

Shifting the boundaries: Sportswomen in the media¹

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore the symbolic annihilation of sportswomen in New Zealand sports media coverage and argue that it is time to seek new ways to increase their visibility. I propose that entrenched gender and journalism ideologies appear to have created an almost impenetrable barrier for those trying to highlight women's athletic excellence in the mainstream media. Given that over 30 years of research and activism have had little effect in increasing media coverage, I argue women's sport needs to take control of its own image via forms of media in which traditional gatekeepers have limited or no power.

Introduction

Even a cursory look at Australasian sport reveals a site of culture thoroughly saturated in ideologies of gender that privilege men and devalue the activities of women. Sport, like the military, has long been strongly articulated to masculinity. According to cultural studies theorist Stuart Hall, "a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures" (in Grossberg, 1996, pp. 141-142). Although articulations are always contingent and the possibility always exists that they can be broken, at the same time they constitute "magnetic lines of tendency which are very difficult to disrupt" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 142). In this paper, I argue that the sports journalism field is framed by two key articulations that seem almost impossible to break.

The failure of than 30 years of activism to create meaningful changes in mainstream sports journalism means that women's sport needs to take a different approach. Nobel prize-winning physicist Albert Einstein is reputed to have argued that the definition of insanity is doing the same thing repeatedly and expecting a different result. Advocates for greater media coverage of women's sport could perhaps be accused of such insanity; despite much effort, entrenched gender ideologies and the discursive frameworks in the sports journalism field have remained highly resistant to change. Therefore, given such "structural rigidity" (Fountain & McGregor, 1999, p. 124), it seems logical that women's sport should focus its energies elsewhere. I suggest that women's sport should take control of its own image through exploring and utilising forms of 'new' media in which

traditional media gatekeepers have limited power to deny access.² However, before any argument for change can be made, it is vital to understand why change is needed. Thus, the first part of the paper focuses on mapping the broad dimensions of mainstream media coverage of sportswomen, with emphasis on New Zealand and Australia, followed by an explication of two key articulations that may help explain why women's coverage remains so low.

When ideological elements cohere strongly, they create powerful effects. The articulations become hegemonic; they function as taken-for-granted beliefs that drive decisions and actions. As a result, gatekeepers (such as funding agencies, sponsorship managers, sports journalists and editors) operate under a set of assumptions that perpetuate inequalities. This is not to argue that such gatekeepers consciously or actively attempt to marginalise women's sport (or, for that matter, men's sport that does not fit within what Coakley (2003) describes as the dominant, highly organised, competitive, power and performance model that emphasises aggressive domination of opponents). Rather, it is the discourses through which they construct knowledge that lead to practices that reinforce, rather than challenge, existing articulations (Hall, 1995). As Hall (1997) states, "it is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produce knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the *episteme*, the discursive formation, the *régime of truth*, of a particular period and culture" (p. 55).

In general, sports journalism is an overwhelmingly male domain that predominantly produces media coverage *by* men, *about* men, *for* men. A recent study of televised sports news in California found an "almost unbroken chorus of men's voices" speaking almost exclusively about men's sports; a finding the researchers argued served to "buttress the myth that sports is an exclusive male realm" (Duncan, Messner & Willms, 2005, p. 22; see also Hardin 2009). The sports media in New Zealand is similarly male dominated, with the number of female sports journalists and stories carrying their bylines sitting well below 10 percent (Bruce, 2008; Ferkins, 1992b; Strong, 2006; Strong & Hannis, 2007).

Yet it is clear that, at least in terms of participation, sport is *not* an exclusively male domain. Women's participation and performance has increased exponentially since the 1970s as females have fought for similar access to opportunities as men. In many countries, participation rates in physical activity are similar, although fewer women are involved in organised sport. New Zealand surveys over the past 30 years indicate many females actively participate in organised sport, although men appear to stay involved for longer, play more sports and disproportionately hold power positions (Cameron, 1992, 2000; Middleton & Tait, 1981; Shaw & Cameron, 2008; SPARC Facts, 2007). For example, despite women making up 31 percent of registered sport participants, they hold only 20 percent of positions as national volunteer sports administrators or board members³ (Cameron, 1992, 2000; Shaw & Cameron, 2008). However, even the higher rates of male participation in organised sport in no way correlate with the disproportionate media focus on male sports and male athletes.

