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***The World of Sports in Newspapers Based on the Results
of “The International Sports Press Survey”***

KEY WORDS

press (media), sport, gender, journalist, football, source

ABSTRACT

The article presents data from “The International Sports Press Survey” 2011 – an international research project, which was aimed at exploring the place and way of presenting a sport in daily press. 80 newspapers from 22 countries were analysed, including three Polish dailies – *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Polska: Głos Wielkopolski* and *Fakt*. The article focuses mainly on gender disproportions in the media world of sport, taking into account both the authors of articles and the presented content. Other data is included, referring to article topics, the described disciplines, their coverage and quoted sources. The analysis concerns mainly Polish media, with worldwide results as their background.

In 2011 the second edition of “The International Sports Press Survey” was conducted, a study which analyses the place and the way in which sport is presented in the daily press. In the first study, carried out in 2005 by the Danish think tank The House of Monday Morning and the international organization Play the Game, managed by the Danish Institute for Sports Studies (Idan), the participants included 10 countries from 3 continents, and the sports pages of 37 titles were analysed¹. The 2011 survey, coordinated by the Macromedia Hochschule für Medien und Kommunikation (MHMK) in Hamburg, was a much larger undertaking. It attracted the participation of scientists from 22 countries on all continents, and more than 18,000 articles (including 815 in Polish) from 80 different newspapers were analysed². The entire methodology of the study was prepared by the chief coordinators.

¹ It is also worth to mention, that in 2002 a survey of Scandinavian press was carried out, the “Scandinavian Press Survey”, in which over 3000 articles from 9 newspapers were analysed. For more on the 2005 study, see, e.g.: S.S. Jørgensen, “The World’s Best Advertising Agency: The Sports Press”, *Mandag Morgen* 2005, No. 37, http://playthegame.org/upload//Sport_Press_Survey_English.pdf [accessed: 18.10.2012]. The results of the study are available at the website: www.playthegame.org/theme-pages/the-international-sports-press-survey-2005.html [accessed: 18.10.2012].

² It was possible to apply to take part in the study by answering to the announcement published on the Play the Game website. The data were collected in the following countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England,

In the 2011 study, contrary to the 2005 one, all sports-related articles were analysed, not only those from sports pages. The unit of analysis was a single article. The sample consisted of printed issues of three press titles from each country, which came out on each of the 14 days selected by the coordinators, between April and July 2011. According to the guideline, the largest daily newspaper, the largest tabloid, and the largest local newspaper were to be selected. In the case of the Polish part of the study, these were *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Fakt*, and *Polska: Głos Wielkopolski*. As per the methodology of the research, newspaper of purely sports character were not included, as the intention of the researchers was to analyse the image of sport which reaches all readers, not necessarily those who are avid sports fans. One of the aims of the study was also to obtain the answer to the question how much and what kind of space is devoted to sport in every-day press in relation to other areas of social life, such as politics, economy, or culture, which would not be possible if only sports newspapers were analysed.

The coordinator of the Polish part of the research was the author, who represents the Institute of Sociology of Adam Mickiewicz University, whereas the coordinators of the whole research project were Professor Thomas Horkey (MHMK) and Dr Jörg-Uwe Nieland (DSHS). The coding of newspapers was done by 2nd-year undergraduate students of sociology as part of their field practice (July 2011, AMU) and verified by the author of this article and two doctoral students, Anna Datko and Łukasz Skoczylas. The analysis of all data was performed by the author. This article presents the most important results of the Polish study against the background of the world results, with a special focus on the issues of gender diversification, due to the scientific interests of the author³.

Male environment of sports journalism

The world of sports journalism, as well as sport presented in the press, is strongly masculinized. As many as 92% of articles were written by men and only 8% by women. In Poland these proportions look even less favourable for women, who are authors of a meagre 5% of articles (Chart 1).

Germany, India, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Scotland, Slovakia, South Africa, Switzerland, the United States, Singapore, Slovenia, Greece, and France. The analysis included 18,339 articles from newspapers published in those countries.

³ Preliminary research results are available for browsing on the website of the Play the Game organization: www.playthegame.org/fileadmin/image/PTG2011/Presentation/PTG_Nieland-Horkey_ISPS_2011_3.10.2011_final.pdf [accessed: 28.01.2013]. The results presented in the article were prepared based on the final database created in June 2012.

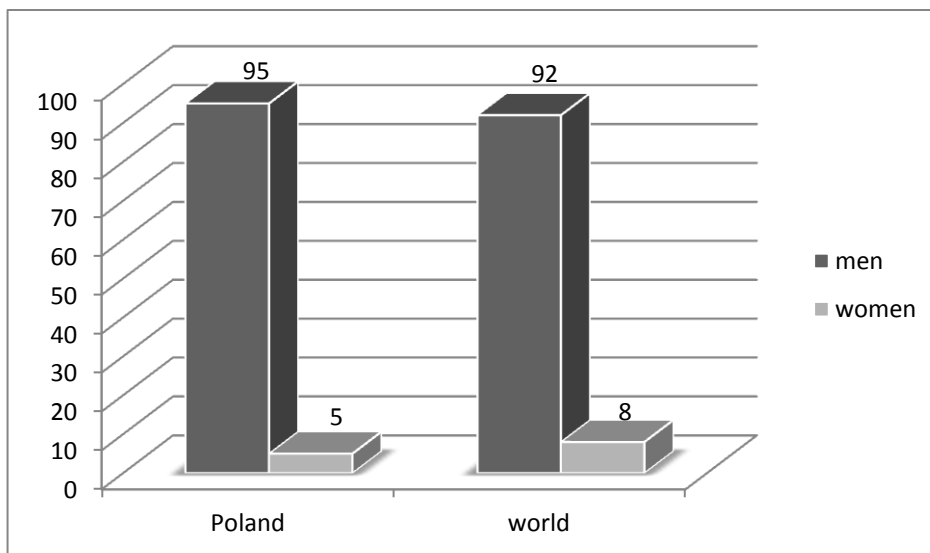


Chart 1. Genders of the authors of articles (percentages)

Source: All charts and tables are the author's own work based on the obtained research results.

One has to remember that the above data pertain only to the articles signed with the name and surname; one may suspect that taking into consideration also the articles signed with initials would reveal an even greater extent of male domination⁴.

In the press worldwide, almost 2/3 of all articles are signed with the author's name and surname, and less than 10% with the initials. In the Polish press, the authors use initials decisively more often. Also the number of articles with no indication of authorship is greater, as compared to the results of the whole sample (Table 1).

