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**GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SPORTS
MEDIA: A QUANTITATIVE CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF FEMALE ATHLETE
REPRESENTATION IN THE SPANISH
NEWSPAPER MARCA**

TRABAJO FIN DE GRADO

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Abstract

Gender representation in sports media has been widely studied, yet research on routine sports journalism in specific national contexts remains limited. This study examines the extent to which gender stereotypes appear in the coverage of female athletes in the Spanish sports newspaper MARCA and across which thematic dimensions they are distributed.

A quantitative content analysis was conducted on 96 articles published in the digital edition of MARCA between 4 December 2025 and 1 February 2026. A deductive coding framework based on four stereotype dimensions derived from existing literature was applied: performance-related stereotypes, appearance-focused stereotypes, emotional and personal stereotypes and masculine/feminine sport classification.

The findings show that 20 of the 96 analysed articles (20.8 %) contained at least one gender stereotype, indicating that stereotypical framing occurs selectively rather than systematically. Emotional and personal stereotypes constituted the most frequently occurring dimension, identified in 13 stereotype-containing articles, followed by masculine/feminine sport classification stereotypes in seven articles. Performance-related and appearance-focused stereotypes were rare, each identified in only two articles.

These results suggest that gender stereotypes in contemporary Spanish sports journalism operate less through overt exclusion and more through subtle narrative emphasis, particularly in emotional and personal framing. The findings contribute to existing research on gendered media representations and highlight the importance of examining not only the visibility of female athletes, but also the recurring patterns through which their achievements are framed.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, sports media, female athletes, content analysis, MARCA

Resumen

La representación de género en los medios deportivos ha sido ampliamente estudiada, aunque la investigación sobre el periodismo deportivo de rutina en contextos nacionales específicos sigue siendo escasa. Este estudio analiza en qué medida aparecen estereotipos de género en la cobertura de deportistas femeninas en el periódico deportivo español MARCA y en qué dimensiones temáticas se concentran.

Se llevó a cabo un análisis de contenido cuantitativo sobre 96 artículos publicados en la edición digital de MARCA entre el 4 de diciembre de 2025 y el 1 de febrero de 2026. Se aplicó un sistema de codificación deductivo basado en cuatro dimensiones de estereotipos obtenidas de la literatura existente: estereotipos relacionados con el rendimiento, estereotipos centrados en la apariencia, estereotipos emocionales y personales, y la clasificación de deportes como masculinos o femeninos.

Los resultados muestran que 20 de los 96 artículos analizados (20,8 %) contenían al menos un estereotipo de género, lo que indica que los estereotipos aparecen de forma selectiva y no sistemática. Los estereotipos emocionales y personales fueron los más frecuentes, identificados en 13 artículos, seguidos de los estereotipos de clasificación masculina/femenina del deporte en siete artículos. Los estereotipos relacionados con el rendimiento y los centrados en la apariencia fueron poco frecuentes, identificados en apenas dos artículos cada uno.

Estos resultados sugieren que los estereotipos de género en el periodismo deportivo español contemporáneo se manifiestan menos a través de la exclusión explícita y más a través de patrones narrativos sutiles, especialmente en el ámbito emocional y personal. Los hallazgos contribuyen a la investigación existente sobre representación de género en los medios y destacan la importancia de analizar no solo la visibilidad de las deportistas, sino también los patrones con los que se presenta su trayectoria.

Palabras clave: estereotipos de género, medios deportivos, deportistas femeninas, análisis de contenido, MARCA

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1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research topic, outlines the research problem and provides the context and objective of the study. It further offers a brief methodological overview and explains the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1 Context and General Purpose

Sport occupies a central position in contemporary society, functioning not only as a form of entertainment but also as a cultural institution that reflects and reproduces broader social norms (Koivula, 1995). Within this context, sports journalism plays an important role in shaping public perceptions of athletes and athletic achievement (Fink, 2015).

The present study therefore examines gender representation in sports media, with a specific focus on whether and how gender stereotypes appear in the coverage of female athletes. The study focuses on the digital edition of the Spanish sports newspaper MARCA.

The general purpose of the study is to examine whether female athletes are portrayed through recurring forms of gendered framing in sports journalism.

1.2 Justification of the Research

This study is motivated by both academic and social relevance. Previous research has consistently shown that women's sport remains underrepresented in sports media and that female athletes are often portrayed differently from male athletes, for example through greater emphasis on appearance, emotions, or personal life (Fink, 2015; Crolley & Teso, 2007; Carter et al., 2015). The scale of this imbalance is reflected in international survey data, which indicate that male athletes dominate the narrative in over 85 % of sports reports, while the authorship remains overwhelmingly male at over 90 % (Yellow Window, 2016). However, much of this research has focused on Anglo-American contexts or major international events. Less attention has been paid to routine sports journalism within specific national media systems, particularly in Spain (Crolley & Teso, 2007; Gómez-Colell et al., 2017).

The topic is also socially relevant because sports media help shape broader ideas about gender, competence and legitimacy in sport. The way female athletes are represented therefore matters not only for media coverage itself, but also for wider debates on gender equality (Vaquero-Cristóbal et al., 2024).

On a personal level, this research is motivated by a strong interest in the relationship between sport, media and gender representation. This interest initially emerged from questions concerning the visibility of women in leadership roles within sport and later developed into a broader interest in how women in sport are represented in media discourse. The portrayal of female athletes in sports journalism became a particularly relevant subject for systematic analysis.

1.3 Research Objectives and Contribution

The broader problem addressed in this thesis concerns persistent gender inequalities in sport and sports media. More specifically, the study examines whether such inequalities are reproduced through recurring stereotype patterns in the journalistic coverage of female athletes. Against this background, the study is guided by the following research question:

To what extent and across which thematic dimensions do gender stereotypes appear in the coverage of female athletes in the digital edition of the Spanish sports newspaper MARCA?

The main objective of this study is to identify and classify gender-related stereotypes in MARCA's coverage of women's sport.

By addressing this objective, the study seeks to contribute to existing research on gender representation in sports media. In particular, it provides empirical evidence on recurring patterns of stereotypical framing in Spanish sports journalism, a context that remains comparatively underexplored in the literature (Guerrero, 2022; Gómez-Colell et al., 2017). The study therefore contributes not only to academic research on gender and sports media, but also offers relevant insights for sports journalists, editors and media organisations interested in more balanced reporting practices.

1.4 Methodological Overview

This thesis combines a theoretical literature review with an empirical quantitative content analysis. The theoretical framework was developed through a review of relevant academic literature identified through Google Scholar, with a focus on peer-reviewed journal articles and

foundational theoretical contributions. Search terms included “gender stereotypes in sport”, “female athletes media representation”, and “gender bias in sports journalism”.

The empirical part analyses 96 articles published in the digital edition of MARCA between 4 December 2025 and 1 February 2026. The articles were selected through a purposive, non-probability sampling strategy based on predefined inclusion criteria and the accessibility of relevant material during the data collection period.

The analysis applies a deductive coding framework based on four stereotype dimensions derived from the literature. In this way, recurring forms of gendered representation are examined through systematic quantitative coding. A more detailed explanation of the research design, sample selection, coding procedure and analytical variables is provided in Chapter 3.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of four chapters. The first presents the research topic, outlines the research problem, defines the objective of the study and provides an overview of the methodological approach. A theoretical framework is then developed in Chapter 2 by reviewing existing literature on gender stereotypes, gender roles and their manifestation in sport and sports media, establishing the conceptual basis for the four analytical dimensions used in the empirical analysis. Chapter 3 presents the empirical part of the study, including the research design, sample selection, coding procedure and analytical framework, before reporting and discussing the main findings of the quantitative content analysis. The concluding chapter summarises the main findings, outlines the practical and theoretical implications and reflects on limitations and directions for future research.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter develops the theoretical foundation of the study by reviewing existing literature on gender stereotypes and their manifestation in sport and sports media. It begins by clarifying the concepts of sex and gender before examining how gender stereotypes operate within sport culture across four recurring thematic dimensions. It then considers how sports media reproduce and reinforce such stereotypes and reflects on their broader implications for the perception of female athletes and gender equality in sport. Together, these sections provide the conceptual basis for the analytical framework applied in the empirical analysis.

2.1 Conceptual Background

According to the World Health Organization (2019), sex refers to biological and physiological characteristics, such as chromosomes, hormones and reproductive organs, whereas gender refers to socially constructed roles, behaviours and norms. These biological factors can partly explain physical differences in performance, such as strength or endurance. However, biological factors alone cannot account for the broader social and cultural disparities observed in sport participation or representation. These are more appropriately understood through the concept of gender (Chalabaev et al., 2013).

Gender, in this framework, is understood as a social and psychological construct that includes the expectations, behaviours and norms that societies attribute to women and men (Bem, 1981). In sport psychology, the distinction between sex and gender is particularly relevant, as biological differences alone cannot explain persistent gendered patterns in participation, evaluation and recognition within sport contexts (Chalabaev et al., 2013).