Mainstream media coverage of sportswomen: Mapping the field

In both New Zealand and Australia, males dominate sports news and, despite decades of research and activism, the parlous state of Australian and New Zealand media coverage of women's sport remains relatively unchanged. In New Zealand, for example, studies of television news, newspaper coverage and popular sports television shows over the past 30 years demonstrate the consistency of the staggering disproportion of media focus by gender (see Figure 1). Throughout this period, everyday⁴ sports coverage of women has languished at around 10 percent of total coverage, while men's sport averages more than 80 percent (e.g., Aston, 1987; Atkinson, 1994; Bruce, Falcou & Thorpe, 2007; Carpinter & Mackay, 1994; Cooper, 1981; Ferkins, 1992a, 1992b; Fountaine & McGregor, 1999; McGregor & Fountaine, 1997; McGregor & Melville, 1993, 1995; O'Leary & Roberts, 1985; Whitaker, 1993). This situation is little different for Australia (see Alston, 1996; Brown, 1995; Menzies, 1989; Mikosza, 1997; Phillips, 1997; Stoddart, 1994). Even netball, New Zealand's premier sport for women – with high levels of participation, demonstrated public interest, international success and a semi-professional trans-Tasman league – is remarkably under-represented, only just making the top 10 of sports covered during 2008 in New Zealand.⁵

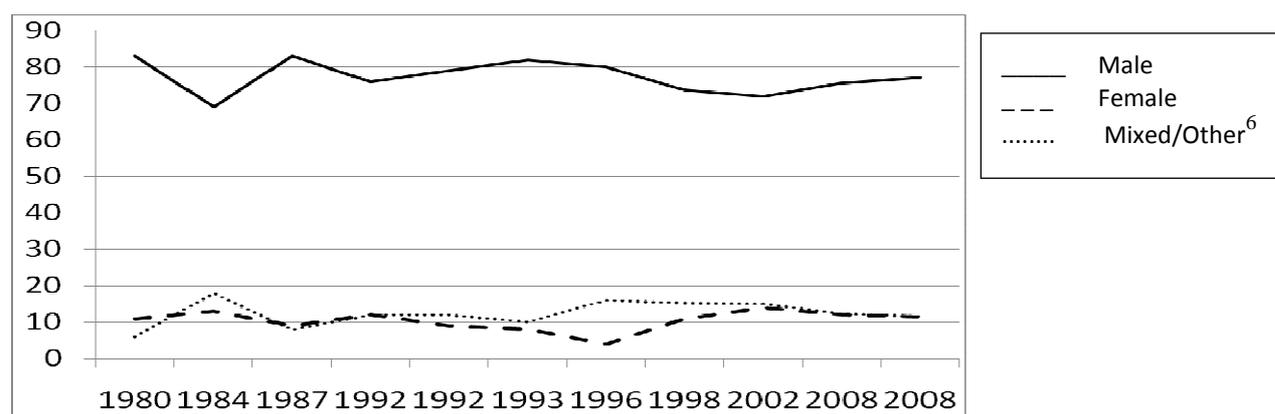


Figure 1: Percentage of New Zealand everyday sports media coverage by gender, 1980-2008

Nor is New Zealand alone in the failure of the mainstream media to acknowledge and value the athletic excellence of sportswomen. The results of recent studies including the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, USA, UK and Australia, among others, are startlingly similar in that men's coverage reached or exceeded 80% and women's coverage failed to reach 10% (Jorgensen, 2002, 2005; Knoppers & Elling, 2004). The symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978) of women's sport has a long and well-documented history: a recent review of more than 50 studies highlighted an internationally consistent pattern of gender disparities (Bruce, Hovden & Markula, 2010).

