not being given fair representation in the world of sports journalism. This poses deeper questions into the nature of the newsroom and whether women play a significant role in the process of football journalism or whether they are isolated from it. The nature of the research methods utilised by the researcher could not provide sufficient insight to answer this question directly, but the numbers offer an indication into the utilisation of female journalists in football. Interviews and grounded observation with female journalists would provide greater insight in answering the question more directly.

Graph 1: Showing the frequency of images, Women's World Cup for July



Graph 2: Showing the frequency of images, Men's World Cup-July



Language Use in the Articles

Deeper content analysis was conducted into four of the days for the women and four of the days for the men. The results show the language utilised by the journalists when constructing stories surrounding football. Some of the words in the coding sheet appeared more than once such as the word 'good'. In the interest of accuracy, the results of the duplicated words were removed. This is key in a representation study because it indicates the choice of words that the journalists are choosing to portray women and men within the language of the articles themselves. Controversial articles were analysed more deeply using discourse analysis to determine the differences in representation between men and women.

Additionally, some of these articles were analysed more closely and sentences and images were taken from some of the articles to be utilised in the discussion section of the thesis. The numbers for every individual word are shown in Tables 6, 7, 8 & 9, which can be found below.

Women's Sample

Between the 7th and 10th of June a total of 401 words were identified on the coding sheet. Within the 43 articles counted, there were a total of 324 classified as positive words and 77 classified as negative words. Breaking the numbers down by institution highlights the differences between them; The Mirror featured a total of 37 positive words and 9 negative words, The Guardian featured a total of 134 positive words and 27 negative words and lastly, The Daily Mail featured a total of 153 positive words and 41 negative words (Tables 8 & 9). Individually, the newspaper with the most positive and negative words was The Daily Mail. The Guardian featured the second highest amount of positive and negative words and this was followed by The Mirror which had the least. The results indicated that in this sample all three newspapers demonstrated more positive words than negative words utilised by the journalists. Contextually, this suggests that they were more complimentary when writing about women's football utilising positive language. However, newspapers such as The Daily Mail utilised significantly more negative words than other newspapers. Some institutions such as The Mirror utilised only 9 negative words in their articles, again suggesting that they were indeed less negative when talking

about women's football. However, it is important to note that in comparison to the other newspapers, The Mirror featured significantly less articles, meaning that the journalists had less opportunity to talk neither positively nor negatively when covering women's football.

Men's Sample

Between the 10th and 13th of July, across all three institutions the articles featured a total of 1345 words coded. Within the 1345 words coded, 967 words were classified as positive and 378 were classified as negative. The Mirror in this sample featured a total of 214 positive words and 102 negative words, The Guardian featured a total of 454 positive words and 191 negative words, with The Daily Mail featuring a total of 299 positive words and 85 negative words. Within the men's sample (Tables 6 & 7) it can be seen that The Guardian featured the most positive and negative words. The Daily Mail featured the second largest number of positive words but featured the least negative words, and The Mirror featured the least positive words but was the second largest newspaper to feature negative words. Again, all three newspapers were complimentary when talking about men's football, as they all featured more positive words than negative; however, The Guardian and The Daily Mail featured a significant amount of negative words.

This tells us that there are key differences in the ways that the three newspapers are portraying men's and women's football. This is important, because it indicates a disparity between the three newspapers themselves. For example, it shows that all newspapers utilised significantly more positive words than negative words. This tells us that despite the differences in style between them all, institutions utilise both positive and negative words when constructing stories about both men's and women's football respectively. Analysing and comparing both the men and women's sample we can see that, in line with other findings of this study, the men's sample yielded significantly more data. As a result of this, it made comparing the style of the writing between the men's and the women's game difficult in terms of the language used by the three papers, and the frequency of the positive to negative words themselves. However, both the women's and men's sample featured significantly more positive words than negative words. Within this sample, the results seem to suggest, despite the differences in gender, the newspapers remain reasonably objective when writing about football, utilising slightly more positive words than negative. However, it is important to remember that within this sample there were

significantly more articles counted for men's football, essentially, the language used by the journalists only represents a small sample in comparison to the men's, this being a key issue when analysing the language within the articles themselves. Again, it demonstrates a key disparity between the men's and women's football.

