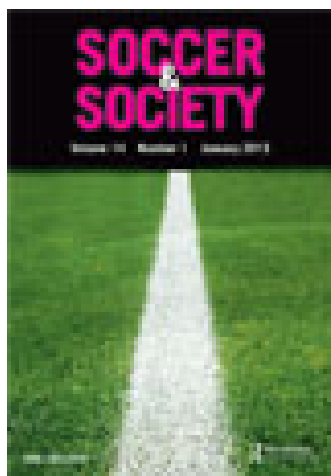


This article was downloaded by: [115.85.25.194]

On: 01 April 2015, At: 00:54

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Soccer & Society

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fsas20>

The coming of age of women's football in the Dutch sports media, 1995-2013

Rens Peeters^a & Agnes Elling^b

^a Independent Researcher, Zeist, The Netherlands

^b Mulier Institute, Utrecht, The Netherlands

Published online: 30 Sep 2014.



CrossMark

[Click for updates](#)

To cite this article: Rens Peeters & Agnes Elling (2014): The coming of age of women's football in the Dutch sports media, 1995-2013, Soccer & Society, DOI: [10.1080/14660970.2014.963313](https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.963313)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.963313>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

The coming of age of women's football in the Dutch sports media, 1995–2013

Rens Peeters^{a*} and Agnes Elling^b

^a*Independent Researcher, Zeist, The Netherlands;* ^b*Mulier Institute, Utrecht, The Netherlands*

Women's football has been gaining popularity in the Netherlands over the last two decades and is currently the second-most practised team sport in the country. However, no systematic inquiries exist as to what extent and in what way the Dutch mass media have responded to this development. This study aims to address this gap. We examine how two national newspapers (*AD* and the *Volkscrant*) and a television programme (*Studio Sport*) have covered women's football in the timeframe 1995–2013. Our results show that the total amount of items devoted to women's football has seen a serious increase, especially in the last decade. But, as our qualitative analysis of match reports in the newspaper the *Volkscrant* shows, football still remains closely associated with men and masculinity, and men's football often functions as the (silent) norm. We discuss the implications of our results and note possible avenues for future research.

Introduction

Football is the largest organized sport in the Netherlands, with men's football playing an important role in local and national identification.¹ As a national sport, especially for men, football is also associated with a desirable masculinity.² Following in the footsteps of other European countries, women's football has been on the rise in the Netherlands in the last decades.³ Since 1996 it is an Olympic sport. From a strongly marginalized sport for women, in the seventies and eighties of the last century, football currently is the second most practised team sport among Dutch girls and women, just after field hockey.⁴

The growing popularity of football among young girls combined with the start of a premier football league for women teams that allied with men's professional clubs in 2007, enhanced the improvement of international performance and a more positive image of football as a 'suitable' sport for girls and women instead of 'a men's game'.⁵ Better international performances also resulted in more (positive) media coverage for women's football. However, the women's game still nowhere near enjoys the amount of media exposure that is bestowed upon men's football. Only a few games of the national team have made it on to Dutch national television, while the newly initiated integrated BeNe League (Belgium-Netherlands) remains wholly invisible. Like in other European countries, with better international performances and more media coverage of women's football, women's football needs to be 'marked' – e.g. as the women's national football team – to be identified, since the men's game holds the norm.⁶

*Corresponding author. Email: rens.peeters@gmail.com

In our study on the media representation of women's football in the Netherlands, we analysed quantitative and qualitative developments over the last two decades. Not only by looking at the media content itself, but by relating these to a shifting context concerning the growth of women's football, international performances and the sports media production.⁷ The reason to develop such an analysis is spurred by the fact that, the mass media and elite sports are intimately connected to such a degree that a lack of interest from the media in women's football: '[...] leads to the fact that sponsors likewise take no interest in the sport, which in turn has an effect on the game and development, thus contributing generally to its marginalization'.⁸

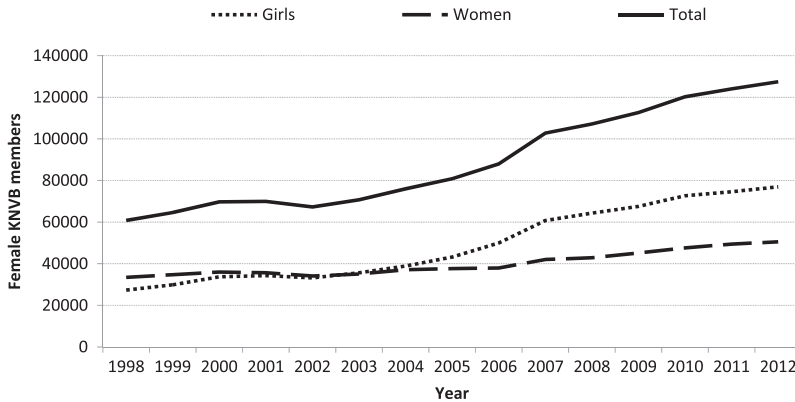
It becomes part of a vicious circle as poor performances of national teams and an unattractive national league would not convince sponsors and media corporations to seriously invest time and money in women's football. Playing an important role in shaping the interest of audiences and sponsors, the sports media also influence broader social identifications and social discourses relating to gender, sexuality and the athletic body and therefore the reproduction of power relations and social inequalities.⁹ Since football is the national sport and mainstream sports media are dominated by men's football, it is especially interesting to study to what extent the growth and professionalization of women's football are mirrored in the Dutch national sports media. To our knowledge, no systematic inquiry exists that has thoroughly interrogated this question.

In this study, we aim to address this gap in the literature. To this end, we first provide a broad overview of the development of women's football in the Netherlands and the situation of gendered media sports portrayal. Our research results involve a quantitative analysis of developments in reporting on women's football by three different media outlets over the last 18 years. We furthermore show how match reports in one particular newspaper partly shifted in the last decade, by presenting a qualitative analysis through the lens of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. We discuss the wider implications of our results and note possible avenues for future research.

Developments in women's football in the Netherlands

In many countries in Europe and worldwide, football for men has developed rapidly during the last century and has become the national sport. For some decades, football is the largest organized club sport in the Netherlands with currently more than one million members, of whom ten percent are women. In 2012, more than 127.000 female players were officially registered with the Dutch national football association (KNVB), an increase of more than 10 percent compared to 2002 (Graph 1). Like in several other European countries, historical records note that, albeit incidentally and partly as a form of 'entertainment' and fundraising, women in the Netherlands also played football in the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. However, it was not until 1971 that women's football became officially recognized by the KNVB.¹⁰ Even then, further professionalization of women's football was a slow and troublesome endeavour. The season of 1995/1996 became something of a hallmark for women's football when the first national competition was started with 12 teams. With this new competition, the organizational structure of women's football became parallel to that of men's football.

