Nationalism in online sports journalism
- A comparison between Germany and the UK -
Abstract

The focus of the study is an analysis, to what extent nationalist positionings are used in the online mediation of sports. The empirical study focuses on how nationality is represented and constructed in textual output. In addition, the study compares the findings of a content analysis conducted in Germany and the UK. As critical case the coverage of the 2012 UEFA EURO Championship qualification in 2011 has been selected.

Previous research shows that nationalism in mediated sports within the traditional media is represented through various approaches. The usage of national identities and the construction of difference have been observed by researchers, such as Dixon (2000), Bruce (2004), Malcom (2009), Stocker (2009), Chesterton (2011) and others as mechanisms of nationalism. Furthermore, the developments and trends in the genre of sports journalism have been studied by researchers, such as Schlegel (2007) and Schmalenbach (2009), in regards to the journalistic profession, economical interests and tendencies in writing.

The most important theory for this research has been the construction of difference in media output as well as how national identities or nationalism is represented in textual output. Most influential for this study are the theories by Stuart Hall (1997) and Teun van Dijk (1991). A definition regarding nationality and nationalism is based on the Danish researcher Jorgensen as presented by Östman (2009).

The empirical study collects articles published on the two most visited websites / portals from Germany and the UK. 81 articles have been studied through a quantitative content analysis.

From the empirical study it has been concluded that in both countries nationalist positionings are represented through constructions of difference. However, it needs to be noted that journalists in Germany and the UK are using different approaches. In Germany, country names and variations are used to create distance between the home and the other teams. In the UK they are used to strengthen their own national identity. Sources and quotations of the home teams are overrepresented to underline the connection between them and the audience. Pronouns and comparatives / superlatives are used to construct an “us-versus-them” relationship. Pronouns are more important in the UK for this approach, while in Germany it is mostly comparatives / superlatives. The frequencies of the different constructions vary, but all of them are used regularly in online sports reporting and confirm that there are nationalist tendencies in sports journalism.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

In 2010, 90% of the top 50 viewed television broadcasts have been associated with sports in Germany (SPORTFIVE GmbH und Co KG, 2011). Out of these broadcasts, the majority has been international Football matches, such as the match Germany versus Spain in July 2010, which had been watched by more than 31,10 mio. people (SPORTFIVE GmbH und Co KG, 2011). This is more than one third of the country’s population. On the internet, more than 70% of the men in Germany indicate that they are consuming sports content online on a regular basis (AGOF e. V., 2012). This makes sport the most consumed genre among men in Germany.

The importance of sport as part of the everyday consumption of media and information is increasing. The amount of coverage dedicated to international sporting events in traditional and new media has been amplified during the past century (Raney, 2006). Sport has always been a matter of national interest and importance, but nowadays sport has also become a multinational and multimillion euro business (Maguire, 2006).

Not only the amount of media available has intensified, also the affection of people for sports has grown. This means that the success / failure of sports teams have an impact on the emotions and attitudes of people and societies at large. Especially, international sporting events are attracting millions of spectators and fans across borders, social classes and nationalities through a combination of entertainment and emotional affection (Raney, 2006).

In the beginning of this century researchers said that sport has an important effect on the social development of countries (Morgan, 2000). Sport has always been an essential part for the process of creating a national identity (Tervo, 2002). Sport has become of more and more importance for countries to establish, improve and claim their position within a global context. The internationality of sport helps societies to identify themselves as nations and develop a national identity (Morgan, 2000). Journalists need to understand their position as a member of society and their role of influencing the interpretation of national identities by their readers (Bairner, 1996).

This is why it is important to constantly analyze and evaluate how the nationalist positioning of journalists is affecting their reporting, especially during events such as the World or European Championships in Football or the Olympic Games.
During such events, not only the matches are covered, also distinctive identities are created through the mediation of sports (Hall, 1997). Through their coverage journalists play an important role in the construction and representation of athletes, teams and national identities. Journalists are the link between the athletes, officials and the audience at home through their construction and representation of realities (Hall, 1997).

In the context of mediated international sports, nationalism plays an important part in the consumption of sports (Dixon, 2000). The reason for this is that during international sporting events the national teams are seen as representatives of their nations. This kind of projection is an elementary part of sports and especially of international sporting events (Morgan, 2000). Just like the rest of the country, journalists are affected by their nationalist positioning and/or patriotic feelings (Dixon, 2000). This is why nationalism is substantiated in their reporting through different approaches (Chesterton, 2011). Therefore, the question is, to what extent nationalism is reproduced in the media output?

1.2 Statement of the scientific problem and its relevance

The relationship between sports, society and the media has often been analyzed by researchers from across the world. A lot has been written on the influence of constructing and representing national identities in mediated sports (Morgan, 2000). In the last years researchers have observed a tendency that indicates a decrease in the awareness of journalists regarding the usage and construction of nationalist positionings, which is reflected by nationalistic approaches in sports reporting (Bruce, 2004; Schlegel, 2007; Stocker, 2009). Some of these researchers stated that journalists more and more rely on subtle ways of constructing difference in order to strengthen nationalistic tendencies in their reporting (Bruce, 2004; Stocker, 2009).

Nationalism and patriotism in the social arena of sport are becoming an increasing problem, for example in Western Europe (Glindmeier, 2011). Violence and discrimination have become the ugly face of international sports competitions and the media has its share of responsibility (Chesterton, 2011; Glindmeier, 2011). According to a few researchers the media is dividing the actors of sports competitions into inner- and outer-groups, relying mainly on the persistent usage of nationalities (Alghasi, 2011; Chesterton, 2011). This kind of mediation is often influenced by the media and / or politicians, who use their own agendas in order to manipulate the opinions of people through one-sided and biased reporting (Dixon, 2000: 75).
These approaches and tendencies are important to study, because they are influencing the opinion making process of societies and support ideologies suggesting that one nation or race has supremacy over another (Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 2002).

Nationalism in sports journalism plays an important role if countries share an eventful history or if one of the nation’s functions as an ambassador of an ideology (Dixon, 2000). Researchers have analyzed the representation and construction of nationalism in traditional media for decades and concluded that sports journalists are often using nationalist positionings in their mediation of sport (Tervo, 2002; Bruce, 2004; Schlegel, 2007; Alghasi, 2011). According to the researchers Beck and Bosshart, “The media focus on athletes starting for their own country, and they have spread the same clichés about other countries for ages:…” (Beck & Bosshart, 2003: 25). One of the reasons for this is that media institutions are influencing the way how journalists interpret their nationalist positioning. In relation to the social development of societies and the increase of migrants in Western Europe (Malcom, 2009; Alghasi, 2011), it needs to be studied to what extent the construction of difference is used to substantiate nationalism. It is interesting to evaluate if journalists are more hesitant to use nationalistic approaches due to the fact that there are increasing minority groups within their target audience that might have a different understanding of their nationality (Alghasi, 2011). In addition, the global reach of the internet and the media in general has enabled journalists as well as their audience to access media output from around the world (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a).

The researcher Arthur Raney (2006) states in his article Why We Watch And Enjoy Mediated Sport that online journalists are producing media content for one platform, namely the internet, that has been produced before by different journalists working for either TV, radio or the press. Therefore, the question is to what extent the nationalist positionings of journalists are represented on a media platform, namely the internet that combines the approaches of all three traditional media platforms?

Most of the researchers have analyzed traditional media platforms, such as newspaper, TV or radio. Many research approaches focused on qualitative methods, mostly interviews and critical discourse analysis, e.g. Bairner (1996), Bruce (2004) and Alghasi (2011). My thesis is focusing on closing the gap between qualitative researches by collecting statistical information as well as focusing on the internet as publication outlet. Last but not least, most of the previous research focuses on one nation. My approach focuses on comparing the results of media output of two countries.
1.3 **Statement of the aim and research questions of the thesis**

The field of sports journalism has been in the focus of many researchers over the past decade. The main focus of their studies has been the representation of racism, nationality and gender across a variety of traditional national media outlets. According to various researchers (e.g. Hall, 1997; Morgan, 2000; Chesterton, 2011) it has been often important in sports discourse to construct difference and substantiating nationalism.

The main focus of my study is the representation of nationalist positionings or nationalism in the online mediation of international sporting events. By collecting empirical data through a quantitative content analysis I want to analyze these nationalistic approaches presented by German and British journalists and compare their approaches. As a critical case, the Qualification of the 2012 European Football Championship has been selected.

The aspect of comparing the sports coverage of two different countries is important, because it shows if nationalism or nationalist positionings in mediated sports differ between countries or if there is a underlying methodology of sport reporting in Western Europe.

In order to fulfill these aims the following main research question has been formulated:

*To what extent and how are nationalist positionings reproduced in the online mediation of international sporting events in Germany and the UK?*

The purpose of my content analysis can be broken down into three sub-research questions. In addition, each of these questions can be answered by proofing /disproving a number of hypotheses.

1. How is the representation of the different teams connected to the nationalist positionings?
   a. If the headline has a positive proposition, the main actor of it is the home team.
   b. The home team is more often the main actor of the article than competing team.
   c. If there is a picture showing one or several members of the home team, the proposition of the headline is positive.
   d. The name of the “home” country and its different forms (German, Germanic…. or England, English…) are mentioned more often than the one of the competing team.
2. How are sources and quotations used to support the nationalist positionings?
   a. The amount of sources representing the teams depends on the genre in sports journalism.
   b. The sources connected to the home team are more often represented by direct quotes.
   c. Sources connected to the competing teams are mostly represented with indirect quotes.
   d. If the main actor of the headline is the competing team, more sources referring to the competing team are used.

3. How are some linguistic tools used to construct the nationalist positionings?
   a. There is a correlation between the usage of pronouns, comparatives / superlatives and the different genres in sports journalism.
   b. The pronouns “we/us/our” is used more often than the pronouns “they/them/their” referring to the competing team.
   c. Articles that have positive propositions feature more positive comparatives and superlatives.
   d. The usage of positive, negative comparatives and superlatives is dependent on the point of publication (Before, same days and days after match).

1.4 The scope of the research

The purpose of the research is to investigate to what extent and how nationalist positionings are represented in sports journalism. Many researchers have conducted similar studies across the world focusing on different aspects of nationalism as well as the importance of constructing difference in the social arena of mediated sports. An important aspect for studying the mediation of sports in general is also the relationship between sports associations, media institutions and politics or the nationscape. Also current trends in sports journalism are taken into consideration in the section dedicated to previous research in this thesis. The theoretical part of this thesis will explain why the construction of difference is important for the representation of nationality in the coverage of sporting events. Furthermore, it defines how meaning can be created and linguistic tools are used to construct realities.

The empirical aspect of the thesis will compare the extent to which nationalist positions are represented in the coverage by the two most visited online sports portals in Germany and the UK. The 2011 qualifiers of the UEFA 2012 European Championship have been selected as frame for the data collection. In both countries football is the most important sport by means of membership and finances (SPORTFIVE GmbH & Co. KG, 2009) and the media and the political system of both countries are similar (Hallin & Mancini, 2007). Both countries online
media landscape has been growing in the past years as well as they enjoy a similar level of freedom (European Journalism Centre, NA).

The thesis only studies the media output and the representation of nationalist positionings in the textual output. The production process and the reception of the text by the audience is not part of the scope of this thesis. One of the reasons is that especially the production process has been previously studied by various researchers through qualitative approaches, for example by Bruce (2004), Dorer (2007) and Schlegel (2007).

1.5 Outline of the thesis
The thesis is structured in the following way:

The second chapter analyzes the relationship between sport, society and media by taking a look at what other researchers have concluded from their studies. It outlines the impact of sports media on the social development and the identification process of societies and nations. This chapter is illustrated with the results of various researchers focusing on the mediation of sports.

The third chapter focuses on theories defining the terms nation and nationalism. Furthermore, it will analyze how nationalism is represented in journalism on the example of the construction of difference. It also outlines the connection between mediated sports and the usage of nationalistic approaches. Also it takes a look at how different linguistic tools are used in the meaning making process.

The fourth chapter focuses on the structure and the methodology of the empirical study. This chapter describes the sampling process, research methodology and design as well as the code book.

In the fifth chapter the results of the empirical research are presented. This chapter is divided according to the three sub research questions. Some of the results are also correlated to each other to show tendencies and test hypotheses.

The sixth chapter discusses the findings in relationship to the formulated hypotheses and the results are compared to those of previous research and the theoretical framework.

The seventh chapter is a conclusion of the most important findings of this research.
Chapter 2: Sport, media and society

This chapter is dedicated to the relationship between sport, the media, journalists and society. The main focus of it, is to explain how these four are interacting and influencing each other. Thomas Stocker (2009: 5) explains in his study that in case a sporting event is not covered by any kind of media outlet, the event itself has no relevance for the audience. This implies that only the media can give sport events a meaning. Furthermore, it is important to understand the role of journalists covering sport events within the structures of its mediation as well as their role within the media in general.

2.1 Sport and society

When taking a look at the media consumption on the internet in Germany, we see that sport content is consumed by men more regularly than any other content (AGOF e. V., 2012), the number of women is lower, only around 30%. According to a study by SPORTFIVE (SPORTFIVE GmbH & Co. KG, 2009) the football audience in Germany and the UK is the part of society that is earning most of the money and that defines itself as being responsible for making the decisions at home in different situations of the daily life, including the consumption of media content.

Sport itself has a crucial meaning for the cultural and social structures of countries (Weiß, 1990). Sport in all its forms and features have become a mass phenomenon across the world that not only involves individuals it more importantly gets together people with a common interest (Schmalenbach, 2009). Today sport has become an elementary part of our society. In Germany for example, more than 27,6 mio. people are active members of sports clubs and associations (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, 2010). Sport plays an important role for our cultural and social lives. This tendency is also reflected in our everyday language. For example, the terms “fairness” or “end game” and many others have become part of our everyday vocabulary (Schmalenbach, 2009).

Sport, media and society need to be understood as a triangle that is interconnected with each other (Raney, 2006). Developments that are affecting any of the three elements are influencing the way how sport is translated by journalists, mediated by media networks and understood by the audience (Maguire, 2006). This triangular structure brings benefits as well as risks to the three parties involved (Schmalenbach, 2009: 19). The reason why sport has such a big impact on societies is the fact that sport is a portrayal of the eternal struggle of the human race for accomplishment and dominance (Morgan, 2000).
Scholars such as Benedict Anderson and Ernst Gellner concluded in their studies that sports is an elementary and critical part of society and therefore worth studying in connection with the creation of national identities (in Gavin, 2007).

2.1.1 Sport and nations

Since the ancient Olympic Games in Greece, the main idea behind sports competitions in between states, nations or athletes has not changed dramatically (Pfaff, NA). Since the beginning of the last century the rules and the way how sport is mediated have been changed (Pfaff, NA). Since the beginning of the modern Olympic Games and the establishment of international competitions such as the World Cups in Football or other sports, these events have been influential on the social developments of countries and nations (Morgan, 2000). Especially in the beginning of the last century it has become more and more important for countries, old and newly created that their teams or athletes are performing successfully at different competitions in order to show the supremacy of one ideology over another (Morgan, 2000).

Not only is the image of a nation outside its border an important aspect of sports discourse also changes within it can be reflected and driven by sports (Morgan, 2000). For example, the Olympic Games were very important for Finland to develop a Finnish identity in the early 20th century (Tervo, 2002). Another important aspect is the reflection of changing societies in the field of sports. In Europe, for example, national teams often consist of players with different ethnicities. Those players often have roots beyond the borders of a country. In the context of cricket in the UK, multiculturalism is not only reflected on the field, but also within societies (Malcom, 2009).

While old, established nations want to strengthen and defend their position and sometimes even their supremacy, newly created nations use sports to position themselves (Morgan, 2000). Many countries have and are interpreting international sporting events as a public arena to show that they need to be taken seriously as an independent nation. For example, the Cricket World Championship has been an important competition for the countries of the former British Empire, such as India, because India was able to show its independence and success by triumphing over the English team (Malcom, 2009). This triumph of the former colony over its former master made Indians more confident into their abilities. In addition, it also gave them the feeling that the supremacy of the UK, in sports as well as other fields, is not untouchable or unbeatable (Malcom, 2009). In other words, India reached eye level with the UK, at least in cricket.
At beginning of the last century, nationalist movements across various countries gained more and more importance (Tervo, 2002: 338). In this context, athletes and national teams were seen and used by these movements as the frontrunner of their nations. The reason for this is the fact that the success in sports has been connected by the media and politicians to the success of a country, ideology or a race (Morgan, 2000). In addition to Morgan, Tervo (2002: 351) came to the conclusion that the success of athletes does not only improve the image of a nation outside its borders, more importantly, it contributes to the development of national awareness. Stocker (2009: 18) points out three different aspects why mediated sport is important for the nation building process from the point of view of governments:

1. Distraction: This means that mediated sport can divert the attention citizens from other issues. Tervo (2002: 339) explains that this is mainly important for politicians in order to create a meaning for its citizens as well as increase the trust in the abilities of the government.

2. Identification: As previously mentioned, the process of identifying the people with its country, culture and ideology is a crucial element of international sporting events (Tervo, 2002). This aspect is often connected to the creation of patriotism in a positive as well as negative sense (Dixon, 2000).

3. Integration: This is one of the aspects of sport that has been noted by for example Chesterton (2011), who has a more Eurocentric point of view, in comparison to Morgan (2000), who focused in his study on the integration of immigrants into the British society. However, this aspect can also be seen on an individual level, from person to person. It can mean the integration of individuals into a larger group by sharing a similar way of interpreting sports and creating social relationships with people that share the same or very similar points of view (Stocker, 2009).

It needs to be understood that the international sporting arena today is still dominated by mainly Western countries and a few others such as Russia and China (Mayall & Cronin, 1998). In addition, it needs to be understood that Western companies and organizations are dominating the sports market in general (Mayall & Cronin, 1998: 5).