In both samples, the men's and women's football were equal in how it was being portrayed in the newspapers, meaning that generally they remained objective when talking about both men and women's football. This was a significant finding showing that the journalists are trying to remain objective. While they are trying to be objective, the reality is that there were still significantly less articles for women's football, in comparison to the men's, and this remains a constant problem when analysing the articles.

Positive Word	The Mirror	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
fought	1		1
fighting	7	4	2
warm	1	10	17
good	46	115	59
elated		1	
optimism	2	1	
confident	4	9	5
confidence	7	17	3
happy	12	26	12
dominated	1	5	1
determined	4	8	2
stunning	4	8	5
impressively		1	
love	9	14	10
professional	3	6	4
capable		9	
Biggest	16	19	28
rise	2	5	3
support	10	10	22
success	4	25	11
biggest	16	19	29
excellent	6	8	11
brilliant	16	23	13
Strong	7	12	11
dominate	2	4	2
passion	1	4	11
positive	2	7	2
performance	18	31	17
confident	3	9	5
promising	1	5	1
spirited		1	
positive	1	7	2
nice	3	6	6
confident	4	9	5
ambitious		4	1
positive	1	7	2
love	9	14	10
loved		3	1
successful	5	13	4
strength	3	8	4
excellent	7	8	11
nice	3	6	6
Totals	347	792	490

Table 6: Showing positive words men's sample

Negative Word	The Mirror	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
unbearable			
tedious		3	1
testing		1	
strict		1	
cowardice			
confidence	7	17	3
pressure negative	17	32	23
problems	7	14	8
Under-achievement			
suffering	5	5	4
corruption	1	9	
overshadow			
shock	5	5	
Tough	7	10	4
failed	7	23	12
shell-shocked			
controversial	3	3	4
controversy	2	2	4
hard	15	33	10
worst	16	15	3
disappointing	5	2	2
negative	1	3	1
dominant	3	5	1
performance negative	1	8	5
Totals	102	191	85

Table 7: Showing negative words men's sample

Positive Word	The Mirror	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
fought			
fighting		2	1
warm			5
good	5	19	10
elated			
optimism		1	
confident	1	5	4
elated			
confidence	2		
happy		4	5
dominated		4	1
determined		4	
stunning	1	2	2
impressively		1	
love		3	2
professional	1	3	10
capable	2	2	1
biggest		3	7
support	3	1	11
success	1	3	7
biggest		2	7
excellent	1	5	3
brilliant	2	5	4
strong	2	6	7
dominate		3	3
passion			1
positive	1	1	1
performance	1	3	8
confident	1	3	4
promising	1		1
spirited			1
strong	2	7	8
positive	1	1	1
nice		1	3
confident	1	4	3
ambitious			
positive	1	2	1
love		5	
loved			3
successful			2
strength			3
excellent	1	7	3
Totals	37	134	151

Table 8: Showing positive words women's sample

Negative Word	The Mirror	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
unbearable			
tedious			
testing			1
strict			
dictatorial			
cowardice			
confidence	2		
disappointment			
pressure negative		10	6
problems	1	3	2
under achievement			
suffering		1	
corruption		1	1
overshadow			
shock			
Tough	1	4	16
failed		2	4
shell-shocked			
controversial	1	2	1
Controversy			3
Hard		3	4
Worst			1
Disappointing			
Negative	2		
dominant		1	2
Performance	2		
Totals	9	27	41

Table 9: Showing negative words women's sample

DISCUSSION

Patriarchal Dominance within Football Journalism

The results of this study are damning for women's football, within the environment of online print journalism within The Daily Mail, The Mirror and The Guardian. The total number of articles counted for the women was significantly less than their male counterparts over a similar period of time. While this was predicted in the hypothesis, the total difference in the number of articles produced for women and men was unprecedented. This dissimilarity in the total number of articles demonstrates the extent of the under representation of women's football within the three newspapers themselves, despite the noteworthy increase in popularity of women's football over the last 10 years (Simmons, 2007).