In the last two decades, many clubs initiated girls' and/or women's football and this was often done by some dedicated individuals, but increasingly drew support



Graph 1. Number of members of the Dutch Football Federation KNVB, 1998–2012.

among the board and male club members.¹¹ In this period, women's football also slowly seemed to shake off its poor image related to performance – as inferior and unattractive – and the ambiguous gender/sexual identity of the players.¹² Managers and marketing professionals tried to promote the women's league by making it more feminine and 'sexier'. In 2007, a new national league was initiated, with six teams affiliated to men's professional football clubs. The following years were not unproblematic as participation of football teams fluctuated due to budgetary reasons. Meanwhile, the national team was able, for the first time in history, to qualify for an international tournament (the UEFA Women's Euro 2009) where they managed to reach the semi-finals, but lost to England in extra time. In 2012, the Belgium and Dutch national football associations joined forces which prompted a transnational football league, the Women's BeNe League, with sixteen teams. In 2013, the national team again successfully qualified for the UEFA Women's Euro, but were unable to move beyond the group stage.

Developments in gendered portrayal in sports media

The sports media not only inform people about (inter)national sport performances, but also have an important function as entertainment and in relation to social identifications (locally, nationally, gender, ethnicity). Since (elite) sports traditionally is a 'men's world', this has equally been true for the sports media. Dominant media sports were and still are national (team) sports – like men's football – that are mainly produced by male journalists for male audiences, indicating a specific preferred reading or favourite subject position.¹³ This is not only done through presenting mainly male athletes and marginalization or 'symbolic annihilation' of female athletes, but also by sexualizing and/or trivializing women athletes.¹⁴

As Wensing and Bruce argued, during international tournaments like the Olympic Games, gender ideologies may be partly 'overwritten' by nationalism.¹⁵ It is more important that 'our' athletes win medals, than the fact that they are men or women. In media coverage of Olympic Games, more time/space is devoted to different types of sports and to women's sports and it is produced for a larger public. Compared to mainstream sports media, Olympic coverage far more approaches

gender equity, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms.¹⁶ Researchers who studied the gendered portrayal in the mainstream sports media have shown that men's sport still largely dominates the sports media.¹⁷ They have observed several positive changes such as more coverage of women athletes and less explicit sexualization,¹⁸ but gender marking and stereotyping and trivialization of women's sport still occurs,¹⁹ especially concerning women in traditional men's sport like football.

In a study on Olympic and mainstream media coverage in the Netherlands, Knoppers and Elling analysed the television and newspaper coverage of the Olympic Games in 1996 and of two 'regular' weeks in November 1997.²⁰ In the mainstream sports media, more than half of all coverage in television (56%) and three national newspapers (51%) was about men's football. Women's sport received about five percent of coverage time and space in the 'regular' weeks, compared to about a third of Olympic media coverage.²¹ In both Olympic and regular coverage, women's football was nearly absent.

A large body of research exist about the gendered sports media coverage; both quantitative content analyses and qualitative methods (textual analyses) or a combination of both. Less frequently, also comparative analyses over time (longitudinal) and between countries (cross-cultural), have been conducted. However, to further study and stimulate media representation changes, content analyses should preferably be accompanied by (action) research into the production process of the sports media,²² and the interpretations of different media audiences.²³ In this study, we do not include the (potential) audience, but we do integrate content analyses with production processes. Who are the journalists and editors accountable for the sports media content, what are their selection criteria and (how) have these changed with respect to women's football?

A CDA perspective

This analysis draws on the theoretical and methodological framework of (Feminist) Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), as articulated by Richardson, Lazar and Carvalho.²⁴ Such a perspective is underutilized in studying (developments in) the sport media.²⁵ Although scholars working in the field of CDA have employed diverging approaches to study discourse, they share a general interest in the way discourse and social context or processes relate to each other.²⁶ We follow Richardson's definition of discourse as language in use.²⁷ Language from this perspective is viewed as a practice that reflects and at the same time constructs social reality. From here, it follows that language is bound up in (re)producing social inequalities and institutionalization. To uncover and critically address issues of gender inequality present in the Dutch sports media, we also draw on Lazar's Feminist CDA, without always centralizing (traditional) feminist interpretations. Both Lazar and Richardson's version of CDA are based on Fairclough's tripartite model whereby a complete analysis deals with the text, the discursive practice and the wider sociocultural praxis. Several practitioners working in CDA have noted how the discursive level of analysis has largely been neglected.²⁸ It is this level in which we are particularly interested and on which we will expound. As Catenaccio et al. argue:

Intertextuality and entextualization make it clear why a production perspective has an edge over a product-only perspective: it allows the researcher to scrutinize the complex back-and-forth between journalists and the world out there and, in doing so, to unravel

the details of institutional contexts, conventions, and procedure as they impact on the news product.²⁹

This approach at the same time requires and produces a nuanced and complex view of the journalistic practice. As Richardson has rightly noted, journalism is more than a business that sells papers for a profit, more than a source of entertainment, more than a tool from which the rich and powerful can disseminate their opinions, and although it is also all of these on various levels, it is greater than the sum of these parts.³⁰ Instead, it is first and foremost a practice through which people are provided with resources to understand the world and their place in it.³¹ We will focus on possible changing discourses on women's football in (the production of) Dutch sports media in a period of time of national and world wide growth and professionalization of women's football.

Research design and method

Apart from a general content analysis of the sports media to investigate developments and identify changes, we try to come to a more thorough understanding of such changes through including possible changes in the journalistic practice and in the social discursive context.

Quantitative analysis

To answer the question as to what extent the Dutch mass media have provided coverage on women's football, we collected data from three distinct news sources in the period between 1995 and 2013. Both the *AD/Algemeen Dagblad* and the *Volkscrant* represent the written press in our corpus. They belong to the country's biggest national newspapers with different audiences and both have rather substantial sport coverage. The *Volkscrant* is a left-leaning newspaper with a primary focus on culture and lifestyle. *AD/Algemeen Dagblad* is a politically neutral, more populist newspaper that carries an extensive supplement on sport.³² For the televised press, we have chosen to select the programme *Sportjournaal/Studio Sport*, part of the Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation (NOS), with a long-standing and fairly consistent television format.

The archival data were collected through the use of digital databases. For collecting the data on *Studio Sport*, the digital search engine of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision was consulted. LexisNexis was the main gateway to the archives of the newspapers. Searches were in both cases done by using specific keywords that were either of a general nature or more specific such as the use of abbreviations for European/international tournaments or national competitions. In case of the newspapers, the results were confined to news articles on women's football and thus advertisements, letters from readers, opinion pieces and television/radio guides were omitted from the search.

The metadata that was collected on the newspapers included the date of the article, the headline, the total word count, type of article and finally the author and whether they were male or female or if the article was written by a press bureau.³³ The quantitative investigation of news items on women's football that appeared in *Studio Sport* was limited to collecting the number of items by date and content (headline). The comparative analysis focused on a quantitative comparison of news

items over time (18 years) and a general content analysis ('what?') of the two selected national newspapers and the sports programme on national television. This analysis was expanded with a comparison between the two newspapers on article length, word count and gender of the journalist.