**Sport and national identities**

In the previous part the relationship between sport and nations has been lined out. In the following section, the focus is now on the relationship between sport and national identities. National identities are constructed by the self-understanding of a nation’s members and the interpretation of this construct by outsiders (Tervo, 2002).
The feeling of belonging to one nation is one of the main characterizations of national identities (Malcom, 2009). This relation consists of different social elements and aspects, such as culture or ideology (Hall, 1997). These social elements are substantiated through the mediation of sports. From these social elements two, which are relevant in the field of sports mediation, are explained further as examples: The human body and the creation of heroes and villains of nations.

Sport is often seen as a glorification of the human body and a healthy body becomes a matter of national interest (Morgan, 2000). This is why societies often make athletes the forerunner of their society and project their success / failure on them (Pfaff, NA). According to Hall’s (1997: 228) study of the representation of the human body, it is used as a main tool for the construction of difference between athletes and nationalities. This approach has become a central aspect of sports and its mediation, because, according to media science professor Norbert Bolz, sports compensates for the lost meaning of the human body (quoted in Pfaff, NA). He explains this phenomenon with the advances of technology and the economics, were mental strength has become more important than physical power (Bolz in Pfaff, NA). Morgan (2000) argues that sport is reduced to only numbers and statistics. He states that this is highly controversial, because it ignores the original purpose of physical activity as well as its social value.

Especially in early 19th century at the beginning of sports journalism, the writers and photographers not only focused on the ideological supremacy of the white, heterosexual athlete, also the body itself became an important factor of identification (Gavin, 2007: 17). This was also the time when the link between creating national identities and an upcoming racialization of sports has been formed. At this time, identities were mostly created through the concept of hegemony over another race and the relation of force (Gavin, 2007: 17-18). These ideologies were based on imperialism and the ideologies of hegemony of the white race.

Another characteristic of sport is the creation of heroes and villains as well as a celebration of national victories (Tervo, 2002: 338). In his study regarding naming patterns used in sports commentating, Bruce (2004) sees a relationship between how the naming of an athelete is connecting him to a certain role. This assigned role is an important aspect of the construction of identities for players, but also of the team at large. Bruce (2004) came to the conclusion that the naming of athletes by sports commentators is connected to the relevance of a player for a team.
In addition, Bruce (2004) states that the naming patterns are mostly based on attributions that make the player either a hero or a villain. This stigmatization is frequently transferred by the audience on the players of the field as well (Hall, 1997). Some athletes face the situation that on the field they are identified by the masses and the media as being a national “hero”, while on the street other factors, such as the color of the skin, are used for discriminative approaches (Hall, 1997). The media sometimes functions as an aggregator of this transformation from hero to villain through unfavorable coverage due to mostly events indirectly related to sports (Chesterton, 2011). An example described by Hall (1997: 227-230) are various “black” sprinters, running for the UK or USA. He explains that they are often portrayed as villain and hero within the same person. This phenomena especially appears in countries with a high amount of immigrants, like the US, UK or Germany.

As it has been described, national identities are represented in sport through a reflection and projection of ideals on athletes. These ideals need to be in line with the dominating ideology and the main values of a nation. The human body and the differentiation into heroes and villains are examples of this approach.

### 2.1.2 Sport and patriotism

As we have seen before, sport is a powerful stage that can change the identities of individuals, but more importantly of societies from the inside and the outside (Malcom, 2009: 614). Additionally, sport is a powerful cultural arena that is constructing and enabling privileges and ideologies on various levels for the successful individuals and nations (Segrave et. al, 2006: 31). Therefore, it needs to be defined what is “normal” or “acceptable” nationalism or patriotism and what is not (Dixon, 2000). In relation to the framework of national identities, the aspect of patriotism should not be neglected. Dixon (2000) states that international sporting events and their mediation wouldn’t exist without patriotism. However, he explains that the line between moderate patriotism and its extreme form jingoism is very thin (Dixon, 2000).

The starting point of patriotism in sports is the belief by fans, politicians and participants that sports reflect the success and well-being of the country. The support of some one’s own country itself is not an issue, you can even argue that the loyalty and love for some one’s home country is natural (Dixon, 2000). The problem related to international sports however is that most commonly race or ethnicity are used in order to create a distance through disrespect and negative attitudes towards a competing nation or athlete (Dixon, 2000: 75).
According to Dixon (2000: 75) the driving factor of jingoism in sports is the media and politicians, who use their own agendas in order to manipulate the reporting.

Journalists are an important part in the process of defining in a society what are “acceptable” nationalist positionings (Dixon, 2000). Through their choices of words, sources or frames, they decide who belongs to the in-group and the outer-group (Segrave et. al, 2006: 38). They need to understand the different mindsets of people following their coverage. Raney (in Schmalenbach, 2009: 36) describes this reasoning as „...the most important motivational factor behind viewing sports on television is for employment and emotional satisfaction that comes from cheering on a favored team“.

However, the role of the journalist as a member of society as well as a mediator needs to be viewed from different angles. Schlegel (2007), Stocker (2009) and Schmalenbach (2009) describe an additional reason for patriotic reporting due to the distance between the journalist or the media institution and athletes or team. Schmalenbach (2009) explains that due to the fact that most sports journalists in Germany are former athletes or have a close relation to them, they are committed to portraying them only in positive ways to not lose their goodwill and the access to them. This is according to her a form of bias, because foreign athletes or teams often not given the same privilege as well as positive coverage.

2.2 Sports media and society

The main role of the media in relation to sports is the mediation of competitions and events. As described before, the amount of sports content has been increasing across all media platforms. The mediation of sports and its content has been studied by a variety of researchers. According to Morgan (2000), sport itself has nowadays been reduced to a statistical competition between countries or individuals. Numbers enable the athletes, teams and countries to make their results comparable. The analyses of players or teams and their performances by the media have become more and more complex and highly sophisticated. This approach is especially reflected in the mediation of international sport events to show supremacies or dominance of one nation over another in different sports (Morgan, 2000).

Statistics themselves are usually not in the focus of social researchers, for them the relation between the media output and the representation of nations and nationalities is more interesting. Due to the fact that sport is today mostly about results and competition, an important aspect in the discourse or mediation of sport is the construction of difference. An often used tool of constructing difference is the usage of national identities.
2.2.1 National identities in the mediation of sports

In the mediation of sports especially the identities related to nationality, ethnicity and race have been in the focus of scholars and researchers since the 1960s (Mayall & Cronin, 1998). The problem with, for example, nationalism is the definition of signifiers that constitute the phenomenon as well as makes it a measurable tool of investigation for researcher (Mayall & Cronin, 1998: 3).

Norbert Elias defines the nation as an entity that is on the top (in Maguire & Tuck, 1997: 107). He sees national identity as an ambivalent to the nation. He believes that a nation should be formed by generating an image of community based on a feeling of belonging, loyalty and empathy (in Maguire & Tuck, 1997: 107). The authors Maguire and Tuck (1997) apply the concept by Elias on the changing national identity in Great Britain and come to the conclusion that due to the globalization of sports, national identities will either need to be pluralized or weakened. Another scenario described by Maguire and Tuck would be the strengthening of local identities in opposition to the trend of globalization.

However, the aspect of identities that are not bound to borders anymore needs to be taken into account in sports journalism, because fan ship can change according to success and loss of teams and athletes. This phenomenon has been observed by Maguire and Tuck (1997) who describe the change of support of the national team in favor of a team with another nationality during international competitions. The motives for these kinds of changing attitudes are also in connection with the loss of identities as well as the formation of multicultural societies (Alghasi, 2011).

It might even be possible to see a parallel between communities or societies changing their national identities due to an increase of migration and integration of people with different ethnical, cultural and social origins. Malcom has observed this phenomenon in connection with a transformation of Englishness and described this transformation within the British society on the example of cricket as one of the national sports (Malcom, 2009).

After we have taken a look at what researchers have concluded from studying national identities in sports reporting, the next part will analyze how nationalist positionings are used to construct difference.
2.2.2 Representation of difference in mediated sports

After we have taken a look at national identities, we are now taking a look at how the construction of difference is used for the representation of nations and nationalities. The usage of stereotypes is one example, how national identities can be used to define a specific group with positive as well as negative attributions relating to different fields of life. This practice has become more and more popular within sports journalism (Stocker, 2009).

Stereotypes in sports are often focusing on physical abilities, but on a regular basis they consist of attributes focusing on ethnicity, race or gender (Chesterton, 2011). The usage of this kind of attributes can often be considered as discrimination according to Chesterton (2011), who has analyzed discrimination in sports from a European point of view. This is why the question needs to be asked what is considered to be moderate or acceptable stereotyping and what is discrimination. In order to give an overview of what different forms of discrimination have already been studied, the following division has been made:

1. Racism:

The definition of racism according to the Encyclopedia Britannica is the action that stems from the idea that the human race is divided into different biological entities. Also a race is linked to its own set of physical and mental traits that are inherited. Racism is the ideology that believes that there should be a hierarchy between the different people. One common practice is the focus on physical differences, such as the color of skin and mental / physical abilities. (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012)

Bruce (2004: 863) has noted in his analysis of othering in live basketball coverage that media workers and journalists are not actively racist, but that the media system itself reinforces racial ideologies. According to him, the discourses and the processes in covering a sports event are responsible for a radicalization in media coverage (Bruce, 2004: 863). Denzin explained this phenomenon as a result of the fact that it is not the media itself who is racist, but the media is following the dominant ideologies of a country (in Bruce, 2004: 863). This is why it is important to study how racism is used within different media channels and how it can be avoided.

2. Ethnicity:

Ethnicity relates to the ideologies and the cultural difference that define different people through for example language, religion and public life (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012).
Also ethnicity relates more to the image that a society is trying to establish for itself or that is created for them by others. In comparison to that, race relates more to genetically transmitted physical characteristics and their geographical distribution. However, it needs to be pointed out that especially in the discourse of sport the borders between ethnicity and race are often blurred (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012).

3. Gender

Various researches and studies have shown that masculinity is dominating the mass media. Not only in the mediation of sports women are underrepresented, also within the media organizations as well as sports organizations such as FIFA or the IOC women are excluded from the decision making processes (Dorer, 2007: 26). In a study conducted by Johanna Dorer (2007), she compared the frequency and intensity of reporting by the Austrian media of female sporting competitions in comparison to male events. Furthermore, she observes that the reporting is driven by the use of gender stereotypes that have been abundant in other journalistic genres (Dorer, 2007: 27). This finding is in line with the observations by Schmalenbach (2009) and Schlegel (2007) that German sports journalists are relying on practices, such as the usage of assumptions, which are proscribed in other journalistic genres. Still, various attributions relevant for the competitive challenge are used through various constructions and narratives as well as linguistic elements.

The reason for using stereotypes and creating different identities is the construction of difference between athletes or nations. Nationality, nationalism and the usage of different nationalist positionings are an important part of discourse in mediated sports. These approaches are represented and constructed through a variety of storytelling techniques and linguistic tools. Therefore a larger section in chapter three is dedicated to defining the meaning and representation of nationality.

2.3 Sport, the media and economic interests

In the following part I want to argue that the triangle as introduced by Arthur Raney (2006) between sports, the media and society should be rethought. Over the past decades an additional and equally important aspect has entered the arena of mediated sports. This is the importance of economic interests and the power of money (Maguire, 2006).

Sport events such as Olympic Games, World Cups and other major competitions satisfy mainly the economic interests by a few exclusive parties involved (Lenskyj, 2006). Mainly Western companies, media networks and associations control the marketing, sponsorship and media rights market of the international sports industry.
Also the boards of the major sports associations such as FIFA, the International Olympic Committee IOC are headed by mainly members of Western associations. Furthermore, these organizations seem to have shifted their focus of promoting sports rather towards the optimization of profits (Lenskyj, 2006).

Secondly, the investments and interests by media networks and organisations in changing schedules and regulations in their favor are common practices (Bruce, 2004). There are various examples that show how influential the media is on changing the traditional rulebooks of various sports. One example is the rule in the NBA that allows the broadcasters to stop the game at one point each half (Bruce, 2004). Another example is the rule in beach volleyball that dictates the dress code of the players (Pfaff, NA). This law has specially been introduced, according to Pfaff (NA), to make the sport more attractive, eroticize it for the viewers watching it at home. This approach not only ensures high viewerships, it also ensures profits by selling advertisement space (Raney, 2006).

On the other hand, there are examples that show how influential the sport industry is on the media networks as well. The media networks are nowadays so dependent on the reach of their sports coverage, because their influence as well as economic power is depending on the sales of commercials (Schmalenbach, 2009: 19). Another reason for this is according to Diegl/Burk (in Schmalenbach, 2009: 19) that people are looking for excitement and emotions that can be consumed risk free. Schmalenbach (2009) explains that mediated sport is often seen as a compensation for the negative experiences of reality. This means that mediated sport is seen as a compensation for the negative social relationships and any form of failure in the lives of the audience. Some researchers even see sport as a replacement for religion (Schmalenbach, 2009; Dixon, 2000).

You now understand why sports associations and governing sports bodies as well as the sport industry in general have been changed to increase profits as well as strengthen economic power. Due to the fact that the media guarantees the interest of the masses, it is transforming the sport and its industry as a whole (Stocker, 2009: 7). This is why I would like to argue that the triangle as introduced in the beginning needs to be extended by another corner. It needs to include todays driving factor behind all three parties involved, which are economical interests (Schmalenbach, 2009: 19). This fourth corner needs to be the economic interests of the media, sports associations and society represented by governments.
Following this argumentation, the triangle, introduced at the very beginning of the chapter, between sport, the media and society, might not be sufficient to capture all the driving factors and relationships. This is why it might be replaced by a rectangle. In the rectangle the economy or business interests would take over the fourth corner. Often the interest of the media institutions dictates how sport events are covered as well as how information is presented (Raney, 2006, Schmalenbach, 2009).

Entertainment and emotion are the key selling points that are used by the media networks in order to sell the product sport to a mass audience. These unique selling points need to be packaged and sold to the audience through various communication platforms. It is the role of the journalists and other editorial staff to ensure that the expectations of the audience and the economic interests of the media institutions are met (Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009).

2.4 Sport and journalism

After a look has been taken at the structures that enable the mediation of sports, it is now time to take a look at who is responsible for producing, packaging and sometimes even delivering media content in order to satisfy the audience or customers.

First of all, sport mediated by journalists should not be understood as a true reflection of reality (Weiβ, 1990). Journalists reporting from sporting events usually create media output through their own interpretation. They select the sources, stories and words to create a reality of their own (Stocker, 2009: 7). Stocker (2009: 8), who analyzed nationalism and the usage of stereotypes in the Austrian press, concludes that sports journalists are destroying the complexity of sport events by being highly selective. According to him, journalists use a strict decision making process to assess the news value of the event to be mediated.

The process of assigning values to the different media coverage is a selection process in journalism that follows some predefined rules, that are influenced by the media institutions as well as the target audience (Stocker, 2009). Stocker (2009: 12) explains that especially the news values as described by Johan Galtung are influencing the process of selecting what news is worthy and what not. This process is also called gatekeeping. News values or gatekeeping have been categorized by different theorists, for example Einar Östgard or Johan Galtung (in Stocker, 2009: 11-15).
The most important factors according to the researcher Burkart (1997: pp. 277), who compared the theories by Östgard, Galtung and various other theorists, are: **Time, distance** (physical and emotional), **status** (influence by individuals or organizations), **vitality** (the value of surprise and structure) and **narrative structure** (e.g. conflicts and successes) as well as **identification** (personification and/or ethnocentrism). According to Stocker (2009: 12) those six categories are crucial for understanding the process of covering sport events by journalists.

### 2.4.1 Sport journalism as a genre

In recent years, sport media has gone through the same transformation as the media industry at large, still sport journalism has a special position within the overall field of journalism (Schmalenbach, 2009). Sport journalism has as well gone through a tabloidization process. According to an analysis by Schmalenbach (2009), sports journalism in Germany has lost in many cases its credibility due to the fact that speculations instead of facts are making the headlines. Furthermore, sports journalists in Germany have been criticized for being biased regarding individual players or athletes and rather following the public opinion than being critical (Schlegel, 2007). The German researcher and sports journalist Schlegel has analyzed the media coverage of a number of sport celebrities over a longer period. She compared the coverage of broadsheets and tabloids and came to the conclusion that in both types of newspapers speculation, bias and the use of unaccredited sources is a common practice (Schlegel, 2007). Two years later, another German researcher, Schmalenbach (2009) has confirmed her findings in a second empirical study. Both researchers explain that one of the main reasons is the changing expectations of media institutions. In addition, they assume that the anticipation of the audience is another reason for this transformation. From their point of view, sport journalists have amended the values of for example news journalism in order to satisfy their employers and the audience (Schmalenbach, 2009; Schlegel, 2007).

One of the reasons, why sports journalism in Germany has a special status within journalism is the fact that most sports journalists have attended only a limited form of journalistic training (Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009: 22). According to Stocker and Schmalenbach, they are often seen as outsiders by other journalists. This is due to the fact that most of the journalists have only expert knowledge in a few fields of sports and no theoretical journalistic training (Stocker, 2009: 22). Sports journalists often enter the career after working within the sports industry or being an athlete themselves (Stocker, 2009). Stocker (2009: 22) explains that this is why the distance between journalist and athlete is very close.
Both Schmalenbach and Stocker conclude that the distance between athlete and journalist is influencing the journalistic objectivity. One phenomenon, connected with the lack of education as well as the influence of media institutions are nationalist tendencies and discrimination in sports reporting (Stocker, 2009). According to Stocker (2009: 10), the usage of for example nationalist stereotypes by the journalists is mostly encouraged by media institutions, because they need to cater the expectations and emotions of the audience. Sport journalists are also using a more emotionalized language for their media coverage (Stocker, 2009: 22). The main way to differentiate their articles from each other as well as between journalists is to differentiate the emotional language used (Stocker, 2009: 22).

Schlegel (2007), who is a sports journalist herself, also argues that the industry of sport media has changed so rapidly that it is hard for journalists to keep up. She has conducted interviews with German journalists working in various sports news rooms. Her conclusion is that especially the time pressure is a reason, why sports journalists often rely on speculation rather than accurate information (Schlegel, 2007). These analyses of sports journalism also need to be taken into consideration when analyzing the linguistics and the narrative structures used by sports journalists. This is an important factor when analyzing the usage of sources as well as direct and indirect quotations.