While this study focused on three newspapers and not the whole of print media, based on the findings of this study, it is logical to suggest that if the sample size were expanded the results would correlate with the findings of the WSFF in 2009 and support the view that "only 2 percent of articles and 1 percent of images in the sports pages of the UK print media were devoted to women's football" (WSFF, 2009). While it is important to note that this was within a small sample of 911, it is a crucial finding because it shows, to an extent, the lack of change and development of women's football in recent years. The findings within this sample also correlate with the pilot study during the Euro tournament showing the significant imbalance between men and women's football. Moreover, it demonstrates the commercial valuation of the women's game within the ecology of football journalism, because of the lack of total number of articles within the women's sample. In this instance, the results from the study acknowledge that women's football is seemingly absent in the circulation of the sports newsroom, which is telling, because it suggests that the sports editors within the newspapers do assume that the reader is not interested in women's football, offering the women's as a form of tokenism, rather than incorporating it into the daily workings of the print newsroom (Powell in Creighton, 2011). The numbers for the individual days demonstrate this alone. Analysing the last three days of the men's and women's World Cup sample shows that The Daily Mail, for example, only featured one article dedicated to women's football during this period but utilised a total of 75 for the men's. This is evidence of the difference in the commercial

valuation of women's football. The Daily Mail print routines of the newspapers demonstrate that women's football is being subordinated, through the lack of commercial interest from the newspapers. The cultural capital of women's football is significantly diminished because they do not feature in the newspapers themselves, and it appears there is no set routines in the journalism for the women's game, representing a hegemonic imbalance between the two genders (Pfister,2002). This lack of inclusion essentially undermines women's achievements, in comparison to the men's, and supports the view that sport itself still carries a 'cultural centre of masculinity' (Messer,2002).

The patriarchal dominance within print media also extends itself to the way in which the articles are utilised on the websites themselves. While it has been demonstrated that within this sample there are significantly more articles constructed for men than there are for women. The results also demonstrated the ways in which women's football is often segregated away from the men's game. Academics have in the past acknowledged this, arguing that the segregation of 'Women's football' and 'Men's' on the websites themselves leading to the reader making a mental comparison between the two (Revel and Gareau, 2014). During the counting process of the articles themselves, The Guardian and The Mirror segregated Women's football stories away from the Men's, utilising categories for the tournaments and creating an element of marginalisation between men and women's football. The Daily Mail, on the other hand, presented the search results differently and included articles which covered both men and women's football, in both sets of samples. Additionally, other news pertaining to football was shown; whereas The Mirror and The Guardian solely focused on the World Cup news in the media, rather than include any other stories. Through this, The Daily Mail demonstrated that there were other stories regarding football on both occasions. This is an interesting finding, because it demonstrates that either (1) the online versions of the newspapers are treating the articles differently and utilising them in different places, which suggests that they are segregated or (2) it could show the weaknesses of the search engines within The Daily Mail, in comparison to the other newspapers. This again supports the idea that women's football is treated as tokenism by the media. This is shown in The Guardian and The Mirror, as the articles are segregated into two gendered categories of 'women' and 'men'. Similar to findings in other academic papers regarding the labelling of genders on websites, Revel and Gareau (2014) found that the same tactics were being utilised in the London 2012 Olympics by the French Football Federation, and *L'Equipe* in the French media, where

they argued the segregation of men's and women's football, resulting from labelling men's football and women's football separately, led to distinctions between the two. While this was found in this thesis, a more significant finding was that although both the men's and women's World Cup stories were segregated away into dedicated sections, the total number of articles utilised by the papers was even more of an issue. While both The Mirror and The Guardian utilise binary labelling to segregate the two sports, this caused problems for the researcher, as it made it difficult to analyse how these articles appeared at the time of production, as the websites always link to these categories for men and women within the World Cup sample.