Through socialisation processes, individuals internalise socially shared norms and develop gender roles that shape how they perceive themselves and others. These roles influence self-concepts and expectations regarding appropriate traits, behaviours and activities associated with women and men (Chalabaev et al., 2013). Bem (1981) conceptualises this process as sex typing, describing how societies transform biological sex categories into culturally defined notions of masculinity and femininity that become integrated into individuals' cognitive frameworks.

As a result, gender operates as a cognitive schema that structures perception and behaviour across social contexts by organising information about what is considered appropriate or

expected for women and men (Chalabaev et al., 2013). Within this framework, gender stereotypes can be defined as socially shared beliefs about the characteristics and attributes typically associated with each gender (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). These stereotypes are both descriptive and prescriptive, linking men and women to distinct traits and behavioural expectations (Eagly & Karau, 2002). As such, gender stereotypes provide a foundational lens through which gendered meanings are produced and reproduced in various social domains.

A key theoretical lens for understanding how gender stereotypes are applied in journalistic practice is gender schema theory, as developed by Bem (1981). According to this framework, individuals organise social information through cognitive schemas, understood as mental structures that categorise people, behaviours and attributes along culturally defined notions of masculinity and femininity. Once activated, these schemas guide perception and interpretation by making gender-congruent information more salient and filtering out gender-incongruent information. In the context of sports journalism, gender schemas may lead journalists to unconsciously foreground attributes associated with femininity, such as emotionality, appearance, or personal relationships, when covering female athletes, even in contexts where athletic performance would constitute the primary evaluative criterion. This schema-based processing provides a cognitive mechanism through which culturally embedded gender stereotypes are reproduced in media discourse.

2.2 Gender Stereotypes in Sports

Koivula (1995) argues that sport has long functioned as a gendered social space shaped by masculine norms, values and physical ideals. Traits such as athleticism, strength, competitiveness and public visibility have traditionally been linked to men, reinforcing the idea that sport is more appropriate for men than for women. Early feminist sport scholars also described women's participation as entering an already male-dominated field and pointed out how strongly sport has been built around masculine expectations. Over time, these patterns contributed to persistent gender stereotypes within sport culture, shaping how female athletes are perceived, judged and represented across different disciplines (Chalabaev et al., 2013).

A foundational theoretical concept for understanding the masculine coding of sport is Connell's (1995) theory of hegemonic masculinity. Connell argues that masculinity is not a fixed biological attribute but a social practice that is continuously produced through cultural institutions, including sport. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the dominant form of masculinity in a given cultural context, one associated with strength, competitiveness and public

achievement, through which the subordination of femininity and alternative forms of masculinity is legitimised.

Sport functions as a key site for the production of hegemonic masculinity, celebrating physical power while historically excluding women from full participation (Connell, 1995; Koivula, 1995). This structural dynamic helps explain why sport continues to be culturally coded as a male domain and why female athletes may be perceived as incongruent with dominant sporting norms.

Although there is no single, universally accepted taxonomy that categorises gender stereotypes in sport into fixed dimensions, contemporary literature consistently identifies several recurring thematic patterns. Studies on sport participation, performance evaluation and media representation show that gendered portrayals tend to cluster around performance-related expectations, appearance-focused framing, emotional and personal characterisation and the classification of sports as masculine or feminine (Plaza et al., 2017; Kane et al., 2013; Gentile et al., 2018; Koivula, 1999). These dimensions appear across different empirical contexts and methodological approaches, suggesting a functional structure through which gender stereotypes in sport can be meaningfully analysed. Based on this body of literature, the present study adopts these four dimensions as an operational framework for the theoretical analysis of gender stereotypes in sport.

2.2.1 Performance-related Stereotypes

According to Chalabaev et al. (2013), sex differences in sport performance are often interpreted as naturally determined, particularly in activities requiring strength or speed. Such interpretations contribute to performance-related gender stereotypes that portray men as physically stronger and more capable in demanding athletic contexts, while psychosocial determinants of performance receive comparatively little attention. Koivula (1995) similarly notes that certain sports continue to be viewed as incompatible with traditional expectations of femininity, reinforcing assumptions about gender-appropriate participation. These gendered expectations also inform how athletic performance is evaluated. Role incongruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) proposes that women may be judged less favourably in contexts that require agency or high performance when their behaviour contradicts prescriptive norms associated with femininity. Agency here refers to stereotypically masculine traits such as assertiveness,

competitiveness and task-orientation that are culturally associated with high performance and leadership contexts.

Performance-related stereotypes have also been shown to shape the interpretation of athletes' abilities and achievements. The belief in men's naturally superior performance has also been shown to strongly influence expectations in strength- or competition-based activities (Chalabaev et al., 2013). Research also demonstrates systematic differences in evaluative patterns: women's athletic achievements may be assessed in ways that downplay competence or emphasise external explanations, while men's accomplishments are more often attributed to inherent ability or skill (Fink, 2015).

A similar mechanism can be observed in the categorisation of sports. Activities involving physical contact, speed, or strength are frequently labelled as masculine, whereas sports emphasising aesthetics or expressivity are viewed as feminine (Chalabaev et al., 2013; Koivula, 1995). These classification patterns reinforce gendered expectations about performance demands and position women's participation in strength- or performance-oriented sports as less typical within the broader sport context.

2.2.2 Appearance-focused Stereotypes

Appearance-focused stereotypes refer to gendered representations in which athletes are evaluated or described primarily in terms of their physical appearance rather than their sporting performance or skills. Female athletes have consistently been found to be more likely than male athletes to be framed through references to body shape, clothing, attractiveness, or femininity, even in contexts where athletic competence should be the central focus (Fink, 2015; Kane et al., 2013).

Studies analysing sport media portrayals demonstrate that female athletes are frequently depicted in ways that emphasise aesthetics or sexualised attributes, which can shift attention away from their athletic achievements (Fink, 2015). A stronger focus on feminine appearance has also been shown to influence how audiences perceive and evaluate female athletes in their sporting roles. In their experimental study, Jones and Greer (2011) show that stereotypically feminised portrayals do not consistently enhance audience engagement and may reduce interest in sport-related content, particularly among female audiences. Similarly, Carter et al. (2015) demonstrate that media profiles of elite female Olympians more often include references to appearance and personal characteristics, whereas male athletes are predominantly framed

through performance-related attributes, reinforcing gendered distinctions between athletes and athletic competence.

From a theoretical perspective, such appearance-focused framing reflects broader gender norms that associate femininity with beauty and visual appeal rather than physical power or sporting excellence. Kane et al. (2013) argue that even when female athletes are portrayed as successful, media images often contain subtle visual or textual cues that re-emphasise traditional femininity. This limits the extent to which women are recognised as legitimate high-performance athletes. As a result, appearance-focused stereotypes contribute to the marginalisation of women's athletic competence by diverting attention from performance to visual or aesthetic attributes and reinforce gendered hierarchies within sport culture (Fink, 2015).

2.2.3 Emotional and Personal Stereotypes

Emotional and personal stereotypes refer to gendered representations in which athletes are framed through emotional reactions, personality traits, or personal and private aspects of their lives rather than through sporting performance or achievement. Previous studies have found that coverage of male athletes predominantly emphasises competition, performance and sporting competence, whereas representations of female athletes more frequently incorporate non-performance-related aspects (Koivula, 1999; Knyazyan & Haytayan, 2024). Billings and Eastman (2002) confirm this pattern empirically, showing that male athletes were significantly more likely to have their success attributed to athletic skill and commitment, while female athletes received comparatively less performance-oriented commentary in American Olympic telecasts.

Media coverage of women's sport also tends to emphasise emotional narratives and personal roles, such as family relationships or private life, more strongly than in coverage of male athletes. Fink (2015) demonstrates that women's sporting success is often contextualised through emotions, luck, or external circumstances, while men's achievements are more likely to be attributed to skill or ability. Similarly, Carter et al. (2015) show that media profiles of elite female Olympians contain significantly more references to personal information, including family roles and hobbies, whereas male athletes are predominantly framed through performance-related attributes.

From a theoretical perspective, these patterns reflect prescriptive gender norms that associate emotional expressiveness with women but see it as incompatible with high-performance sport.

According to role congruity theory, behaviours associated with emotion or vulnerability may be perceived as inconsistent with the performance-oriented qualities expected of elite athletes, particularly in competitive or professional sport environments (Eagly & Karau, 2002). As a result, emotional and personal stereotypes can undermine the perceived legitimacy of female athletes by framing their sporting identities through affective or private dimensions rather than through skill, achievement, or expertise (Fink, 2015).

2.2.4 Masculine/Feminine Sport Classification

Masculine/feminine sport classification refers to the gendered categorisation of sports and physical activities based on their perceived compatibility with masculine or feminine norms. Sports associated with strength, physical contact, speed and aggression are commonly labelled as masculine, whereas activities emphasising aesthetics, grace, or expressivity are perceived as feminine (Koivula, 1995; Plaza et al., 2017). These classifications reflect broader cultural beliefs about gender-appropriate behaviour and bodily expression in sport.