Table 1. Author of the article (percentages)

	Poland	World
Author signed with a name	35.2	62.1
Author signed with initials	35.5	8.5
Information Agency	2.3	15.8
No indication of authorship	27	13.7

The disproportion between the results in the world and in Poland can be explained by referring to the kind of published information. In the Polish press, there are more shorter articles, as well as short notes of a few sentences in columns like "Sport in Short" (Pol. *Sport*

⁴ The researchers normally knew who was behind the given initials but, in compliance with the coding instructions, the gender of the author was to be determined only if the authors were signed with names.

w *Skrócie*), and less interviews or reports. In the case of short news of reporting nature, the author's name was often omitted or signed with the initials only. One may suppose, however, that they were mostly written by men, as it is they who report the current and the most important sporting events.

The largest number of female authors of sports-related articles was reported in Brazil (about 25%), then in Singapore and Romania (almost 20% each). On the other end of this continuum were Nepal and India, where all articles were written by men, and England, where women were the authors of only 3% of articles in the analysed period. Only three countries had a worse score than Poland, from the point of view of gender equality. Similar proportions as in Poland were also found in Portugal and in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The key to explain those disproportions is difficult to find; however, the publication in English scheduled for 2013 should be able to indicate the factors which shape the community of sports journalists in individual countries.

Women are not only significantly less numerous among sports journalist, they are also often assigned topics which are not directly related to sports events. In the case of the Polish articles written by women, almost all of them, with only one exception, did not directly refer to sports competitions (games) but rather to other sports-related topics instead⁵.

The results gathered worldwide are quite interesting if we confront the described discipline with the gender of the journalist who authored the article (Table 2).

Table 2. Described discipline and the gender of the author of the article (percentages)

Men most often wrote about:		Women most often wrote about:	
football	40	football	25
rugby	8	tennis	15
tennis	6	Sports not listed in categorization key	13
hockey	5	athletics	6
cricket	5	cycling	2

There are two issues worth attention in the presented data. First, apart from the predominating football, female journalists most often write about tennis. It is the most

⁵ This practice is usually confirmed in other media as well. For instance, in the sports editorial team of *Wiadomości* [News] of TVP, there is only one woman, Justyna Szubert-Kotomska, who is not actually involved in sports coverage, and if so, they pertain to niche sports, Paralympics or Special Olympics. Most female journalists in sports news services play the role of newscasters, though some exceptions can be pointed out. For example, there are three woman journalists in the media in Poznań: Beata Oryl-Stroińska (TVP Poznań), Zuzanna Weiss-Bartkowiak (WTK television journalist), and Hanna Urbaniak (Radio Merkur), who deal with all sports disciplines, including football, still perceived as the stronghold of masculinity.

“feminine” discipline, both on the part of the participants and the journalists. In other media as well, the best example of which is the TV channel Eurosport, women provide a commentary to tennis tournaments and appear in the role of experts, which—in sports broadcasts—is extremely rare. In the case of some disciplines, such as football, it is even hard to imagine a situation like this, due to the perception of the discipline; nevertheless, in some other disciplines also regarded as “masculine”, such as boxing, a frequent guest of programmes in Poland is a former professional female boxer Agnieszka Rylik. However, what is thinkable in the case of other “masculine” sports seems unacceptable in football.

The other result which draws attention is 13% of articles written by women which are devoted to “other” sports, that is, not distinguished by the authors of the categorization key. The key lists as many as 31 sports, thus it can be assumed that these which have been classified as “others” are of strictly niche character. This confirms the belief that women are marginalized in the world of sports journalism not only in the quantitative dimension, but also qualitative, related here to the significance of individual disciplines.

The prevalence of men among sports journalists may result, for one thing, from the still stereotypical perception of sport as a male sphere, in which men not only want to be involved but are also entitled to it by the proper competence and knowledge they have (meaning: contrary to women). One may also suppose that men indeed more often want to become sports journalists than women, which is reflected by a greater number of them in the community. The consequence of this is, however, according to the interviews with women journalists conducted by the author for the purpose of her habilitation paper, the disregard and certain testing of their knowledge they are subjected to, at least in the beginning. In other words, in the case of men, it is assumed that they have knowledge about sport, while women have to demonstrate such knowledge, even if they are dealing with this aspect of social life professionally⁶.

Everyone in Europe watches football

Football is given definitely the most room in the press. Even though the survey was conducted in 2011, when no large men’s football tournament was held, as many as 41% of all articles were about that discipline. To some, albeit small extent, which will be shown later, this result may have been influenced by the FIFA Women’s World Cup, organized in Germany in the

⁶ On the perception of the world of sport as a “stronghold of masculinity”, see, e.g.: M. Messner, *Taking the field*, Minneapolis 2001; D. Nylund, *Beer, Babes, and Balls: Masculinity and Sports Talk Radio*, New York 2007.

summer of 2011.

The dominance of football in the media is even more visible once we have seen that the next discipline, tennis, was given less than 8% of all articles (Chart 2).

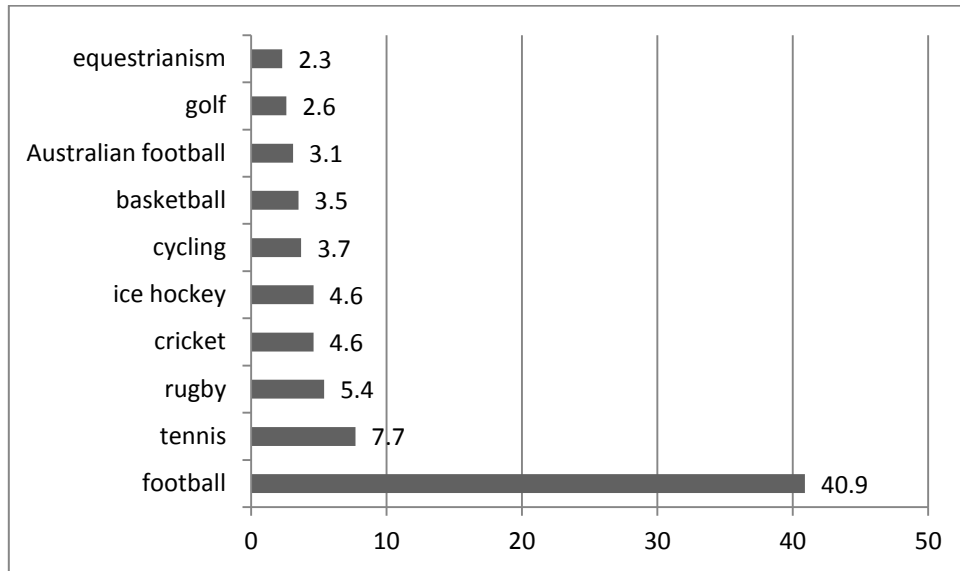


Chart 2. Ten sports disciplines most often described in the press (percentages)

Football is the most popular sport in Europe. Eight of ten countries in which the most articles about that discipline were published are European countries. In Romania, as many as 85% of all articles were about this sport, 80% in Portugal, and almost 70% in Greece (Chart 3).