The results of this sample show the extent the 'cultural capital' that women's hold within the three newspapers, but an important aim of this study was to dissimilate which gender was dominant when writing about football. The results show that again, the gender of the journalist, when writing about football, is predominately male. Interestingly, this was still the case even during the women's tournament. Although there were more women journalists writing content at that time, in The Daily Mail and The Mirror there were still more male journalists than female, and within the male sample the difference in the ratio between male and female journalists is even greater. This indicates that the newsroom is still dominated by men, which agrees with a study conducted in 1998 which argued that the newsroom is ultimately defined as male. This directly affects the representations of women in media, because women are not responsible for their own construction within media. The patriarchy in this instance creates the construction, and the implication of this for women is a sense of displacement within football journalism. Denying women the chance to construct stories surrounding women's football causes issues in the ecology of football; for instance, some academics align the whole economy of the global media as male, which in turn causes issues such as sexism and misogyny. The dominance of male journalists within football causes controversy and leads to many women not pursuing a career in football journalism, thereby leading to a cycle of male dominance because women simply are not entering the profession. Radical feminists recognise the lack of change within the ecology of media and pin the issues that women face on the institutions behind the stories and their criticisms, in this instance, are well founded. Although women are increasingly becoming involved in football in terms of playing the game, the reality is that women are still being let down by journalism, which continues to be less inclusive of them.

Frequency and Style of the Articles

The numerical results from the pilot study and the sample period demonstrate the frequency and style of football reporting during both the Euro period and the World Cup period for both the men and women. While it has already been noted that there is a significance difference in the total number of articles between the men and women, a deeper analysis into the three individual papers is necessary to show any differences between them, providing deeper insight in to how football is being represented in both versions of the game. As the results show, The Mirror featured the most articles featuring women's football 56, followed by The Guardian at 19 and The Daily Mail at 18. When comparing the two-sample period of June and July the men's coverage seems more uniformed. In July, for example, there was only a 10-article difference between the newspapers. The Daily Mail was the exception in June however, as it featured significantly less than both The Mirror and The Guardian. Within the women's sample this was not the case and the difference in the total number of articles between the three newspapers was significant. In June, for example, the difference between the highest number of articles counted and the lowest number stood at 18; likewise, the number for July stood at 32, with The Daily Mail only dedicating one story to women's football during the last few days of the women's World Cup. This finding demonstrates the differences in frequency between the two genders and moreover, shows the individual breakdown of the papers themselves.

While this represents a small sample within the ecology of football journalism it matches the findings in the pilot study, suggesting that this is the case, even during other competitions. The men's competition in this instance seems to carry more commercial value than the women's, since the newspapers dedicated significantly more articles in comparison to the women's. Additionally, in this sample the frequency demonstrates that the men's competition follows a more uniformed wave of coverage than the women's, which was sparser and less frequent. Furthermore, it also shows that the newspapers follow a coverage pattern when dealing with the men's tournament; however, this was not the case for the women's. This key finding showed that the women's football is still often segregated away from the men's. In this sample, this was certainly the case in both The Guardian and The Mirror, whereby women's and men's articles never appeared in each

other's search results. This meant that there was a clear segregation between the two, which was not the case with The Daily Mail, where the articles often crossed over, resulting in football articles for both genders appearing in the search results. This issue of segregation was discovered in other studies, therefore the results in this study support this claim that women's football is segregated away from the men's.

Sexism and Misogyny

Within the critical discourse analysis, controversial articles were analysed more to determine how the women were being portrayed at a deeper level. The result of this led to the discovery that there were several instances in which institutions utilised images of women which sexualised them. Crucially, these articles were discovered in the sample period and contribute to the arguments put forward in the literature review. One article produced by The Daily Mail focused on the gender imbalance between men and women in Brazil and argued that the increase in the amount of men coming to view the World Cup has been beneficial for Brazilian women. This article has significant problems within it which belittle the women in the text. As the author is not credited, it is difficult to determine whether a man or woman wrote the article; however, in this article the cultural power is given to the men. (Associated Press Reporter, 2014). A caption under the image demonstrates this "A dejected looking Brazil fan, but at least her country is full of foreign men" (Associated Press Reporter, 2014). This quote is important because it detracts the reader away from the football, highlighting that although the woman in the article is upset because of the result of the game, the fact that men are available in her country will change the way she feels about the result. The article is suggesting that the men are the key to her happiness. Additionally, there are several instances when the author utilises images of women that promote the male gaze perspective (See figure 1). These images were utilised in the article to create a representation of Brazilian women. This over-sexualisation of women also manifested itself in an article by The Mirror (McCann, 2014). The article simply utilised sexualised images of the female Venezuelan presenters and was written by a man with quotations such as "While the football at the World Cup has been catching the eye on the pitch, so have these TV presenters off it!" and "it's just a shame that the Venezuelan national team didn't make it to the finals" (McCann, 2014). These comments oversexualise the women within the article. Whilst these two instances took place during the men's sample, one possible explanation is that the newspapers themselves

tailored their content to attract male readers, as studies have found the average consumer of football news is indeed male (Zimmermann, 2016).