Empirical studies demonstrate that such gendered sport classifications influence both who participates in which sports and how athletic performance is evaluated. Koivula (1995) shows that sports culturally defined as masculine tend to be more strongly associated with athletic competence and prestige, whereas feminine-coded sports are often perceived as less physically demanding or competitively legitimate. Plaza et al. (2017) further confirm that while sport is generally associated with masculinity, not all sports are perceived equally; rather, gender stereotypes vary systematically depending on the characteristics of the activity itself.

These classifications have important implications for female athletes, particularly those competing in sports traditionally labelled as masculine. Participation in such sports may challenge established gender norms, leading female athletes to be perceived as atypical or incongruent with conventional femininity (Koivula, 1999). Conversely, women competing in feminine-coded sports may experience reduced recognition of their athletic competence, as their activities are often evaluated through aesthetic or gendered expectations rather than performance criteria (Plaza et al., 2017).

From a theoretical perspective, the masculine/feminine classification of sports reinforces gendered hierarchies within sport culture by defining which bodies, performances and disciplines are considered legitimate expressions of athletic excellence (Koivula, 1995;

Koivula, 1999). These categorizations provide an important contextual framework through which gender stereotypes are activated and reproduced within sport discourse, shaping both participation patterns and evaluative processes (Plaza et al., 2017).

2.3 Media Narratives Reinforcing Stereotypes

While gender stereotypes are embedded in sport culture, they do not persist independently of broader social communication processes. Sports media play a central role in reproducing, legitimising and normalising gendered interpretations of athletic performance and participation. Through selective visibility, narrative framing and recurring representational patterns, sports media contribute to the stability of gender stereotypes within sport discourse (Fink, 2015; Kane et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Gender Bias in Sports Media Coverage

A substantial body of research demonstrates that sports media coverage is characterised by persistent gender bias, both in terms of quantity and quality. Women's sport receives significantly less media attention than men's sport, resulting in lower visibility and public recognition (Crolley & Teso, 2007; Fink, 2015). This imbalance establishes men's sport as the normative reference point, while women's sport is more frequently positioned as secondary or marginal.

Beyond underrepresentation, gender bias is also evident in qualitative aspects of media portrayals. Coverage of male athletes predominantly emphasises competition, performance and sporting competence, whereas representations of female athletes more frequently incorporate non-performance-related aspects (Koivula, 1999; Knyazyan & Haytyan, 2024). Such systematic differences contribute to unequal recognition and reinforce existing inequalities within sport culture.

2.3.2 Media Framing and Narrative Logics

Media coverage does not merely report sporting events but actively shapes their interpretation through framing and narrative organisation. Drawing on Entman's (1993) foundational definition, framing involves "select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52) to promote specific interpretations or evaluations.

In sports journalism, framing processes influence which elements of athletic performance are highlighted and which remain secondary within media narratives (Kane et al., 2013; Fink, 2015).

Narrative logics further structure how athletes and competitions are presented. Media narratives tend to present sporting events as coherent storylines, emphasising recognisable roles, contextual explanations and evaluative frameworks. Rather than reporting purely on athletic performance, sports coverage frequently places events within broader cultural contexts, drawing on familiar narratives and shaped by language, thematic choices and how success or failure is explained (Fink, 2015; Knyazyan & Haytyan, 2024).

Importantly, media framing is not neutral but closely aligned with dominant social norms. Gendered assumptions embedded in sport culture are frequently reproduced through recurring narrative and linguistic patterns. Over time, this contributes to the persistence of stereotypical interpretations of athletes and performances. By repeatedly applying similar frames, media narratives stabilise gendered meanings within sport discourse and reinforce dominant understandings of athletic competence and legitimacy (Kane et al., 2013; Knyazyan & Haytyan, 2024).

2.3.3 Media as a Reinforcing Mechanism of Gender Stereotypes

Sports media do not simply reflect existing gender stereotypes in sport but actively contribute to their reinforcement through repetition, consistency and selective emphasis. When similar narrative frames and representational patterns are applied repeatedly, they normalise gendered interpretations of athletic performance and participation, presenting them as common-sense rather than socially constructed (Fink, 2015).

This reinforcing effect grows stronger over time through repeated media exposure. Portrayals that align with dominant gender norms shape audience expectations and influence how athletes, performances and sports are evaluated. As a result, gender stereotypes become embedded within media discourse and gain legitimacy through their persistent visibility and apparent familiarity (Knyazyan & Haytyan, 2024).

By repeatedly applying the same narrative patterns, sports media help to maintain gendered hierarchies within sport culture (Koivula, 1999; Fink, 2015). As a result, gendered assumptions about competence, legitimacy and participation become normalised, reinforcing broader inequalities within sport and media (Schmidt, 2018; Billings & Eastman, 2002).

2.4 Potential Impacts of Gender Stereotypes in Sports

The persistence of gender stereotypes in sports media has consequences that extend beyond representational patterns. The following sections examine how such stereotypes influence the perception and evaluation of female athletes and what broader implications they carry for gender equality in sport.

2.4.1 Effects on Perception and Evaluation of Female Athletes

Gender stereotypes in sports media have been shown to influence how female athletes and their performances are perceived and evaluated. Media representations that shift attention away from performance or frame athletic success as atypical can shape audience interpretations of competence, credibility and legitimacy. As Fink (2015) shows, such portrayals can lead to biased evaluations in which women's sporting achievements are less likely to be seen as proof of athletic ability.

From a social psychological perspective, role congruity theory helps explain these patterns of evaluation. According to Eagly and Karau (2002), individuals are evaluated less favourably when their behaviour is perceived as incongruent with prescriptive gender norms. In sport contexts, where athletic competence, competitiveness and physical strength are culturally associated with masculinity and sport is widely constructed as a male domain (Koivula, 1995), this may result in female athletes being judged more critically in performance-oriented roles.

The literature further points to the role of gendered expectations in shaping interpretations of sporting success and failure. Studies on sport media representations show that men's performances are more likely to be attributed to ability, whereas women's performances are more often explained through effort, external circumstances, or contextual factors (Fink, 2015; Billings & Eastman, 2002). From a psychological perspective, Chalabaev et al. (2013) demonstrate that such gendered expectations can be internalised and shape how performance is anticipated and interpreted, contributing to persistent differences in the evaluation of men's and women's sporting competence.

2.4.2 Broader Implications for Gender Equality in Sport

Gender stereotypes in sport and sports media do not only affect how individual athletes are evaluated. They also have broader consequences for gender equality in sport. Repeated

exposure to stereotypical representations normalises gendered roles and expectations, reinforcing the idea that sport is primarily a male domain. While early research already highlighted the masculine coding of sport (Koivula, 1999), more recent studies confirm that sport continues to be culturally framed as a male area, with women positioned as secondary or atypical participants (Plaza et al., 2017). Over time, such representations favour masculine athleticism and reduce the visibility and recognition of women's sporting achievements (Fink, 2015).

These effects go beyond individual media portrayals. Previous studies have found that persistent gendered representations in sports media are linked to unequal visibility and recognition of female athletes, reinforcing existing inequalities within sport culture (Schmidt, 2018; Vaquero-Cristóbal et al., 2024). Even in contexts where formal access to sport has expanded, symbolic inequalities remain influential in determining whose performances are considered noteworthy and whose participation is rendered less visible. This is further illustrated by Evans and Pfister (2021), who demonstrate that despite increased participation opportunities, women remain significantly underrepresented in sport leadership roles, suggesting that structural inequalities persist beyond the level of athletic participation itself.

These broader implications collectively highlight the role of sports media as a key site in which gendered meanings of athletic competence and participation are produced and legitimised. By highlighting certain narratives and ignoring others, sports journalism helps maintain gendered ideas about sport and reinforces the perception that sport is primarily a space for men (Crolley & Teso, 2007; Gómez-Colell et al., 2017). This highlights the need for further empirical research on how gender stereotypes appear in routine sports journalism, particularly in national contexts that remain underexplored.

2.5 Research Gap

Although a considerable body of research has examined gender bias in sports media, most studies have focused primarily on the quantitative underrepresentation of women's sport compared to men's sport (Schmidt, 2018). While this research has been essential in documenting structural inequalities in visibility, it does not fully explain how female athletes are represented once they do receive media attention.

Media portrayals of sportswomen have been shown to differ from those of male athletes in recurring thematic ways. Coverage may place greater emphasis on emotions, personal life, or physical appearance rather than athletic performance (Carter et al., 2015). In addition, gender

stereotypes in sports discourse frequently reproduce broader cultural expectations concerning femininity and masculinity (Bem, 1981; Chalabaev et al., 2013).