The results of an analysis of an entire year of sports coverage in two daily New Zealand newspapers in 2008, in which sportswomen averaged 12% while men gained more than 75% of coverage, reinforce the historical research.⁷ The results of a similarly extensive 2008 Australian study were even worse, less than 9% of overall newspaper and television sports news was devoted to females

(Lumby, Caple & Greenwood, 2010). A month-by-month analysis of the *New Zealand Herald* also demonstrates consistent trend of male coverage dominating (see Figure 2). The only noticeable decrease occurred in August when the Olympic Games (August 8-24) took place; an earlier study of the same newspaper's coverage of the 2004 Games found a similar drop (to just below 60%) in stories focused solely on men (Bruce & Scott-Chapman, 2010).

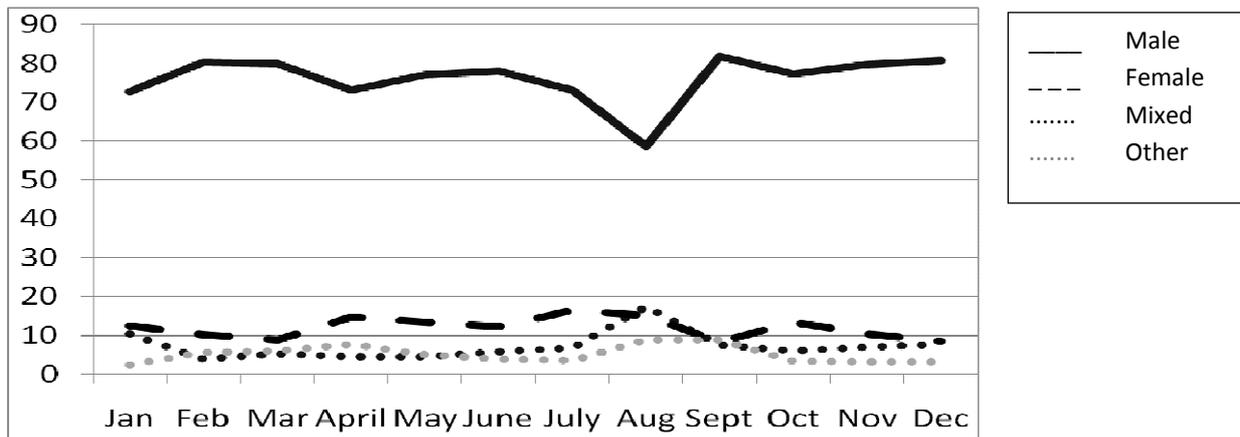


Figure 2: Percentage of *New Zealand Herald* sports coverage by month and gender, 2008

Researchers have generally attributed increases in female and/or mixed coverage to nationalism because the media focus on athletes who represent the nation, regardless of gender during such events (e.g., Bruce et al., 2010, Jorgensen, 2002, 2005; Knoppers & Elling, 2004; von der Lippe, 2003). However, even during the Olympics, the media focus on only a few women, almost always 'their own' and overwhelmingly medal winners (Bruce & Scott-Chapman, 2010; Tolvhed, 2010). As a result, the media represent a much narrower range of women's sports compared to men's sports; by implication suggesting that female athletes are only of interest if they are winners (or expected to win) for the nation, while men's sport is seen as interesting in its own right, not only when medals are expected or won.

Ideologies informing the sports media field

Across Australasia, sportswomen, sports and government organisations and women's sport fans have brought research results to the media's attention and sought ways to convince the media, particularly daily newspapers, to change their attitudes and actions (Phillips, 1997; Ferkins, 1992b; Fountaine & McGregor, 1999, McGregor, 2000). Yet, despite ongoing and consistent research evidence, public discussion, government policy initiatives and promotion by supporters of women's sport, newspapers and television news continue to disregard or underplay the performances of sportswomen.

Susan Fountaine and Judy McGregor discovered that male journalists confronted with results of such studies appeared “genuinely surprised by arguments about gender inequity and poor coverage of women’s sport”, and concluded that sports journalists “may in fact idealise the space and time allocated in news to sportswomen” (1999, p. 124). Few sports journalists have reacted positively when women’s sport advocates try to bring these inequities to their attention. In New Zealand, such research is “persistently rejected as irrelevant” and the “findings are often ignored or trivialised by news management and journalists” (Fountaine & McGregor, 1999, p. 113). In 2008 a top newspaper sports executive told a packed audience of women’s sport fans and participants that he threw away research on gender inequalities (B. Cox, personal communication, July 8, 2008). His comfort in making this remark points to the potency of the articulation of sport and masculinity. Indeed, this articulation – with its concurrent beliefs that a predominantly male audience is not interested in women’s sport for its own sake – permeates the sports media field. In France, television and newspaper decision-makers “repeatedly described” the audience for sports media as primarily male and “therefore assumed to be naturally adverse to women’s sports” (Gee, 2009, p. 57; see also Knoppers & Elling, 2004).