Qualitative analysis

To answer the question on *how* women's football has been represented in the Dutch media and which developments can be identified, we analysed a selection of newspaper articles published in the last decade by the quality newspaper the *Volkskrant*. We chose for the *Volkskrant*, since the articles were most lengthy and often written by their own respected sport/football journalists.

The Volkskrant in context

The *Volkskrant* has its roots in the Roman Catholic workers movement of the early twentieth century, but developed a more progressive and left-leaning outlook during the cultural revolutions of the 1960s. It became a newspaper with a critical outlook that catered to the young, progressive and higher educated of society who also did not shy away from sport and entertainment.³⁴ With the influx of new and experienced journalists during the eighties, the paper lost some of its more radical roots and developed into a versatile quality newspaper, remaining more or less sympathetic to the causes of left activism during the period. This changed during the mid-2000s as the editorial staff became more multifarious. The current editor-in-chief, the Belgium born Philippe Remarque, described the newspaper as 'a guide for a generation of open, free-spirited Dutch people' which moves beyond the confines of the left and right.³⁵

Sample

Through archival research, we gathered a total of 182 articles published in the period 1995–2013. For the qualitative analysis, we narrowed our corpus to the time-frame 2003–2013, since it was not until 2003 that dedicated sports journalists began to write on women's football. We conducted the actual analysis on six randomly selected match reports of at least 300 words on either national or international matches over the ten years' time frame.³⁶ These match reports often exhibit a very similar news structure which made them more easily comparable and benefited the temporal aspect of our analysis.

Design of analysis

The analysis of linguistic and discursive dimensions of these texts was guided by several questions: How are the social actors (players as well as coaches, trainers and others) in the news article named and what referential strategies are used in relation to these social actors? What particular words are chosen to describe the events (the matches) – and equally how are the words of others represented – and how do these sentences reflect the stance of the reporter? Are any rhetorical tropes used in the match reports and if so, what function do they serve (e.g. do they for instance

undermine performances)? What kind of narrative is imposed on the match and how does this narrative support a certain way of viewing women’s football?

The analysis is merely exploratory in nature and therefore does not cover every aspect of the texts under scrutiny. Instead the focus was on those instances where textual choices made by the journalist were indicative of a more complex interplay between the axis of gender and the ideology. As a matter of fact, large parts of these match reports consisted of straight-forward reporting:

First, Karen Stevens opened the score by acting on a nice through ball by Manoe Meulen. Subsequently, the centre forward Manon Melis, by skilfully accelerating, found herself one on one with the goalkeeper. [...]. The ball then went on to find the midfielder Annemieke Kiesel who scored from 11 metres.³⁷

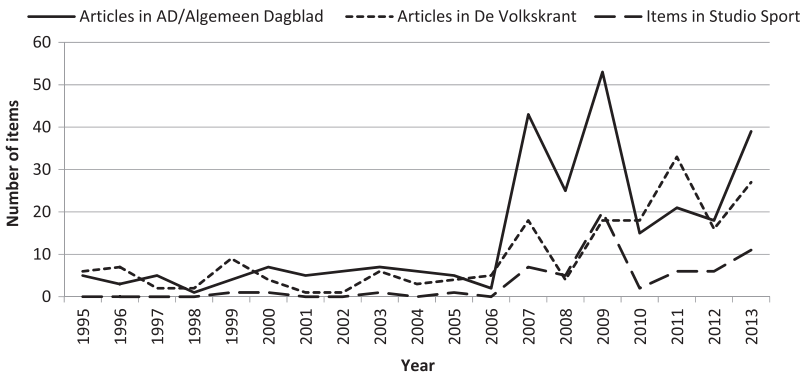
To contextualize our linguistic analysis within the sports media production process, we utilize two interviews with the chiefs of the sports department from the *Volkskrant* at two different periods in time. An interview from 1999 with the chief of sport Poul Annema will function as our main referent for the early period. An interview with the current chief of sport Marije Randewijck held in February 2014 serves as our current gateway for contextualizing our discursive analysis.³⁸ Vision on selection criteria (what is news?), gender influences (news/athletes, journalists, audience) and news search/storytelling, were important topics in both interviews.

Before presenting the results of the qualitative ‘shifts’ in women’s football reporting, in the following results paragraph we show how general mainstream media attention towards women’s football has developed over the last two decades.

Towards a greater visibility of women’s football in print media and television

The quantitative analysis of the two national newspapers the *Volkskrant* and *AD/Algemeen Dagblad* and the publicly broadcast TV-programme *Studio Sport* shows a noticeable increase in the coverage of women’s football in the Dutch media since 1995. All media dramatically increased their coverage around the year 2007 (Graph 2), the year in which the new national competition for women’s football, the *Eredivisie*, was initiated.

At the same time, up until 2006, the coverage in the newspapers was marginal at best and almost non-existent on television. We analysed traditional mainstream



Graph 2. Number of items in written and televised press.

media, due to reasons of comparison over time. Especially in the last decade, new media outlets have become more important and some authors believe that these outlets may provide alternative spaces that disrupt the hegemonic sport and masculinity discourse by covering women's sport.³⁹ An exploratory analysis on current online sport media platforms shows that about one percent of all articles on football in Dutch online media is about women's football.⁴⁰

A general content analysis of headlines shows that what was covered by the papers in the first ten years can be broken down into three general observations. First, the coverage had a large international focus and especially Dutch players in foreign competitions were interviewed and profiled. Second, there were numerous articles that focused on several critical issues of (international) women's football in general such as the dominant masculine image hindering emancipation and the lack of attention from media and audiences. These items were often 'seriously' covered, but sometimes also constituted little more than 'entertaining' news.⁴¹ Lastly, there were the occasional (smaller) news articles on, usually the final matches, of international tournaments or the largely unsuccessful qualifying matches of the Dutch national team. These trends are indicative of the importance of national success and pride in kick-starting the increased coverage of women's football in the Dutch media.⁴² The new national competition was made into an important news event, enforced by the support of men's professional football clubs (already known to the journalists and the public) and the support of famous male coaches like Louis van Gaal.

The importance of the national frame is also evident in the largely underreported 2007 FIFA Women's World Cup which was held in China, but for which the Dutch national team had been unable to qualify itself. The tournament was not capable of benefitting from the momentum women's football had suddenly gained in the Dutch mass media. With this in mind, it is hardly surprising that the (first) successful qualification for the UEFA Women's Euro 2009 and the subsequent third place for the Dutch team was accompanied by a new spike in the media coverage. It prompted both newspapers as well as the TV-programme *Studio Sport* to increase their coverage of the Dutch national team. Both newspapers employed dedicated journalists to report on the matches at the tournament. *Studio Sport* aired match summaries and interviews, but refrained from airing live matches until the semifinal where the Dutch team lost to the English side.