In the Spanish context, existing research has identified persistent gender bias in sports coverage, but these studies have important limitations. Guerrero (2022) focuses on linguistic representation in front-page headlines of MARCA and Sport, while Gómez-Colell et al. (2017) examine the visual presence of female athletes on front pages across four Spanish sports newspapers. Neither study analyses individual articles for stereotype patterns, nor applies a framework covering multiple stereotype dimensions across different sports disciplines. The present study addresses this gap by applying a four-dimensional deductive coding framework to routine digital journalism in MARCA. This provides empirical evidence on the presence and thematic distribution of gender stereotypes at the level of individual articles rather than front-page representations.

The broader literature consistently documents gendered framing as a pervasive feature of sports media coverage (Fink, 2015; Koivula, 1999; Schmidt, 2018). In particular, Knyazyan and Haytayan (2024) observe that almost every article covering female athletes contains references to emotions and personal dimensions. If such elements are present in nearly all articles, then it follows that the majority of articles would contain at least one form of stereotypical framing.

Based on the theoretical framework outlined above, the following hypotheses are formulated:

H1: The majority of analysed articles in MARCA's coverage of female athletes contain at least one gender stereotype.

H2: Emotional and personal stereotypes constitute the most frequently occurring stereotype dimension in MARCA's coverage of female athletes.

3 Empirical Analysis

This chapter presents the empirical part of the study, structured in three sections. The first outlines the methodological approach, including the research design, sample selection, coding procedure and analytical framework. The main findings of the quantitative content analysis are then reported in relation to the two hypotheses formulated in Chapter 2. A final discussion section interprets these findings in relation to the theoretical framework and positions them within existing research.

3.1 Methodology

Building on the theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter, the present study adopts a quantitative content analysis with a deductive coding framework. The analytical categories were drawn from existing literature before data collection began, enabling a systematic examination of gender stereotypes in sports media coverage. To operationalise the main objective outlined in Chapter 1, the study pursues four specific goals: first, to examine whether gender stereotypes are present in the selected articles; second, to analyse how frequently they occur; third, to classify them according to four analytical dimensions derived from previous literature, namely performance-related stereotypes, appearance-focused stereotypes, emotional and personal stereotypes and the masculine or feminine classification of sports; and fourth, to compare how stereotype occurrences vary across different sports disciplines.

3.1.1 Sample and Unit of Analysis

The empirical analysis is based on a sample of journalistic articles published in the digital edition of the Spanish sports newspaper MARCA (marca.com). The focus on online articles allows the study to examine contemporary sports journalism in a consistent and accessible format.

The unit of analysis is the individual journalistic article. Each unit includes the full textual content of the article, including the headline, lead paragraph and main body text. Visual elements such as photographs, videos, reader comments, social media teasers and advertising content are excluded from the analysis.

Articles were included in the sample if they met the following criteria: (1) they were published in the digital edition of MARCA; (2) they focused primarily on female athletes, women's teams,

or women's sporting competitions; and (3) they consisted of narrative journalistic text, such as match reports, interviews, or feature articles.

The study used a purposive, non-probability sampling strategy. Articles were selected if they met the inclusion criteria and were accessible through MARCA's website during the data collection period. Because the structure of the website makes only a limited number of recent articles readily accessible within the general *En femenino* section and in individual sports categories, the sample does not represent a fully exhaustive archive-based corpus.

Articles were identified through two complementary access routes. First, MARCA's dedicated women's sport section *En femenino* was browsed systematically, providing access to the most recently published articles across all sports disciplines. As this section displays only a limited number of recent articles at any given time, individual sport category pages were additionally consulted to retrieve further eligible articles published within the same period. This combined approach resulted in an uneven distribution of articles across sports disciplines, reflecting the actual structure and volume of available content on the website rather than a deliberate sampling decision.

Rather than predefining a rigid time frame, the sample size was guided by the aim of reaching a volume of articles sufficient to identify recurring thematic patterns within the analysed material. This process resulted in a final sample of 96 articles published between 4 December 2025 and 1 February 2026, which forms the empirical basis for the subsequent descriptive analysis of gender stereotypes in MARCA's coverage of female athletes.

3.1.2 Definition of Analytical Variables

Based on the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2, the empirical analysis adopts a typology of four analytical dimensions reflecting recurring gender stereotypes in sports media coverage. These dimensions were derived deductively from existing literature on gender stereotypes in sport and media representation and serve as the basis for the systematic coding of the selected articles.

Each dimension is operationalised through clearly defined observational variables and indicators, allowing for the identification of stereotypical patterns in journalistic texts. The analytical variables are designed to capture explicit references and evaluative framings related to performance, appearance, personal characteristics and the gendered classification of sports. As established in Chapter 2, the selection of these four dimensions is grounded in their consistent recurrence across multiple empirical studies on gender stereotypes in sport and

media representation. The example indicators listed in Table 1 were derived directly from prior research and are provided in Spanish to reflect the linguistic context of the source material. They are intended as illustrative anchoring examples rather than exhaustive lists of all possible stereotype manifestations.

	Observational Variable	Operational Definition (What counts?)	Example Indicators
1. Performance-related Stereotypes	Questioning of competence	Explicit questioning or doubt regarding athletic ability based on gender	“¿Será capaz?”, “¿Tiene carácter?”, “¿Podrá competir?”
	Comparative devaluation/ infantilisation	Comparison to male athletes that diminishes competence or uses infantilising language	“Ellas frente a ellos”, “chicas”, “más lento”
	Focus on errors or lack of strength	Emphasis on mistakes, physical weakness, or lack of power	“No aguantó”, “le falta potencia”
	Effort as compensation	Success framed as result of effort rather than talent	“Se esfuerza el doble”, “no tiene talento pero trabaja”
	Reduced technical coverage	Limited or absent technical or tactical analysis, compared to male athletes	Absence of tactical detail
	2. Appearance-focused Stereotypes	Sexualisation/ focus on appearance	References to body, clothing, beauty not relevant to performance
Style over performance		Evaluation of aesthetics rather than athletic competence	“grácil”, “elegante”

	Physical changes	Comments on weight, body shape, or physical transformation	“más delgada”, “ha cambiado su cuerpo”
	Contrast with masculinity	Emphasis on femininity despite athleticism	“aunque es fuerte, mantiene su feminidad”
3. Emotional and Personal Stereotypes	Focus on emotions	Emotional reactions foregrounded over tactical aspects	“demasiado sensible”, “se vino abajo”
	Personal life references	Mentions of family, age, or private roles	Motherhood, age
	Attribution to third parties	Success primarily attributed to coach, partner, or others	“gracias a su entrenador”
	Character traits	Descriptions emphasising sweetness, closeness, sensitivity	“dulce”, “tierna”
4. Masculine/Feminine Sport Classification	Masculine sport labelling	Sport explicitly framed as masculine	“deporte de hombres”
	Female participation as exceptional	Women portrayed as exceptions in male-dominated sports	“rompiendo moldes”
	Gendered category labelling	Unnecessary gender marking	“campeona femenina” vs “campeón”

Table 1: Coding Framework for Gender Stereotype Dimensions

3.1.2.1 Performance-related Stereotypes

This dimension captures representations that frame female athletes’ sporting competence through gendered evaluative patterns. Performance-related stereotypes are identified when

athletic ability, physical capacity, or suitability for high-performance sport is questioned, relativised, or evaluated differently based on gender.

In the present analysis, performance-related stereotypes are operationalised through observational variables that include the questioning of athletic competence, comparative devaluation in relation to male athletes and an emphasis on physical limitations, errors, or lack of strength. Additionally, portrayals that attribute sporting success primarily to effort, perseverance, or external factors rather than talent or skill are included within this dimension.

3.1.2.2 Appearance-focused Stereotypes

This dimension refers to journalistic representations in which the portrayal of female athletes places disproportionate emphasis on visual or bodily characteristics rather than on sporting performance. Appearance-focused stereotypes are present when coverage foregrounds aspects such as attractiveness, physical features, clothing, or aesthetic presentation in contexts where athletic ability would constitute the primary evaluative criterion.

Within the scope of this study, appearance-focused stereotypes are identified through observational variables capturing explicit references to looks, body-related descriptions, or stylistic elements, as well as instances in which femininity or visual appeal is highlighted at the expense of performance-related information. References to appearance are coded only when they are evaluative or descriptive in nature and do not serve a functional purpose in explaining sporting outcomes or competitive contexts.

3.1.2.3 Emotional and Personal Stereotypes

This dimension addresses representations in which female athletes are characterised through emotional responses, personality traits or aspects of their personal and private lives rather than through their sporting performance. Emotional and personal stereotypes are identified when journalistic coverage foregrounds emotions, sensitivity, or personal circumstances as central explanatory elements in the portrayal of athletes.

For the purposes of this analysis, emotional and personal stereotypes are operationalised through observational variables that include references to emotional reactions, psychological states, or personal roles, such as family relationships or private life, as well as narratives that contextualise sporting performance through affective or biographical elements. Such portrayals are coded when emotional or personal aspects are presented as salient features of the athlete's

representation and are not directly required to explain competitive performance or sporting outcomes.