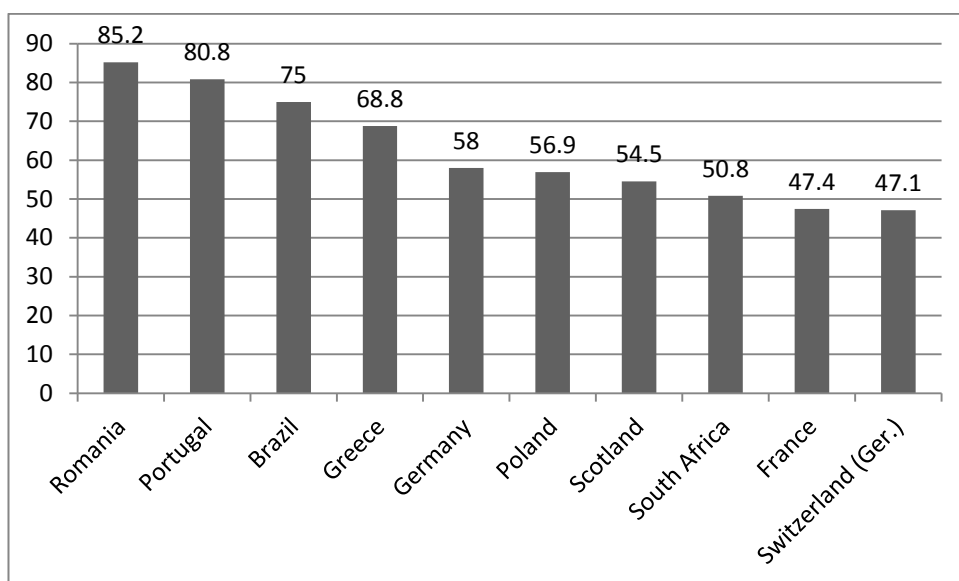


Chart 3. Countries where the greatest number of articles was devoted to football (percentages)

As many as 57% of articles in Poland (and 70% in *Fakt*) pertained to football, but we are still far behind such countries as Romania or Portugal. The second most often described sport in Polish press was speedway, which was included, for the purpose of the survey, in a broader category of motor sports. More data are shown on Chart 4.

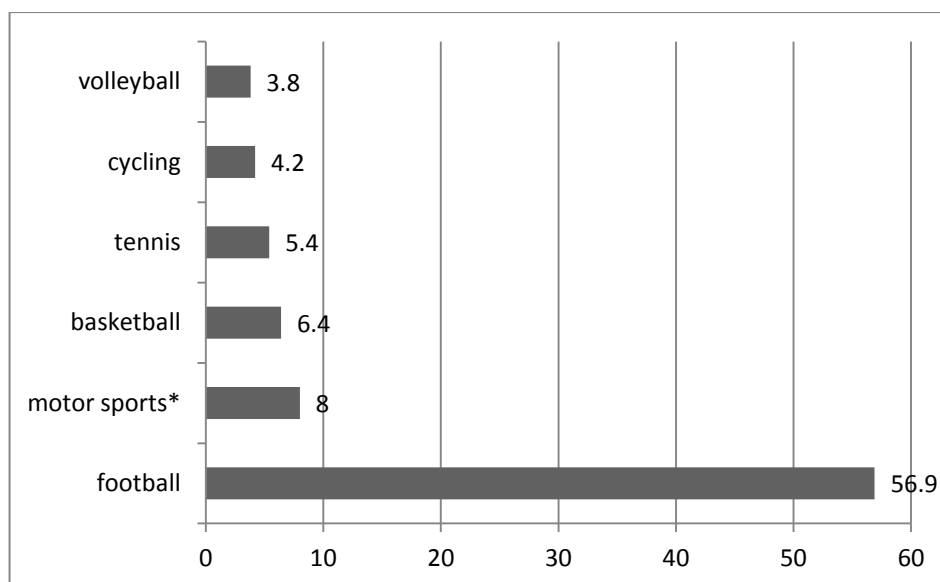


Chart 4. Six sports disciplines most often described in Polish press (percentages)

* Motor sports comprised all car and motorcycle races, including speedway, with the exception of the separately coded Formula 1.

Other disciplines, not listed on the chart, were covered by less than 2% of articles in the Polish press. The results were undoubtedly influenced by the time of year when the survey was conducted. Were it carried out in winter, one of the most often described sports would certainly be Nordic skiing, both cross-country skiing (thanks to the triumphs of Justyna Kowalczyk) and ski jumping.

It may be worth to look at this problem from the other side as well and see which sports are (almost) absent in the Polish press. Besides the disciplines which are absent due to the season, of which skiing is an example, not even a single article was reported in the analysed period which was devoted to, for instance, gymnastics or badminton, or American and Australian team sports. What is surprising is the scarce number of articles about, say, karate or swimming, even though these disciplines enjoy relatively high popularity, as shown by the periodically published analyses of the Central Statistical Office (Pol. *Główny Urząd Statystyczny – GUS*)⁷, albeit incomparably lesser than football. The reason for this

⁷ See, e.g.: *Kultura fizyczna w Polsce w latach 2008–2010* [Physical culture in Poland 2008–2010], Warszawa–Rzeszów 2011.

marginalization may be the fact that the TV message about sports is repeated by sport press. It appears that press journalists more often commentate on the events watching them on the TV than observing the course of the sports competition directly. Not only does it allow them to see a greater number of details and to replay the most important moments of the games, but it is also easier and cheaper for the publishers⁸. This is why the press becomes to a large extent similar to the TV and does not describe what the television does not show. And the TV focuses on the disciplines which attract the most interest and may bring it the greatest financial benefit.

Although football is a global sport, there are some places in the world where it is of considerably lesser significance, of which a viewer who experiences sport only via the media transmission may not be aware. Examples of this include North America, where the most often covered sports are baseball, tennis, and basketball (Chart 5), and Australia, where the most attention is given to rugby and Australian football (Chart 6).