Both the start of the new competition in 2007 and the success of the national team in 2009 on an international platform are in retrospect critical events that were able to capture to imagination and attention of the mainstream Dutch media and the public. While the coverage has indeed declined after the epitome that was 2009, it has not reached the pre-2006 levels and seems to have somewhat stabilized in the last years. The novelty of the reporting on the Eredivisie for women (2007–2012) wore off after its initial season, but it provided newspaper journalists with a source of regular news. This was not always positive news, however, since it tended to focus on the rather troublesome financial status of women's teams. *Studio Sport* also increased their coverage, but their primary focus was on the Dutch national team and international tournaments with only scant attention to its professional and amateur national leagues.

Interestingly, the *Volkskrant* seemed to have somewhat shed the nationalistic frame when it comes to reporting on international tournaments, as it send their own football correspondent to cover the 2011 FIFA Women's World Cup in Germany

where the Dutch team was not present. They considered the international development and importance of women's football 'newsworthy' enough even in absence of the Dutch team, probably aided by the relatively low costs of visiting a tournament in Germany, since monetary causes influence other newsworthiness criteria (like national success).⁴³

A more detailed look at the newspaper coverage by the two newspapers, reveals several similarities and differences. The journalist corpus that reports on women's football remains overtly male for both papers. Of all the 416 articles that were collected, six percent was, identifiably, written by a female journalist (4% AD and 10% VK, see Table 1). Whereas half of all articles on women's football in the *Volkskrant* was written by male (football) journalists; most articles on women's football in the *Algemeen Dagblad* were composed by the editorial staff or directly taken from news agencies such as the Dutch ANP. This profiling difference is also apparent in the word length (see Table 1).

The article length in the quality newspaper the *Volkskrant* increased over the years, producing longer stories on women's football. The opposite happened in the case of the *Algemeen Dagblad*, as the more low-brow and populist, where most articles in later periods were generally of short length and presented in the form of news flashes. Shorter articles are more cost-effective as they require less effort on the part of the editorial staff, compared to long interviews or investigative reporting by dedicated journalists. Since 2004, the *Volkskrant* produced many lengthy articles by their own, respected, football/sport journalists. However, in both newspapers, but especially in the *Algemeen Dagblad*, coverage has also been largely dependent on (female) freelance journalists or interns, indicating a relatively low newsworthiness.

Shifting narratives: match reports in the *Volkskrant* 2003–2013

In this results section, we present the CDA of six match reports in the quality newspaper the *Volkskrant*. Before starting the actual, chronologically structured, textual analysis, we provide a short contextual introduction, based on the two interviews with the heads of sport in 1999 and in 2014, focusing attention to the relation between journalistic discursive dimensions and the textual dimension. We refrained

Table 1. Developments in number of articles (*N*), mean word length (*N*) and gender of journalist (%) on women's football, in the *Volkskrant* and *Algemeen Dagblad* over the time period 1995–2013.

Volkskrant	1995–1999	2000–2004	2005–2009	2010–2013	Total
Total number of articles (<i>N</i>)	26	15	47	82	170
Mean word length (<i>N</i>)	307	390	634	570	532
Gender journalist					
% men	23	40	62	56	51
% women	4	7	9	13	10
% unknown	73	53	30	30	39
<i>Algemeen Dagblad</i>					
Total number of articles (<i>N</i>)	18	31	127	70	246
Mean word length (<i>N</i>)	477	293	250	165	276
Gender journalist					
% men	17	16	24	23	22
% women	11	6	0	7	4
% unknown	72	77	76	70	74

from grouping the texts under form or content-based headers (e.g. linguistic concepts derived from CDA's toolbox or gendered discursive strategies), as this would run counter to the more nuanced and subtle shifts that occur over time or mark sharp differences between individual journalists.

On gender neutral reporting and women's football' newsworthiness

Both heads of the sports departments in 1999 and in 2014 are convinced of a gender neutral and objective representation of women's sport in the *Volkskrant*, similar to men's sport. They argue that in quantitative terms, women's football receives relatively little coverage due to the general low level of performance and therefore lower 'newsworthiness', although Annema (1999) states 'but it is no good that we don't even publish the results of the highest league' and Randewijck (2014) notes: 'Let me state first that I think the amount of coverage is too low'. They are convinced that 'interesting stories' about men's sport or women's sport certainly do not differ qualitatively. That would not fit with the more leftist and less macho culture of the *Volkskrant* as a whole, including the sports department.⁴⁴ Randewijck: 'We did and do never joke about women's sport or women's football, no'.

Apart from their general belief in a gender neutral coverage, both department heads also mention several aspects –the preferences, expertise and gender of the team of journalists and the preferences of the public –that may influence the newsworthiness and coverage.⁴⁵

Our journalists make their own priorities to a certain extent ... The moment it [women's football] will receive attention is, when it connects to the public ... the appearance of a female athlete may sometimes be of influence, yes I do think so. (Head of sport 1999).

Reflecting the general growth in women's football and its mainstream media coverage as shown earlier in this article, in 2014 there is more general support for women's football among the editorial staff: 'There are things happening, there are beautiful stories, like in men's football, human interest stories that are newsworthy'. Simultaneously, Randewijck notes that none of her journalists are well informed enough 'to find the stories' and that the reading audience largely consists of men that are 'mainly interested in men's football'.

The six match reports: between trivialization and promotional journalism

(1) One of the first lengthy match reports that was published in the *Volkskrant* concerned a UEFA Women's Euro qualifying match in 2003 in which the Dutch national team defeated Belgium by 3-0. The article, written by the male sports journalist Charles Bromet, carries the headline 'At last applause and waves for the women'. Even when one is not acquainted with the recent history of the national team, the headline, by way of external intertextuality (i.e. in relation to other and earlier texts and social practices),⁴⁶ indicates that the team's previous encounters ended in a loss. Indeed, in several instances, Bromet alludes to a certain amount of cynicism that might have enveloped him (personally) were it not for his attendance at this game. He, for instance, comments on the joy displayed by the male coach: 'Look at the disarming smile, hear the enthusiasm in the voice [of coach] and all doubt is removed.' And quoting one player, who, broadly smiling, refers to the

incredible atmosphere surrounding the game ‘directly smothers every presumption of cynicism’.