In addition, Schlegel (2007) connects this observation also with the changes that the internet brings to the working processes in sports media. Schmalenbach (2009) and Stocker (2009) point out, that the journalists have to produce today more content and deliver it through a variety of online media channels.

2.4.2 Sport journalism and the internet

As mentioned before, the role of journalists in general is changing due to the fast advancing technological developments as well as changes in ideologies and culture on a national level. Sports media is moving from a local or national outreach to global, 24/7 accessible communication (Lenskyj, 2006). Not only the media platforms and institutions are changing, also the media consumption and the work of sports journalists is (Schlegel, 2007). While in Western Europe traditional media such as the press, radio and TV have held the key to mass communication, now the focus is changing towards the internet as new main communication platform (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004).
In the book *Sports and Society: issues and controversies* by Coakley and Donnelly (2004) the roles of the journalists or commentators of the traditional media have been put in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / magazines coverage</th>
<th>Television / Radio coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizes information and interpretation</td>
<td>Emphasizes entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers previews and summaries of events</td>
<td>Offers play-by-play images and narratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides written representation of events</td>
<td>Provides real-time representations of events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success depends on credibility</td>
<td>Success depends on hype and visual action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlights facts and dominant ideology</td>
<td>Highlights heroic plays and dominant ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most likely to provide criticism of sports and sports personalities</td>
<td>Most likely to provide support for sports and sports personalities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Difference in between newspaper / magazines and radio / television coverage in sport in Coakley & Donnelly, 2004: 451*

Taking the statement by Arthur Raney (2006) into consideration that the internet combines all three traditional media, this means that online sports journalists theoretically need to be capable of covering sports for the traditional media. The following table is the logical continuation for online sports journalism based on Coakley and Donnelly and taking statements and observations by Raney and Schlegel into consideration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Online media coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizes information and entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers previews, play-by-play images and summaries of events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides written and real-time representation of events at the same time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success depends on credibility, hype and visual action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlights facts, heroic plays and dominant ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most likely to provide support with some subtle criticism of sports and sports personalities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Driving factors for online sports journalists for their coverage*

The result of this is that journalists have to spend most of their time to produce content across various platforms and keeping the information up-to-date. Schlegel (2007) confirms this approach for German news desks.
As I have lined out in the previous section this is according to Schlegel one of the main reasons, why sports journalists often rather rely on speculations.

While the internet makes access and consumption of news and information easier, it has become more and more difficult for media organizations to finance their platforms and ensure the quality of content (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a). The reason for this is the vast amount of competition as well as expenses for the sports rights of major sport events and competitions. The main source of income for online platforms is advertisement on the website (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a). However, the revenues from this often do not match the high costs of producing high quality content. According to Beck and Bosshart (2003a) this is the reason, why mainly platforms can survive the competition, which are an extension of other media platforms such as radio, TV or the press. However, they see the internet as an opportunity for the mediation of niche sports, because it is rather simple to produce and maintain smaller websites (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a).

### 2.4.3 Sport as infotainment

According to scholars and studies, e.g. Schlegel (2007), Schmalenbach (2009) and Stocker (2009), the main purpose of the mediation of sport today is entertainment. Within the German traditional media, Schlegel (2007) and Schmalenbach (2009) have observed a tabloidization of the genre sport across the different media channels. Both researchers concluded in their studies that media outlets considered to be rather “serious and objective” are going through a rapid tabloidization process in the genre of sports. According to the author Wiebke Loosen (in Stocker, 2009: 30) the different media channels interpret the viewer ratings as a proof that the majority of the audience prefers tabloid style media coverage. She also describes that it is easier and cheaper for the media institutions as well as the sports journalists to produce mediated sport in the style of the “Yellow Press”, because expensive investigations and the credibility of sources is not central.

The author Muckenhaupt (in Stocker 2009: 24) describes the language used in mediated sports as “…stereotyped, charged with effects and emotions, with often inappropriate metaphors and a tendency for hyperbolism.” [Own trans.]. This is one of the motivations for using such a language, because it is important for journalists to deliver news and stories that surprise and entertain the reader at the same time (Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009). In general, the purpose of mediated sport has changed from a “true” coverage of events towards commercialized, primetime filling entertainment (Stocker; 2009: 30).
2.5 Summary

In conclusion, the relationship between societies, sports and the media is very important for the formation and construction of national identities. In the relationship between the sport and society, the media plays an important role. The media not only covers the event itself, it is also responsible for how sport is mediated and framed. Various researchers have provided results that indicate that mediated sport is important for the social construction and definition of nations and nationalities (Tervo, 2002; Malcom, 2009). This is why nationalist positionings are part of the mediation of sporting events (Beck & Bosshart, 2003b; Malcom, 2009; Alghasi, 2011).

According to different researchers (Hall, 1997; Tervo, 2002; Bruce, 2004) the construction of difference is frequently used for the process of defining nationality and creating identities. The differentiation between an inner- and an outer-group is an elementary part of the meditation of sports. This is not only reflected in the media, it is also a driving factor of nationalism in form of patriotism and jingoism (Dixon, 2000). In this context the position of a journalist as a part of society is important to understand (Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009).

One observation from the previous research study is the extension of the triangular structure between sport, society and media towards a rectangular structure. The reason for this is that economic interests are getting more and more influential. The economic interests of media institutions are one of the main factors, why sports journalism is moving towards pure entertainment rather than being credible and accurate. Nationalist positionings are welcomed as a tool to gain and keep the attention of the audience (Morgan, 2000).
Chapter 3 Theories

The main purpose of this chapter is to define the theoretical framework of this study and to explain different methods and mechanisms in encoding and decoding media output. This chapter can be divided into four main sections.

The first section defines the theoretical framework of nation and nationalism relevant for the empirical study. The definition follows the framework of Östman’s (2009) approach to explain the terms nation, nationscape and nationalism.

The second part is dedicated to the meaning making process. The two aspects of creating meaning and nationality are according to Hall (1997) and Östman (2009) important to understand and analyze in empirical studies the aspect of nationalism in journalism. This aspect is especially relevant for the empirical study, because it describes why and how different linguistic tools and mechanisms are used in textual output.

The third section deals with different kinds of linguistic tools and narrative constructions that occur in media output to construct difference and to represent nationality. This section includes a description of linguistic tools such as comparatives, superlatives and pronouns as well as an explanation of different storytelling techniques.

The fourth section deals with journalistic genres in the field of sports journalism. According to Eide (2011) it is important to understand the different approaches and purposes of genres in journalism. The reason for this is that some narrative and linguistic tools might be applicable more in opinionated texts, while others are more represented in reports.

3.1 Nation, nationalism and nationalist positionings

Nationalism is an important element of the public sphere and constitutes to the construction of unity among and between the different people (Glass, 2008). As it has been described in the previous chapter, sport can also change the perception of nationalism and the creation of a national identity within a country (Malcom, 2009). Sport can also lead to an identification crisis within a society and different interpretations of nationalism can arose, which might lead to tensions within them (Malcom, 2009). This is why it is important to develop an objective definition of what nationality and nationalism means.

There are different points of departure and approaches to how nationality, nationalism and nation can be defined.
I have decided to follow Östman (2009) approach in his doctoral dissertation *Journalism at the Borders*. Östman’s starting point is the theoretical framework of Stuart Hall, who has developed a theoretical framework for defining a baseline for conducting empirical studies in social constructions (in Östman, 2009: 33). Östman (2009) bases his definition of nationality on the theoretical framework of the Danish author Marianne Winter Jørgensen. He argues that the theory by Jørgensen has a rather empirical, objective approach as well as it focuses more on social theory than on historical approaches. The aspect of objectivity is from my point of view very crucial when collecting empirical data. On the other hand, as it has been argued by other researchers, a nation and nationality is based on people’s feelings and interpretations (Glass, 2008; Malcom, 2009; Stocker, 2009). Therefore, a subjective definition can never truly reflect the social reality.

This is one of the reasons why defining the terms nation, nationality and nationalism are not an easy endeavor. One of the main problems is that any form of objective definition will fail at one point. This is due to the fact that there will be exceptions as well as exclusions in the definitions of these terms (Östman, 2009). This criticism of Östman can also be seen in connection with the continuing migration of people. The UK and Germany have an increasing amount of immigrants that are contributing to a change in the definition of what constitutes as English or German nationality (Malcom, 2009).

As mentioned before, Östman uses the scholar Jørgensen for his definition of what constitutes a subjective understanding and interpretation of the term nation. According to Jørgensen (in Östman, 2009), you can divide the concept of nationality into three main aspects: nationscape, nation and nationalism. The following explanations are mainly based on Östman’s (2009) definition of nationality.

**Nation**: Jørgensen (in Östman, 2009) tries to define the concept of a nation by explaining it as a social construction mainly based on a common interpretation of culture. You could say that the term nation can be used as a reference to the experienced social reality by its members (Östman, 2009: 34). This experienced social reality is, according to Stocker (2009), orientated on the ideas of a common history, language, culture and other social constructions.

In addition, the nation is defined as an experienced reality by the individuals that constitute it (Östman, 2009: 35). The experience can include a surpass of the differences between its individuals in order to strengthen the feeling of belonging. The nation is often regarded as a universal structure that is used to make a separation.
It is defined through a set of social qualities and “national” characteristics, such as ethnicity, language and culture (Östman, 2009: 35). In addition, it is not possible for any individual to not be a member of any nation. You can say that belonging to at least one nation is forced upon every person.

A human being or a community is usually defined by its national belonging or its ethnicity. The nation is often equated with a country or state and its political or governmental structures (Östman, 2009). In comparison to this, the theorists Marschik und Alter (in Stocker, 2009: 35) define the concept of a nation more as an effort or process by the population that is based on historical roots and the intention of everybody to continue the cohabitation.

This aspect of a nation is very important in the understanding of the process of constructing and representing difference in media output (Hall, 1997). As described by Hall (1997) and Östman (2009), differentiation is not only based on geographical borders, it is more importantly based on differences in ideologies, historical events and culture.

These qualities of a nation are according to Hall (1997), Morgan (2009) and Östman (2009) reflected in media discourse by various scholars. Östman (2009: 36) argues that the approach of Jørgensen sees the “national media culture” not as a “static entity”. In opposition to the nationscape, the nation is rather defined according to the community that constitutes its existence rather than institutions (Östman, 2009). In Stockers (2009) view, it is important to differentiate between the institutionalized understanding and the individual interpretation of what defines a nation. However, in sport the separation between the individual interpretations and institutionalized notion of a nation are often blurred (Stocker, 2009).

**Nationscape:** The term nationscape refers to structures of social and material reality that are independent from “…actors’ perception and conception…” (Östman, 2009: 34) and are linked to the nation as a construction. This reality consists mainly of institutions, laws, practices, knowledge and traditions, which are imminent for the cohabitation of individuals in a social construct such as a state or nation. Östman (2009: 35) lists as examples public broadcaster, the postal system, governmental bodies, but also geographical or state territory. This understanding of the nationscape is in line with what Stocker (2009) describes as processes that have an effect on the emotional connection and the process of identifikation between institutions and individuals.
According to Jørgensen (in Östman, 2009) the nationscape not only constitutes of institutions, but also has a sociological meaning. This meaning is composed of historical knowledge, a common language, common practices as well as a common norms and value system (Östman, 2009: 35). Stocker (2009) rather assigns these attributes to the definition of a nation than to the institions that form a nation. In a nutshell, Östman’s definition of nationscape is based on the institutionalized construction of a nation.

**Nationalism and nationalist positioning:** Nationalism can be seen as the process of establishing a hegemonic supremacy of one community or group over another (Östman, 2009). Following this logic, nationalism is the understanding of a nation’s members about its own construction, culture and ideology. Östman (2009) describes this as the corresponding practice between the concepts of nation and nationscape. He describes, “The dynamic process of establishing the nation through interventionist actions is, finally, what Jørgensen terms nationalism.” (Östman, 2009: 36) Nationalism is, in the view of Östman (2009) and Stocker (2009), a vehicle to define difference by creating an inside and an outside. In other words, it creates a feeling of belonging to an “exclusive” group (Stocker, 2009: 40). A nationalist positioning represents the loyalty and affection of an individual to his / her own country or nation (Bairner, 1996). Nationalist positioning in journalism is the way how a journalist reproduces his/her affection or loyalty to his/her own nation or nationality (Bairner, 1996). Nationalist positionings are mainly based on the interpretations of the journalists what constitutes their own nationality and national identity.

For Östman (2009: 37-38), as well as my research, two points are important in regards to interpreting nationalism: (1) Nationalism can be related to ideologies and ideological approaches. These ideologies not necessarily distort the actual reality, because nations themselves exist through the construction of the nationscape. (2) Differences within the “imagined community” or nation are neglected, but similarities are highlighted. On the other hand, it is usual that differences between nations are highlighted, while similarities with other nations are often downplayed.

In conclusion, nationalism is part of what is shaping the construction of what defines the characteristics of Germans or British, but it is not limited to that (Östman, 2009). In this process it needs to be understood that positive or negative attributes are often dependent on various elements. For example, national stereotypes mostly use one of these attributes by intensifying its meaning (Östman, 2009: 38).
In connection with this, it comes as no surprise that symbols and stereotypes are an important way of identifying a community as well as they create a distance to other groups (Stocker, 2009). National positioning is the attitude of an individual towards his / her country and his / her affection for it.

**3.1.1 Defining nationalism in mediated sport**

In connection with the previous definition, Brainer (1996) suggests that nationalist positioning can be understood as an individual’s interpretation or feelings towards an “imagined community” or nation.

Through international sport competitions, where national teams or athletes represent nations, evidence of the existence of a nation or “imagined community” is constructed (Bairner, 1996). This is why the connection between sport and the moral understanding and creation process of nations is especially important for ‘new or young’ nations (Morgan, 2000).

The relationship between nationalism and sports is very strong. Sport is often seen as manifestation of ideologies and the creation of national identities (Morgan, 2000). Brainer claims that “…not only does sport provide opportunities for the expression of national solidarity, it may also represent one of the clearest and most tangible indications of a nation’s very existence” (in Glass, 2008: 1-2). However, the relationship between nationalism and sports needs the media to construct this relation as an undeniable reality (Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 2002).

The author David Rowe states that the close association between nationalism and sports is the reason, why sport is so powerful as well as easy to market (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 2002: 292). Journalists are often required to follow the nationalist positionings by the media institutions, because they see it as a demand and driving factor for the loyalty of the audience (Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 2002). This opinion is in line with the economic success of sports in general. It is also reflected by the power of different sports associations, as it has been described in the previous chapter.

**3.2 The meaning making process**

In the following section the theoretical framework for the empirical study of the process of interpreting and making meaning in textual output is defined. This is important to have an understanding how the audience is decoding texts as well as some underlying intentions behind the choice of words and narrative structures selected by journalists.
The author Teun A. van Dijk (1991: 178) divides the definition of meaning making into two main streams. The first stream is described by him as a more abstract approach. The abstract description deals with propositions, which can be described as conceptual structures. These structures usually consist of a predicate and can be combined with various arguments. This means that each sentence can include one or several argumentations (van Dijk, 1991).

In contrast to the abstract approach, the empirical account, as termed by van Dijk (1991), can be described as an analysis that focuses on the actual, cognitive meaning making process by the audience. This process deals more with issues such as, how the audience can arrive at a certain interpretation as well as it gives a definition of the process of interpretation or meaning (van Dijk, 1991: 178). In the meaning making process it is important to not treat sentences or words as a single entity, it is essential that meaning is interpreted by combining and comparing the different sentences, words or argumentations (van Dijk, 1991: 178). These combinations and comparisons will follow similar semantic logics and can be described as sequences (van Dijk, 1991).

Stuart Hall (1997: 45) calls the process of creating meaning of any form of output, textual, images or audiovisual material discourse. He argues that there is never full truth in discourse, because knowledge is not absolute. Hall (1997: 51) criticizes Foucault, because in his opinion Foucault neglects in his theory the factors of material, economic and structural backgrounds in the process of creating meaning of media output. Östman (2009: 27) critiques the approaches of Hall and Foucault, because in his opinion they are focusing only on the process of creating meaning without taking a closer look at the audience. This is a valid point and is reflected by the approaches of many researchers, who are using the theory to describe what they believe is the interpretation by the audience. However, if this interpretative approach is included in the research design, a loss of “true” objectivity needs to be taken into consideration in the evaluation process.

Another theoretical starting point is the construction of social relationships through the identification of some one’s self in textual media output (Fairclough, 1993). Fairclough (1993: 137) divides the components that create social realities into two main functions: relational and identities. One of Fairclough’s main points is that the developed self is not static and is constantly going through a process of change. This methodological approach develops tools that make abstract phenomena, such as national identities, measurable through the introduction of objective and empirical factors, such as the usage of sources, pronouns or other linguistic structures.
3.2.1 Representation and interpreting meaning

In connection with the argumentation of the previous part, Stuart Hall (1997) claims that it is important to understand the meaning, as intended by the author, for any kind of discourse study. Hall (1997) states that discourse is not possible without the construction of difference. The construction of identities and the representation of nationality are two factors that are very important for the representation and mediation of difference, not only in sports (Hall, 1997: 225).

Hall (1997: 228) argues that preferred meanings occur if the author uses a language that deliberately uses linguistic tools which allows more than one way to understanding meanings. In his view, meaning can only be constructed through othering or a dialogue with the other (Hall, 1997: 235). The essence of meaning in itself is, according to Hall, the categorization of symbols and signs into a system of classification.