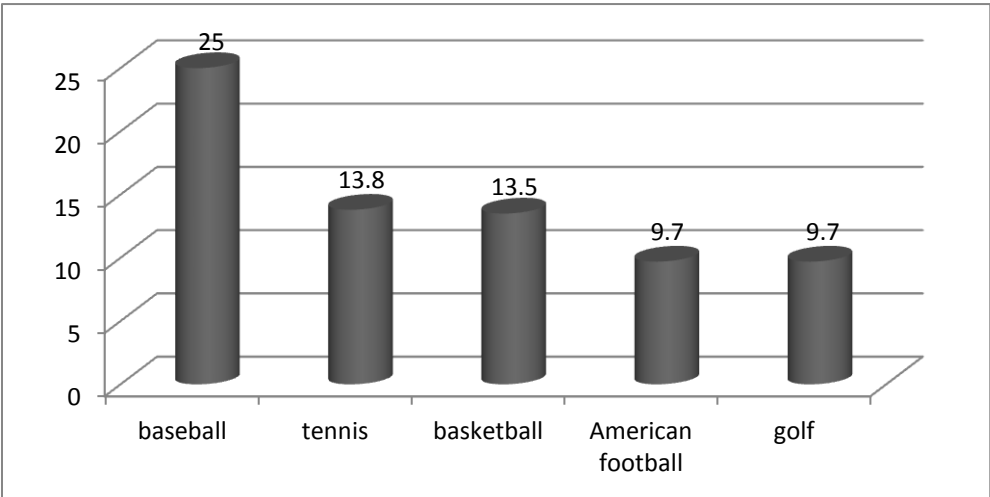


Chart 5. Five sports disciplines most often described in the press in North America (percentages)

⁸ It is worth to add, by the way, that the commentators present at the stadium often give the commentary on the game not by following what is going on in the field but watching but watching the TV coverage.

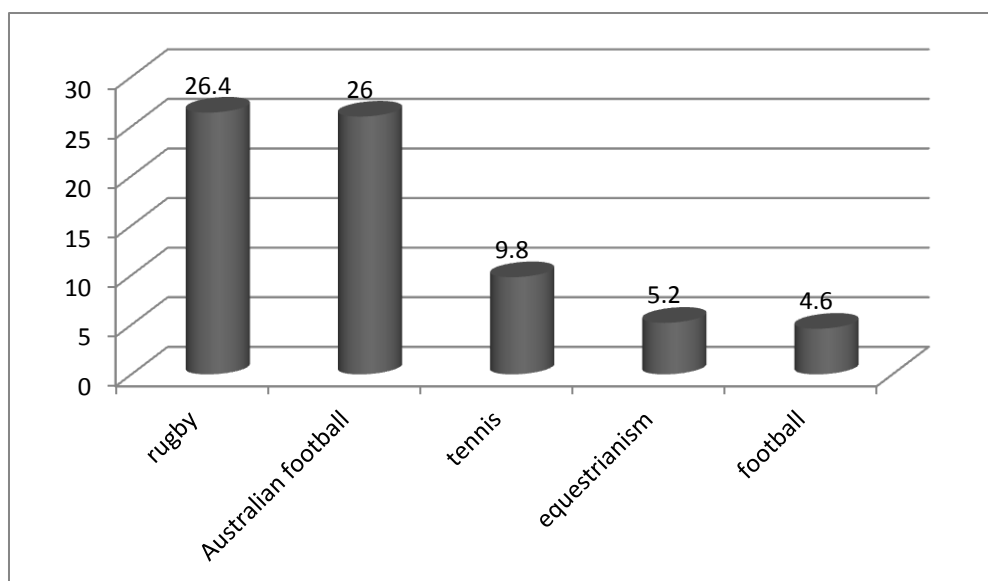


Chart 6. Five most often described sports disciplines in the press in Australia and New Zealand (percentages)

In the context of the presented results, it is worth to notice that football is not regarded as a “masculine” sport⁹. Therefore, it can be said that, most importantly, the largest amount of space in the press (media) is devoted to a sport which is the stronghold of masculinity (in America such sports are baseball and American football). Also, what ensues, football is less popular in the areas where another dominant “masculine” sport is present.

Globalization of sport

In the analysed press, the proportions of international and national events were almost equal (about 45% each), and the remaining 10% of news concerned regional and local sports events. In the case of Polish newspapers, there were a little less information about international competitions (40%) and slightly more (15%) about those of regional scope. The analysed newspapers informed, in the case of international events, first and foremost about those which took place in Europe (70% of articles, and as many as 86% in Polish press). The next group of news concerned the events happening in North America, and primarily in the United States (15%; 7% in Polish press). The prevalence of information about European events may be a result of overrepresentation of European countries in the study, where they constituted 55% of all countries in which the analyses were conducted. As the charts above have shown, the popularity of individual disciplines is different in various parts of the world, although the way

⁹ ”Dlaczego Amerykanie nie szaleją na punkcie piłki nożnej?” [Why aren’t the Americans crazy about association football?], www.polska-usa.pl/opinie/dlaczego-amerykanie-nie-szaleja-na-punkcie-pilki-noznej [accessed: 28.01.2013].

in which they are presented in Polish (or to take it more broadly, European) media seems largely to ignore this diversity. Non-European sports are being marginalized and, if one should take into consideration the American and Australian media, this phenomenon concerns non-Western sports to an even greater extent.

Devoting some 40–45% of articles to international events cannot be a surprise due to the global character of today's sport¹⁰. It is not only the most important events, such as Olympic Games or the World Cup which are broadcast and watched throughout the world, but also football tournaments, such as the Champions League or the best European leagues, like the English or the Spanish one. The globalization of sport, possible above all else thanks to the media, results also from the growing importance of the richer Asian countries, such as Dubai or Qatar, where important competitions of international rank, such as F1 races or tennis tournaments, take place more and more often.

As seen in the gathered data, tennis was one of five most often described disciplines on all continents, usually – with the exception of South America, or rather Brazil, since that continent was represented by that lone country – ranking second or third. From the perspective of women's sport, this media presence of tennis is important, as tennis is the most often shown discipline played by women. On the other hand, however, one may have the impression that paying attention mostly to tennis relieves the media, so to say, from the obligation to show other disciplines played by women.

In the case of Polish newspapers, as it could be expected, it was the *Gazeta Wyborcza* that directed the most attention to the events on the worldwide scale (almost 45%), and *Polska. Głos Wielkopolski* that did the least. On the other hand, the latter daily newspaper wrote most often about the sports competitions taking place in Greater Poland (22%), which is quite understandable (Chart 7).

¹⁰ About the globalization of sport, see, e.g.: *Globalization and sport*, ed. by R. Giulianotti, R. Robertson, Hoboken 2007; R. Giulianotti, R. Robertson, *Globalization and Football*, Thousand Oaks, CA 2009.