At other places in his narrative, Bromet more overtly displays this kind of cynicism. He devotes three paragraphs to the cynical administrator of the pressroom whom he quotes as saying: ‘But that women’s football eh? Who wants to watch that?’ Although Bromet is quick to explain away the ‘conservative bickering’ of the administrator as a side effect of a recently lost match of the local men’s squad, he has to agree with the admin as the fact that most of the 4000 spectators are invitees ‘cannot refute his premise’. Bromet represents this match as the maximum level to which women’s football can reach. Very early on in the narrative, he describes the playing ground as ‘the very apex of what is possible for the female football international to reach.’ Later on, Bromet notes that ‘it seems a bit exaggerated’ when the coach refers to a popular phrase in men’s football, answering the question if his position was under fire after the recent losses: ‘Well yes, when the results are lacking you also see that there’re sixteen million [referring to the whole Dutch population] managers for the women.’ Most of the examples mentioned here are instances where the concept of modality plays a crucial role, that is, instances where judgements on the truth of propositions are expressed through the use of adverbs or modal verbs.⁴⁷ Bromet employs strong truth claims (cannot, the very apex) regarding what is and is not possible for women’s football and remains ambiguous with regard to those who claim otherwise (e.g. the coach).

Further on, Bromet on the one hand seems to value the shown camaraderie of the team, but simultaneously offers a more negative narrative interpretation of unimportance. After referring to the fact that the players do not get paid, he notes: ‘But it doesn’t matter for Bito and her girlfriends tonight. They won and songs were sang in their name. That what’s it’s all about. Right?’ Such rhetorical lines devalue women’s football as nothing more than a pleasant game by a group of girlfriends without any serious professional financial aspirations.⁴⁸

(2) The ‘poorly filled stadium’, of FC Zwolle this time, makes another appearance in a 2005 match report by the male sports journalist Mark Misérus. He reports on a qualifying match for the World Cup 2007 where the Dutch lost 1-0 against England due to a penalty. The loss made it more difficult to qualify for the tournament, but certainly not impossible. The first two matches were won, and there were still five matches to play. Writing under the headline ‘World Cup ever more out of reach for Orange women’, Misérus lead his narrative with this news and stays with it for a good three quarters of the article. In the article, it is only the head coach Vera Pauw who gets her words printed on page, but it is not always clear who of the two, the authorial voice of the journalist or the coach, is making the claims. Misérus, for example, incorporates reported speech through indirect quotation (not uncommon in newspapers)⁴⁹ of a rather precarious statement: ‘The coach thinks, and dares to say this out loud, that her team won’t be able to qualify for the World Cup anyway.’ He continues to give several explanations, but it is unclear whether these were said by the coach or are ideas of the journalist. The indirect quotation gets even more troublesome when another Dutch newspaper that day, *Dagblad van het Noorden*, directly quotes Vera Pauw on this matter: ‘Qualification for the World Cup is still possible. We just go for the sneaky win in England.’⁵⁰

Throughout the article, it is actually as if Misérus strategically quotes Vera Pauw to further his own view of the performance and limitations of the team. After noticing that the team looks fresh and keeps on ‘hunting down the ball’, he also sees

the young age as a serious ‘Achilles heel’ as the young players ‘clumsily loose the ball due to recklessness.’ Misérus follows this with a direct quotation: ‘Pauw recognizes the problem: ‘We have to be more dominant. Many players aren’t experienced enough to handle our system. That’s okay. We can only get better.’ The reporting clause⁵¹ ‘Pauw recognizes the problem’ frames the quotation and its interpretation. Whereas Misérus frames the matter as a problem first, Pauw only speaks about a lack of experience that makes it difficult to play in a dominant fashion.

(3) How different is the article by the male sports journalist and head of the department, Poul Annema, of August 30, 2007. Whereas he explicitly denied to engage in ‘promotional journalism’ in an interview with him in 1999, his report on the first match of the newly initiated premier football league for women – ‘Exciting battle in the heart of women’s football’ - could be interpreted as such. Annema’s piece, of which the headline is representative, is littered with positive adjectives throughout. Let us consider the last sentence of the first paragraph where he writes: ‘The rapid goal fit perfectly in the celebratory frame of the launch of the competition, which attracted no less than 5.500 spectators to the Arke-stadium.’ Annema is not afraid to infuse his match report with favourable constructions and rhetoric by talking about a ‘real football atmosphere’ and ‘overture’ that was followed by ‘a flashy start’, which resulted in a ‘heated and attractive game’ where the home team was ‘unchained’ and that played like a ‘pure commercial for women’s football.’ His personal stance also shines through in the way he constructed his narrative. Only 4 of the 16 paragraphs are devoted to the game itself while the other 12 constitute a musing on what has been achieved and what lies ahead, a matter on which Annema is unflinchingly positive. This particular construction however, leaves no room for any thoughts or views from any of the players. The only social actors that are allowed to speak are the male manager of SC Heerenveen and Vera Pauw, who is dubbed as the ‘biggest pacer in the arrival’ of the new premier football league.

(4) In 2009, the sports journalist Willem Vissers – who would go on to become a solid force in the reporting on women’s football, especially internationally – employs his distinctive and rhetorical style of penmanship to cover a lost match in the group stage of the Women’s Euro 2009. Under the header ‘Preserve small defeat, is the assignment of Pauw – Women’s team shows itself intimidated’, Vissers shows himself an avid user of certain referential strategies. An example is how he identifies certain players on the pitch:

The Dutch were, according to Pauw, also intimidated by the atmosphere in the stadium and the physical prowess of their opponent. Laura Österberg Kalmari, the only mother on the pitch, quite literally towered over the young women of Pauw. In passing she overtook the goal record of Jari Litmanen [male player], although it didn’t interest her that much. She rather send out a symbolic kiss to her husband and child.

The identification of female athletes as mothers in general relates to trivialization,⁵² as underlined with the reference to the symbolic kiss, but in this contexts interestingly also carries the notion of a more ‘masculine’ identification of athletic competence, physical strength and height: she literally dwarfs the other players and outnumbered the national goal record held by a former male national player. The Dutch women are represented as ‘meiden’, signifying young females, but in a somewhat more emancipated form than the other general term for girls, ‘meisjes’. Another referential strategy can be gleaned a few paragraphs further, when Vissers remarks: ‘It was rather a game of coincidence Wednesday, as for example when

Anouk Hoogendijk, often asked because of her resplendent appearance, grazed the ball without a grain of tranquillity in her game.’ This is not an isolated case of where the emphasis is on the appearance of a female player as Vissers would, in a match report from October 2009, refer to Hoogendijk as a ‘football babe’. Contrary to field hockey, in which the (partly self-defined) term ‘hockey babes’ has been common for some years, Hoogendijk is the first Dutch female football player who also inspired Dutch sports journalism to be referenced in a more sexualized way. In the 2014 interview, the female head of sports, kind of downplays the possible influence of sexualization within sports journalism:

Look, maybe this is off the record, but I know that all journalists think AH is a nice player ... They refer to her, but I have never heard that she is covered, because she looks sexy in a photo.