3.1.2.4 Masculine/Feminine Sport Classification

This dimension focuses on representations that draw on gendered classifications of sports and sporting activities. Masculine/feminine sport classification is identified when journalistic coverage implicitly or explicitly frames a sport as more appropriate for men or women based on its perceived physical, technical, or expressive characteristics.

In the present study, this stereotype dimension is operationalised through observational variables capturing references to the gendered suitability of a sport, the atypicality of female participation in certain disciplines, or evaluative framings that associate athletic legitimacy with masculine-coded sport characteristics. Such representations are coded when gendered assumptions about the nature of the sport or the athlete's participation are used to frame performance, competence, or relevance beyond what is required for factual description of the sporting context.

3.1.3 Coding Process

Each article was analysed systematically on the basis of the analytical variables defined in Section 3.1.2. For each variable, the presence or absence of a stereotype was coded in binary form (1 = present, 0 = not present). The coding process was conducted manually using a structured coding table, following standard procedures for deductive content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). More than one stereotype could be coded within a single article if multiple analytical dimensions were identified. Coding decisions were based exclusively on explicit textual content. Implicit meanings or interpretations beyond the text were not included in the coding process.

The coding was carried out by a single researcher and applied to the entire sample using the same coding procedure. As only one coder was involved, no intercoder reliability test was conducted. The coding framework was applied consistently across all articles in order to support transparency and procedural consistency. Throughout the coding process, all articles and coding decisions were documented systematically to ensure transparency and traceability. It should be noted that the binary coding procedure records the presence or absence of each stereotype dimension but does not capture differences in intensity or salience. A single passing

reference to an athlete's emotional reaction and a sustained emotional narrative would both be coded as present under the emotional stereotypes dimension. This limitation is acknowledged and discussed further in Section 4.4.

Given the non-probability sampling strategy employed and the uneven distribution of articles across sports disciplines, no inferential statistical tests were performed. The analysis focuses exclusively on the description of frequency distributions and proportional differences within the analysed sample.

The complete coding table, including all coded articles and decisions, is provided in Annex 1.

3.2 Results

The following results section is structured primarily in relation to the two hypotheses guiding the study. A final subsection then reports additional descriptive findings that emerged from the analysis.

3.2.1 Extent of Stereotype Occurrence

The empirical analysis is based on 96 journalistic articles published in the digital edition of MARCA between 4 December 2025 and 1 February 2026, covering a range of women's sports disciplines and journalistic formats including match reports, interviews, competition previews and feature articles.

Of the 96 analysed articles, 20 (20.8 %) contained at least one instance of a gender-related stereotype as defined in the analytical framework. The remaining 78 articles (79.2 %) focused exclusively on sporting performance, match outcomes, rankings, tactical aspects, or institutional developments without reference to any of the predefined stereotype categories. Across the 20 stereotype-containing articles, a total of 24 stereotype occurrences were coded, with the difference between articles and instances reflecting the possibility of multiple dimensions being present within a single text.

These findings do not support H1. Although gender stereotypes were identified in the analysed sample, they appeared in only 20 of the 96 articles (20.8 %) and therefore did not occur in the majority of the material. The coded instances were thus limited to a minority of the analysed articles.

3.2.2 Thematic Distribution of Stereotypes

The 24 coded stereotype occurrences were not evenly distributed across the four analytical dimensions but concentrated primarily in two categories.

Stereotype Dimension	Articles with Stereotype (n)	% of Total Sample (N = 96)
Performance-related Stereotypes	2	2.1 %
Appearance-focused Stereotypes	2	2.1 %
Emotional and personal Stereotypes	13	13.5 %
Masculine/Feminine Sport Classification	7	7.3 %
Total Coded Instances	24	–

Table 2: Frequency of Stereotype Occurrences by Analytical Dimension

Emotional and personal stereotypes (see 3.1.2.3) represented the most frequent category and were identified in 13 of the 20 articles containing at least one stereotype. These representations included references to athletes' emotional reactions, expressions of vulnerability, personal background narratives and private life circumstances. In several cases, reporting extended beyond purely sporting performance to include information about family roles, personal struggles, or life events outside sport. Recurring themes within this category included references to motherhood and pregnancy, where athletes' sporting careers were discussed alongside maternal roles or family-related developments.

Masculine or feminine sport classification stereotypes (see 3.1.2.4) constituted the second most frequent dimension and were identified in seven articles. In these cases, women's sport was framed in relation to male-dominated norms, standards or symbolic reference points. This included explicit comparisons to men's competitions as well as references to the perceived status or traditional image of a particular sport. Stereotype occurrences within this dimension were particularly visible in boxing-related coverage, where references to the sport's traditionally masculine character appeared in connection with female athletes' participation or success.

In contrast, performance-related stereotypes (see 3.1.2.1) and appearance-focused stereotypes (see 3.1.2.2) were comparatively rare, each identified in only two articles. Performance-related cases involved evaluative remarks that relativised athletic competence, while appearance-

focused instances included references to clothing, physical appearance, or bodily attributes beyond functional sporting description.

These findings support H2 and indicate that emotional and personal stereotypes were the most frequently occurring stereotype dimension in the analysed sample. They appeared more often than masculine/feminine sport classification stereotypes, performance-related stereotypes, and appearance-focused stereotypes.

3.2.3 Distributional Patterns across Articles and Sports Disciplines

The distribution of stereotypical representations varied across the sports disciplines represented in the sample. The analysed material covered several women's sports, with football accounting for the largest share of the total number of articles ($n = 41$), followed by volleyball ($n = 17$), handball ($n = 14$), tennis ($n = 10$) and athletics ($n = 10$). Boxing was represented by two articles, while basketball and snowboard each contributed only one article to the sample.

In absolute terms, football displayed the highest number of stereotype-containing articles ($n = 9$), which corresponds to its comparatively high proportion within the overall sample. However, when considered as a proportion of sport-specific coverage, the distribution differs across sports disciplines. Boxing showed the highest stereotype rate, with both articles containing at least one coded stereotype (100 %), followed by athletics (5 of 10 articles, 50 %) and tennis (3 of 10 articles, 30.0 %). Football's stereotype rate was comparatively lower at 19.5 %, while volleyball showed a rate of 11.8 %. No stereotype occurrences were identified in handball, basketball, or snowboard coverage.

These proportional differences show that stereotype occurrence did not correspond directly to the overall volume of coverage across sports disciplines. However, the figures for boxing are based on only two articles, which limits their interpretive value.

With regard to the co-occurrence of stereotypes within individual articles, the majority of stereotype-containing articles were characterised by a single analytical dimension only, while three articles exhibited multiple forms of stereotyping simultaneously. In two of these cases, emotional or personal stereotypes co-occurred with masculine or feminine sport classification stereotypes, combining personal narratives with gendered descriptions of the sport. In the third case, three dimensions were identified within the same article, namely performance-related, emotional and personal and sport classification stereotypes, observed in a boxing-related contribution and representing the highest number of co-occurring dimensions in the sample.

No article contained all four analytical dimensions simultaneously. Compared to the overall number of 24 coded instances across 20 articles, multiple stereotyping thus remained limited.

3.3 Discussion

The findings of this study reveal a differentiated pattern of gender stereotype occurrence in MARCA's coverage of female athletes. Rather than supporting a picture of uniform stereotypical framing, the results indicate that gendered representations emerge selectively and concentrate within specific thematic dimensions. The following sections interpret these patterns in relation to the theoretical framework and the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 2.

3.3.1 Selective and Differentiated Stereotype Patterns

The lack of support for H1 is theoretically relevant. Rather than supporting a picture of pervasive stereotypical framing, the results indicate that gender stereotypes in MARCA's coverage of female athletes appear selectively and are concentrated within a limited portion of the analysed material. This suggests that stereotypical framing is present, but not dominant and points to a more differentiated and ambivalent form of gender bias than earlier research suggesting systematic and widespread stereotyping would imply (Schmidt, 2018).

While no fixed empirical threshold exists in the literature to distinguish selective from pervasive stereotyping, the finding that stereotypes were absent in more than three quarters of the analysed articles (79.2 %) stands in notable contrast to accounts suggesting that gendered framing characterises almost every article covering female athletes (Knyazyan & Haytayan, 2024). This gap provides a basis for characterising the observed pattern as selective rather than systematic, while acknowledging that any such distinction remains interpretive in nature.

This finding adds nuance to previous research on structural underrepresentation and symbolic exclusion in sports media, suggesting that a substantial proportion of the analysed coverage is performance-oriented. At the same time, the absence of overt stereotypical bias should not be equated with equality. As Fink (2015) argues, even professionally reported coverage can subtly undermine female athletic achievements through ambivalent framing. The selective rather than systematic occurrence of stereotypes may therefore reflect a transitional pattern in which performance-oriented journalism coexists with recurring forms of gendered framing. This is

consistent with Fink's (2015) account of ambivalent media representations, where professional recognition of female athletes coexists with subtle stereotypical coding.