The belief that men are not interested in stories about women is not limited to the sports media. Geena Davis, in a New Zealand radio interview last year, suggested that female actresses struggled for roles and recognition because Hollywood “sort of operates under this assumption that women will watch men but men won’t watch women” (Ryan, 2010).⁸ Davis went on to argue that the problem with this ideology was that “we are teaching girls to be happy about watching boys... [and] boys that they don’t have to watch stories about girls” (Ryan, 2010). Given that the media teaches us who and what is worthy of attention, it is clear that the sports media is also teaching girls and boys that it is stories about men that matter. This lesson was evident in British researcher Gill Lines’ (2000, 2002) finding that both boys and girls were influenced by the overwhelming focus of sports media on male sports: “Young people’s sports discourse revolves around men. They generally buy the bond between masculinity and sport. They virtually exclude sportswomen from their sports talk, legitimizing the sports field as essentially male” (Lines, 2002, p. 210).

A second articulation that may help explain why coverage has not changed involves a perceived ideological incompatibility between ‘journalistic norms’ of objectivity and the more human-rights/equality orientation of those who seek more coverage of women’s sport. For example, when describing their selection criteria, sports journalists use words like straightforward, natural, simple, commonsense and neutral (see Fountaine & McGregor, 1999; Gee, 2009; Knoppers & Elling, 2004). Indeed, Annelies Knoppers and Agnes Elling (2004) found that Dutch sports journalists “inevitably began the interviews by asserting that the criteria for selection are straightforward and simple and that they themselves are ‘neutral’ in applying these criteria to the selection process” (p. 60). The articulation of journalism and objectivity defines journalists’ identity and they react strongly to accusations of bias that undermine their claims to balance and impartiality (Fountaine & McGregor, 1999; Hall, 1981; Knoppers & Elling, 2004). This articulation may also explain the failure of New Zealand and Australian sports editors to consider structural factors in their explanations for why there were so few women sports journalists (see Strong & Hannis, 2007).

At the same time, the intersection of these two powerful articulations (sport–masculinity and journalism–objectivity) could be argued to limit journalists’ abilities to recognise where gender bias exists in their decision-making. Research strongly indicates that sports journalists believe they are gender neutral (Gee, 2009; Knoppers & Elling, 2004). However, I want to suggest that instead of being gender neutral, many are instead gender-blinded by the power of the articulation of sport–masculinity; an articulation that leaves no other position for women than as ‘different’, and ‘other’, and women’s sport as inferior and less interesting. The secondary position of women’s sport is clearly illustrated in the following quote from a Dutch male sports journalist:

You select...using journalistic norms. That is why a men’s tournament can be more important than a women’s event. The women’s world championships in basketball *just aren’t as important* as the men’s championships. When you have to choose who gets seven minutes of air time and who gets four, then *naturally* the choice falls on the men. Women would not choose any differently. (Knoppers & Elling, 2004, p. 65, emphasis added)

When deciding what to highlight, sports journalists appear to draw on historical precedent and tradition (thus privileging established male sports), anecdotal evidence and intuition (based on their own experiences and beliefs), and their assumptions about the desires of a largely male audience, rather than upon research about what their audiences actually want (Ferkins, 1992b; Fountaine & McGregor, 1999; Gee, 2009; Hardin, 2005; Knoppers & Elling, 2004; Lowes, 1999). Not surprisingly, this combination of influences tends to produce coverage that either ignores females or reinforces gendered discourses.⁹ There is also growing evidence that sports media decision-makers tend to listen to opinions that reflect their own, dismissing those whose ideas challenge their editorial decisions. For example, a male journalist said “we’re receptive to letters from readers, people complaining, etc. We take on board their comments *but they don’t have any influence*” while a female stated “You can’t always take surveys at face value. You can learn from them... but *you shouldn’t overturn things* because readers say ‘I want more of this or that’” (Gee, 2009, p. 40, emphasis added).