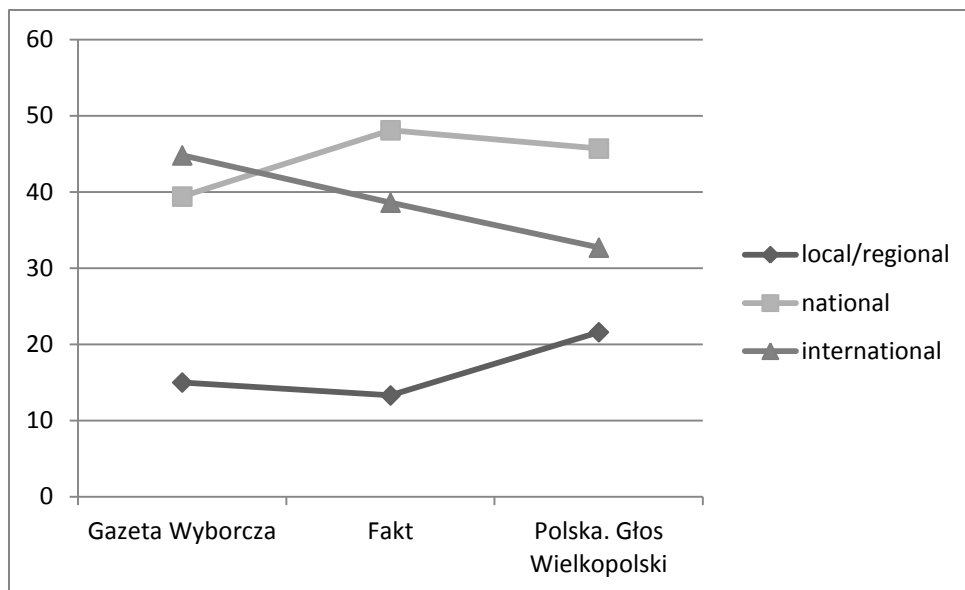


Chart 7. Geographical scope of the described sports events (percentages)

Press as a sports commentator

Both in Poland and worldwide, more than three in every four analysed articles concerned the issues directly related to the competition in professional sport. They were either relations, commentaries from competitions which had been played, or announcements of such competitions, or concerned other matters related to athletes and sports clubs, such as injuries, transfers of players, or changes of coaches. Printed press, which unlike other media cannot directly broadcast sports events, to a large extent duplicates the message of other media, as it has already been mentioned. Apart from the watching of sports events, mediated by the television, it may also result from the fact that press titles are also present in the Internet and some of them (in the case of the analysed daily newspapers, it was *Gazeta Wyborcza*) provide a “live” commentary to sporting events on their websites. What comes out in the press on the next day is largely based on these relations. It seems, however, that the press uses only a small part of its potential, the advantage it has over other media, which gives it the opportunity to make in-depth analysis of sports competition or to discuss issues associated with sport but not directly related to sports competitions.

A negligible number of articles (about 1%) raised the issues of amateur sports and the sport of children and adolescents. It means that sport in the media is present most of all as professional sport, although even in this context, it is worth to mention the positive exceptions, such as the initiatives *Poland Runs* (Pol. *Polska Biega*) of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, or *I run 'cause I like it* (Pol. *Biegam, bo lubię*) of Polish Radio Program 3.

The consequence of focusing attention above all on the current events of professional sport is placing the athlete or athletes, as heroes, right in the middle of the news. It is to them that a little more than half of the articles were devoted (52%). The second group, were coaches, managers, and other people associated with sports achievements, but they only amounted to 10% (15% in Poland). It is worth to mention, that in contrast to the worldwide results, the third most often described group, albeit only in less than 3% of articles, were politicians and members of government institutions (5th place in the press worldwide). This subject would require some further analysis; however, it can be suspected that politicians in Poland often (too often?) become involved in the world of sport, even in the areas where they have no formal influence. Still, it may also be a result of Poland being one of the organizers of UEFA Euro 2012. Although the survey was conducted a year before the tournament, this event had become a tool in political games, both on the part of the government and the opposition.

Only 43 articles were devoted to the issues of gender (equality), most of them in Canada and Germany (9 and 8 articles, respectively). In the former case, it may be explained among others, by the debate which took place in 2010 about women not being allowed to start in a ski jumping competition during the Olympic Games in Vancouver; and in the latter by the FIFA Women's World Cup taking place in Germany in 2011¹¹. The next in the frequency of articles on gender issues were the German-speaking part of Switzerland (5 articles) and Denmark (4 articles). In Poland in the studied period, not even a single article dealing with the issues of gender (equality) in sport was printed. Along with the small number of female sports journalists and articles devoted to women's sport, it shows that either there is no awareness of the existing inequalities (in financial matters, management of sport, and stereotypical perception of women in "masculine" sports) or it is yet another symptom of marginalization of women's sport and its position in the male world of sport.

Just as men are sports journalists, they also most often are the heroes of sports news (Chart 8).

¹¹ Women's football in Germany, although significantly less popular than men's football, still enjoys much more interest than, e.g., in Poland, which can be seen in both the number of the women players there and the large number of supporters present at the stadiums, viewers watching TV transmissions, or the interauts commenting on the World Cup on the Internet.

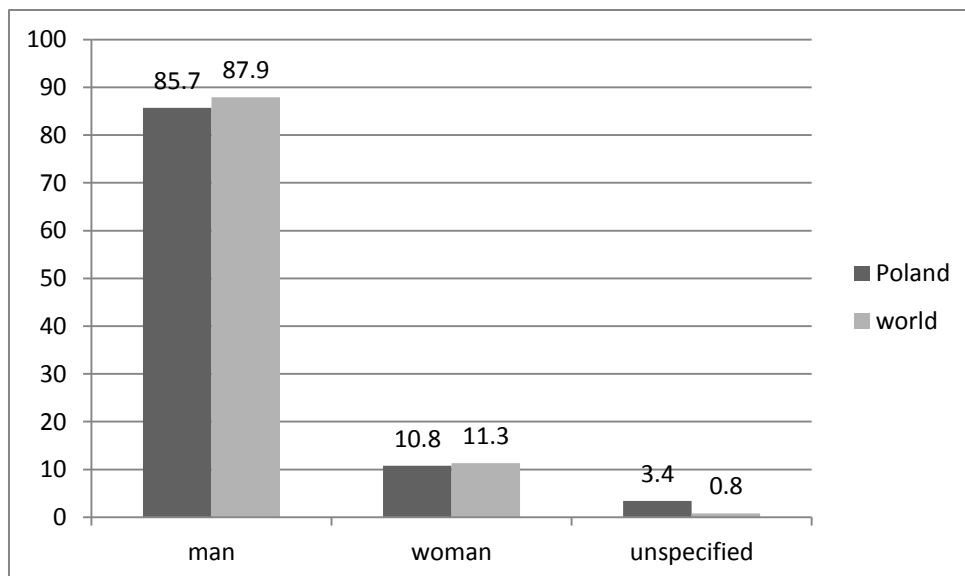


Chart 8. Gender of an athlete being presented in the press (percentages)

The data concerning the proportion of women's and men's sport are also reflected in the case of other media. For instance, in the research by Urszula Kluczyńska, who analysed TV news services, about 90% of both news and broadcasting time belonged to men's sport¹². The analysis of foreign media, either the everyday news or the Olympic Game transmissions, reveals that a significant majority concerns men's sport¹³.