3.3.2 Emotional and Personal Stereotypes as the Dominant Dimension

The most consistent pattern identified in the analysis concerns the emphasis on emotional and personal dimensions in the coverage of female athletes. Emotional and personal stereotypes constituted the most frequently occurring dimension, identified in 13 of the 20 stereotype-containing articles, thereby supporting H2. These representations included references to tears, joy, sacrifice, personal struggle and notably, recurring references to motherhood and pregnancy, where athletes' sporting careers were discussed alongside maternal roles or family-related developments, consistent with broader evidence that *pregnant* and *married* are among the most common word associations for women in sport in English-language media (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

While emotional elements are a legitimate component of sports reporting, their systematic foregrounding aligns with established gender stereotypes associating femininity with emotionality and relational orientation (Bem, 1981). These findings are consistent with Fink (2015), who identifies ambivalent media narratives that subtly reframe female athletic achievements and with Guerrero (2022), who demonstrates androcentric tendencies in Spanish sports journalism. Even when athletic competence is acknowledged, it frequently co-occurs with an emphasis on personal or emotional dimensions. While this does not constitute explicit devaluation, it reflects gendered interpretative patterns embedded in sports journalism practice.

3.3.3 Contextualisation within Existing Research

Sport has historically been shaped by masculine norms and values (Connell, 1995; Koivula, 1995) and even selective narrative differences can reinforce the structural inequalities that result from this. Framing female athletes through emotional and personal narratives may reinforce the idea that men's sport is about performance while women's sport is about personal stories. This subtly positions female athletes as secondary within a culture that values physical power and competition. This dynamic is particularly visible in the elevated stereotype rates observed in boxing and athletics, sports traditionally coded as masculine. Female participation in these disciplines appears to trigger gendered narrative framing, consistent with Connell's

(1995) argument that hegemonic masculinity is reproduced precisely at sites where it is most visibly challenged.

The distributional patterns across sports disciplines further support this interpretation. The elevated stereotype rates observed in boxing (100 %) and athletics (50 %) compared to volleyball (11.8 %) or handball (0 %) suggest that sports traditionally coded as masculine may be more susceptible to gendered narrative framing when covered in the context of female participation. This aligns with theoretical perspectives on masculine/feminine sport classification, which propose that female athletes competing in male-dominated disciplines are more likely to be framed as atypical or incongruent with conventional femininity (Koivula, 1999). However, this pattern should be interpreted with caution, particularly in the case of boxing, where the finding is based on only two articles.

Overall, the results both support and challenge prior findings. While they support previous evidence of gendered emotional framing and androcentric structures in Spanish sports journalism (Guerrero, 2022), they also challenge accounts suggesting that stereotypical framing is a dominant and uniform feature of sports coverage (Schmidt, 2018). This ambivalent pattern is consistent with the idea of a transitional context in which professional recognition coexists with subtle stereotypical coding. Within the analysed sample, gender stereotypes in sports media therefore appear less through overt exclusion and more through narrative emphasis. Addressing inequality therefore means looking not only at how visible female athletes are in the media, but also at how they are represented (Crolley & Teso, 2007).

4 Conclusions and Implications

This chapter synthesises the findings of the study and reflects on their broader significance. It begins with a summary of the main results, before discussing the theoretical and practical implications of the findings. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the limitations of the study and identifying directions for future research.

4.1 Summary of Main Findings

The present study examined the extent and thematic distribution of gender stereotypes in MARCA's coverage of female athletes through a quantitative content analysis of 96 articles. The two hypotheses formulated in Chapter 2 yielded contrasting outcomes: H1 was not supported, as stereotypical framing was identified in less than a quarter of the analysed articles, while H2 was supported, with emotional and personal stereotypes emerging as the most frequently occurring dimension.

The findings suggest that, within the analysed sample, gender stereotypes did not operate as a uniformly pervasive feature of coverage. Instead, they emerged selectively and concentrated within specific thematic dimensions, particularly emotional and personal framing. This suggests a more differentiated and ambivalent pattern of gender representation than a simple model of systematic stereotyping would imply. Additionally, stereotype rates appeared to vary across sports disciplines, with higher rates observed in boxing and athletics than in handball or volleyball. However, given the uneven distribution of articles across disciplines, these differences should be interpreted with caution.

4.2 Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study contribute to existing research on gender representation in sports media by providing further evidence that gendered narrative patterns continue to shape the coverage of female athletes in contemporary sports journalism. While previous studies have frequently emphasised the structural underrepresentation of women in sports coverage, the present analysis highlights the importance of examining recurring thematic patterns of representation. By focusing on how female athletes are represented rather than simply how often they appear, the study shows that gender inequality in sports media may operate not only through absence but also through subtle narrative patterns.

The non-support of H1 carries theoretical significance beyond a simple null result. The finding that stereotypical framing was absent in the majority of analysed articles suggests that the persistent and pervasive gender bias documented in earlier research may not characterise all forms of contemporary sports journalism equally. This contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how gender stereotypes operate in sports media, moving away from the idea of uniform marginalisation toward more selective and context-dependent forms of gendered framing.

In particular, the results support theoretical perspectives suggesting that gender stereotypes continue to influence how female athletic performance is interpreted. The recurring emphasis on emotional framing is consistent with gender schema theory (Bem, 1981). This raises broader questions about whether such patterns in sports journalism reflect conscious editorial choices or automated cognitive processes that journalists themselves may not be aware of.

Furthermore, the findings align with research arguing that sport remains historically associated with masculine attributes such as strength, competitiveness and dominance (Chalabaev et al., 2013). Within this cultural framework, portrayals that emphasise emotional or relational dimensions may subtly reinforce traditional gender distinctions.

At the same time, the results suggest that gender stereotypes in contemporary sports journalism do not necessarily appear in obvious or consistent ways. Instead, they may be embedded within otherwise professional and performance-focused reporting. This is consistent with research on ambivalent media representations (Fink, 2015), where positive coverage of female athletes coexists with narrative patterns that may indirectly reinforce gendered expectations rooted in the masculine structures of sport culture (Connell, 1995).

The present findings thus demonstrate that thematic framing and stereotype categories constitute a meaningful analytical lens through which gender inequality in contemporary sports journalism can be better understood.

4.3 Practical Implications

The findings of this study also have practical implications for sports journalism and media organisations. As sports media play a central role in shaping public perceptions of athletes and sporting culture, the ways in which female athletes are represented can influence broader societal understandings of gender and athletic competence.

One implication concerns the importance of narrative balance in sports reporting. While emotional elements are a natural component of sports storytelling, a consistent emphasis on

emotional or personal dimensions in the coverage of female athletes may unintentionally reinforce gender stereotypes. Journalists and editors should therefore critically reflect on how narrative framing influences the perception of athletic achievements. Placing greater emphasis on performance, competition and athletic skill may contribute to a more balanced portrayal of female athletes.

The results also highlight the need for greater reflexivity within sports journalism. Media professionals often rely on established narrative conventions that may unintentionally reproduce culturally embedded gender expectations. Increasing awareness of these patterns, for example through editorial discussions, internal guidelines, or training initiatives on gender-sensitive reporting, could support more reflective reporting practices.

Another implication concerns newsroom policies and editorial standards. Media organisations aiming to promote gender equality in sports coverage may benefit from not only increasing the visibility of female athletes but also evaluating the qualitative aspects of their representation. Regular review of reporting practices and the development of editorial guidelines could help ensure that coverage of women's sport consistently emphasises athletic performance rather than stereotypical narrative conventions.

Finally, the findings underline the broader societal responsibility of sports media. As influential cultural actors, media organisations contribute to shaping how athletic competence and gender roles are perceived by audiences. More balanced and performance-oriented portrayals of female athletes may therefore play an important role in challenging traditional gender stereotypes and supporting the growing visibility and legitimacy of women's sport.

4.4 Limitations

Despite the insights generated by this study, several limitations should be acknowledged when interpreting the findings.

First, the analysis focused exclusively on articles published in the digital edition of MARCA. As one of the most influential sports media outlets in Spain, MARCA represents a relevant case for examining sports journalism. However, the findings cannot be automatically generalised to other newspapers, media platforms, or national contexts. Reporting practices may vary across media organisations depending on editorial routines, audience expectations and journalistic conventions.

Second, the study is based on a purposive, non-probability sample of articles that were accessible through MARCA's website during the data collection period. The dataset therefore

does not constitute a fully exhaustive archive-based corpus. While the sample provides a suitable basis for identifying recurring stereotype patterns within the analysed material, it should not be interpreted as statistically representative of all coverage of female athletes published by MARCA.

Third, the study focuses exclusively on the coverage of female athletes and does not include a systematic analysis of how male athletes are covered in MARCA during the same period. Without such a comparative baseline, it cannot be definitively established whether the identified narrative patterns, particularly emotional framing and references to personal life, are genuinely gender-specific or whether they reflect broader conventions of sports journalism applied to all athletes regardless of gender.