Figure 1: AFP 2014. Brazilian Women

AFP PHOTO/TASSO MARCELOTASSO MARCELO/AFP/Getty Images, 2014.

Brazilian Women. [online] Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2687430/At-women-scored-Brazil-s-female-population-greatly-outnumbers-men-reaps-benefits-World-Cup-football-fans-arriving.html> [accessed 29/8/17]

Interestingly, there were also instances in the female sample where women were being oversexualised. The Daily Mail, for instance, utilised a story which solely focused on the women being objects of desire, using stories from the women's pasts to create the articles themselves. The article employs tactics to achieve this; it utilises over-sexualised images of the women, for example the one shown in Figure One; the difference being that these images are of the footballers and not the fans. This is to give the reader a glimpse of the women and focuses extensively on their beauty and the controversial actions of their

pasts, in order to create a sexualised representation of the women footballers. The article constantly refers to the women's beauty and physical features, rather than solely focusing on their sporting achievements within the game itself. The article is written by a woman and is branded as 'Femail' (Tweedy, 2015) meaning it is targeted for a female audience. This is telling because it shows us that articles which sexualise women are being constructed by both men and women and could indicate the issues are systemic within the print institutions and not simply the journalists creating the representations themselves. These types of articles were only seen in both The Daily Mail and The Mirror.

All these instances demonstrate levels of sexism within the articles themselves and while this is more prominent within the male sample, it was still existent within the female sample. This demonstrates that there is still an element of sexism within the media itself, when it comes to talking about women and women's football extensively. While this article mentions the politics of women's football and attempts to suggest that it understands the issues facing this version of the game, realistically, it is the way in which the articles are constructed that has implications for the representation of women's football because it detracts away from their professional achievements and focuses on the controversies that the women have faced in the past, such as the Playboy photoshoot. The images utilised within the papers do indeed seem to be constructed around the male gaze to appeal to a male audience; the patriarchal power in this instance is institutional. This is also demonstrated within the 'Femail' article by Tweedy (2015), which was written by a woman, but still featured images and slogans which are detrimental to the representation of the women themselves, detracting from and degrading their professional image as footballers within the media. The timing of the article is also very telling, as it was developed at the very start of the tournament, perhaps showing us the agenda of the institutions in creating the images of and thus the representation of women footballers.

Whilst the aforementioned evidence indicates that there still is an element of sexism within The Daily Mail and The Mirror, The Guardian avoided producing these types of articles and focused on the tournament and the results of the matches themselves. Again, indicating the differences between the 'liberal' left wing papers and the more right wing Conservative papers. There were instances within The Guardian sample which promoted the women's game and focused on the empowerment of women, which was achieved by disusing the deeper gendered politics within the article challenging sexist

attitudes toward women (Kessell, 2015). The narrative of this article focuses on the history of Jill Ellis, who is the head coach of the USA's women's national team. The article talks extensively about the history of the women and her move from the UK to the USA, indicating her struggles to get involved in Women's football in the 1970's (due the constraints at the time) and her move to the USA in the 1990's, which marked a pivotal time in the growth of women coaches (Kessell, 2015). The article references motherhood and she explains that for women, the set up in America facilitates both being a mother and being a professional footballer. Jill Ellis pins this on the construction of women's football in the USA being "Light years ahead of English football" (Kessell, 2015).