In the described press survey, the countries in which there were relatively most articles about women's sport (18–19%) were Germany and Denmark, which can be associated with the aforementioned football cup, at least in the case of Germany. This example shows that organizing a large event for women may prove an opportunity to promote women's sport even when they practice a so-called masculine sport. On the other end of the continuum, there are Greece and Portugal, where only 4% and 2%, respectively, of published articles concerned women's sport. It is worth to recall, which may explain these numbers, that in those two countries a substantial majority of articles concerned football, which is one of the most masculinized disciplines. In Polish press there were no articles in the analysed period about women's football, though a year later – which must be mentioned – in the context of UEFA

¹² U. Kluczyńska, "Konstruowanie relacji między rodzajami w sporcie. Analiza telewizyjnych wiadomości sportowych" [The building of relations between genders in sport. Analysis of TV sport news], in: *Kalejdoskop genderowy. W drodze do poznania płci społeczno-kulturowej w Polsce* [Gender kaleidoscope. On the way to diagnosing the socio-cultural sex in Poland], ed. by K. Slana, B. Kowalska, M. Ślusarczyk, Kraków 2010, pp. 383–400.

¹³ See, e.g.: *Gender in televised sports. News and highlights shows, 1989–2009*. Center for Feminist Research, University of Southern California, <http://dornsife.usc.edu/cfr/gender-in-televised-sports/> [accessed: 18.10.2012]; *Women in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games. An Analysis of Participation, Leadership and Media Opportunities*. A Women's Sports Foundation Research Report, www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/research/articles-and-reports/athletes/2000-2004-and-2008-olympic-report [accessed: 18.10.2012].

Euro 2012, at least several articles about female football were published. What is interesting, however, is that, in the analysis of world data, football was the second discipline that was given attention in the case of women's sport. Again, it may be suspected that it was related to the football cup and the participation of countries taking part in this study in that event¹⁴.

In Polish newspapers, the only individual discipline where more attention was paid to women's than men's competitions was tennis¹⁵. In the world's press and in other media as well, tennis also was the most "feminine" sports discipline. In the analysed daily newspapers, as many as 45% of all articles concerning women's sport were about the tennis players. It can be said that if the media did not focus attention on tennis, women's sport would be marginalized to a much larger degree. Another discipline, in which the presence of women was felt in the Polish press, was cycling; about one third of the relatively small number of 27 articles was devoted to female athletes.

It is extremely significant to stress that, in general, only those female athletes appear in media who achieve significant results. Therefore, the tennis articles are written about the successes of Agnieszka Radwańska, cycling articles about good performances of Maja Włoszczowska, and in the winter season Justyna Kowalczyk is one of the greatest media heroines. Thus, to appear in media, a woman must attain a significant sports success, be one of the world's leaders, whereas male athletes become media heroes regardless of their successes, the best example being the men's national football team. Often, as in the case of Maja Włoszczowska, the good looks of the athlete contribute to her media presence. Włoszczowska undoubtedly achieved great sports successes, yet the discipline she practices, mountain biking, is very niche. There are female athletes of similar success, from other disciplines, who failed to attract the attention of media to a similar extent.

There is one more interesting result related to all media. In the case of articles where the main character was a woman, 8% of them concerned "other" disciplines, not listed in the categorization key of sports, whereas in the case of men, it was only 3%. Thus it can be said that women are doubly marginalized in a way—first as women, second as athletes practicing niche disciplines, from the point of view of the male-centric world of sport.

Still, the marginalization of women's sport may also have its source in the marginalization of female journalists. Chart 9 shows the percentages of articles written by

¹⁴ Women's football enjoys varied status and popularity in various countries of Europe and on other continents. For more on this subject, see: J. Williams, *A Beautiful Game. International perspectives on women's football*, Oxford 2007; *Sport and Women. Social issues in international perspective*, ed. by I. Hartmann-Tews, G. Pfister, London 2003.

¹⁵ Of 43 articles, 21 were about women, 19 about men, and 3 about both sexes.

men and women which refer to athletes of a specific sex. It is women who write more often about women’s sport (they devoted 28% of articles they wrote to it), whereas men only 8% (Chart 9).

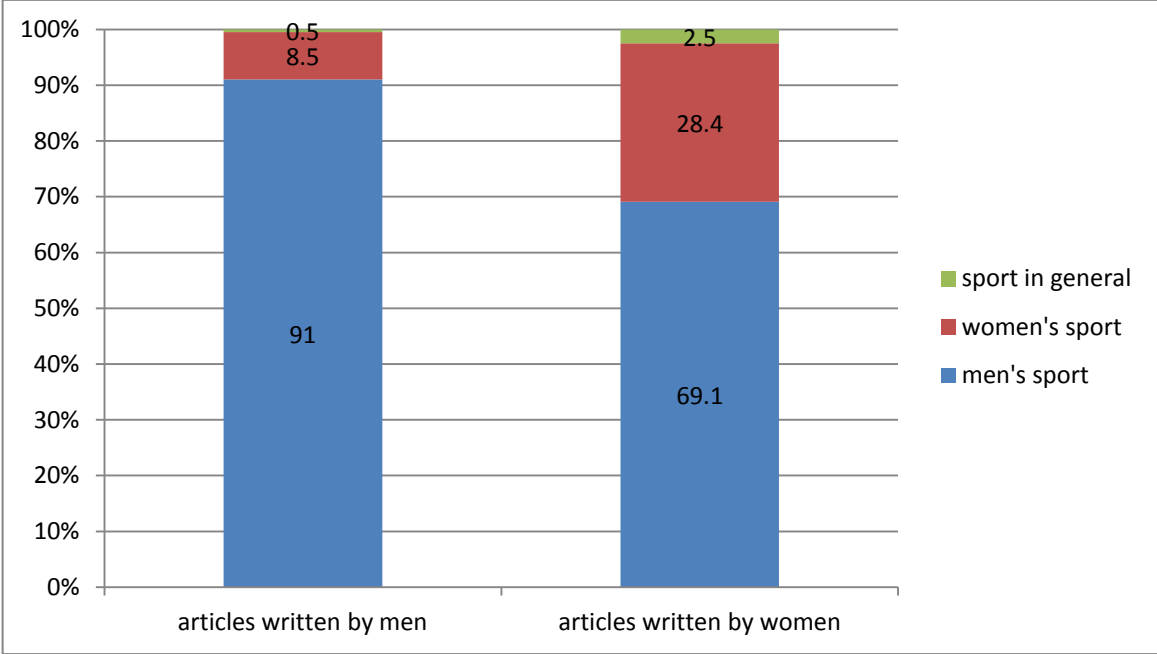


Chart 9. Gender of the journalist and gender of the athlete (percentages)

In the view of the results presented here, it can be supposed that an increase in the number of female sports journalists might be reflected by a greater presence of women’s sport in the press or, more broadly, in the media. Which does not necessarily have to be the case, since at least a part of them, just like a large part of female supporters, may be to a greater extent interested in men’s sport that is often perceived as more important and attractive.