Fourth, the data collection period spans December 2025 to January 2026, which represents a specific phase of the sports calendar. Coverage during this period may not fully reflect MARCA's routine reporting practices across the full year, as the selection of sports and competitions receiving attention is likely to vary seasonally. This temporal limitation should be considered when assessing the generalisability of the findings.

Fifth, the coding was conducted by a single researcher. As no intercoder reliability test was performed, the consistency of the coding procedure could not be statistically verified. This limitation is particularly relevant for stereotype dimensions that require a higher degree of interpretative judgment, such as emotional and personal stereotypes, where the distinction between legitimate sports reporting and stereotypical emotional framing may not always be clear-cut. Performance-related and appearance-focused stereotypes, by contrast, tend to involve more explicit textual markers and may therefore be less susceptible to interpretive variation. The structured coding table developed in Section 3.1.2 was designed to minimise this risk by anchoring coding decisions in explicit textual evidence rather than subjective interpretation. Nevertheless, the findings should be understood as descriptive and subject to the limitations associated with single-coder analysis.

Sixth, the study focused exclusively on textual content. Other relevant elements of sports media coverage, such as photographs, headlines, videos and social media posts, were not included in the analysis. Since gender stereotypes may also be reproduced through visual and multimodal forms of representation, the present study captures only one dimension of sports media portrayal.

Finally, the use of binary coding necessarily simplifies complex forms of representation. Articles were coded according to whether a stereotype category was present or absent, but this procedure cannot fully capture differences in intensity, salience, or contextual nuance. As a

result, subtle variations in the way stereotypes were articulated may remain underrepresented in the analysis.

4.5 Future Research

Building on the findings of this study, several avenues for future research can be identified. Further studies could expand the scope of analysis by examining a broader range of media outlets. Comparative analyses between different newspapers, digital platforms, or broadcast media could provide deeper insight into whether the representational patterns identified in this study are characteristic of sports journalism more broadly or specific to particular media contexts. Future research could also benefit from larger datasets and longitudinal designs. Analysing coverage over longer time periods would make it possible to assess whether patterns of gender representation are evolving in response to the growing visibility of women's sport. Such approaches could help determine whether the ambivalent patterns identified in this study reflect a transitional stage in sports media representation.

Another promising direction would involve comparative analyses between the coverage of male and female athletes. While the present study focused specifically on the representation of sportswomen, a direct comparison with the portrayal of male athletes could provide further insight into how gendered narratives operate within sports journalism.

In addition, future studies could extend the analysis beyond textual content. Visual elements such as photographs, headlines and social media posts often play an important role in shaping media narratives. Integrating visual analysis with textual content analysis could therefore provide a more comprehensive understanding of how gender stereotypes are reproduced or challenged within contemporary sports media.

Finally, interdisciplinary approaches combining media studies, sociology of sport and gender studies may contribute to a deeper understanding of how media representations influence broader cultural perceptions of female athletes. Such research could further illuminate the complex relationship between media narratives, gender norms and the evolving landscape of women's sport.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the growing body of research on gender representation in sports media by highlighting how gender stereotypes may persist through subtle narrative framing rather than through overt forms of exclusion. By focusing on predefined stereotype categories in sports journalism, the study demonstrates the importance of examining not only

the visibility of female athletes, but also the patterns through which their achievements are framed. These findings contribute to broader scholarly discussions on gender and media representation while emphasising the important role that sports journalism plays in shaping public perceptions of women's sport.

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Por la presente, yo, Joelina Fabienne Mann, estudiante de Grado en Administración y Dirección de Empresas doble titulación internacional de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas al presentar mi Trabajo Fin de Grado titulado “Gender Stereotypes in Sports Media: A Quantitative Content Analysis of Female Athlete Representation in MARCA”, declaro que he utilizado la herramienta de Inteligencia Artificial Generativa ChatGPT u otras similares de IAG sólo en el contexto de las actividades descritas a continuación:

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Fecha: 23 de marzo de 2026

Firma:  _____

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Annexes

Annex 1: Article Coding Table

ID	Date	Sport	Perfor- mance	Appea- rance	Emo- tional	Sport Classi- fication	Coded Text Passage	URL
1	04.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/04/guerreras-remontan-ganar-islandia-seguir-vivas-mundial.html
2	05.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/05/guerreras-necesitan-complicada-carambola-avanzar-cuartos.html
3	06.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/06/guerreras-caen-alemania-quedan-fuera-mundial.html
4	09.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/seleccion-espana/2025/12/09/federacion-denuncio-policia-ataques-racistas-guerreras-durante-mundial.html
5	10.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/10/francia-alemania-paises-bajos-noruega-semifinales-mundial.html
6	13.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/13/alemania-noruega-jugaran-final-mundial-femenino.html
7	14.12.25	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/mundial/2025/12/14/noruega-honra-adios-katrine-lunde-triple-corona-mundial-olimpica-europea.html

8	30.12.25	Athletics	0	0	1	0	“aunque desea ser madre” (reference to athlete's desire to become a mother embedded within performance-oriented article)	https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2025/12/30/2025-ensueno-maria-perez.html
9	31.12.25	Football	0	0	0	1	“Cuando ganéis el primer título” (women's team denied access to main stadium until they win a title)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2025/12/31/queda-bernabeu.html
10	31.12.25	Athletics	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/atletismo/san-silvestre-vallecana/2025/12/31/marta-garcia-doblete-magico-kanworor-exhibe-grandeza.html
11	04.01.26	Athletics	0	0	1	0	“no competirá esta temporada debido a su primer embarazo” (athlete's pregnancy and maternity foregrounded as central narrative frame)	https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/04/chebet-defendera-oro-mundial-cross-anunciar-embarazo.html

12	04.01.26	Boxeo	0	0	0	1	“considera fundamental que los rounds tengan la misma duración que en el caso de los hombres” (explicit reference to gendered rule differences in boxing, framing women's boxing as structurally subordinate to men's)	https://www.marca.com/boxeo/2026/01/04/amanda-serrano-vuelve-reinar-peleando-nuevo-asaltos-tres-minutos.html
13	05.01.26	Athletics	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/04/belga-jana-lent-bate-record-europeo-10k.html
14	06.01.26	Athletics	0	0	1	0	“Vomitaba, sufría y no dormía” (interview foregrounds personal struggles, emotional vulnerability and coach relationship over athletic performance)	https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/05/blanca-hervas-vomitaba-sufria-dormia-mal.html

15	07.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/07/real-madrid-barcelona-cuartos-final-copa-reina.html
16	09.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2026/01/09/liga-f-moeve-regresa-27-dias-despues-volvemos-pilas-cargadas.html
17	10.01.26	Football	0	0	1	0	“Tengo planes personales, como casarme, asentarme y formar una familia” (personal life plans including marriage and family foregrounded alongside athletic career)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/10/vida-futbolista-espanola-arabia-me-arrepiento.html
18	10.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/cronica/2026/01/10/ultimo-baile-imade-anula-ley-ex.html
19	10.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/cronica/2026/01/10/real-madrid-continua-idilio-di-stefano.html

20	10.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primeradivision/cronica/2026/01/10/barcelona-arranca-2026-arrasando.html
21	11.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primeradivision/cronica/2026/01/11/levante-aferra-milagro.html
22	11.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/2026/01/11/bera-bera-sufre-ganar-porrino-refuerza-liderato-liga.html
23	12.01.26	Athletics	0	0	1	0	“regresa a la competición después de su maternidad” (athlete's return to competition framed through maternity narrative)	https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/12/irene-sanchez-escribano-volvera-cross-elgoibar-maternidad.html
24	13.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/13/athletic-gana-primeravez-alfredodi-stefano.html
25	16.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/16/seis-partidos-sancion-portera-liverpool-rafaela-borggrafe-comentario-racista-companera.html

26	16.01.26	Boxeo	1	0	1	1	“no goza de una gran técnica pugilística, pero sí posee enorme valentía” (P); “sin responsabilidades familiares” (E); “estilo basado en el de Mike Tyson” (SC)	https://www.marca.com/boxeo/2026/01/16/annabell-honert-demoledora-boxeadora-quiere-triunfar-espana.html
27	17.01.26	Football	0	0	0	1	“¿Descarta entrenar masculino en breve?” (question implies men's football as higher-status domain; women's football consistently framed in relation to male standards)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/17/jorge-vilda-marca-jugadoras-memantearon-tocamos-cielo-luego-paso-paso.html
28	18.01.26	Athletics	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/18/mitxelena-firma-mejor-salto-vida-blanca-hervas-bate-record-nacional-300.html
29	19.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/19/patri-guijarro-vuelta-ganas-buena-supercopa.html