This article is important for several reasons: firstly, because it shows how The Guardian is choosing to focus on the political element of women's football, giving an indication into the differences between the UK and the USA and secondly, because it reveals how the set-up of the institution of Women's football, according to Ellis, seems to be more inclusive and inviting for women in the USA. While this study focuses on UK media outlets, this direct comparison to other countries offers the reader an insight into the state of women's football in the UK. This article either intentionally, or not, demonstrates how professional women players bridge the gap between motherhood and professional football. In this instance, the challenge is welcomed into the ecology of football, which directly challenges the traditional nodes prescribed to women and motherhood. Within society there is a prescribed patriarchal view that women's so-called "true calling" is to have children and look after them (Weedon, 1997). This view is supported culturally. One of the ways in which this is demonstrated is that women receive more time off for maternity leave than men in the UK and earn less than their male counterparts in domestic labour (Weedon, 1997). The underlying theme of the article is success and empowerment of women footballers and coaches. In this article, the woman is challenging the hegemonic view prescribed to women, showing that a woman can, in fact, both play football professionally and be a mother. The resistance by the women in this instance is welcomed and supported by The Guardian through the construction of the article itself. This is significant because articles of this calibre were rarely found in The Mirror and The Daily Mail, which highlights the differences in the style of journalism between the three newspapers themselves and how they choose to represent women. However, the two examples shown in both The Daily Mail and The Mirror appear to be facilitating the

devaluation of women within the article, seemingly choosing to focus on voyeurism for the men, thus avoiding the political nature of women's football as seen in *The Guardian*.

Women's articles were rarely found in the search results for the men's sample; however, men were often found when looking for the women's articles, which was the case in all three of the newspapers. This could suggest that the newspapers online were actively attempting to try and segregate the women's articles from the men's, but still show the men within the women's. There were a few exceptions to the rule however, as many of the articles were divided into two categories 'men' and 'women's' football respectively, and these were often grouped to give more concise coverage. This was especially prominent in *The Guardian* and *The Mirror*, however *The Daily Mail* appeared to have both the women's and the men appear in their search results. This is also reflected in the total number of images utilised of women and men across the sample. Within all the papers women hardly featured. It is important to note that the total number of images of women signifies a combination of players, celebrities and members of the public, representing the number of times the image of the women is utilised in articles themselves.

Acknowledging the total amount of women's football articles indicates the level of involvement that women's sport has in the ecology of media. This study gives an insight into a small number of articles, in comparison to the ecology of print media as a whole, but these findings correlate with the findings of the Women's Sports and Fitness Foundation of 2008 which found that "only 2 percent of articles and 1 percent of images in the sports pages of the UK print media were devoted to women's football".

Disparity of Coverage

The initial results of the first three days show the extent of disparity between the coverage of men and women's football during the opening three days of both tournaments. This is demonstrated by the lack of available articles that deal with the women's tournament extensively. This sample showed during the peak of women's football, all three newspapers only dedicated a total of 45 articles during the beginning of the 2015 women's World Cup, in comparison to 344 articles counted for the men's tournament. Starting with the women's World Cup in 2015, *The Guardian* dedicated the most articles to women's football with a total of 23, *The Mirror* dedicated a total of 5 articles and *The*

Daily Mail dedicated 17. In comparison, during the men's World Cup of 2014, The Guardian dedicated a total of 213, The Mirror dedicated 23 articles to the men's game and The Daily Mail dedicated 108. Initial indications of the results suggest that posting routines in all three papers differed significantly, regardless of the gender of the World Cup. Overall, The Mirror had the least number of articles with a total of 28, The Daily Mail sat in the middle with a total of 125 and The Guardian had the most with 236. These results seem to correlate with arguments put forward by Pfister in 2002 who argued that women's football in comparison to men's follows no set routines and coverage within media is not consistent within print media (Pfister et al, 2002). This still is the case as late as 2015. Although the results do not definitely show the commercial valuation that the papers themselves place on men and women's football, they do suggest that men's football carries a higher level based on the significant difference in the number of articles being utilised; however, a bigger sample would be needed in order to prove this. It would also be beneficial to conduct interviews to acknowledge how journalists are briefed when talking about both men and women's football.