All media, including Polish, devote significantly more attention to team sports, which were the subject of 2/3 of the articles (Chart 10). This can influence the proportion between the presence of male and female athletes in the media, since team sports are chiefly perceived as “masculine” sports. This concerns football, American and Australian football, rugby, and baseball, and to a lesser extent volleyball and basketball, which appear in the media less often. In the analysed period, basketball was the only team sport where more was written about women than men, which may have been related to the FIBA EuroBasket Women championship, which took place in Poland. Team sports enjoy a greater interest of viewers, more people are interested in football or handball than running or swimming. This it seems to

be extremely important – from the viewpoint of women – to promote women’s team sports in the media.

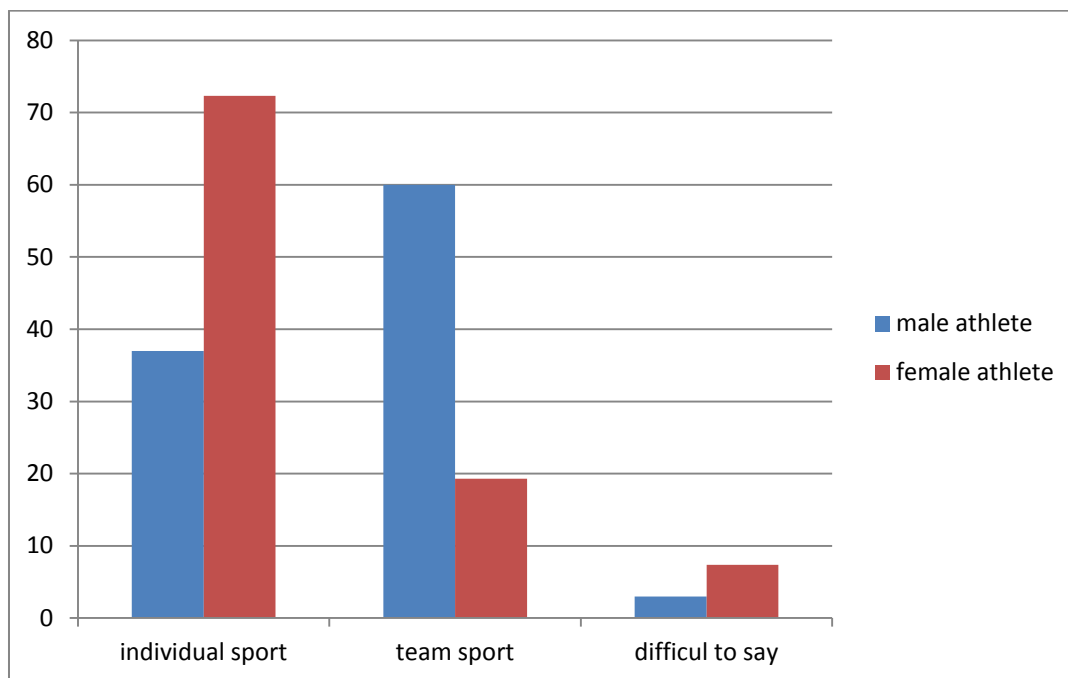


Chart 10. Number of articles devoted to team sports and individual sports (percentages)

Chart 10 shows that, in the case of women, it is their participation in individual competitions that is written about more often (73% vs. 20%), while in the case of men, 60% of articles concern team competition.

The dominance of men’s sport and men’s team sports may result from the fact that daily newspapers are more often read by men than by women, and these gender disparities, as can be guessed based on the readership of specialized sports press, will be even greater in the case of the sports pages of daily newspapers. Men, who were revealed by the author’s own research, among others, are more interested in men’s sport, therefore it is chiefly the latter which receives attention. Even more so that press, contrary to the TV, cannot increase the interest in women’s sport by focusing on the attractiveness and beauty of the athletes, whereas the Internet portals of individual newspapers do it very often.

Finance in sport, fans, and the journalistic sources of information

Even though money plays a crucial role in the present-day sport, and sport itself is one of the world’s greatest businesses, only 3% of all articles in the analysed press worldwide related to the issues associated with the financial aspects of sport. It is therefore extremely rarely that

one talks about the daily functioning of sport in terms of finance, with one exception to this rule being the costs incurred by the organization of huge mass events, the example of which was the debate raging in the Polish media before the UEFA Euro 2012¹⁶.

The negative aspects of sport, of which some have a financial aspect, are given very little space in the press. For example, only 1% of articles from the analysed period concerned doping, and even less the problem of corruption. It is therefore the non-governmental organizations, such as Play the Game, Football against Racism in Europe (FARE), or Sport et Citoyenneté, that take it upon themselves to guard the “clear” rules in sports. In the case of Polish press, it is worth to mention the role of *Gazeta Wyborcza* in bringing to light and “monitoring” the corruption scandal in the Polish football, as well as in fighting with stadium hooliganism.

This often hardly critical attitude of journalists toward sport may ensue from the relationships between the journalists, and the athletes and sports clubs. The clubs, in particular football clubs, divide journalists into those who are friendly towards them and the critical ones. The former have no trouble accessing the information, while the latter are being cut out. Because of a cycle of articles in the Poznań edition of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which described in negative terms the fan community represented by the official fan group Wiara Lecha¹⁷, the football club KKS Lech Poznań broke the sponsorship agreement with Agora S.A. The team’s fans, in turn, declared a boycott of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and brought an action against the newspaper¹⁸.

In comparison to the results worldwide, Polish press wrote slightly more often about the fans (1.8% and about 4% of articles, respectively). These are, however, mostly football fans, and more precisely the so-called football yobs (Pol. *kibole*), as shown in the example above. And even though it is certainly important to draw attention to the hooligans, some of whom call themselves “true” fans, at the same time it is an extremely simplifying and one-sided view of the fans’ community. Hardly any attention is paid to the fans of the national football team or those of other disciplines, such as volleyball or ski jumping, for whom to take

¹⁶ With increasing frequency, the organization of large sports events, such as a football championship or Olympic Games, is accompanied by a debate on the construction and maintenance costs of sports facilities built for these events. See, e.g., the report *World Stadium Index* prepared by the Play the Game organization and available on its website.

¹⁷ See, e.g., “Kibice Lecha namawiają do bojkotu «Gazety Wyborczej»” [Lech’s fans call for a boycott of *Gazeta Wyborcza*], www.mmpoznan.pl/316484/2010/3/30/kibice-lecha-namawiaja-do-bojkotu-gazety-wyborczej?category=news [accessed: 9.07.2012].