(5) Robèrt Misset does not utilize such referential strategies in his coverage of the dénouement of the premier football league of 2011. The article with the headline ‘Women of FC Twente provide morale for men’ instead applies a kind of teleological narrative to the victory of FC Twente’s women’s team. In the first paragraph, we read that it is actually the 7000 spectators that celebrate this victory as a ‘prelude to the apotheosis of the men, Sunday in the Arena in Amsterdam.’⁵³ With the statement that ‘the women of Twente don’t need their male colleagues to give away a fairly appealing football performance on Thursday night’, the author does little to undercut his earlier statements. As referred to in the interview with the head of sport in 2014 – ‘The reader is interested whether Ajax, Twente or Feyenoord wins, but not whether the women of Ajax become champion ... It’s very simple, there are less women who are interested in sports than men.’ – the sports journalist writes for a target audience that is largely composed of men for whom the title win of the men’s squad is far more important than the victory of the women. In this regard, comparisons with men’s football can also function without marginalizing the performance of the women. He describes the centre forward Anouk Dekker as ‘the female Janko’,⁵⁴ which may provide the group of (male) readers with little knowledge of women’s football, with a better understanding of the player Anouk Dekker. For (female) readers – who are not knowledgeable of and interested in men’s football –, however, such references make clear that men’s football still functions as the norm.

(6) In May 2013, the female (freelance) sports journalist Lisette van der Geest⁵⁵ also makes a comparison with men’s football, albeit in a very different manner. In her match report ‘Women’s football keeps improving itself’ she covers the first final of the newly initiated BeNe League. Van der Geest explicitly introduces the comparison with men in the lead: ‘Dutch and Belgium men’s teams don’t play in one competition. The women have already made this step with their BeNe League.’ In contrast to earlier examples, this comparison elicits a more favourable view of women’s football, connoting a more progressive and innovative mind-set. Van der Geest strengthens this notion by writing that ‘some male footballers are interested’ in such a transnational competition and she backs this up by paraphrasing a Belgium player on the case who tweeted that he would applaud a merger between the Dutch and Belgium men’s competition.

Richardson argued that every instance of news reporting is value laden due to the processes of the news making business itself.⁵⁶ This is not the same as journalistic objectivity, that can be achieved through numerous procedures and one of those involves the use of sources in (competing) truth-claims. Van der Geest includes such

a competing truth-claim when she indirectly quotes the male project manager of the BeNe League, who asserts that the merger of the two women's competitions was not born out of luxury, but out of necessity. It would thus be a stretch to call the women more progressive than the men in this regard. However, similar to former head of department Annema, Van der Geest clearly includes a more positive interpretation in her women's football report, compared to other match reports, where a more ambiguous tone of voice is played out, indicating a different preferred reading or subject position.

Discussion and conclusion

In this study, we have assessed how and to what extent the Dutch mass media have covered professional women's football since 1995 up until the present day. The results from the quantitative analysis reveal a substantial increase in the amount of coverage allotted to women's football by the Dutch sportmedia. Comparing the total amount of news items in 2003 and in 2013, we recorded a fourfold increase. Although this study did not include an explicit comparison, it is not unwarranted to argue that men's football receives a far greater amount of media coverage than women's football (or any other sport for that matter). Moreover, general gender inequality in mainstream sports media reporting is still most probably not much different from other countries, with women's sport mostly receiving less than ten per cent coverage.⁵⁷ However, the results (positively) diverge from the recent findings of Cooky et al. who found a decrease in the recent coverage of women's sports in their longitudinal study gender and sports media coverage in the American context.⁵⁸ Our study shows that the Dutch mainstream sports media have provided more coverage of a women's sport that has become increasingly popular and professional over the last two decades. It also leads us to remain optimistic for less ideological control of women's sport⁵⁹ and increasing gender equity in sports journalism for the future. However, the results also indicate that change is slow and that the fact that the sports media have incorporated women's football as newsworthy, does not mean the times of marginalization and trivialization are over.

Similar to other studies, the results of our qualitative analysis also clearly indicate that football is still largely associated with men and masculinity. Although mainstream sports media seem to have incorporated women's football as newsworthy, it is still framed against men's professional football as normative.⁶⁰ In the last ten years, more serious match reporting appeared, often largely similar to men's (and other women's) games. However, the overall narrative of the reports often breathes a kind of ambiguity about the 'seriousness' of women's football. These kinds of trivializations are less explicit than in the past, but the used discursive and textual strategies clearly come to the fore by feminist CDA.⁶¹ A more professional way of reporting on the game –less paternalistic and more straight-forward –was adopted in the last years, with more possibilities for a promotional tone of voice. But even then, men's football still holds the norm. Either as a way to reinforce the marginal status of women's football or in an oppositional way that actually marks the progressiveness of women's football.

Although our corpus for qualitative analysis was only confined to six articles in one newspaper, we noticed subtle shifts in the way women's football was approached, that may also be indicative for other media, although this obviously needs further study. Developments also may be multifaceted, which may become

particular clear within the online and social media. As Bruce argues, online/social media offer more possibilities for positive and interactive coverage on women's sport.⁶² But it may also give a new platform for anonymous, but very explicit forms of sexism and misogyny that have (nearly) disappeared from mainstream sports media in fairly emancipated western countries like the Netherlands. Apart from (slow) shifts in the quantitative and qualitative reporting on women's football, we also noticed differences between individual journalists in their use of different discursive and textual strategies that opt for a more promotional or more ambiguous interpretation.

By 2010, nearly half of all journalists in the Netherlands worked on a freelance basis.⁶³ Female journalists also work as freelancers more often than their male counterparts who in turn occupy more permanent positions.⁶⁴ The higher job flexibility has also resulted in increased competition for potential clients, subjects and payment.⁶⁵ In this study, we see that women's football is more and more being picked up by (female) freelance journalists, like Lisette van der Geest for the *Volkscrant*. On the one hand, this can be indicative of a marginal incorporation of women's football within the editorial sports media departments. On the other hand, women's football can also be regarded as a new sports space where new talented (female) journalists can show competence and make name for themselves. When freelance journalists are equipped with good knowledge of the game and contacts in the field, they can perform better sports journalism compared to (male) men's football journalists who are 'send out' to cover a women's game without much knowledge and motivation. The interviews with heads of sports journalism departments also suggested that in a densely populated (online) sports media landscape, all journalists need to traverse between the increasing demand for profitability and market orientation, on the one hand, and creative and professional independence, on the other.

Similar to Bruce's reflections on the future of sports journalism, we argue that more and better media coverage of women's football up to now has not really contested, let alone disrupted mainstream sports media culture. However, we stay optimistic for future change, given the many different ways in which women enter former men's only sports spaces, like football: as participant, coach, referee, fan and reporter. Like most other fields of journalism, the sports department, including men's football journalism, will also need to become less masculine, which may again influence the target audience and their preferred reading position of the sports media.