In order to interpret the meaning of any form of media output, we are relying on the assumption that we have the same understanding and system of classification. In addition to Hall’s approach, Norman Fairclough (1995: 5) has developed a set of methods that suggests the interpreting meaning of texts on three levels:

1. Representation
2. Identity
3. Relations

In Fairclough’s view, these three levels are crucial for textual analyses and the interpretation of meaning (Fairclough, 1995). Nevertheless, I do agree with some of the critique raised by Eide (2011: 66) that the three categories are overlapping each other. I think that these categories do not necessarily be seen as absolute. Eide (2011: 74-76) deals with this problem by focusing on defining the genres within one field of journalism. Comparing different genres can give valuable information regarding the process of representation in different textual output (Eide, 2011: 76). The approach by Eide (2011) goes beyond the approach of Hall, who focuses more on the pure essence of the transmitted message from a linguistic and narrative point of view, rather than a discursive one.

When comparing the approach of Fairclough to Hall’s theory of representation, it becomes more certain that the construction of identities is going through different stages, but is based in the dominant ideologies of a society (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) describes that media narratives are a crucial part of the meaning-making process within a society.
The very essence of identities is the process of defining boundaries between the inside and the outside of a community (Malcom, 2009).

### 3.2.2 The construction and representation of national identities

After the process of interpreting and understanding meaning has been defined, it is now important to take a look at the development and representation of identities in textual output. In general, there are various categories of identities and different forms of creating identities, whose importance has been changed over time. The linguistic style how characters involved in the topic or story are introduced and represented is very important for the identification process of the reader (van Dijk, 1991). The way, how these characters are referred to, is essential, because it sets the tone of the story or topic (van Dijk, 1991: 211). Categorizing these characters by their origins, such as “Germans”, show their position or relevance in the story as well as it contributes to the creation of an identity.

According to van Dijk (1991) the structure of any journalistic work needs a defined set of actors. These actors are responsible and important for the main storyline of an article.

Their role and importance for the story is usually defined through the frequencies of appearances and quotations throughout the text (van Dijk, 1991: 85). By using quotations as well as certain linguistic structures, such as pronouns or comparatives / superlatives the actors are characterized as well as an identity is set up for them (van Dijk, 1991).

The scholar Anderson identified national identity more as an imagined community in comparison to Gellner, who has a more Marxist approach (in Gavin, 2007). Gellner states that national identities are based on the creation of identities through the media and have therefore a more imaginative approach (Gavin, 2007: 13). Gellner even goes one step further by stating that national identity is defined by the media (in Gavin, 2007: 14). In opposition to these two positions Östman defined an understanding of the construction of national identities by the need of communities to have a parallel structure to the nation-state (Östman, 2005: 29).

The reason, why identities are so important for the narrative structure of textual output is the construction of difference (Hall, 1997). The following part is dedicated to this construction and the phenomenon of othering, as described by Elisabeth Eide (2011).

### 3.2.3 The construction of difference or otherness

Hall (1997: 226) describes that difference is usually created through the use of feelings, attitudes and emotions. One way of constructing difference for him is stereotypes.
Hall (1997: 257) says that stereotyping is used to create difference between distinct races, ethnic groups or gender. Stereotyping for Hall (1997: 225) can also mean the use of for example racism in a more positive direction. However, for him race, identities and difference go hand in hand and are therefore inseparable (Hall, 1997: 228). Difference in itself is often used to market the supremacy of cultures and ideologies. Stereotypes and difference are for Hall important parts of linguistics, because they also reflect the ideologies behind the obvious and are therefore mainly used when creating a contrast (Hall, 1997: 234-235).

In comparison to Hall’s approach of explaining the process of constructing difference, Eide (2011: 21) defines othering more as a cross-cultural encounter and a dialectical approach. For her the construction uses an “I” or “we” approach in order to create distance. Eide (2011) as well as van Dijk (1991) puts the usage of different pronouns, such as “I”, “we” or “they” into the focus of analyzing the construction of difference as well as the othering process. The usage of “I” or “we” shows a close connection as well as it is an indicator for likes (van Dijk, 1991: 143).

In opposition to that, the pronouns “they”, “their” or “them” are used as form of reference of distance or even dislike (van Dijk, 1991: 143). These pronouns are often used to express that a group is standing outside an ‘inner’ circle. Van Dijk (1991) explains that the usage of this linguistic construction relates to a social reality created through the ideologies of separating an ‘inner-group’ from an “outer-group”. The consistent description of a group as “them” creates a bigger distance to the “us” group as well as it results in a negative evaluation of the “them” group.

Eide explains that creating difference is a journalistic approach that has always been there (Eide, 2011: 32). The media is using it to emphasize difference and keep its audience loyal. Eide (2011: 33) argues that neither an emphasis on difference or similarity is a journalistic approach without its problems. While difference creates distance, similarity might create a closeness that does not exist and patronizes cultures, nations or groups that might want to be independent. In her view, both approaches lead to discrimination. Therefore, it is important to find a middle way for journalists to deal with this problem. So far, all theories and approaches have failed to define an objective middle way of what is “moderate” or “normal” othering or likeness.

For Hall (1997: 236) creating distance only becomes a problem, if the way how meaning is developed is influenced by negative feelings.
The essence of categorization in the meaning making process leads to dividing the world into good and bad, black and white (Hall, 1997: 236). According to Hall (1997: 238), violence and discrimination only arises if our ‘self’ is not contested or, if it is understood as an “other” as well. Difference, in his view, by itself is an ambivalent and therefore can have negative and positive implications on our self and our surroundings. Throughout history difference has been used in form of binary oppositions to polarize (Hall, 1997: 243). Hall (1997: 259) describes the usage and construction of difference as a symbolic exercise of violence.

Also when interpreting texts or media output, it needs to be understood that there is always an internal and external other, referring to differences within and outside our personal environments. According to Hall (1997: 270) difference and stereotypes is not an end, they can be contested and changed by trans-coding meaning. In his view stereotyping and representation in general needs to be contested from the outside, but also from within (1997: 274). Especially in sports reporting, the construction of difference is an important linguistic and narrative tool to create boundaries (Hall, 1997: 258). These boundaries are important to construct closure and exclusion of a community or group. They also appear if there is supremacy and an inequality of power (Hall, 1997: 258). Hall (1997: 272) concludes that communities or societies cannot exist without othering, because of differences in ideologies and power between them.

3.3 The language used in mediated sport

The importance of sport across different media platforms is not only important for the media organizations, it is also important for the social interaction with its readers (Stocker, 2009: 23). The mediation of online content needs to be seen as a combination or development of the three traditional media channels, press, radio and TV. The reason for this that online media combines all three media styles (Raney, 2006). It also needs to be understood that the internet is a 24/7 globally accessible communication channel (Kolodzy, 2006). Another important factor is the way how messages need to be transmitted in order to a) stand out of the masses of media output and b) they need to transmit the main message in a short time frame and limited space.

In the next part we will take a look at how sports journalists have been dealing with these kinds of issues from a textual and semiotic point of view. A look is taken at how journalists are transmitting their stories. Therefore, the section is divided into different aspects and uses of linguistic tools of sports journalism. These different elements are a crucial part of the following empirical analysis in the second half of my thesis.
In general, an important aspect of news discourse in general is the aspect of perspectives (van Dijk, 1991: 179). The perspective or the ‘point of view’ of an author is important to understand why and how a situation, event or context is described by an author (van Dijk, 1991). These perspectives can be identified in the textual output through certain kinds of wording. Through words like ‘went’ in comparison to ‘came’ an author shows whether he/she is ‘speaking’ as an insider or outsider (van Dijk, 1991: 179). Especially in textual news output these kinds of signal words can show the perspective and the position of a journalist. In other words, they can be an indication of bias in journalistic writing (van Dijk, 1991: 180).

3.3.1 The role of headlines

The first point of connection between the reader and the text is the headline. Therefore, the headline has a very important function in the narrative structure of an article. Van Dijk (1991: 50) argues that due to its position, headlines are very important for any textual output, because they set the mood for the story at large. Headlines follow their own grammatical and stylistic structures, for example headlines are often incomplete sentences (van Dijk, 1991).

Most commonly headlines give a short summary or introduce the topic of the news article. Or you could say, headlines together with the lead summarize, what the author or journalist has chosen to be the main topic of his/her article. This is why headlines often indicate a form of bias towards a topic by its writer (van Dijk, 1991: 51).

At the same time, this means that the headline will influence the way the reader will interpret the text (van Dijk, 1991: 51). Van Dijk (1991) argues that the reader will often not take the extra effort to analyze the text or the opinion represented in it, they often will not try to search for a second or third main topic in an article. In addition, the headline helps the reader to recall an article itself, but also the underlying topic (van Dijk, 1991).

Due to the vast amount of textual output on the internet, the relevance of headlines for online media is even bigger than for the printed press (Kolodzy, 2006). This is why the headlines are important to give a short summary of the linked text. Nevertheless, journalists writing for the internet need to find a balance between telling too little and telling too much in the headline and the lead of an article (Kolodzy, 2006: 198). According to Kolodzy (2006:198), most readers make their decision whether to read the story further or not, just by the first words of the headline. The amount of online portals and pages that are dedicated to sports are large (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a). This is why it is important for the journalists writing for these websites to attract as readers through their content (Beck & Bosshart, 2003a).
The headlines function as a guide for the reader to find the information they are searching for (Kolodzy, 2006). Therefore, the relevance of the headline in mediated sport is very important.

3.3.2 The role of sources

Most sources in textual output are referred to through direct or indirect forms of quotation (van Dijk, 1991). It is important to understand that the way and frequency how quotations are included in articles reflects the distance between the quotation and the actual statement (van Dijk, 1991). In addition, it also shows the relevance of the quoted news actor for the story at large (van Dijk, 1991: 152).

According to van Dijk (1991: 152) the usage of direct and indirect quotes is important for five reasons: 1. Statements by news actors make the story or coverage newsworthy; 2. they have a narrative function; 3. they make a story more credible; 4. they give an account for the future; 5. they allow subjective interpretations without inserting the opinions of the journalist.

The analysis of the usage of sources is important, because sources reflect the access of different groups, majorities and minorities, to the news writing process (van Dijk, 1991). According to van Dijk (1991) and Hall (1997) the usage of sources is a crucial element of developing identities and is also a reflection of ideologies. Hall (1997) also explains that this aspect is important for the audience in the meaning-making process. Furthermore, in connection with the journalistic ethics of objectivity and accuracy this aspect is important to analyze in textual content analyses.

In connection with the writing process, it is according to van Dijk (1991: 151) important to understand that in most cases the direct and indirect quotations do not reflect the amount of material collected through interviews, press conferences or other forms of statements. This is why the journalists have defined their own process of selecting what is relevant for their audience to know. This can also be referred to as framing. The textual output therefore is a reflection of the knowledge, attitude and ideology of the journalist as well as the employing / publishing institution (van Dijk, 1991: 151).

In conclusion, you can say that the usage of sources with direct and indirect quotations is a reflection of the access of opinions, ideologies and representation to the publishing media outlet (van Dijk, 1991: 152-153). However, the access of sources to the press also needs to be seen from a socio-economical point of view. This means that the access is dependent on the relationship between the different actors. In some cases, actors will not have the chance to be represented in texts, because their voice is not deemed to be important or relevant to the story by the journalist (van Dijk, 1991:153).
3.3.3 The use of emotional language and slang

The content of mediated sports is mostly static and only a few aspects are changing between the reporting (Stocker, 2009). For example, the rules of a football game, its strategy and actors are always the same, what is changing are the individuals and the locations. One of the important factors that influence the way how sport is portrayed in the media are the news values as well as the creation of a “media reality” (Schmalenbach, 2009: 44). According to Schmalenbach (2004) and other researchers, such as Garry Crofford (2004: 130), the media has moved from simple reporting to staging sport realities. The reason for this development is the fact that sport has become an entertainment commodity accessible through different media channels (Schmalenbach, 2009).

In sports journalism, these realities consist of celebrities, drama and other narrative elements that are crucial for the narrative structure of sports output (Crowford, 2004: 132-133). Drama and images are constructed by the mass media in order to sell their stories. This is why sensational headlines, dramatic teasers and photos are used to immediately target the emotions of the readers (Stocker, 2009: 25). The relationship between these celebrities and the media output is ambivalent, which means if an athlete becomes more and more popular, the easier it is for the media channel to reach a larger audience. This often goes along with an emotionalisation or tabloidization process (Crowford, 2004; Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009).

Emotionalisation is constructed, according to van Dijk (1991) and Hall (1997), often through the usage of linguistic constructions such as superlatives or comparatives to create difference or attachment between groups. Difference and emotions are not always obvious for the audience (Hall, 1997), sometimes they are hidden in the underlying meaning of the content produced by journalists (Bruce, 2004). As Hall (1997) describes, the reality of the texts have a variety of different meanings and can therefore be interpreted by the audience in different ways.

Another aspect, that is very common in mediated sport is the use of sub-cultural language to show privileges as well as establish a feeling of belonging or bonding (Segrave et al, 2006: 37). Segrave et. al (2006) state that through this aspect also a differentiation between inside and outside can be created. Stocker (2009) mentions in his analysis that the usage of slangs in the mediation of sports often relies on repeating the same linguistic constructions over and over again.
He explains this behavior of sports journalists as way of avoiding complex structures and contexts as well as meaning is given to the ordinary narrative structures (Stocker, 2009: 26). Journalists reporting from sporting events are using more often so called “buzz words” in comparison to other journalists (Stocker, 2009: 26).

### 3.3.4 The usage of comparatives and superlative

As we have seen in the previous part, differentiation between actors is an important aspect of storytelling. The inflection of adjectives is therefore used in the mediation of sports to construct difference as well as emotionalize (Stocker, 2009). Comparatives and superlatives are the inflection of adjectives or adverbs. For the empirical study it is important to define how the comparatives and the superlatives in German and English are formed. Markus Schneider (2004) explains the inflection of adjectives in the following way:

“In the English language, the absolute form fast can have a comparative form (faster) by adding -er, and a superlative form (fastest) by adding -est. The German equivalent is schnell, schnell-er, am schnell-sten. It is obvious that English comparison has got a lot in common with the German “Steigerung” [It is the usage and construction of comparison in the German language.] because the two systems work in the same way. There are also no significant differences in meaning.” (Schneider, 2004: 3)

Also important for the textual content analysis is to understand that there are in total three types of comparisons. Schneider (2004) defines these three types as:

“Most adjectives and adverbs are gradable and therefore have three types of comparison, i.e. comparison in relation to a higher degree (better / more beautiful than...), to the same degree (...as beautiful as), or to a lower degree by less and least (less beautiful). Adjectives and adverbs which compare things in relation to a higher degree can be created with inflection (fast - faster - fastest) or periphrasis (intelligent - more intelligent - most intelligent) (Quirk 1992: 458). Periphrasis is not used in the German language, because of its synthetic structure.” (Schneider, 2004: 3)

This means that the usage of comparatives and superlatives can be an important part of the construction of difference in textual output.

In his study of the lexical variation of sports writing, Politis (2009: 391) has categorized adjectives and adverbs into three main categories: judgment, appreciation and affection. According to him, whether adjectives have positive or negative connotations need to be seen in the individual context (Politis, 2009). However, there are adjectives that clearly indicate their connotation, such as good or bad, slow or fast and many others.

For the content analysis, I will use his categorization of adjectives to decide if they have a positive or negative connotation.
According to Kroppach (in Stocker 2009: 26) comparatives and superlatives are used to make the coverage of sports more exciting. He believes that journalists use this style to reach a broader audience.

In addition, he notes that the usage of these forms also results in the loss of objectivism in writing and that they reflect the enthusiasm of the writer in regards to the sport event (in Stocker 2009: 26). Stocker (2009) notes that in other genres of journalism the usage of superlatives is proscribed, but it regularly occurs in coverage of sporting events.

3.5 Genres in sports journalism

It is important to understand the different genres of sports journalism, because each genre tries to deliver messages in different packages and ways. Also the purpose as the message has been intended by the journalist differs from genre to genre. The audience interprets the different genres according to their preferences as well as their agenda of media consumption.

The understanding of the essences of genres in journalism is an important remark by Eide (2011) that has been neglected by some of the previous researchers and theorists. Eide (2011) outlines five different ways to define distinct genres:

1. Methodology, which focuses on the way how information is collected by the journalist
2. Contextual, which includes the factors time and media institution
3. Functional, which includes the reader’s perspective and the purpose of consumption (serious versus entertaining)
4. Structural, which kind of narrative structure has been applied, e.g. an inverted pyramid, sources, reflections, etc
5. Normative, which is the involvement and the overall purpose of the text

The boundaries between the different genres of writing in sports journalism are sometimes rather thin. The following definition of genres is based on explanations by Stocker (2009) as well as the approach suggested by Eide (2011) regarding the definition of different journalistic genres.

The most often used genre of articles in sports journalism is news articles. News articles usually feature a lead-in sentence as well as follow the structure of an inverted pyramid (van Dijk, 1991). This genre can be divided into two main groups: 1. Hard news and 2. Soft news. News in general are defined as coverage of an event that have been taken place not to long before the time of publishing. While hard news mostly deal with transmitting facts in a short and precise manner, the purpose of soft news is to entertain.
In addition, the wording and the writing styles often differ. The *hard news* most often consist of shorter and concise sentences, these kinds of articles are usually also rather short. In opposition to that *soft news* often use a more emotional language (Stocker, 2009). Both kind of news texts are usually rather formal and are following the structure of an inverted pyramid as well as they try to answer the questions: What, Who, Where, When, etc. (Eide, 2011: 75).

A *feature story* in comparison to a news article deals with an issue in a more detailed manner. In many cases the story line also differs from news articles, because the author wants to keep the attention of the reader over a longer period of time. Also the journalists usually report over an issue that has been researched by him or her over a longer period of time. In a feature story a journalist usually wants to present the results of his/her investigation in an objective and more accurate manner. Often a journalist reports about events or issues he/she has experienced or witnessed by him-/herself (Stocker, 2009: 81; Eide, 2011: 74). In this form of reporting, the journalist usually has more time at hand and therefore can apply more journalistic styles and use more sources (Eide, 2011).

In a *commentary* the author usually heavily incorporates his/her own opinion as well as gives arguments to support this view. The purpose of the commentary is to spark an often emotional reaction by the audience. Most of these online published commentaries have a function that enables the audience and the journalists to start a dialogue that is shared with other readers as well. The argumentation between the journalist and the audience has become an important part of this two-way communication channel (Stocker, 2009).