In this context, coverage of women’s sport is seen as ‘promotion’ which clashes with the ideologies of objectivity and assumed male interest. This clash may explain why the majority of sports journalists in a recent survey said they did not believe women’s sport should receive more attention (Hardin, 2009). The words of a Dutch journalist are revealing: “We do not engage in promotional journalism. The reader should not sigh ‘oh, not women’s rugby again!’ We want to be interesting for the readers not for women rugbyers” (Knoppers & Elling, 2004, p. 88). As the discussion above has indicated, the various articulations that intersect the sports journalism field create a context in which any calls for improved coverage for female athletes are likely to be resisted. Thus, readers/listeners/viewers asking for more gender-balanced coverage can be dismissed as unfairly seeking promotion, because what they are requesting is seen to be outside the norm and as potentially compromising the presumed objectivity and neutrality of sports journalism.

Where to now? The promise of ‘new’ (rather than ‘news’) media

The research above led to the crux of my thinking about what is needed to shift the boundaries, to do things differently in order to change the way that women’s sport becomes visible to the broader public. Promoters of women’s sport seem to be left in a Catch 22 position: Do they take the idealistic position (*what is fair, what is right*) and keep banging their heads against a fairly unyielding brick wall or is it more logical to adopt a position that recognises *what is*, and tries to work with that?¹⁰

The option I want to introduce here requires moving to a different field where women athletes and women’s sport control their own images, with the potential to reach a global audience. Numerous authors have highlighted the opportunities created by increasing access to the internet and broadband, along with the decreasing price and ease of use of media technologies such as smartphones, video cameras, and ipods to create content (Dart, 2009; Mahan & McDaniel, 2006; Noble League, 2007). Internet sites such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitter that only emerged in the last decade now average billions of viewers/users each day and, in YouTube’s case, it “has evolved into a global platform that ... broadcasts entire sports seasons live to 200+ countries” (Hope, 2010, para. 4; Leonard, 2009). While access remains more available in developed Western nations and to those with higher levels of disposable income and time¹¹ (Sobel, 2010), it is possible for fans or organisations with access to the internet, a recording device, computer and editing program to produce their own content for minimal cost. As media theorist Felix Stalder has argued, “one of the things that we are seeing coming out is culture where things are produced because people care about it and not necessarily because they hope other people will buy it. So what we will see is things made by the people for themselves” (interviewed in Noble League, 2007).

Today, sports fans are involved in a growing shift from being relatively passive consumers of content controlled and produced by the mainstream media to being active producers of content (Leonard, 2009; Noble League, 2007). Indeed, “the use of the Internet as an outlet to express pride, camaraderie, or anger permits sports fans to participate more fully in an exchange of information that is not typically available via traditional media” (Mahan & McDaniel, 2006, p. 425).

Increasingly, fans of women’s sport have begun to explore the potential of the internet to exchange information that, as the research discussed earlier shows, is not often available through traditional news media. The internet portal Womentalksports.com, for example, enables women and men interested in blogging about women’s sport to share their views, comment on each other’s ideas and create a vibrant community, and it occasionally garners mainstream media coverage (Hardin, 2011). The organiser provides a space for people to come together but does not produce most of the content – instead relying on the interest and passion of others to produce material and build a community (Hardin, 2011). Argentinian Alejandra Gabaglio recently started a Facebook page and web radio programme (*El deporte tiene cara de mujer/Sport has a woman’s face*) to highlight women’s sport in South America (A. Gabaglio, personal communication, 7 January 2011), and a range of female athletes, such as tennis star Serena Williams, are utilising the internet to bypass the mainstream media and communicate directly with fans via their own websites, blogs and tweets (Hardin, 2011). In the USA, the professional arm of women’s football reported almost 250,000