Therefore, to get a better grip on the changing nature of the reporting on women's football, we argue for a methodology that pays particular attention to the discursive praxis in which texts are produced and consumed. Compared to (longitudinal/critical) studies into sports media content, (ethnographic) research into the occupational culture of sports journalism and the changes in work routines and production processes is much needed, as well as more integrative research into (different groups of) sports media audiences and their different preferences and readings.⁶⁶

We lastly make note of the theoretical and methodological complexities that a researcher has to deal with when developing a complete CDA that incorporates for instance a historical-diachronic, ethnographic dimension or a combination of these aspects.⁶⁷ With our study we did not aim to provide a comprehensive overview of the representation of women's football, but hope to inspire other researchers to more integrative CDA's when analysing gender issues in sports journalism.

Notes

1. Elling, Van Hilvoorde, and Van Den Dool, 'Creating or Awakening National Pride Through Sporting Success'.
2. Messner, 'Reflections on Communication and Sport: On Men and Masculinities'.
3. Magee, Liston, and Scraton, *Women, Football and Europe. Histories, Equity and Experiences*.
4. Elling and Peeters, 'Factsheet EK vrouwenvoetbal 2013'.
5. Scraton et al., 'It's Still a Man's Game'; Jeanes, "'I'm into High Heels and Make up but I Still Love Football'", 402.
6. Caudwell, 'Reviewing UK Football Cultures'; Magee, Liston, and Scraton, *Women, Football and Europe*.
7. Catenaccio et al., 'Towards a Linguistics of News Production'; Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*.
8. Pfister, 'Women in Sport – Gender Relations and Future Perspectives', 241.
9. Kane, LaVoi, and Fink, 'Exploring Elite Female Athlete's Interpretations of Sport Media Images'.
10. Wagenaar, *Jubileumboek vrouwenvoetbal*.
11. Romijn and Elling, *Een prachtige tweede plaats: een studie naar de stand van zaken van het meisjes – en vrouwenvoetbal in Nederlandse amateurvoetbalverenigingen*.
12. Elling, "'Een beetje ruig dat trekt me wel'"; cf. Caudwell, 'Women's Football in the United Kingdom'.
13. Knoppers and Elling, "'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism'"; Messner, 'On Men and Masculinities', 116–7.
14. Birell and Theberge, 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport'; Bruce, 'Reflections on Communication and Sport'; Cooky, Messner, and Hextrum, 'Women Play Sport, but not on TV'.
15. Wensing and Bruce, 'Bending the Rules'.
16. Knoppers and Elling, *Gender, etniciteit en de sportmedia*.
17. Cooky, Messner, and Hextrum, 'Women Play Sport, but not on TV'; Pressland, 'Still Struggling after all these Years?'.
18. King, 'Media Portrayals of Male and Female Athletes'.
19. Crolley and Teso, 'Gendered Narratives in Spain'.
20. Knoppers and Elling, *Gender, etniciteit en de sportmedia*.
21. Cf. Markula, 'Key Themes in the Research on Media Coverage of Women's Sport'.
22. Knoppers and Elling, "'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism'".
23. Van Sterkenburg and Knoppers, 'Dominant Discourses about Race/Ethnicity and Gender'.
24. Carvalho, 'Media(ted) Discourse and Society'; Lazar, 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis'; Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers*.
25. Some exceptions to this are: Liao and Markula, 'Reading Media Texts in Women's Sport'; Wanneberg 'The Sexualization of Sport'.
26. Carvalho, 'Media(ted) Discourse' 161–2.
27. Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers*, 14.
28. See for a summary: Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers*, 39–40.
29. Catenaccio et al., 'Linguistics of News Production', 1845.
30. Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers*, 6–9.
31. Ibid.
32. The Netherlands, in contrast to some of its European neighbours, is generally devoid of tabloid journalism. The more populist *Algemeen Dagblad* is a far cry from the English newspapers like *The Sun* or *The Daily Mail* or the German tabloid *Bild*.
33. Very often the gender of the writer wasn't identifiable as the database didn't always provide the name of the journalist in question.
34. Mooij, *Dag in, dag uit*.
35. Mooij, *Dag in, dag uit*, 331.
36. The 300 words criterion ensured that an in-depth qualitative analysis was possible and filtered those pieces that were taken from press agencies. All initially selected match reports during the period were numbered and six articles (one every two years) were selected using an online randomizer.

37. Bart Jungmann, 'Vrouwen van Pauw steeds professioneler,' *De Volkskrant*, July 13, 2009.
38. The interview held in 1999 was part of a larger research into the production processes within the sports media (Knoppers and Elling, 'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism'), with a specific focus on gendered practises. Women's football was not the central topic in 1999, as it was in the interview in 2014.
39. Bruce, 'On women,' 133; Coche, 'What Women's Soccer Fans Want'.
40. Women's football received one percent of all online football items on the mainstream online sport sites of the NOS and NUSport in six mainstream weeks in January–February 2014. From the online football coverage by the *Algemeen Dagblad* and the *Volkskrant*, one and three percent, respectively, covered women's football, see: Schutijser, 'Van Offside Naar "Onside"'.
41. For example articles with headlines like 'Girlfriend Ronaldo signs at Barcelona' (*De Volkskrant*, December 23, 1996) or "'Auch! Fully into her boobs!'", 'The emancipation of Soccer-Barbie' (*AD/Algemeen Dagblad*, November 1, 1999).
42. Most other men's and women's sports are dependent on national success as a prerequisite for coverage. Only men's football, speed skating get covered automatically. Several other large international events in tennis (men and women) and men's cycling receive a fair amount of coverage, also without national success.
43. Knoppers and Elling, "'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism"'.
44. Mooij, *Dag in, dag uit*.
45. Knoppers and Elling, 'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism'.
46. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, 100.
47. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
48. Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 'The Gender of Audience-building'.
49. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, 103.
50. 'Vera Pauw: We're Just so Staggeringly Conservative'. *Dagblad van het Noorden*, November 18, 2005.
51. *Ibid.*, 102–3.
52. Birrell and Theberge, 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport'.
53. In the end, the men's team was actually unable to secure the title that year as it lost its last match against Ajax.
54. Janko is Marc Janko in this case, a forward who played at FC Twente at the time of writing. Bromet used this tactic also in his 2003 article, comparing a run of the forward Monique van Veen with that of the Dutch male international Wesley Sneijder.
55. Although Van der Geest is a freelance journalist, she is kind of included in the team by Randewijck, when she refers to the number of women in the sport department ('we are two'). Van der Geest is also regarded as the person that should gain more insiders expertise in women's football.
56. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, 88.
57. Markula, Bruce, and Hovden, 'Key Themes in the Research on Media Coverage of Women's Sport'.
58. Cooky, Messner, and Hextrum, 'Women Play Sport, but not on TV'.
59. Birrell and Theberge, 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport'.
60. Caudwell, 'Reviewing UK Football Cultures'; cf. Messner, 'Reflections on Communication and Sport'.
61. Lazar, 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis', 149.
62. Bruce, 'On women'.
63. Hermans, Vergeer, and Pleijter, *Nederlandse journalisten in 2010*, 15.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Vinken and IJdens, *Freelance Journalisten, Schrijvers en Fotografen*, 15.
66. Knoppers and Elling, 'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism'; Messner, 'Reflections on Communication and Sport'.
67. cf. Carvalho, 'Media(ted) Discourse'.