Another genre in sports journalism is *interviews*. In interviews a journalist purely displays the ideas and opinions of his/her interviewee. The journalist can guide the interview by selecting questions and changing topics, but he should not edit the answers given by the interviewee, by the means of changing his/her words (Stocker, 2009).

Last but not least, the internet has enabled the creation of a new genre. Due to the fact that this genre is unique to the online sports journalism and is rather new, I would like to propose the following definition: The genre can be best described as a *play-by-play analysis* of the matches or games being covered. This kind of coverage is sometimes published while the matches are still running by a journalist, who is either witnessing it firsthand in the stadium or is following the match live via another media, e.g. through a live TV broadcast. The narrative structure follows the timeline of the match or game. Usually, the sports journalist publishes a short text every other minute to describe what happened within this minute. The texts are usually very short.
Through this style of writing the journalist tries to create the image of the match or game inside the heads of the people following his posts. If this genre needs to be classified in terms of reportage genres as proposed by Eide (2011: 74-76), it could be best described as a combination of a methodological and contextual approach.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has been divided into four main parts collecting and analyzing different theories and approaches towards defining nationality and nationalism, the meaning making process, the construction of difference and a definition of genres in sports journalism.

The definition of a nation is oriented on the social construction and interpretation of common cultural factors. Nationalism is the process of creating this common understanding and using it to separate an inner from an outer group. Supremacy of one group over the other is another important aspect of nationalism.

Nationalism and nationality is an important factor in sports, because it is related to the power struggles between countries and ideologies. National identities are often represented in mediated sports and are constructed by connecting different attributes to them. This aspect is also important in the construction of difference as well as the othering process.

The meaning making process is an important point of departure, because it defines how researchers develop an interpretation of what they analyze. According to Fairclough, each article is based upon three levels: Representation, identity and relation. These levels are important for the construction of difference. Difference is mainly constructed through an imbalance between the three levels through various narrative and linguistic tools.

There are various linguistic and narrative tools that are used to deliver the media content in certain ways. An important element of any articles is the headline. The headline gives a short summary of the main topic or of the suggested proposition of the article at large. In addition, sources and quotations are an elementary part of articles, because they function as a form of representation and authority. The emotionalisation through language is an aspect that occurs especially in the mediation of sport.

Also important for understanding the textual output in sports journalism is the definition of genres. Each genre has its unique purpose and structure. Therefore it needs to be seen in connection with other genres and their ways of delivering information and opinions. Journalists are following different structures and approaches to deliver their interpretation of reality in covering sport events.
Chapter 4: Research methodology

The aim of the empirical study is to collect statistical data to answer the main research question regarding the substantiation of nationalist positionings through the construction of difference. This will be accomplished by proving or disproving the hypotheses as well as answer the sub research questions. This will be achieved through a quantitative content analysis of online textual output.

4.1 Research design

The data collection and the study can be defined according to van Dijk (1991) as a quantitative content analysis with elements of a structural analysis, because the study focuses on the different levels and dimensions of the media output. The analysis can be divided into the dimensions of syntax and style as well as a basic level of interpreting meaning (van Dijk, 1991: 45). However, it needs to be taken into account that due to the fact that the discourse regarding different media output always requires a certain degree of interpretation by the researcher (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005).

Also the basic understanding of the news articles and their linguistic and narrative structures is based on the theoretical framework for textual analysis by Norman Fairclough (1995:103-104), who lines out that any form of media output is based on a conscious selection of its writer. It needs to be noted that these linguistic and narrative structures and elements are only analyzed on a quantitative level, unlike in critical discourse analysis. News media is according to Fairclough (1995) constructed on the basis of three main aspects: Relation, identities and representation.

Nationalist positionings themselves are an abstract term that can only be made measurable through other linguistic or narrative tools as described by van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough (1995). This idea corresponds with the outline of the empirical study as well as the different levels introduced by Fairclough (1995). The aspect of representation is translated into studying the usage of country names, propositions and topics. Identities are examined through the collection of data regarding sources and quotations. And the aspect of relation is studied through pronouns and comparatives / superlatives.

4.1.1 Comparing Germany and the UK

The reason, why I have chosen to apply the same research methodology to Germany and the UK is the fact that I want to be able to compare the results of two countries with similar media systems and journalistic traditions.
As presented in the first chapter, previous researchers have found comparable results in Germany and the UK, when studying nationalist positionings.

The media systems of Germany and the UK, according to Hallin & Mancini (2007), are both in between liberal and socio-democratic. However, while the German system tends towards the socio-democratic, the British media system tends towards a more liberal system (Hallin & Mancini, 2007). In addition, population size, internet access and user habits regarding sports are comparable (SPORTFIVE GmbH & Co. KG, 2009). In both countries, football has the highest popularity amongst all sports (SPORTFIVE GmbH & Co. KG, 2009). Furthermore, football has been one of the most mediated sports in both countries. Its mediation also has a long tradition. Additionally, the practices of journalists, the freedom of the press and the code of conduct as well as the structure of media institutions are in both countries similar (Hallin & Mancini, 2007). Journalistic education in both countries is similar. It consists of two independent ways to get into a career as a journalist: 1. through university training 2. through professional training provided by the media institutions (Hallin & Mancini, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009).

International football is also interesting to study, because, according to Politis (2009) and Stocker (2009), is more frequently relying on a set of predefined linguistic structures.

4.1.2 Critical case study: The UEFA EURO 2012 Qualification coverage in 2011

Therefore football has been chosen as topical frame and the UEFA European Cup 2012 Qualifiers in the year 2011 as time frame. These matches had one of the largest audience shares in 2011 in Germany, according to the analysis by AGF/GFK, TV Scope (SPORTFIVE GmbH und Co KG, 2011).

Also it needs to be understood that a critical case has been selected to show that the construction of difference used for substantiating nationalist positionings is a practice exercised in European media. This sampling method has been chosen to either prove or disprove that this is an underlying practice in sports journalism.

This is why the sampling method can be best described as a critical-case sampling method. This approach ensures that from the results implications on comparable sports coverage can be drawn (Deacon & al, 2007: 52).
The sample population or case will include all articles that have been published by sports journalists of the selected websites on the selected days in order to include various text genres as well as compare different stages of coverage. The genres include news articles, editorials, play-by-play analysis as well as commentaries.

Another reason, why the UEFA Euro 2012 qualification has been selected as critical case is the fact that the days of the matches are spread throughout spring, summer and autumn. This ensures that seasonal differences as well as other social or cultural factors, which might affect the coverage of these matches, are taken into consideration. The advantage of taking the qualification over the duration of a whole year instead of an event with duration of a few weeks is the fact that changing attitudes and tendencies can be evaluated and illustrated in a better way. All articles published on the selected websites of the days before, the match days and the days after, which are connected to the matches of the German team in Germany and the English team in UK, will be analyzed.

### 4.2 Research methodology

As described before, the empirical study follows the research methodology of a content analysis of a critical case. The content analysis follows the three categories of textual media analysis as described by Fairclough (1995). The different categories or levels have been analysed according to the definitions as they have been laid down in the previous chapter as well as in the sections before. In general, the research focuses on the frequencies that certain units or phenomena appear in the text and how they correlate with each other.

The first category focuses on the mode of representation of a home team in comparison to the competing team. This is achieved by counting how frequently the two competing countries have been named throughout the text. In addition, it focuses on the roles the two competing teams play within the narrative structure of the text and especially in key elements such as the headlines or on pictures.

The second category is dedicated to the level of identities that have been set up for the two teams. Therefore, the amount of sources as well as how these sources have been quoted in relation to each of the teams has been analyzed. Here it is important to differentiate between direct and indirect quotations.

The relational level or category analyses the extent of the usage of pronouns as well as comparatives and superlatives.
The appearance of the pronouns “we/us/our” and “they/them/their” have been counted to analyse the relations between the journalist and the public as well as the journalist and the teams participating in the matches. The usage of comparatives and superlatives is evaluated to analyse the relationship between the identities of the previous category. This is why it has been differentiated between comparatives or superlatives with a positive or negative predicate.

4.2.1 Definition of material and the collection process

As sampling media the two sports websites with the most visits from each country, Germany and the UK, have been selected. The reason for selecting the internet as media platform is due to the accessibility of articles as well as it is the fastest growing media in both countries (European Journalism Centre, NA). Also as it has been argued before, the internet combines the approaches regarding content production of all three traditional media platforms (Raney, 2006). The selection criterion is the visits of the websites. The data for the visits is based on the netNielsen rating for the UK and web traffic data collections by the IVW¹ and the AGOF² from Germany.

Due to the nature of the internet it has been taken into consideration that the author can make changes after the publication has been made. This is why the articles are not analyzed according to their first publication, but according to their last update. According to Deacon & al., a text analysis focuses on the texts as they have been published at the point of the analysis (Deacon & al., 2007: 132-4).

4.2.2 Definition of population

As mentioned in the previous part, the selection of the websites in Germany and the UK has been according to their visitors. All four websites or portals have been selected due to the number of unique viewers in 2011. The reason why not only the amount of unique viewers or page impressions have been considered is the fact that according to various internet organizations, such as the AGOF, IVW and Nielsen NetRatings the amounts of visits are more reliable than the amount of unique viewers.

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¹ IVW stands for: Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträger. It is an institute that measures the reach of various online platforms. It mainly focuses on the reach of different marketing platforms.
² AGOF stands for: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Online Forschung. It is a research institute dedicated to the research regarding online media consumption
According to the AGOF, the five most visited websites, which focus solely on sports, are in Germany:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Unique Visitor in mio.</th>
<th>Reach (in percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kicker Gesamt</td>
<td>3,17</td>
<td>6,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sport1.de Gesamt</td>
<td>3,06</td>
<td>6,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bundesliga.de Gesamt</td>
<td>2,09</td>
<td>4,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>transfermarkt.de Gesamt</td>
<td>1,72</td>
<td>3,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kicktipp Gesamt</td>
<td>0,99</td>
<td>2,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Online reach in 2011 according to AGOF, Germany

According to the statistics of the AGOF and the IVW www.kicker.de and www.sport1.de are the most viewed and read online websites in Germany in sports media.

Kicker.com is the website of the print magazine Kicker that has one of the highest circulations for magazines in Germany. Like kicker.de, sport1.de is the online extension of a popular German sports channel with the same name.

The websites from the UK have been the mostly visited sports pages in 2011 and are published by organizations based in UK (Nielsen / NetRatings NetView, NA). According to Nielsen / NetRatings the following most visited websites have been selected: the sports portal by the BBC, www.bbc.co.uk/sports and the sports portal by Sky, www.skysports.com. Both of the websites are the online extensions of popular broadcasters. The population includes the articles that have been published on these four websites or portals in connection with the UEFA EURO 2012 qualification in 2011.

### 4.2.3 Sampling criteria

The selection of texts has been done in two stages. In the first stage all texts have been collected through a web search that included the following tags:

1. Name of Home team plus Name of Competing team
2. Timeframe of publication: one day ahead, same day and the day after the match
3. Platform of publication

All texts have been categorized and numbered. The total amount of all these texts is 153.
In the second stage, the total amount of texts has been narrowed down to only texts that dedicate more than 50% of its textual output to the qualification of the UEFA EURO 2012. Also texts were excluded that featured the coverage or summaries of other sports, e.g. rugby, of the same day. The reason for this is that the focus and the usage of linguistic and narrative tools as well as styles differ greatly between sports (Politis, 2009) and therefore the results would not be comparable. The total amount of texts has been reduced from 153 to 81. Only these 81 texts were used for the content analysis.

4.3 Generalizability, validation and reliability

The reliability of the German sample of articles has been tested through a comparison with the samples of previous studies. The sample of this research has a similar representation of genres in comparison to the study by Schlegel (2007) and Schmalenbach (2009). In order to make the two researches comparable the sample size, the characteristics of the two different media channels and the time frame have been taken into consideration. The distribution among the genres shows that the main genres are news articles (both around 60%) and feature stories (both around 16%). Due to the nature of the internet, one additional kind of genre has appeared in this research and not in the research conducted by Schlegel or Schmalenbach: play-by-play analyses.

Correlations between different variables and cross tapings between categories will help not only to compare Germany to the UK, it will also allow drawing conclusions and test the internal reliability. According to Bertrand & Hughes (2005: 220), if a phenomenon is constantly represented in media, the conclusion can be drawn that it has become part of popular culture. Also personal bias needs to be taken into consideration, for example in regards to if a researcher is irritated by a notion or concept he/she might become more critical to it and therefore it might be over represented in the collected data (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005: 220). This will especially apply in regards to the narrative analysis that require interpretation.

In terms of reliability, it needs to be noted that in computer standardized analyses due to human intervention during the collection of data errors can always occur (Deacon & al, 2007: 135). However, the reliability and validity of the data can be tested by different statistical measures in SPSS. According to Bryman (2008) different tests, like Pearsons R can help to measure the reliability of the collected data. Some of these tests have been applied in order to ensure the reliability of the statistics.
The results of this research are not generalizable for sports journalism at large (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005), but they give an indication on how the construction of difference substantiates nationalist positionings. The quantitative content analysis has been selected to test how these mechanisms are used in this particular case (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). The critical-case sampling strategy has been selected to either proof or disproof that the construction of difference substantiated the nationalist positionings in the online mediation of sports. However, due to the fact that this case has been strategically selected, because the mechanisms in the focus of the study are more likely to be represented (Fairclough, 1995). This means, if one of the mechanisms is represented frequently, it can be assumed that this phenomenon will occur in other texts as well.

4.4 Critical evaluation of research methods

One of the arguments that Bertrand and Hughes (2005: 237) put forward is the fact that in social research it is not possible to talk about a fully valid and reliable data. In their view, statistical tools can only help to achieve a certain degree of validity and reliability. This is why, the methodological pitfall of focusing on digital media output in content analyses needs to be taken into consideration. One of the reasons is that content analysis usually doesn’t capture the whole context of publication (Deacon & al, 2007: 134). One problem of content analysis of online articles is the relationship between the textual output and other forms of multimedia content that are accompanying them. The actual context of the article, the use of pictures, videos or any form of interactivity, usually gets lost in the archiving process. In connection with this, it also needs to be noted that not all publications are available anymore at the point of the content analysis (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). This methodological problem can only be avoided by focusing on the textual analysis, but accounting for other forms of media if information is available (Deacon & al, 2007: 134). Furthermore, Fairclough (1995) argues that news texts never truly reflect reality. Therefore, conclusions regarding nationalism in the two countries at large should not be made, but tendencies in journalism can be described.

Another aspect that needs to be critical by evaluated is errors regarding the selection of articles. In this study, the articles have been selected according to an online search featuring different search engines. However, this does not give a 100% assurance that there are no additional articles in connection to this topic. This is why the textual analysis can only be seen as a study of the point of time it has been conducted.
4.5 **Code book:**

The code book or code manual follows the structure of the sub-research questions. In order to ensure that all questions / hypotheses are answered, the coding has been broken down into smaller categories. The full code book can be found in the appendix section. This discussion and explanation of the code book lists the main categories as used in the content analysis.

4.5.1 **Demographics**

This first category of the content analysis includes statistical means as well as a unique ID in order to differentiate the different articles. This category is important in order to make the research comparable to previous research as well as verify whether or not the sample is representative. The demographics include the following categories:

- A differentiation between the four platforms
- The language of the article
- Match day of qualification round
- Time of publication (before, same day or after match)
- Distribution into different genres
- Usage of different multimedia content
- The representation of the teams on pictures (if available)

4.5.2 **Headline and topic**

This category has been developed in accordance with the theory as presented in the previous chapter, based on van Dijk (1991) and Johan Östman (2009). The questions dedicated to this section will analyze the tone that is set in the headline as well as how it relates to the main actor and topic of the article. This category is an important point of departure, because it lays the foundation of the narrative structure of the whole article. The focus has been on the denotations of the words, rather the implied meaning. In case the meaning has been unclear, they have been coded as such.

The main actor of the headline has been defined according to who has been presented as the subject of it. This approach is based on van Dijk’s (1991) method of classifying headlines. In these categories the main actor has been coded according to their relation to either the home or competing team. In regards to the main actor, it has been defined according to two variables, the amount of space dedicated to the portrayal of the person or group as well as its representation within the narrative structure of the article. This included positions within the text as they have been defined by van Dijk (1991) and explained in the previous chapter.
The main topic of the article is defined according to the space dedicated to it and the appearance in the headline and the lead of the article, as proposed by van Dijk (1991). The articles are assigned to either one particular match, to the context of the qualification at large, to a form of evaluation of the home team or one of the competing teams. If the main subject of the article has not been clear it has been coded as “other”. The results of this category can be compared to others in order to define if there are connections between the main subject or proposition of the headline and other categories.

### 4.5.3 Frequency of country names

The following categories will deal with the representation of nationality within the different articles. This aspect is very important for the construction of the identities by the home and the competing team. Therefore, the occurrence and the frequency of the country names and their possible variations, e.g. German, Germany, Germanic…, have been validated separated into home and competing team. Every time any of the forms appeared it is counted as one unit. Only the different forms of the two teams’ country (home and competing) have been counted.

### 4.5.4 Sources and quotation

It has been counted how many direct and indirect quotations have been used that are connected to either the home or competing team. The source was counted as one unit, regardless of how often it has been quoted. However, if a source has been quoted through a direct and indirect quotation it has been counted twice, once as a source with a direct quotation and once as a source with an indirect quotation.

The sources are also divided into four main categories: 1. Participants (players / coaches of home or competing teams) 2. Audience (fans not associated with any football association) 3. Experts (officials that belong to either the home or competing team) and 4. others. The fourth group constitutes of people and opinions that have no direct relevance to the story, but are important for the narrative structure. This group includes sources, such as non-football related celebrities, wives and politicians that are relevant for the entertainment factor of the game.