CONCLUSION

This thesis demonstrates the inequality within the coverage of both men's and women's football by comparing two of the biggest tournaments during the football calendar; the men's FIFA World Cup of 2014 and the women's FIFA World Cup of 2015. Crucially, the thesis also analyses how women are presented in the articles that deal with women's football and demonstrate that there are elements of misogyny and sexism still evident in articles found in the Daily Mail and the Mirror. The disparity in coverage between men's and women's football within the online versions of the newspapers was significant and reflected findings in other studies from recent years such as the findings of the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2009). This demonstrates a significant lack of change within recent years. While this is the primary finding of the thesis, there are also sub findings, which give further insights into substantial differences between the representations of both men and women's football across the three newspapers. This was evidenced through several key ways, firstly by the total number of articles counted for both the men's and women's samples, secondly within the evidenced inequality between male and female journalists utilised by the newspapers, shown by the percentages and amounts of journalists for both the men's and women's samples. Another paramount example of this found in the research was the disproportionate number of images of men and women included in the articles. Due to the substantial spread of content analysis undertaken by the researcher, the disparities discussed thus far are much more reliable, due to the sheer volume of articles considered. To further strengthen this line of research, in the future it could be constructive to include even more newspapers and from different countries, thus broadening the scope and producing results which could be even more conclusive than the data provided in this thesis.

Consolidating the results of this thesis in greater depth and including those of the Euro 2012 pilot study, this thesis has been able to prove, based upon the data collected, that women's football in print media is consistently being under-represented in comparison to the male game. All three newspapers, the Guardian, the Daily Mail and the Mirror, featured significantly more articles for the men's tournament in comparison to the women's. The findings of this project correlate with other studies conducted in the last ten years, indicating that women's football perhaps is still in an era of transformation and not yet fully embedded in the daily routines of print journalism. Understandably, for the

progression of women's football and for female players this is frustrating, as the World Cup in 2015 would have been an ideal time for women's football to flourish and increased coverage could have been included within the three newspapers. Moreover, the coverage for women's football in this sample seems sparse and inconsistent in comparison to the men's results. Overall, the men's sample seems uniformed in terms of coverage and article production, with all three of the newspapers producing similar amounts of articles at a similar time, supporting the claim that the men's version of the game featured much more uniformed coverage. When the institutions construct football articles about the male game, the coverage appears to be consistent, whereas the same cannot be reported for the women's game. The dissimilarity between the men's and the women's articles in this instance was considerable, indicating that the newspapers and the media place increased commercial viability on the men's game and this is reflected in the total number of articles written about it. Another interesting finding also showed that within the online versions of the newspapers, women's football was almost entirely segregated from men's football.

There were few occasions where women's articles could be found in the men's and vice versa, this marginalisation was also a finding in other studies. This is a somewhat concerning discovery because it means that when individuals actively search for football they are much more likely to find the men's game rather than the women's game. The reason that this is important is because in our culture, men's football remains easier to find on the websites of these institutions in comparison to the women's. Academics make the issues that this causes increasingly clear, even hinting at the fact that the segregation of women's sport often leads to a culture where one version of the sport is valued much more by journalists, who can at least be held partially responsible for this segregation, which can no doubt cause issues both socially and politically. The only way to combat this significant issue is to have both men's and women's articles appear in search results simultaneously to improve coverage and thereby making the coverage between men and women's football equal. If this were the case, fans would be offered the chance to observe both men's and women's sport and they would be able to inform themselves about both the women's and the men's games instead of being presented with a male dominated results page. This would help to create more equal coverage between the two and would certainly have an impact on the historical perspective of women's football. Furthermore, this development could also make the stories more attractive for both male and female readerships. Women's football was marginalised as a sport featuring few instances where

both women's and men's football stories appeared in each other's search results, reiterating the separation of men's and women's football. This adaptation of the search function on these online news source websites would hopefully be able to bring an end to marginalisation, not just in football reporting, but also in other sports where women find themselves underrepresented in comparison to men.

As aforementioned, this thesis encompasses articles which featured evidence of sexualisation when women's games were reported on within some of the selected newspapers, namely the Mirror and the Daily Mail. In some articles from these two newspapers, women - both fans and players – were objectified by the journalist and this can fundamentally be recognised firstly through the language of the articles and secondly, perhaps more obviously, through the utilisation of oversexualised images of women, such as the example given earlier in the thesis. Additionally, one example found in the Daily Mail linked the happiness of Brazilian women to the arrival of foreign men (Associated Press Reporter, 2014) assuming the women's heteronormative gender. The journalist wrote that 'The World Cup is God's gift to women' explicitly suggesting that Brazilian women are in desperate need of attention from foreign males. It should however be noted that the subject matter of the article, despite producing some controversial comments about women, was namely the disproportionate numbers of Brazilian men in comparison to women due to a demographic imbalance, as women outnumber men there by more than four million. Nonetheless, the article features controversial imagery of oversexualised women underpinning the tone of the article.