¹⁸ See, e.g., “«Wiara Lecha» przegrała w sądzie z «Gazetą Wyborczą»” [Wiara Lecha lost against *Gazeta Wyborcza* at court], http://poznan.gazeta.pl/poznan/1,36037,11796108,_Wiara_Lecha__przegrala_w_sadzie_z_Gazeta_Wyborcza_.html [accessed: 9.07.2012].

part in a sports event is a kind of entertainment, accompanied by positive and happy cheering. One of the consequences of this one-sided and negative presentation of the fans were great worries about the arrival of a large number of fans for the UEFA Euro 2012, which were for the most part ungrounded. Perceiving the sports fans chiefly through the prism of hooligan groups leads to the association of being a fan with men only and the exclusion of women as fans, who constitute an ever growing group among the sports fans¹⁹.

As it was mentioned earlier, the number of critical articles in the press is negligible, which, perhaps, may be explained by the dependence of the journalists on the athletes, their coaches, and their sport clubs. This supposition is further supported by the data concerning the kinds of sources quoted in the articles.

One of the surveyed aspects of the journalists' work was the scope and kind of sources they used. Polish journalists refer to an information source of any kind only in every other article. In the case of foreign journalist, sources were cited in $\frac{3}{4}$ of analysed articles (Table 3).

Table 3. Number of sources quoted in an article (percentages)

Number of sources	World	Poland
0	26.5	53.4
1	40.6	25.3
2	19.1	12.6
3 or more	12.1	8.7
hard to say	1.7	-

This difference can be explained by the dominating type of news and their length (a significant number of short articles signed using only initials or unsigned, see Table 1); yet it may also follow the specificity of Polish sports journalism. However, this issue goes beyond the framework of content analysis and it would be necessary to diagnose this group using different research methods.

What is more important in the context of the discussed matter, however, is that journalists quote mainly athletes and coaches in their articles (Chart 11). The foreign journalists also refer most often to these two kinds of sources: in 46% of cases the sources were athletes, and in 26% coaches or managers.

¹⁹ More broadly on this subject, see: H. Jakubowska, "Kobiety i «kobiecość» w dyskursie o Euro 2012" [Women and 'femininity' in the discussion about UEFA Euro 2012], *Czas Kultury* 2012, No. 1, pp. 34–47.

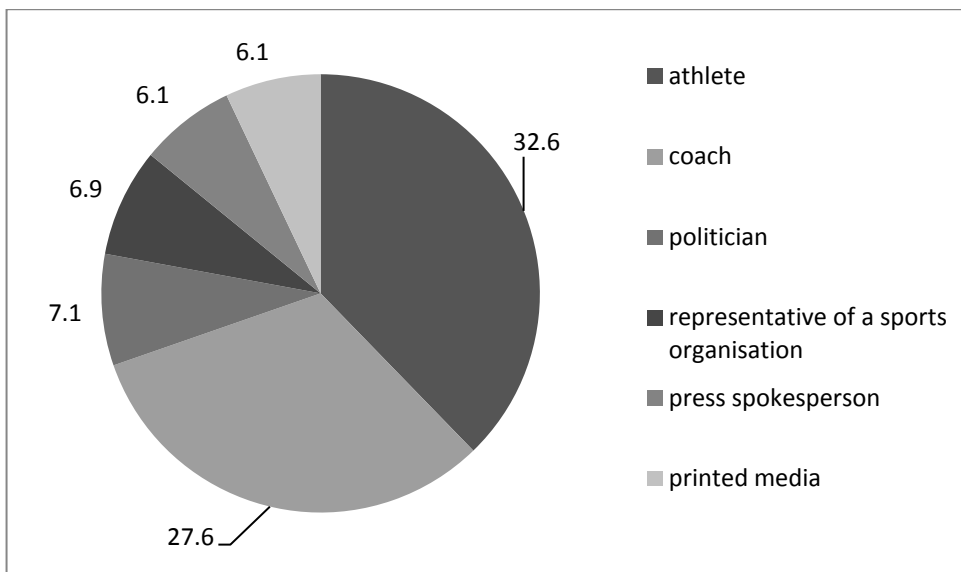


Chart 11. Types of sources quoted in Polish press (percentages)

Even though critical evaluation of sports performance is a journalist's right, it often brings about a boycott by athletes or coaches against certain media or journalists, resulting in a restricted access to information, as mentioned above. The interrelationships of media and sport, together with the competition between media, may determine the fact that media focus very little on the negative aspects of sport competition. However, as it was already mentioned, this problem would require further analyses.

Conclusion

It is possible to draw several most important conclusions based on the obtained data. First, the world of sport as presented in the daily press or, broadly speaking, in media, is very strongly masculinized. More than 85% of published news concern men's sport, and the most popular discipline is football or, in the case of some continents, other team sports, considered as strongholds of masculinity. Women's sport is present in the media chiefly thanks to tennis, to which more than 40% of all articles about women are devoted.

Women are marginalized not only as athletes but also in the community of sports journalists. They are authors of only 8% of articles (5% in Poland). A smaller number of women may be explained by the fact that they are less willing to work in this profession, while their articles often concern issues not directly related with the most important sporting events.

The media, however, most of all pay attention to the greatest international events, most often the European ones, and national competitions in the most popular disciplines. According to the obtained data, in contrast to the ubiquitous professional sport, the amateur sport or the sport of children and adolescents is almost absent from the press. Also, media almost completely neglect to analyse the social and cultural dimensions of sport.

Journalists very rarely describe irregularities related to sport and sport competition, such as the issues of corruption and doping, they also rarely critically evaluate the operation of clubs and the activities of athletes and coaches. The lack of criticism should be associated above all with the dependence of journalists on the information they receive directly from the athletes, coaches, or club spokespersons, as well as the financial relationships between sport and media.

In Polish daily press, similarly to the press abroad, women are marginalized both as athletes and journalists. The discipline most often described in the press was football, and motorcycle speedway came next, although a significantly smaller number of articles were devoted to it. Comparing to other countries, sports fans, mainly so-called football yobs, and people in power were heroes of the articles more often. The presence of the latter kind may be explained, which would require checking in a subsequent study, by the organization of UEFA Euro 2012 or greater involvement of politicians in sport.

As it was mentioned in the introduction, the 2011 study was the second edition of a press survey. A sad conclusion, from the point of view of gender equality, is that little had changed in that time. In 2005, one article in ten was written by women. 86% of articles were about men's sport, and only 6% about women's sport. Both editions of the survey showed that female journalists more often present women's sports in the press than men do. Increasing the number of woman journalists seems to be one of the best ways to raise the number of articles devoted to female athletes and their competitions. Such a quantitative change would have to be accompanied by a qualitative one, which would require to allow women to commentate on the largest and most important (meaning: men's) sporting events.

The world of sport presented in media discriminates women, although they are not the only group being excluded. There is a need to change this situation, which is attested to by the existence of such EU programmes as MARS, or Media Against Racism in Sport, which aims at promoting cultural and social (not only racial) diversity in the media presentations of sport. For sport is not just a competition between players; its social significance makes it so that it can both strengthen and abolish the existing divisions.