### 4.5.5 Usage of pronouns

In this section of the empirical study the frequency of pronouns “we/us”, “they/them/their” related to the home team and “they/them/their” related to the competing team have been analyzed.
The appearances of these pronouns have only been counted, if they related to either the home or one of the competing teams. Each pronoun can only belong to one of the categories. The point of reference has always been the main subject of the sentence that the pronoun appeared in. If the subject of the sentence has been neither a representative of the home team nor of the competing team, the pronoun was not counted.

4.5.6 Usage of comparatives and superlatives

Not only have the amounts been counted, also it has been counted, how many have a positive/negative usage and to which of the teams they are connected to. The definition of adjectives by Schneider (2004) as well as the categorization of adjectives by Politis (2009) for football has been used to differentiate between adjectives with positive and negative connotations. Furthermore, the approach of Stocker (2009) and his definition have been used to group the different comparatives and superlatives in the German language.

4.6 Summary

A textual content analysis has been chosen to test to what extent nationalist positionings are represented in the mediation of sports. The research design is based on a critical case study to prove or disprove that the mechanisms of representation and construction of difference are part of the textual output in the mediation of sport. As critical case the qualification of the UEFA 2012 European Championship in Football in 2011 has been chosen, because it has been the most followed sports event in 2011. Another reason is that it has a longer time frame than many other sporting events. Only articles by the two most visited websites from both, Germany and the UK, have been selected. Another criterion is related to the amount of text dedicated to the coverage of the qualification for the 2012 EURO championship. Only articles with coverage of more than 50% have been analyzed. In total, 81 articles have been selected.

The empirical study relies on the principles of media discourse as described by Norman Fairclough (1995). The three main themes of the research are derived from his theory regarding the analysis of the level of representation, the construction of identities and the relational level. The code book is following the principles of textual analyses as described by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991). Another important approach for the research is the theory regarding representation and the construction of difference by Stuart Hall (1997).

The categories for the analysis are focusing on the representation of nationalities, the usage of sources and quotations as well as the frequency of pronouns and comparatives / superlatives.
Chapter 5: Research results

In the following section the results from the empirical study are presented. The chapter is divided according to the three research questions. The first section is dedicated to the representation of nationalities, the second focuses on sources and quotations and the third one is a quantitative analysis of the usage of linguistic tools and narrative elements. Furthermore, the results for the articles from Germany and from the UK are presented separately according to the three categorizes mentioned before. Before the main results are presented, I will quickly give a basic, statistical overview of the articles that have been analyzed.

5.1 Statistical overview:

Before the results according to the different research questions are presented, it is important to take a look at some statistical information. This information includes a variety of demographic variables that have been set in order to make the results comparable to each other and to the results of previous research.

5.1.1 Amount of articles per platform

In total 81 articles have been selected for the analysis. 53% of all analyzed articles have been in German and 47% have been in English. These articles are distributed among the four selected platforms as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kicker.de</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport1.de</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC Sport</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sky Sport</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Distribution of articles per online platform

The reason why there are a few more texts from Germany than from the UK is the fact that in the group of Germany there had been six teams, while in the group of England there had been five. This resulted in one extra match day for Germany in 2011.

5.1.2 Time of publication:

More articles have been published in the second half of the year 2011 in comparison to the first half.
In the first half of 2011 43% of the articles have been published in comparison to 57% in the second half towards the end of the qualification. On days with matches by one of the two teams, the amount of articles has an average of 6 articles. There are only two exceptions: With five articles 11th of October 2011 and seven articles on the 6th of September 2011. On days with matches by the English and the German team, the amount of articles differs from 14 articles on the 2nd of September to 17 articles on the 26th of March and 20 on the 7th of October 2011.

Another aspect of the point of publication is in relation to the match itself. Therefore three points of publication have been analyzed: (1) The day before the match, (2) the day of the match and (3) the day after the match.

31% of the articles have been published on the day before the match, 42% on the same day and 27% the day after the match.

It is interesting to notice that especially only on days with matches by the German and the English team the amounts of articles published after the matches are the highest. In addition, the amount of articles published before any of the matches is the highest on first match of 2011. On the 26th of March seven articles have been published, in comparison the most articles, eight of them, have been published on the same day of the match on the 7th of October 2011.

5.1.3 Different genres

As it has been described before, the aspect of genres in the analysis of textual output is an important aspect regarding to Fairclough (1995), Eide (2011) and van Dijk (1991). The amounts of articles that belong to the different genres are divided among the four platforms:
While the amount of news articles is almost equally allocated between the different platforms, the usage of interviews, features and play-by-play articles differs according to the two countries. It is interesting, that in Germany interviews are less often used, while feature stories are more frequently used. This finding is in line with the analysis of Stocker (2009) as well as Schmalenbach (2009), who observed that in Germany features are very popular in sports journalism besides news articles.

5.1.4 Usage of multimedia

This category has been chosen to account for different ways of communicating the message of the article through various media elements. As it has been suggested before, the aspect of other accompanying forms of mediation should not be neglected, because they are also part of the interpretation process by the audience. In order to account for these elements a category with four parts has been developed, which includes the following four multimedia features: Video, audio, pictures and the comment function.

**Germany:** None of the articles is accompanied by an audio clip. Four articles from Germany are supplemented by a video. Almost 60% of the articles from Germany include one or more images. In addition, 50% of the articles in Germany have an option for the reader to leave a comment and to read the comments of other readers.

**The UK:** Eight of the articles from the UK have accompanied by a video and six by audio clips. Both audio clips and videos have only been used on the BBC website. In the UK, 95% of the articles included one or more pictures. Also 90% by BBC Sports and Sky Sports have the option for the reader to leave a comment and to read the comments of other readers.

5.1.5 The main subject

The categories for the different main topics have been defined according to van Dijk (1991: 119) and his schematic structure of articles.
The German articles often put the individual event into the broader context of the Euro 2012 Qualification, while the selected texts from the UK focus in 58% of the cases on the individual event. Overall, articles evaluating of the performance of the competing teams have barely been used in the selected sample.

5.2 Representation of nationalities

In this section I will present the collected data regarding the representation of nationalities within the selected articles. Therefore, I organized this section according to the results of the two individual countries. Each of the presentations follows these three categories:

1. Representation in the headline
2. Representation on pictures
3. Usage of country names

5.2.1 Representation of nationality in Germany

This section analyzes how the nationality of the competing team in comparison to the German or home team is represented in the selected articles. The section is divided according to the three categories as listed above.

Headlines

The main actor of 79% of the headlines of the selected articles from Germany is a representative linked to the home team. Only in the headlines of five of the articles the competing team is the main actor. The other headlines have either representatives of both or none of the two teams.
When comparing the representation of the home team with the predication of the headline, it shows that the predication is in 100% of the cases positive, if the home team is the main actor. In opposition to that none of the headlines have a positive proposition, if the competing team or both teams are the main actors. If one of the competing teams is the main actor of the headline, the predication is negative in 60% of the cases. If both teams are the main actor, the proposition in all cases is neutral.

*Representation on pictures*

Like with the headlines, the representation of the German team on the images accompanying the selected articles is higher than the representation of the competing team. 65% of the pictures that are part of the selected articles show a representative of the German team. 20% of the pictures show representatives of both teams, while 12% show one or more representative of the competing teams only.

The headline proposition and the actor of the picture have been compared and checked for correlations. It shows that in 50% of the cases, where the German national team is solely represented in the picture, the proposition of the headline is positive. In 19% of the cases the proposition is neutral and in 31% it is negative. If the competing team is represented on the accompanying picture, the headline proposition is always neutral.

*The representation of the home and competing team*

In 55% of the articles from Germany at least one player of the national team is the main actor of the article. The German coach is the main actor of 26% of the article. There is a correlation between the main actor of the article and the main actor of the headline. In 79% of the selected articles the main actor of the headline and the main actor of the article are both by the home team. In 60% of the selected articles, which have a headline with one of the competing teams as main actor, the coach of this competing team is the main actor of the article. The teams competing with Germany have been the main actor of one of the selected articles. In three articles the coach of one of the competing teams has been the main actor of the article.

*Appearance of the country name of the German team*

In total the country names of the competing teams have appeared 154 times. The average appearance of the word Germany and its different variations is 3.58 times in the selected texts. The frequency differs from texts with no appearance to texts with twelve appearances. In ten of the selected articles the word Germany or one of its variations appears twice, this is the number that was counted most often.
The number of appearances of Germany and its variations is on average the same throughout the year 2011. The match with the highest frequency is the match on 7\textsuperscript{th} of October 2011 with 54 appearances.

\textit{Appearance of the country name of the competing team}

In total the country names of the competing teams have appeared 261 times. The average appearance of the country names of the competing teams and their different variations is 6.07 times in the selected texts. The frequency differs from texts with one appearance to texts with fifteen appearances. Most often the country names of the competing teams appeared four times in the selected articles. The number of average appearances of the country names of the competing teams and its variations is stronger in the second half of the year 2011. The match with the highest frequency is the match on 7\textsuperscript{th} of October 2011 with 84 appearances of one of the competing teams or its variations.

\textit{Correlation between usage of country’s names and points of publication}

In articles published before the match the country names of the competing teams and their variations appear twice as many times as variations of Germany. Articles that are published on the same time as the match have the highest mean of appearing variations of country names in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country representation Germany</th>
<th>Country representation competing teams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day before match</td>
<td>2,23</td>
<td>5,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of match</td>
<td>5,37</td>
<td>7,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day after match</td>
<td>2,89</td>
<td>4,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table 5: Correlation between means of country names and point of publication in German articles}

\textbf{5.2.2 Representation of nationality in the UK}

This section will analyze how the nationality of the competing teams in comparison to the English national team is represented in the selected articles. The section is divided according to the four categories in the same way as the previous section regarding the articles from Germany.

\textit{Headlines}

The main actor of the headlines of 47\% of the selected articles from the UK is a representative, who is directly linked to the home team.
In eleven or 29% of the headlines of the selected articles the competing team is the main actor. The other articles feature headlines that have both teams as main actors. This accounts for 24% of the selected articles.

When comparing the representation of the home team with the proposition of the headline, it shows that the predication is in 80% of the cases positive, if the home team is the main actor. In opposition to that 20% of the headlines have a positive proposition, if one of the competing teams is the main actor. If a competing team is the main actor of the headline, the predication is in 55% of the cases negative. If both teams are the main actor, the proposition in 78% of the articles is neutral, while the other articles have a headline with a negative proposition.

Representation on pictures
Like with the headlines, the representation of the English team on the images accompanying the selected articles is higher than the representation of the competing team. 70% of the pictures show a representative of the English team. 5% of the pictures show representatives of both teams, while 24% show one or more representative of the competing teams.

The headline proposition and the actor of the picture have been compared and checked for correlations. It shows that in 57% of the cases, where the home team is solely represented on the picture the proposition of the headline is positive. If the competing team is represented on the accompanying picture, the headline proposition is seldom positive (11%), often neutral (33%) and mainly negative (56%).

The representation of the home and competing team
In 32% of the articles from the UK one or more players of the national team is/are the main actor of the article. The main actor of 14% of the articles is the English coach. The division of main actors in the articles looks as followed:
Diagram 3: Amount of articles divided among main actors in the UK

There is a correlation between the main actor of the article and the main actor of the headline. In 47% of the selected articles the main actor of the headline and the main actor of the article are both representatives of the home team. In 54% of the selected articles, which have a headline with the competing team as main actor, one or more players of the competing teams are the main actor of the general article.

Appearance of the country name of the home team
In total the country names of the home team have appeared 263 times. The average frequency of England and its different variations is 6.92 times in the selected texts. The frequency differs from texts with one appearance to texts with 18 appearances. In eight of the selected articles England or one of its variations appears five times, this is the number that was counted most often. The frequency of appearances of England and its variations is the same throughout the year 2011. The match with the highest appearance is the match on 7th of October 2011 with 67 appearances of England or its variations.

Appearance of the country name of the competing team
In total the country names of the competing teams have appeared 229 times. The average appearance of the country names of the competing teams and their different variations is 6.02 times in the selected texts. The frequency differs from texts with one appearance to texts with fifteen appearances. Most often the country names of the competing teams appeared four times in the selected articles. The number of appearances of the country names of the competing teams and its variations is stronger in the first half of the year 2011. The match with highest appearance is the match on 26th of March 2011 with 62 appearances of any of the competing team’s country names or its variations.
Correlation between usage of country’s names and points of publication

In articles published in the UK the means of appearance of country names of the English national team and the competing teams don’t differ greatly from each other. The frequency of the usage of England and its variations is higher than the ones by the competing teams. Before the match and on the same day of the match the means for both teams the frequencies are higher than on the day after the matches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country representation England</th>
<th>Country representation competing teams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day before match</td>
<td>5,58</td>
<td>6,83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of match</td>
<td>8,72</td>
<td>6,22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day after match</td>
<td>4,87</td>
<td>4,375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Correlation between means of country names and point of publication in articles from the UK

5.3 Sources and quotations

This section presents the findings of the representation of sources and the usage of quotations in the selected articles. First the results regarding the sources referring to the home teams are presented. Secondly, the quotations and sources referring to the competing teams are presented. The section is divided according to the two countries, Germany and the UK.

5.3.1 Representation of sources in German articles

The total amount of sources that have been quoted is 133. Sources have been used in 88% of the selected articles. In general the amount of sources used is higher at the beginning of the qualification in 2011. Especially the amount of indirect quotations is decreasing in the second half of 2011.

In general, there are differences in the usage of quotations by different sources across the various genres. In Germany, features have the highest mean of quotations of independent sources of all genres that are referring to the German national team. Commentaries on the other hand have on average the most quotations of sources referring to the competing teams.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Referring to the German national team</th>
<th>Referring to the competing national team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News articles</td>
<td>1,68</td>
<td>0,64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play-by-play</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Means of sources per genres in sports journalism in Germany
Sources referring to the German national team

In 79% of the selected articles sources associated with the German national team have been quoted. In total 78 sources connected to the home team have been used and quoted through direct quotations. In total 26 sources with indirect quotations have been used in the selected articles. On average each of the selected article featured 0,6 sources with indirect quotations and 1,81 sources with direct quotations.

The number of sources with direct quotations is the highest on the day after the match and the lowest on the days of the match. The number of sources with indirect quotations is the highest on the days before the match and the lowest on the match days itself.

In 65% of the selected articles there is a quotation by the coach of the home team. 60% of the selected articles feature quotations by players of the German national team.

16% of the articles include quotations by players of the competing teams referring to the German national team. 19% of the selected articles featured no quotations by any source that is relating to the German national team.

Sources referring to the competing teams

From the selected articles 32% include one or more sources quoted in relation to one of the competing teams. In total 21 sources related to one of the competing teams have been used and quoted through direct quotations. In total 8 sources with indirect quotations have been used. On average, each of the selected articles featured 0,18 sources with indirect quotations and 0,48 sources with direct quotations.

The number of sources with direct quotations is the highest on the day after the match has taken place and the lowest on the days of the match. The number of sources with indirect quotations is the same on the days and the day after the match.

Diagram 4: Distribution of articles from Germany in relation to all quoted sources referring to the competing teams
In 21% of the selected articles there is a quotation by the coach of a competing team relating to his own team. 19% of the selected articles feature quotations by players of the competing teams regarding their own teams. 21% of the articles include quotations by German players or the German coach referring to a competing team. 67% of the articles featured no quotations by any source making a statement regarding one of the competing teams.

5.3.2 Representation of sources in articles from the UK

In total, 68 sources with direct and indirect quotations have been used in the 38 articles. Sources have been used in 76% of the selected articles. In general the amount of sources is higher during the end of the qualification in comparison to the first half of 2011. Especially the amount of direct quotations is increasing in the second half of 2011.

In general, there are big differences in the usage of quotations by different independent sources in the different genres. Interviews have the highest mean of quotations of independent sources of all genres that are referring to the English national team.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Referring to the English national team</th>
<th>Referring to the competing national team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News articles</td>
<td>0,667</td>
<td>0,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>0,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play-by-play</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Means of sources per genres in sports journalism in the UK

Sources referring to the English national team

In 68% of the selected articles sources associated with the English national team have been quoted. In total 43 sources related to the home team have been used and quoted through direct quotations. In total 27 sources associated with the English national team have been quoted by direct quotations in the selected articles. On average each of the selected articles featured 0,39 sources with indirect quotations and 0,71 sources with direct quotations.

The number of sources with direct quotations is the highest on the days of the match. On the two other days the frequency of sources are equal. The number of sources with indirect quotations is the highest on the days of the match and the lowest on the days after the match.

In 29% of the selected articles there is a quotation by the coach of the home team relating to his own team. 26% feature quotations by players of the home team regarding their own team.
8% of the articles include quotations by players of the competing teams relating to the English national team. 40% feature no quotations by any source referring to the English national team.

**Sources referring to the competing teams**

From the selected articles 32% include one or more sources quoted in relation to a competing team. In total 26 sources referring to the competing teams have been used and quoted through direct quotations. In total 14 sources with direct quotations have been used in the selected articles. On average each of the articles features 0.31 sources with indirect quotations and 0.37 sources with direct quotations.

The number of sources with direct quotations is the lowest on the days after the match. On the other two days the amounts are equal. The number of total sources with indirect quotations is the highest on the day before the match.

![Diagram 5: Distribution of articles from UK in relation to all quoted sources referring to the competing teams](image)

In 21% of the selected articles there is a quotation by the coach of the competing team relating to his own team. 16% of the selected articles feature quotations by players of the competing teams regarding their own teams. 18% of the articles include quotations by English players or the English coach referring to the competing team. 55% of the selected articles featured no quotations by any source making a statement regarding the competing teams.

**5.4 The usage of pronouns**

As it has been discussed in the section regarding theories, an elementary part of the construction of difference is the usage of pronouns such as “we/us/our” and “they/them/their”. In this section the results of the empirical study regarding the usage of pronouns in the selected articles are presented.
5.4.1 The usage of pronouns in the German articles

Overall, “us/we” is used in the selected articles from Germany 133 times. They/them/their referring to the competing teams is used 45 times. On average, “us/we/our” is used 3.1 times per article. “They/them/their” referring to the German national team is used on average 0.51 times per article. “They/them/their” referring to the competing teams is utilized 1.05 times per article.