References

- Birrell, S., and N. Theberge. 'Ideological Control of Women in Sport'. In *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie, 341–59. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994.
- Bruce, T. 'Reflections on Communication and Sport: On Women and Femininities'. *Communication & Sport* 1, nos. 1–2 (2013): 125–37.
- Carvalho, A. 'Media(Ted) Discourse and Society'. *Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008): 161–77.
- Catenaccio, P., C. Cotter, M. De Smedt, G. Garzone, G. Jacobs, F. Macgilchrist, L. Lams, et al. 'Towards a Linguistics of News Production'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, no. 7 (2011): 1843–52.
- Caudwell, J. 'Women's Football in the United Kingdom: Theorizing Gender and Unpacking the Butch Lesbian Image'. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 23, no. 4 (1999): 390–402.
- Caudwell, J. 'Reviewing UK Football Cultures. Continuing with Gender Analysis'. *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 3 (2011): 323–9.
- Coche, R. 'What Women's Soccer Fans Want: A Twitter Study'. *Soccer & Society* 15, no. 4 (2014): 449–71.
- Cooky, C., M.A. Messner, and R.H. Hextrum. 'Women Play Sport, but Not on TV: A Longitudinal Study of Televised News Media'. *Communication & Sport* 1, no. 3 (2013): 203–30.
- Crolley, L., and E. Teso. 'Gendered Narratives in Spain: The Representation of Female Athletes in Marca and El Pais'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 42, no. 2 (2007): 149–66.
- Elling, A. "'Een beetje ruig dat trekt me wel": Over het imago en de beleving van vrouwenvoetbal' [A Little Rough It Suits Me: On the Image and Experience of Women's Football]. *Tijdschrift Voor Genderstudies* 2, no. 4 (1999): 25–35.
- Elling, A., and R. Peeters. *Factsheet EK vrouwenvoetbal 2013* [Factsheet Women's Euro 2013]. Utrecht: Mulier Instituut, 2013.
- Elling, A., I. Van Hilvoorde, and R. Van Den Dool. 'Creating or Awakening National Pride Through Sporting Success: A Longitudinal Study on Macro Effects in the Netherlands'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 49, no. 2 (2014): 129–51.
- Hermans, L., M. Vergeer, and A. Pleijter. *Nederlandse journalisten in 2010: Onderzoek naar de kenmerken van de beroepsgroep, professionele opvattingen en het gebruik van digitale media in het journalistieke werk* [Dutch Journalists in 2010: Research on the Characterizations of the Branch, Professional Attitudes and the Use of Digital Media in the Journalistic Profession]. Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit, 2012.
- Jeanes, R. "'I'm into High Heels and Make up but I Still Love Football": Exploring Gender Identity and Football Participation with Preadolescent Girls'. *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 3 (2011): 402–20.
- Kane, M.J., N.M. LaVoi, and J.S. Fink. 'Exploring Elite Female Athlete's Interpretations of Sport Media Images: A Window into the Construction of Social Identity and "Selling Sex"'. *Women's Sports*. *Communication & Sport* 1, no. 3 (2013): 269–98.
- King, C. 'Media Portrayals of Male and Female Athletes: A Text and Picture Analysis of British National Newspaper Coverage of the Olympic Games since 1948'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 42, no. 2 (2007): 187–99.
- Knoppers, A., and A. Elling. *Gender, etniciteit en de sportmedia. Eerste tussenrapportage* [Gender, Ethnicity and the Sport Media. First Interim Report]. Utrecht: CBM, 1998.
- Knoppers, A., and A. Elling. "'We Do Not Engage in Promotional Journalism": Discursive Strategies Used by Sport Journalists to Describe the Selection Process'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39, no. 1 (2004): 57–73.
- Lazar, M.M. 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis'. *Critical Discourse Studies* 4, no. 2 (2007): 141–64.
- Liao, J., and P. Markula. 'Reading Media Texts in Women's Sport: Critical Discourse Analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis'. In *Olympic Women and the Media: International Perspectives*, ed. P. Markula, 30–49. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Magee, J., K. Liston, and S. Scraton, eds. *Women, Football and Europe. Histories, Equity and Experiences*. Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport, 2007.

- Markula, P., T. Bruce, and J. Hovden. 'Key Themes in the Research on Media Coverage of Women's Sport'. In *Sportswomen at the Olympics: A Global Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage*, ed. T. Bruce, J. Hovden, and P. Markula, 1–18. Rotterdam: Sense publishers, 2010.
- Messner, M. 'Reflections on Communication and Sport: On Men and Masculinities'. *Communication & Sport* 1, nos. 1–2 (2013): 113–24.
- Messner, M., M.C. Duncan, and F.L. Wachs. 'The Gender of Audience-building: Televised Coverage of Men's and Women's NCAA Basketball'. *Sociological Inquiry* 66 (1996): 422–40.
- Mooij, A. *Dag in, dag uit: een journalistieke geschiedenis van de Volkskrant vanaf 1980* [Day In, Day Out: A Journalistic History of the Volkskrant from 1980]. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2011.
- Pressland, A. "'Still Struggling after All These Years?': The Representation of Sportswomen in Middle-brow British Newspapers 2008–2009'. PhD diss., University of York, 2012.
- Richardson, J.E. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Schutijser, S. *Van Offside Naar "Onside". Over De Media-Aandacht Voor Vrouwenvoetbal Op Het Internet* [From Offside to "Onside": On the Media Attention for Women's Football on the Internet]. Utrecht: Research Internship, Mulier Institute, 2014.
- Scraton, S., K. Fasting, G. Pfister, and A. Bunuel. 'It's Still a Man's Game: The Experiences of Top-level European Women Footballers'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 34, no. 2 (1999): 99–111.
- van Sterkenburg, J., and A. Knoppers. 'Dominant Discourses about Race/Ethnicity and Gender in Sport Practice and Performance'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39, no. 3 (2004): 301–21.
- Vinken, H., and T. IJdens. *Freelance Journalisten, Schrijvers en Fotografen: Tarieven en auteursrechten, onderhandelingen en toekomstverwachtingen* [Freelance Journalists, Writers and Photographers: Rates and Copyrights, Negotiations and Prospects]. Tilburg: Pyrrhula, 2013.
- Wagenaar, J. *Jubileumboek vrouwenvoetbal* [Jubilee Book Women's Football]. Zeist: KNVB, 1997.
- Wanneberg, P.L. 'The Sexualization of Sport: A Gender Analysis of Swedish Elite Sport from 1967 to the Present Day'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 18, no. 3 (2011): 265–78.
- Wensing, E., and T. Bruce. 'Bending the Rules: Media Representations of Gender During an International Sporting Event'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 38, no. 4 (2003): 387–96.