Twitter followers in early 2010, ten times the number for professional men's soccer (Vertelney, 2010). In Australasia, dismayed by the traditional media's failure to cover her sport, New Zealand mountain biker Rita Langley started MarthaHucker.com; providing content by taking photographs and video (and encouraging friends and spectators to do likewise), gaining media credentials, interviewing other competitors, and ultimately gaining advertising and sponsorship (E. Wensing, personal communication, May 20, 2010). As Marie Hardin (2009) points out:

Social media and the Internet...have eroded the institutional barriers traditionally blamed for putting women on the sidelines. Now, anyone (male or female) can become a journalist with a step as simple as starting a blog. Thanks to social networking, fans of women's sports can find one another, join forces, and promote their favorite athletes and teams. With new media, then, it could be argued that many the barriers to fair, equitable and positive attention to women's sports have come down. (para. 5)

In addition, mainstream news media are increasingly using such sites, especially Twitter, as a source of news (Artwick, 2010; Oplinger, 2011), as numerous high-profile athletes have discovered to their cost¹² (Boock, 2011; Sanderson & Kassing, 2011). For less high-profile sports and athletes, producing content is only the first step; in an environment dominated by global corporations and traditional media organisations, finding an audience remains a challenge for independent bloggers critiquing current structures and ideologies (Dart, 2009):

Operating a properly functioning blog demands significant resources (not least time), which partly explains why there are so few independent bloggers and why the mainstream media and global corporations have secured such a high profile, and in the process successfully marginalized other voices. (p. 121)

Thus, as Dart implies, it would be naïve to argue that internet sport will automatically lead to more visibility for female athletes, especially given the limited resources available to most women's sports. Clearly, "the mere availability" of cheaper, more available and easier to use digital technology is not "on its own" enough to activate the potential of greater participation and increasing democracy (Dart, 2009, p. 120). As Heather Maxwell recently argued: "While social media does present new opportunities for women's sport and female athletes, it isn't a magic bullet with the power to instantly equalize the under-representation women's sport has historically experienced in traditional media" (2009, para. 3). Indeed, sport on the internet remains, like the mainstream sports media, dominated by men's sport and male authors who appear to reproduce rather than challenge existing power relations and dominant ideologies about gender and race, among others (e.g., Dart, 2009; Leonard, 2009; Sanderson, 2010; Scherer & Jackson, 2008). A recent study of informational tweets produced by four major USA university conferences is illustrative: 70% of all articles, videos and pictures were devoted to male sports with only 21% going to female sport, even though issues such as space and profit motive that have historically limited women's coverage were not driving factors (Reichart Smith, 2011). In the blogosphere, the majority of bloggers are male, highly educated and affluent, and overwhelmingly it is men who identify themselves as sports blog writers, according to a recent Technorati survey (Sobel, 2010). Discussing sport blogs, Nicole LaVoi reported recently that "many ... are very sexist, heterosexist and sometimes racist. Most sport

bloggers can write unfettered and have nearly no critical perspective, no[r] desire to foster one” (N. LaVoi, personal communication, July 13, 2010). Marie Hardin (2011) argues that new media discourse “can still be summarized as reinforcing traditionally masculine, patriarchal hegemony, where women remain powerless in relationship to the sport/media complex” (p. 41). She points out that “when attention is diverted to female athletes or sports-related personalities (such as female sports reporters), it is often belittling and sexist and is sometimes cruel” (Hardin, 2009, para 6). Yet, as Hardin (2011) explains, “pockets of progress” (p. 41) do exist and understanding how these are successful may offer a way forward.