Furthermore, there were significant differences between the newspapers themselves, for example elements of sexualisation were found in both the Mirror and the Daily Mail whereas the articles examined from the Guardian in this sample featured no articles including the same level of sexism or degradation. This could be due to the style of writing found in the Guardian as it is a different style of newspaper and the underlying ethics of the institution itself should also be considered. The element of sexism, apparent here, highlights the historical connotations of women's football, which manifest themselves within mainstream media, an important example of similar gravity was found in the broadcasting industry with the Andy Gray scandal (Gibson, 2011). The sexism against female footballers and the female game more broadly was demonstrated through both the content and discourse analysis elements of this thesis.

Moreover, the thesis identified the gender disparity between the journalists writing the stories themselves. Again, a huge disparity was observed between the men and women, in all papers there were significantly more male journalists than female journalists writing about football. This finding shows the inner workings of the institutions and acknowledges the contemporary issues of the newsroom being gender biased. Consequently, it is still the case within the modern-day newsroom across all three institutions. Men still dominate the newsroom in relation to sport journalism and this causes issues because they are almost entirely in control when creating the image and story for both the men and women. The male journalists in this instance represent the patriarchy within journalism. Still, it appears that women have little or no input into the creation of football stories. While this was found in the sample period, it is difficult to ascertain the complete number of female and male journalists because within this sample there were several articles within which the journalists were not identified, since the institutions utilised articles from agencies, which fail to list the gender of the journalists. While this was the case for a small number of articles, based on the results it can be predicted that there are far more men in positions of power within the journalism industry than there are women. However, to completely verify this claim, comprehensive interviews with members of staff from the institutions would certainly be beneficial and this could be considered as the next step for further research from this thesis. Moreover, additional research methods such as structured interviews with female journalists within the sports industry would give further insight into their valuation within the ecology of sports journalism.

Additionally, an audit would have to take place in other articles to verify whether there are more men than women reporting on football. As well as this, it would be useful to analyse papers from other countries to determine whether this is the case exclusively in the UK or whether it is the case on a global scale. It would also indicate the levels of patriarchy in other countries and not just the UK and this would prove interesting as it is certainly a point of interest whether the position of women in the UK is the same or differs abroad. Since one article claims that American football for women is far more facilitating than in the UK. (Kessell, 2015). While this study focuses on UK media outlets, if it is indeed the case that the female side of football is still underrepresented, then it would be advisable to, in future studies, examine the underrepresentation of women's football in all

media. This would give the researcher the ability to establish differences not only to the changes in popularity of the game in other countries, but also to show how news outlets in different countries utilise and value the women's game. With the growth of other women's sports, such as women's rugby or women's cricket, for further enquiry it would be beneficial to this field to perhaps compare coverage of different sports which are popular among men as well to analyse whether this issue is unique to football or in fact present in other sports too. Such explorations will give further insight into the state of women's sport, their changing role in society, the popularity of women playing sport for both players and viewers and the acceptance of women's ability. It is hoped that in the future the cultural valuation of women's sport will be at a similar if not the same level as men's sport and this goal can only be achieved if different institutions of print discourse start or continue to facilitate coverage of women's sport regularly. The regularity is of utmost importance, because even though newspapers reported on the FIFA women's World Cup, their articles contain men's football stories week after week, but it is fair to say that outside of global competition, coverage of women's football is somewhat lacking when compared to men's, as this thesis has proved.

Overall, this thesis supported other studies in the past which investigated women's football, unfortunately as some radical feminists claimed the efforts of liberal feminists were present but somewhat lacking as little has changed, despite the huge numbers of women now playing the sport professionally. At a grassroots level, the game has grown exponentially, but nonetheless culturally within at least three of daily newspapers in the UK the growth is nominal for articles about women's achievements in football.

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