![Diagram 6: Medians of pronoun usage, divided among the six match days of the German team](image)

In articles published by Kicker.de the average frequency of “we/us/our” is twice in comparison to twice as many times in articles by Sport 1. “They/them/their” referring to the competing teams has a mean of 0.85 times per article for Kicker.de and a mean of 1.21 times for Sport1.

In twenty-four news articles, the average usage of “we/us/our” is 2.8 times per article. In comparison to “we/us/our”, “They/them/their” referring to the German national team appears 0.48 times per article and 0.96 times per article, referring to the competing team.

In two features, the average usage of “we/us/our” is 5.14 times per article in comparison to the usage of “They/them/their” referring to the German national team of 0.7 times and 1.14 times per article for referring to the competing team.

In ten play-by-play analyses, the average usage of “we/us/our” is 2.7 times, in comparison to the usage of “They/them/their” referring to the German national team of 0.4 times and 1.3 times per article referring to the competing team.

5.4.2 The usage of pronouns in the articles from the UK

Overall, “us/we/our” is used in the selected articles from the UK 130 times. They/them/their referring to the competing teams is used 73 times. On average, “us/we” is used 3.42 times in every article.
“They/them/their” referring to the English national team is used on average 1,9 times in all of the selected article. In total, “they/them/their” referring to the English national team has been used 72 times. “They/them/their” referring to the competing teams is utilized 1,92 times.

![Diagram 7: Medians of pronoun usage, divided among the six match days of the English team](image)

In articles published by BBC Sport the average usage of “we/us” is five times in comparison to two times in the articles by Sky Sports. “They/them/their” referring to the competing team has a mean of 1,9 times per article for both BBC Sport and Sky Sports.

In twenty-one **news articles**, the average usage of “we/us/our” is 2,46 times per article in comparison to the usage of “They/them/their” referring to the English national team of 1,38 times per article and 1,8 times per article for referring to the competing team.

In two **commentaries**, the average usage of “we/us/our” is one time per article in comparison to the usage of “They/them/their” referring to the English national team of 3,5 times per article and three times per article for referring to the competing team.

In ten **interviews**, the average usage of “we/us/our” is 7,6 times per article in comparison to the usage of “They/them/their” referring to the English national team of 1,2 times per article and 1,3 times per article for referring to the competing team.

In four **play-by-play analyses**, “we/us/our” is not used in any of the selected articles in comparison to the average usage of “They/them/their” referring to the English national team of 4,25 times per article and four times per article for referring to the competing team.

### 5.5 The usage of comparatives and superlatives

As it has been discussed in the theory chapter, an elementary part of the construction of difference is the usage of adjectives in their comparative and superlative forms. These two linguistic tools are especially important to develop either negative or positive propositions as well as they are an indicator of affection or relation between actors. Furthermore, comparatives and superlatives are used as an evaluative linguistic tool.
5.5.1 Comparatives and superlatives in the articles from Germany

Data regarding the usage of positive and negative adjectives in their comparative and/or superlative forms has been collected. In total four categories have been created relating to the German national team and the competing teams with the sub-categories regarding adjectives with positive and negative proposition.

In total 78 adjectives referring to the German national team occurred in their comparative and/or superlative forms. 76% of them have a positive proposition.

In total 42 adjectives referring to the competing teams appeared in their comparative and/or superlative forms. Adjectives with positive proposition appeared as often as adjectives with negative predicates.

Correlations of comparatives / superlatives and other categories

18 of the selected articles have a headline with a positive predication. In these articles 52% of the comparative or superlative forms with a positive predicate have appeared in relation to the German national team. The articles with a negative proposition in the headline account for 83% of the comparatives and superlatives with a negative underlying meaning. The same articles with negative propositions, account for 71% of the adjectives with negative predicates in their comparative and/or superlative forms referring to one of the competing teams.

Diagram 8: Means of comparatives and superlatives used in relation to the three points of publication in Germany

The relationship between genres in journalism and the usage of comparatives / superlatives has been correlated. The means of comparatives / superlatives are lower in genres such as news articles.
Table 9: Distribution of comparatives / superlatives per genre in the articles from Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre and number of articles</th>
<th>German national team</th>
<th>Competing teams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive comparatives / superlatives</td>
<td>Negative comparatives / superlatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News articles (25x)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features (7x)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary (1x)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play-by-play (10x)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total numbers</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2 Comparatives and superlatives in the articles from the UK

The study collected data regarding the usage of positive and negative adjectives in their comparative and/or superlative forms. The section follows the same structure as the previous.

In total 39 adjectives referring to the English national team occurred in their comparative and/or superlative forms. 72% of them have a positive proposition.

In total 28 adjectives referring to the competing teams appeared in their comparative and/or superlative forms. Adjectives with positive predicates account for 57% of the used superlatives and comparatives.

Correlations between comparatives/superlatives and other categories

10 of the selected articles have a headline with a positive proposition.

In these articles 21% of the comparative and / or superlative forms with a positive predicate have appeared in relation to the English national team. The articles with a negative proposition in the headline account for 73% of the comparatives and superlatives with a negative underlying meaning. The same articles account for 25% of the adjectives with negative association in their comparative and / or superlative referring to one of the competing teams. The total amount of adjectives in their comparative and superlative forms, which refer to the competing team, with a positive or a negative proposition is the same in articles that have a headline with a negative proposition. The amount of negative comparatives and superlatives in articles with neutral headlines is higher by only one additional comparative / superlative, in comparison to the positive ones.
The relationship between genres in journalism and the usage of superlatives / comparative has been correlated. The means of comparatives / superlatives are lower in genres that feature the most articles, while they are high in genres that feature own opinions and quotations.

### Table 10 Distribution of comparatives / superlatives per genre in the articles from the UK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre and number of articles</th>
<th>Positive comparatives / superlatives</th>
<th>Negative comparatives / superlatives</th>
<th>Positive comparatives / superlatives</th>
<th>Negative comparatives / superlatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News articles (21x)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features (1x)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary (2x)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews (10x)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play-by-play (4x)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total numbers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6 Summary

In Germany and the UK the amount of articles published during the five, respectively six Qualification matches is similar. Overall, the amount of articles published on the day of the match is the highest. The distribution of articles according to the proposition of the headline is connected to the headline actor. It demonstrates that articles, which have a positive proposition in the headline, usually have a member of the home team as main actor of the headline as well.
The representation of the home teams in the accompanying pictures lies at 52% in comparison to the competing teams with a representation of 15%.

In Germany the usage of country names referring to the competing teams is higher than the usage of variations of Germany. In the UK the opposite has been observed. In both countries, the usage of country names on the days of the matches is the highest. In both countries more than twice as many sources referring to the home teams have been used than ones that refer to the competing teams.

The source that has been quoted referring to the competing teams the most in both countries is the coach of the competing teams. While more direct quotations are used for the representation of the home teams, mostly indirect quotations are used for the representation of competing teams.

The pronouns “we/us/our” are used more frequently than “they/them/their” referring to the competing team. Only very seldom “they/them/their” is used for the home teams. The usage of “they/them/their” referring to the competing teams is higher than in Germany. While the average usage of “we/us/our” and “they/them/their” is the highest in features in Germany, in the UK they are used the most in the genre of interviews.

The usage of comparatives / superlatives in Germany is higher than in the UK. Comparatives / superlatives with positive propositions account for more than 50% in both countries. In Germany comparatives / superlatives with negative and positive propositions appear in connection with the competing team equal amounts of time.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the results of the quantitative content analysis in regards to the sub research questions and answer the hypotheses.
Chapter 6: Discussion

The discussion chapter is structured according to the three sub research questions and their hypotheses. In total there are four sections. The first three sections will discuss one of the sub research questions. The fourth is a summary of the most important findings of the quantitative content analysis.

6.1 How is the representation of the different teams connected to the nationalist positionings?

This sub research question has been broken down into five hypotheses in order to answer it. The hypotheses are focusing on the propositions, the main actors and the usage of the country’s names in their different variations.

6.1.1 If the headline has a positive proposition, the main actor of it is the home team.

The empirical study shows that this hypothesis is partially true. It applies fully applies to the articles from Germany. In the UK on the other hand, it applies to less than 50% of the articles with a positive proposition. The result shows that there is a tendency in Germany to portray the German national team in a more positive way than the competing teams. While the publishers in the UK seem to be more balanced, the Germans give their article a more positive proposition if it relates to their own team. The finding from Germany and the UK are in line with van Dijks (1991: 69) research regarding racism in the press. In both countries, the articles, which have one of the competing teams as main actor, have seldom a positive, frequently a neutral and very often a negative proposition. According to van Dijk (1991) this choice of actor-proposition relation has an effect on the cognitive understanding of the article by the audience. This means that this is an important tool of constructing difference between the participating national teams. In conclusion, this can be understood as nationalistic bias in reporting or in other words a form of nationalism.

6.1.2 If there is a picture showing one or several members of the home team, the proposition of the headline is positive.

The connection between an image and the proposition of the headline is very important for articles published on the internet, because above all the internet is a very visual media (Kolodzy, 2006). The picture connected to an article is important because it sets the tone of it even before the article has been read by the reader (Kolodzy, 2006).
In Germany and the UK the representation of the national football team on the accompanying pictures of the online publications is almost equally high (GER: 65%; UK 70%). The results regarding the correlation between the focus of the picture and the proposition of the headline are different in Germany in comparison to the UK. In the UK the correlation between the headline and the proposition of the article in general follows the same logic as presented by van Dijk (1991). The result is the same as presented regarding the previous hypothesis. The competing teams are seldom put in a positive context. Again, this should be seen as a subtle from of nationalism and othering (van Dijk, 1991; Eide, 2011).

In Germany the correlation is different. First of all, it needs to be noted that only in three of the selected articles one of the competing teams is the main actor of the picture. In all cases, the proposition is neutral. If the German national team is represented on the picture, the headline predicate is often negative. This is ambivalent to the results of the previous hypothesis. However, the findings are comparable to the results of Stocker's (2009) study in Austria, where he observed that pictures are not that frequently used by the press to emotionalize the topic. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the pictures in Germany are used to emphasize nationalist positioning.

This means that the hypothesis applies to British publications, but it does not apply to the publications from Germany.

6.1.3 The home team is more often the main actor of the article than one of the competing teams.

The relation between subject and main topic of any article is according to van Dijk (1991: 85) very important. It is also a reflection of what is seen as the main value proposition of the article as a whole. Furthermore, if one angle and main actor is chosen more prominently than another, it will stay in the minds of the audience longer and more prominent than the other (van Dijk, 1991; Hall, 1997).

In general, the empirical study shows that the home national teams are the main actors of a majority of the articles (78%). However, the distribution of the main actors differs in Germany, in comparison to the UK. While in Germany the team as a whole or the coach are the main actors of more than 80% of the articles, in the UK individual players are more often the main actors than for example the coach. In addition, while in Germany it is mostly the whole team, who is the main actor. In the UK it is individuals that are selected as the main actors of the articles.
This shows that in Germany the identification with the team as a whole is more important than in the UK. The representation of the German national team is important for the construction of an identity. As it has been concluded by various researchers, the identification process with your own national team is an elementary part of sports journalism and the coverage of sporting events (Tervo, 2002; Crowford, 2004; Schmalenbach, 2009). This observation is important, because it shows that in Germany nationalist positionings are substantiated by making the team the central point of identification. In the UK this is accomplished through a process of identifying oneself with individuals as described by Hall (1997).

6.1.4 The name of the “home” country and its different forms (German, Germanic…. or England, English…) are mentioned more often than the one of the competing teams

The representation of the competing teams in Germany is a good example of what van Dijk (1991) describes as lexical style of constructing difference. In the German articles, the names of the countries are in important part of representing difference between the two competing teams. This is why the country names of the competing teams are on average used almost twice as often as a variation of Germany. The reason for this approach also needs to be seen in the light of the othering process as it has been described by Eide (2011). Here the implied “us” is the basic perspective of the writer. This approach ensures that an inner group (the Germans) and an outer group are created. In this context, the usage of the country names needs to be seen as an approach to strengthen nationalist positioning.

In the UK the appearances of the country’s name of the competing team and the English national team is rather balanced, with the home team being represented on average one more time. This result is comparable to the results of Malcom (2009), who describes the recent struggle in British sports reporting of what is part or not of the national identity. The usage of the country name and its variations can be used to define the nationalist positioning in the article.

All in all, it can be concluded that the hypothesis does not apply to both of the two countries for different reasons. In Germany the country names are used to construct difference by using the country names of the competing teams more often. For the UK, the hypothesis does not apply, because the country names appear almost equally.
6.2 How are sources and quotations used to support the nationalist positionings?

Setting up an identity for the main actors of an article is an important aspect of storytelling. Theories of how identities can be developed through representation and signifying practices has been formulated by van Dijk (1991), Fairclough (1995) and Stuart Hall (1997). The following section will focus on the process of creating identities through the usage and representation of sources. According to van Dijk (1991) sources and their quotations are also an important part of the construction of meaning as well as difference.

When comparing the results to the study conducted by van Dijk (1991) in news journalism to the results of this research and other previous studies, it can be concluded that the most important source in sports journalism is the journalist him-/herself. Schmalenbach (2007) and Stocker (2009) support this observation due to their own study findings. They concluded that in sports journalism the journalists mostly write from an eyewitness’s perspective. This means, the journalists are using sources mainly to support their own interpretation of reality.

The following four hypotheses have been formulated to help answering whether or not sources and quotations are used to set up identities through which difference is constructed and nationalism is substantiated.

6.2.1 The amount of sources representing the teams depends on the genre in sports journalism.

The genres in sports journalism are important for the selection of sources and quotations, because they depend greatly on the relationship between the journalist and his/her textual output (Eide 2011). While in some genres source are seen as unnecessary, other genres depend on the choice of sources. There are big differences in the average usage of sources and quotations in the different genres of sports journalism. While in Germany sources are especially used in the genres of commentaries and play-by-play analyses, in the UK the most independent sources and quotations are used in interviews and news articles. The research findings show that especially the usage of sources in play-by-play analyses differs, because in the UK no sources are used in this genre. In general, you can say that in the UK quotations of different sources are less often used in comparison to Germany. The genre of news articles has a comparable mean of direct and indirect quotations by independent sources in both countries.
The interpretation of this difference is different by German and British sports journalists, while sources seem to be important for play-by-play analyses in Germany they are seen as unnecessary in the UK. The usage of sources in Germany seem to be used to support rather the opinion of the journalist, this is why they appear more frequently in commentaries and play-by-play analysis.

The hypothesis has been proven by the empirical study, because the means of direct and indirect quotations are changing according to the journalistic genres. However, this should be understood as a tendency within the genre of sports journalism.

6.2.2 The sources by the home team are more often represented by direct quotes

In both countries the amount of direct quotations by sources related to the home teams are higher than the direct quotations by sources from any of the competing teams. This means the hypothesis has been confirmed.

In Germany almost four times as many direct quotations by source related to the German national team have been used in comparison to sources linked to any of the competing teams. In the UK, the total amount of sources is one fourth of the amount used in Germany. This means that in Germany the presence of sources is important for the narrative structure of the articles. This result should also be seen in relation to the conclusions by Schmalenbach (2007) and Stocker (2009) that the distance in Germany / Austria between the journalists and the teams are very close. In addition, it needs to be noted that when a team is playing outside the country, the journalists are usually travelling with them. In war journalism this is called “embedded journalism” (Schmalenbach, 2009).

The most important source in sports journalism is the coach, because in most articles with only one source it is the most quoted one. According to van Dijk’s (1991: 151-153) theory regarding the usage of sources, this means that the representation of the home teams are more important than the representation of the competing teams. In his analysis of racism in the press, he observed a similar tendency in news journalism. At the same time, this means that sources and quotations are used to substantiate nationalist positionings by prioritizing sources by the journalists own nationality over the other.
6.2.3 Sources by the competing teams are mostly represented with indirect quotes

Continuing the discussion of the previous hypothesis, this hypothesis focuses on the frequency of indirect quotation of sources associated with the competing team. Van Dijk (1991) lines out that it does not only matter how somebody is quoted, also the way how they are quoted is important. As lined out in the theoretical part of this study, in the hierarchy of importance, indirect quotations are below direct quotations.

In the German articles the competing teams have been referred to by more direct quotations than indirect quotations. However, a lot of the quotations referring to the competing teams are by representatives of the German national team. According to the representation of sources, quotations of the coach of the competing team are more important than any other source in the German articles. This observation is in line with the findings regarding the previous hypothesis. Coaches act as a voice of authority. Interestingly, quotations by players of the German national team are frequently used as reference for the competing teams. This tendency can be seen in connection with an othering process, because only the opinion of the “home” side is used to represent the different teams. This observation is in line with the othering theory as introduced by Hall (1997) and Eide (2011).

In the articles from the UK, the usage of quotations referring to the competing teams is very similar to the German approach. There are also more direct quotes used than indirect quotes. However, on average there are more sources referring to the competing team are used than in comparison to Germany. Also in the texts from the UK the coaches of the competing teams are the most quoted sources referring to their own teams. In case of the UK also players of the English national team are often used for referring to the home team.

The hypothesis has not been confirmed, because in both countries more direct quotes have been used, referring to the competing teams. However, there is a tendency that the amount of quotations referring to the competing teams by representatives of the “home” team and the competing teams are equal. This leads to an under representation of quotations by sources that do not have the same nationality as the home team. This supports the observation that quotations are used as a way to support the nationalist positioning of the journalist.
6.2.4 If the main actor of the headline is the competing team, more sources referring to the competing teams are used

In total 83 direct and indirect quotations by independent sources have been used in articles, whose main actor is the German national team. This accounts for 80% of all the sources referring to the German national team. In comparison to this in the articles from the UK this accounts for only 43% of the sources quoted in the articles with the English national team as main actor.