Conclusion

So, to conclude, I think women’s sport needs a new approach to media. The old one has not worked for women’s sport and, despite supporters’ best efforts to assist, educate (or berate) the mainstream news media, nothing much has changed. The possibilities of the blogosphere, Twitter, Youtube, Wikipedia, Facebook and other social media sites to increase the visibility of women’s sport has yet to be fully explored. Maxwell (2009) concludes that some are excited about the chance to “take media into their own hands without relying on journalists” (para. 5), while others fear that it will create “an unfair burden on supporters of women’s sport and female athletes” (para. 4) to do the work journalists should be doing but are not. Clearly, critical investigation and detailed research is needed to understand how the potential of the internet for creating a more democratic and inclusive sportscape can be realised. To date, all indications are that the potential remains more rhetoric than reality. Yet, as Dart (2009) argues in relation to blogging: “It is very early to assess [its] full impact ... and at this stage in development, one needs some solid, distinctive and rich sociological description of the phenomenon, in order that foundations can be laid for wider theoretical discussion” (p. 120). Thus, although internet-based media is not a panacea – the lack of gatekeeping may operate to further entrench existing gender ideologies – it does appear to offer women’s sports the chance to control their own content, to engage the passion of their fans, and to make the most of cheaper, easier-to-use technologies that provide at least the potential to reach the world. By engaging online, women’s sport and its fans may contribute to the slow process of disrupting the articulations that have long kept women’s sport on the margins.

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Endnotes

¹ An earlier version of this paper was given as a keynote presentation at the International Working Group on Women in Sport (IWG) conference in Sydney in May 2010.

² However, some bloggers and fans have complained about gatekeeping on websites run by traditional media and sport organisations for men's sport (see Dart, 2009).

³ It is important to note that the gender breakdown in sport memberships is highly variable by sport; netball, for example, had 99% female membership while rugby union had only 1% female membership (Cameron, 1992). In addition, New Zealand Olympic Committee (2007, 2009) found that only just over half of Olympic sports met the International Olympic Committee target of 20% female board members; even netball's female board membership (63%) was significantly lower than its female participation rate (95%) in 2009.

⁴ Everyday (often called 'normal' or 'usual') coverage excludes news coverage of global multi-sport events such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games.

⁵ Even though televised international netball tests have outranked international men's rugby matches in recent years, this has not translated into increased print media attention (Bruce, 2008; Henley, 2010).

⁶ Note that the Mixed/Other category includes articles about both men and women (Mixed) or about topics such as the building of stadia (Other) that are non-gendered. This category was collapsed in Figure 1 because different studies dealt with these categories in different ways. With few exceptions, Mixed coverage favours men.

⁷ This paper reveals the top-level results of the 2008 study of New Zealand's largest circulation daily newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald*, and a smaller regional daily, the *Waikato Times*, conducted by the author and two research scholars, Chrissy Sedon and Darryl Dawson. In similar fashion to recent Australian studies (Phillips, 1997), there was little difference between the metropolitan and regionally-oriented newspapers although regional papers have historically provided more gender-balanced coverage (Menzies, 1989). Most content analyses are short-term samples, usually of several weeks in duration. Due to time constraints, very few full-year analyses exist.

⁸ This assumption also emerged during attempts to publish a recent edited collection of research about women in sport in New Zealand (Obel, Bruce & Thompson, 2008). Several publishers rejected it because the focus was assumed to be too narrow: one male claimed only half the students (the females) would be interested in reading it, thus reinforcing the belief that males are not interested in the experiences of females (S. Thompson, personal communication, May 31, 2011).

⁹ This set of beliefs increasingly also marginalises non-commercial sports played by either gender.

¹⁰ This is not to undercut attempts to make change that focus on the mainstream media. Australian Sports Minister Kate Ellis' discussion at the International Working Group on Women in Sport conference in May 2010 about tying government sport funding to media coverage of women's sport could be the right kind of carrot, or maybe stick, to encourage amalgamated sports organisations to vigorously promote their female teams and athletes.

¹¹ Women athletes and coaches, particularly those with children, often have to work hard to balance their time (Palmer & Leberman, 2009; Leberman & Palmer, 2008), although Technorati has recently identified one key trend as the rise of the 'mom blogger' (Sobel, 2010).

¹² Recent examples include UK footballers Ashley-Paul Robinson (July 2008) and Josy Altidore (October 2009), USA college football player Jamere Holland (February 2010), England cricketers Kevin Pietersen (August 2010) and Dimitri Mascarenhas (September 2010), as well as three Australians, Olympic swimmer Stephanie Rice (September 2010), footballer Lisa de Vanna (September 2010) and former cricketer Shane Warne (February 2011), whose frank tweets or Facebook posts generated mainstream media coverage as well as public backlashes or organisational sanctions.

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