30	19.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/19/atletico-madrid-centra-balon-salir-pozo-nunca-hay-trabajo-tactico-psicologico.html
31	19.01.26	Football	0	0	0	1	“el mal llamado fútbol femenino” (gendered labelling of women's football as incorrectly named, implying subordinate status)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/19/200-dias-pauquesada-dificil-encontrar-comunion-staff-jugadoras-equipo.html
32	19.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/2026/01/19/valioso-triunfo-elche-polonia.html
33	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/20/misa-rodriiguez-200-partidos-sueno-cumplir.html
34	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/20/dia-mar-prieto-dejo-huella-castalia.html
35	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/20/super-plomo-real-atletico-enfrentan-primera-vez-fuera-madrid.html

36	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	1	“el mal llamado fútbol femenino” (gendered labelling of women's football as incorrectly named, implying subordinate status)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/20/mision-imposible-athletic-queremos-pasar-final-conscientes-jugamos.html
37	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/20/irene-paredes-enfrenta-pasado-encanta-competir-exigirnos-prueba.html
38	20.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/cronica/2026/01/20/nueva-final-via-rapida.html
39	21.01.26	Football	0	0	1	0	“las niñas están con el Tik Tok, el baile” (personal recreational activities foregrounded in performance article)	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/21/athenea-castillo-goleadora-tiktoker.html
40	21.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/cronica/2026/01/21/barcelona-ruge-fuerte.html

41	21.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/2026/01/21/gauff-lamenta-situacion-ee-uu-dificil-mujer-negra-pais.html
42	22.01.26	Basketball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/baloncesto/2026/01/22/spar-girona-tropeza-casa-familia-schio.html
43	22.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/22/badosa-caida-ranking-me-fastidia-hay-pasar-momentos-duros-salir.html
44	22.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/22/javier-lerga-lejos-barcelona.html
45	22.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/22/pere-romeu-ganar-final-real-madrid-motivante.html
46	22.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/22/paula-badosa-despide-desconocida-selekhmeteva-desciende-infiernos-ranking.html

47	22.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	1	0	“Ha sido un proceso muy largo y muy exigente” (injury recovery framed through personal emotional struggle rather than athletic performance)	https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/22/marcella-amaral-dificil-creer-pueda-disputar-copa-reina.html
48	22.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/22/amelia-portero-hay-igualdad-ano-emeve-copa-reina.html
49	22.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/22/aida-etxebarria-levantar-titulo-haro-seria-devolverles-club-pueblo-me-han-dado.html
50	22.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/22/lucia-prol-tenerife-buen-escenario-jugar-copa-reina-conseguir-grande.html
51	23.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/23/alexia-putellas-futbolista-espanola-laureada-nunca-suficiente.html

52	23.01.26	Football	0	0	1	1	“La nueva futbolista mejor pagada del mundo es hija del jugador más controvertido que ha visto la NBA” (SC); “Dennis Rodman no es un padre” (extensive personal family narrative foregrounded alongside athletic achievement (E))	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/23/nueva-futbolista-mejor-pagada-mundo-hija-jugador-controvertido-visto-nba.html
53	23.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/2026/01/23/croata-jana-fett-189-ranking-suspendida-dopaje-tres-sustancias.html
54	23.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/23/baile-gesto-putintseva-enfadaron-aficionados-turcos-sonmez.html

55	23.01.26	Athletics	0	1	1	0	“la mejor atleta del mundo está embarazada y no competirá en 2026” (pregnancy as central narrative frame (E)); “muestra un incipiente embarazo” (references to body and physical appearance in personal context (A))	https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/23/mejor-atleta-mundo-embarazada-pierde-2026-hice-humano-mi-humano-favorito.html
56	23.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	1	0	“es complicada esa conciliación de ser madres y deportistas a la misma vez” (maternity and work-life balance foregrounded as structural challenge for female athletes in pre-competition article)	https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/23/claudia-figueroa-principio-chocaba-santi-guerra-sigue-presente.html

57	23.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/23/heloisa-pereira-melilla-aqui-pelear-mostrarle-espana.html
58	23.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/23/saray-manzano-seguir-cuerpo-aguante-voleibol-decida-dejarme-disfrutar.html
59	23.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/23/maira-westergaard-saray-emalsa-estan-mejor-nivel-podremos-ofrecer-nuestro-mejor-juego.html
60	24.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/24/barcelona-real-madrid-superclasico-titulo-juego.html
61	24.01.26	Tennis	0	1	0	0	“no volverá a salir disfrazada” (article frames athlete's withdrawal primarily through appearance/outfit narrative rather than athletic performance)	https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/24/naomi-osaka-volvera-salir-disfrazada-open-australia.html
62	24.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/cronica/2026/01/24/igualado-nunca-resultado-siempre.html

63	24.01.26	Snowboard	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/deportes-invierno/2026/01/24/bronze-queralt-castellet-x-games.html
64	24.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/cajasol-andalucia-primera-final-copa-reina-remontada-epica.html
65	24.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/2026/01/24/atticgo-elche-cuartos-final-copa-europea-ehf.html
66	24.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/2026/01/24/costa-sol-alcanza-serbia-curtos-ehf-copa-europea.html
67	24.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/24/patri-guijarro-mvp-ambicion-cuatro-titulos.html
68	24.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/derbi-canario-semis-copa-reina-heidelberg-contiene-melilla-emalsa-sufre-dsv-sant-cugat.html
69	24.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/magui-frias-avarca-menorca-rival-facil-dejarnos-pista.html
70	24.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/patricia-rodriguez-queremos-conseguir-copa-importante-cajasol-luego-venga.html

71	24.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/lola-hernandez-copa-presion-ilusion.html
72	25.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primeradivision/2026/01/25/real-sociedad-vuelve-sonar-europa.html
73	25.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/25/motivos-crear-real-madrid.html
74	25.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/supercopa-espana/2026/01/25/barcelona-pone-primerapica-queremos.html
75	25.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/24/marina-scherer-venimos-copa-pasarlo-bien-emalsa-queremos-titulo.html
76	25.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/25/patricia-aranda-ganar-copa-reina-garra-ilusion-cuerpo-me-pongo-limites.html
77	25.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/25/sasa-baron-finales-estan-ganarlas-tirar-corazon-nuestro-ano.html
78	25.01.26	Volleyball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/voleibol/2026/01/25/fundacion-cajasol-estrena-campeon-copa-reina.html

79	25.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/balonmano/2026/01/25/rocasa-vence-bera-bera-aprieta-cabeza-liga-iberdrola.html
80	27.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/27/acento-espanol-fase-final-copa-campeonas-fifa.html
81	27.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2026/01/27/maria-jose-perez-dice-adios-costa-adeje-tenerife.html
82	27.01.26	Tennis	0	0	1	0	“después de haber estrenado maternidad fruto de su relación con el galo Gael Monfils” (maternity and personal relationship referenced in performance article without relevance to athletic outcome)	https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/27/svitolina-exhibe-coco-habra-semifinal-saludo-sabalenka.html

83	27.01.26	Tennis	1	0	0	0	“supera a la niña Jovic” (infantilising language used to describe 18-year-old professional athlete)	https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/27/sabalenka-gana-rapido-necesita-techo-melbourne.html
84	27.01.26	Athletics	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/27/kosgei-plata-olimpica-feliz-competir-bandera-turca.html
85	27.01.26	Athletics	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/atletismo/2026/01/27/suspenden-atleta-francesa-apostar-triunfo-amiga-europeo.html
86	28.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/28/swiatek-gran-hermano-tenis-tenistas-animales-zoo.html
87	29.01.26	Tennis	0	0	1	0	“Svitolina, la única madre que restaba en competición” (athlete defined primarily through maternal role rather than athletic performance)	https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/29/sabalenka-gana-juego-patriotas-svitolina-firma-poker-finales.html

88	29.01.26	Tennis	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/tenis/open-australia/2026/01/29/rybakina-gana-revancha-sabalenka-tres-anos-despues.html
89	30.01.26	Handball	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/balonmano/balonmano-femenino/seleccion-espana/2026/01/30/joaquirocamora-sustituye-ambros-martin-frente-guerreras.html
90	30.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2026/01/30/montana-rusa-maria-jose-perez.html
91	31.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2026/01/31/belen-martinez-alla-numeros-espiritu-nina-pequena.html
92	31.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/2026/01/31/barcelona-ficha-carolina-ferrera-perla-futbol-canario.html
93	31.01.26	Football	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/2026/01/31/arsenal-quiere-coronarse-casa-corinthians-avisa-gente-habla-tanto-conocernos.html
94	01.02.26	Handball	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/balonmano/2026/02/01/duelo-espanol-cuartos-copa-europea-atl-guardes-elche.html
95	01.02.26	Football	0	0	0	0	https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primera-division/cronica/2026/02/01/real-madrid-coge-fuerzas-riazor.html

96	01.02.26	Football	0	0	0	0		https://www.marca.com/futbol/futbol-femenino/primeradivision/cronica/2026/02/01/barcelona-dilata-gracia.html
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