The result of the articles from Germany can be related to the conclusion by van Dijk (1991) that there is a direct connection between the main actor of headlines and the representation of nationalist positionings through the usage of quotations by different dependent and independent sources. Especially when taking his statement regarding the selection and relevance of direct and indirect quotations, then it shows that in the German mediation of sports sources are a crucial element of constructing difference. This also needs to be understood in connection with the representation theory by Hall (1997), who says that the more something is quoted or represented the more importance it has for the story. Furthermore, this can also be seen as a tool to construct difference by creating heroes and villains, as described by Hall (1997). This is why, the usage of sources should be seen as a mechanism that strengthens or weakens nationalist positionings.

6.3 How are some linguistic tools used to construct nationalist positionings?

This category of the content analysis is dedicated to the usage of different linguistic tools that are used to construct difference. The content analysis only featured a quantitative approach in order to collect statistical data. This aspect is important, because it can unveil mechanisms that are sometimes used in a subtle way by the journalists in regards to nationalist positionings. However, due to the fact that they are more or less hidden, it requires a certain degree of interpretation by the researcher. These mechanisms can feature the usage of special words and phrases. According to van Dijk (1991) these kind of linguistic approaches are important for the construction of difference in textual output. In his research regarding racism in textual output, he concluded that linguistic elements, such as pronouns, comparatives and superlatives, are often used for the construction of difference.
6.3.1 There is a correlation between the usage of pronouns, comparatives / superlatives and the different genres in sports journalism

The data collected shows that there is a connection between the usage of pronouns, comparatives / superlatives and genres in both countries. The results of the study show that in different genres in sports journalism the presence of pronouns and comparatives / superlatives differs greatly. While in Germany in genres such as news articles and features “we/us/our” and “they/them/their” are used more often, in the UK they appear especially in interviews and play-by-play analyses. The same is true for journalistic genres in regards to the usage of comparatives / superlatives. According to van Dijk (1991) if especially pronouns are used more frequently, it is an indication that the journalist wants to help the reader to identify him-or herself with one of the actors.

This tendency is in both countries the contrary to the usage and quotation of sources in the different genres. It can be concluded that the genres that feature many different sources do not include many pronouns or comparatives / superlatives. Also while the usage of direct and indirect quotations is more obvious, for example by using quotation marks, the usage of for example pronouns, is a more subtle strategy of creating difference between nationalist positionings. This at the same times means that there are genres that are more likely to include forms of nationalism. In conclusion, the hypothesis has been confirmed. There are genres that rely more on the usage of pronouns and comparative / superlatives, while others are using them in less cases.

6.3.2 The pronouns “we/us/our” is used more often than the pronouns “they/them/their” referring to the competing team

The usage of pronouns is according to van Dijk (1991), Hall (1997) and Eide (2011) an important linguistic tool of constructing difference in texts. This aspect is also important, because it implies an inner and an outer group (Eide, 2011). Stocker (2009) states in his conclusions that pronouns are mainly used in tabloids and each category does not occur on average more than one or two times. This result is in line with the findings from Germany in regards to the usage of “they/them/their” referring to the competing teams. The overall mean of the usage of “they/them/their” in connection with the home team is at 1,04. On the other hand, “we/us/our” is used on average 3 times per article in Germany.
From this it can be concluded that the representation of the inner group is more important than the comparison to the outer group. This supports the observation that the nationalist positioning is substantiated by the journalist’s nationality.

If the results by Stocker (2009) are compared to the results regarding the articles from the UK the frequency of the usage of “they/them/their” referring to the competing team has the same frame in both studies. In the UK the mean of “they/them/their” being used is 1.9. This means that in the UK “they/them/their” are used almost twice as many times as in Germany. The results regarding the usage of “we/us/our” however does not differ that much between the two countries (GER: 3 and UK: 3,4).

The hypothesis has therefore been proven. This aspect is very important, because it shows that the inner group or the nationalist positioning of the home team is strengthened through the more frequent use of pronouns describing a sense of belonging.

6.3.3 Matches that have a positive propositions feature more positive comparatives and superlatives

This hypothesis has been developed to test if the proposition of the headline is reflected in the usage of comparatives / superlatives. This also tests, if van Dijk’s (1991) theory regarding the role of the headline as a reflection of the proposition of the article at large is in line with the findings of the content analysis.

For Germany, the hypothesis has been confirmed, more than 50% of the comparatives / superlatives with a positive proposition are used in articles with a headline with a positive proposition. In articles with negative propositions, 28% of the comparatives / superlatives with a positive connotation have been used.

In the UK, this tendency is not followed. Only 20% of the comparatives / superlatives with a positive connotation are used in articles with a positive proposition. In articles with negative headlines around 55% of the comparatives / superlatives with positive connotations are used. Therefore the hypothesis cannot be proven for the UK. Also it seems that the theory by van Dijk (1991) can only be applied for some textual output.

This hypothesis also proves that in some countries comparatives / superlatives are used to construct difference and support nationalist positionings.
6.3.4 The usage of positive, negative comparatives and superlatives is dependent on the point of publication (Before, same days and days after match)

In both countries the average usage of positive adjectives in their comparative / superlative forms are the highest on the day before the matches. The usage on the day after the matches is also higher than on the match days themselves. The usage of comparatives / superlatives with a negative connotation on the other hand cannot be assigned to the publishing points so easily. The frequency of negative comparatives / superlatives changes between the articles from Germany and the articles from the UK.

While in the UK no negative comparative or superlative is used on the day before, they are the highest on the day after the match. In comparison to that the comparatives with negative propositions and referring to the competing teams are decreasing from the day before to the day after the match. In Germany on the other hand, there is no clear tendency visible. While the comparatives and superlatives with a positive predicate connected to the competing teams stay consistent during the three days the negative ones are changing. On the day of the match, the amount is the highest, while on the day after it is the lowest.

These tendencies are persistent in both countries. Therefore it can be concluded that the point of publication is a relevant factor for the usage of comparatives and superlatives. This is in line with Kroppach’s (in Stocker, 2009) explanations that superlatives are especially used to emotionalize the reporting and through that keeping the attention of the audience. The heavy use of comparatives and superlatives before the match is an indication that sports journalists try to gain or keep the audience entertained and loyal to their reporting. In addition, according to Kroppach (in Stocker, 2009) this can be used by journalists to strengthen nationalist tendencies.

6.4 Summary

From the discussion of the research findings in connection with different theories and previous research the sub research question and hypotheses have been answered and discussed.

There are different ways how nationalist positionings are represented within articles. It needs to be noted that there are differences between the usage of representations of nationality in the UK and Germany. In Germany and the UK the headline and its proposition play an important part to lay the tone of the coverage. The frequency and the proposition of headlines and associated pictures are portraying the home teams in a more positive way.
You can say that journalists base the nationalist positioning of their articles on their own nationality. This aspect has before been analyzed by van Dijk (1991) and is supported through the studies by Stocker (2009). Also it needs to be noted, that the textual output published on internet is no different to other media platforms. The construction of difference can be interpreted as a substantiation of the nationalist positioning of the journalist. However, there are two approaches to it, (a) the other nationality is used for differentiation and (b) the own nationality is represented more frequently to substantiate the nationalist positioning of the journalist.

One tendency that has been observed is the fact that in general quotations by sources from the competing teams are underrepresented. This means that most of the opinions represented in the articles are by representatives of the “home” team. Sports journalists have a special kind of relationship to their sources in comparison to other genres in journalism. Similar to the approach of sports journalism is for example war journalism that not so much focuses on being unbiased or objective (Gavin, 2007; Alghasi, 2011). In both genres of journalism it is more important that the nationalist positioning of the “home” group is strengthened. This connection has been drawn by various researchers before (Beck & Bosshart, 2003b; Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009).

Linguistic tools can be understood as a method for constructing difference and developing nationalist positionings. In addition, it is often used in a more subtle way to put the nationalist positionings into the reality that is created by the journalists. The usage of pronouns is an essential part of making a difference between an outer and an inner group (van Dijk, 1991; Eide, 2011). However, it needs to be noted that their usage differs from country to country. Even though van Dijk (1991) concluded that parts of the press in the UK and in Germany have a similar approach regarding displaying nationalist positionings. The empirical study shows that while pronouns are mainly used in the UK, in Germany it is the comparatives / superlatives that have a stronger role in constructing difference.

The usage of pronouns in the UK is more intensive than it is in Germany. Especially the usage of “they/them/their” referring to the competing teams is more intense. This is an indication that the othering process as suggested by Eide (2011) in form of an “us-versus-them” approach occurs in the UK on a regular basis. In Germany the proposition of the headline is continued through the usage of more comparatives / superlatives with positive propositions. Here the “us-versus-them” approach applies the usage of adjectives to represent the difference between identities, as it has been proposed by van Dijk (1991).
Chapter 7: Conclusions

The study of previous research, theories and the quantitative content analysis show that nationalism is substantiated in the mediation of sport across different platforms. One reason for this may be resting in the relationship between sports, nation states and the media. All three of them are dependent on the dominating values and ideologies as a driving factor. These factors have shaped the understanding and interpretation of sports as a tool of social development in the broader context of nations (Morgan, 2000; Beck & Bosshart, 2003b).

At the same time less money is invested in staff and its training (Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009). This could be one of the reasons, why for example in Germany, sports journalism is dominated by sports experts rather than trained journalists (Schlegel, 2007; Schmalenbach, 2009). These “experts” tend to be closer to the sports teams, associations or fans than they are balanced in their writing (Schmalenbach, 2009; Stocker, 2009). This is one of the reasons, why nationalist positionings are reproduced in a majority of articles. Nationalist positionings are one way how the media can increase their audience share by using national affection and entertainment as their main selling points (Crowford, 2004; Raney, 2006). Articles on the internet are using pictures and various linguistic tools to create affection (van Dijk, 1991; Stocker, 2009). The empirical study has shown that in Germany mainly comparatives / superlatives are used, while in the UK pronouns are more important for constructing difference and affection.

Sports can be seen as a vehicle to construct and define national identities and at the same time affect people (Crowford, 2004). The construction of difference is a mechanism that can be often used for creating nationalist positionings (Morgan, 2000; Tervo, 2002). The understanding of nation as a construction of the nationscape and nationalism are important for the interpretation of nationality and its representation in textual output (Östman, 2009). This differentiation is important to comprehend what constitutes nationalist positionings in sports reporting. The results of the empirical study show that there can be different approaches to it.

One key aspect of the construction of difference is the othering process, which can be applied to create distance between positionings (Eide, 2011). However, these kinds of constructions and positionings might not be obviously represented in the text and can be more subtle as well as not purposely applied in the textual output (Bruce, 2004). Even though the process might be more subtle, it shows that nationality or nationalism can be seen as a driving factor in sports journalism.
The research results show that in Germany as well as in the UK nationalist positionings are substantiated in the mediation of sport events through a variety of tools. Also the different genres of publication, like news articles, editorials and commentaries in sports journalism show different approaches towards methods of representation (Stocker, 2009). In general, the construction of difference is an important mechanism to define nationality. Therefore, the textual output surrounding the qualification of the European Football Championship 2012 features various approaches towards nationality. Important tools of representation are the usage of country names and their variations. In Germany, these country names are more frequently used for representing the competing teams and in order to create distance between the “own” and the “other” national teams. This approach has been described in the theories by Eide (2011) and van Dijk (1991) as a mechanism to differentiate between an inner and an outer group. In opposition to that, in the UK the country names of the home team and the competing teams are used almost equal amounts of time.

In contrast to representation of nationality, the usage of sources and quotations is more important in the UK to represent the English national team by using more direct quotations. This, according to van Dijk (1991) adds more authority and importance to the position of the “own” team. By giving one of the teams more authority over the other, identities for the different teams and their nationalist positionings are composed. The position of representatives by the competing team is not deemed relevant for the audience or the narrative structure. However, it needs to be noted that usually the main source of any article, in the UK and Germany is the journalist him-/herself (Weiß, 1990; Stocker, 2009). This is why the reality constructed in these articles is mostly based on the reproduction of realities by means of journalistic observations as an eyewitness. This explains, why on average less than two or three different sources and quotations are used in sports reporting. In most texts the quotations are by either individual players or the coach of the teams. As a conclusion of the empirical study, the coaches play an important role in the narrative structure of articles, because they are the main authority represented in sports journalism.

As it has been described earlier, sports journalism depends on the emotionalization of sports. One of the tools for this is the usage of pronouns such as “we/us/our” or “they/them/their” as well as the usage of adjectives in their comparative / superlative forms (van Dijk, 1991; Stocker 2009). These lexical tools are used in the mediation of sports in the UK and Germany on a regular basis to strengthen the nationalist positionings.
While in the UK especially “us/we/our” and “they/them/their” are used to underline the difference between their own team and the competing teams, in Germany comparatives / superlatives are used to construct this kind of difference. You can say pronouns and comparatives / superlatives are very important for the construction of difference. In addition, they are commonly used to substantiate the distance between an inner and an outer group, in this case between nationalities. This approach can be understood as a form of nationalism. In addition, this kind of approach has also been applied in other journalistic genres (Eide 2011), but the intensity as it has been observed in sports journalism across a variety of media platforms, makes sports journalism standing out.

In conclusion, in mediated online sports reporting nationalist positionings are an important tool to develop identities and establish relations or difference between nationalities. International sports reporting are used to reproduce the nationalist positionings of the journalists. It is important to understand that the construction of difference is one crucial mechanism for the development and definition of nationalist positionings. The construction of difference between these positionings is often rather subtle and might not be noticed by the audience at large. The study has shown that the mechanisms used in Germany are similar to the tools used in the UK. Also the extent to which nationalist positionings are reproduced in both countries is similar. All in all, online sports journalism in both countries is supporting the nationalistic tendencies of the countries at large. This means that nationalism in sports is also a phenomenon that has extended onto the internet.
Bibliography


Appendix:

Code Book

1. Article number
   Each article is assigned a number

Demographics

3. Language of publication: 1. German 2. English
4. Distribution according to the match days that are mainly covered in the article. The codes are the 8 match days (some with simultaneous matches of Germany and UK)
   1. 26. March 2011
   2. 03. June 2011
   3. 04. June 2011
   4. 07. June 2011
   5. 02. September 2011
   6. 06. September 2011
   7. 07. October 2011
   8. 11. October 2011

5. Publication before, during or after match (categorical):
   1. Before match 2. On same day as match 3. On day after match

6. In this category, the genres as defined before has been divided into the following codes (categorical):
   1. News article (Following the inverted pyramid structure.)
   2. Features (Longer stories that include other aspects of the match e.g. hooligans and are not written following the inverted pyramid)
   3. Commentary (Opinionated article written by one or several authors)
   4. Interviews (Portray of one person or a few people that reflects the opinion of the person being interviewed.
   5. Play-by-play coverage (The storyline of the text is following the order of the parts of the game as it happens)
   6. Other

If the article is accompanied with different other forms of media output.
7. Is the article accompanied with a video: 1. yes 2. no
8. Is the article accompanied with audio: 1. yes 2. no
9. Is the article accompanied with pictures: 1. yes 2. no
10. Is the article accompanied with a comment function/discussion board or forum: 1. yes 2. no
11. Who is represented on the picture:
   a. Home team
   b. Competing team
   c. Both
   d. Neither
   e. Unclear
   f. No picture

**Headline and topic**
12. Who is the main actor(s) in the headline of the text:
   a. Home team/player/coach
   b. Competing team/player/coach
   c. Both
   d. Neither nor
   e. Unclear
13. The headline of the article has a:
   a. Positive predicate
   b. Neutral predicate
   c. Negative predicate
   d. Unclear
14. What is the main subject of the article
   a. The match or event itself (Episode)
   b. The EURO 2012 in general (Background)
   c. Reactions/Evaluations focusing on the home team (Comments)
   d. Reactions/Evaluations focusing on the competing team (Comments)
   e. Other subjects, for example focusing on spectators or hooligans
   f. Unclear
15. Who is the main actor of the article:
   a. The home team
   b. The competing team
   c. An individual player of the home team
d. An individual player of the competing team  
e. The coach of the home team  
f. The coach of the competing team  
g. other  
h. unclear  

Identity, sources and quotation  
16. How often does the home country appear in the text (numerical)  
17. How often does the country of the other team appear in the text (numerical)  
18. How many sources by the home team appear in the text through direct quotes (numerical)  
19. How many sources by the home team appear in the text through indirect quotes (numerical)  
20. How many sources by the other team appear in the text through direct quotes (numerical)  
21. How many sources by the other team appear in the text through indirect quotes (numerical)  
22. What kind of sources are used to represent the home team (it is possible that more than one are selected)  
a. Home team players 1. yes 2. no  
b. Competing team players 1. yes 2. no  
c. Coach home team 1. yes 2. no  
d. Coach away team 1. yes 2. no  
e. Officials (Referees, associations…) of the home team 1. yes 2. no  
f. Officials (Referees, associations…) of the competing team 1. yes 2. no  
g. Fans associate with the home team 1. yes 2. no  
h. Fans associated with the competing team 1. yes 2. no  
i. other sources 1. yes 2. no  
23. What kind of sources are used to represent the competing team (it is possible that more than one are selected)  
a. Home team players 1. yes 2. no  
b. Competing team players 1. yes 2. no  
c. Coach home team 1. yes 2. no  
d. Coach away team 1. yes 2. no  
e. Officials (Referees, associations…) of the home team 1. yes 2. no
f. Officials (Referees, associations…) of the competing team 1. yes 2. no

 g. Fans associate with the home team 1. yes 2. no

 h. Fans associated with the competing team 1. yes 2. no

 i. other sources 1. yes 2. no

 **Usage of pronouns**

 24. How often are the pronouns We / Us used in the text, referring to the home team?  
     (numerical)

 25. How often are the pronouns They / Them used, referring to the home team?  
     (numerical)

 26. How often are the pronouns They / Them used, referring to the competing team?  
     (numerical)

 **Usage of comparatives and superlatives**

 27. How many positive comparative and superlative adjectives are used representing the home team?  

 28. How many negative comparative and superlative adjectives are used representing the home team in a negative way?  

 29. How many positive comparative and superlative adjectives are used representing the competing team?  

 30. How many negative comparative and superlative adjectives are used representing the competing team?
List of links of all 81 articles

The selected articles from Germany:


**The selected articles from the UK**


