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**‘Fighting for women’s rights’ or ‘entitled tantrums’: An
analysis into the MailOnline’s discursive representation of
Serena Williams**

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**'Fighting for women's rights' or 'entitled tantrums': An analysis into the MailOnline's
discursive representation of Serena Williams**

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Introduction

Within the milieu of tennis as a white, upper-class, male dominated sport, issues have emerged for women in the form of marginalisation and inequality (Tredway 2020), and acceptability within the realm of tennis has historically been linked to factors as racial identity, class background, sexuality and gender (Tredway 2020; Schultz 2005; Douglas 2012; Adjepong and Carrington 2014).

Serena Williams is recognised as one of the most successful female tennis players of all time, dominating the sport by winning twenty-three Women's Singles grand slam titles across her career. Williams exists at the intersection of her race, gender and social class, amongst other factors, and the arrival of a talented African-American female from Compton, California, profoundly destabilised the white racial order within the Women's Tennis Association (Douglas 2012).

In the summer of 2018 Serena found herself at the brunt of two media controversies. First in June 2018 for wearing a controversial 'catsuit' at the French Open and secondly in September 2018 for getting into an altercation with an umpire at US Open Women's final. It has long been recognised that the mass media has become one of the most powerful institutions within society for shaping public perception and attitudes (Harris and Clayton 2002; Vincent 2004), this dissertation aims to explore the *MailOnline's* discursive construction and representations of Serena Williams across this two controversies, within the chosen the time period of 1st August 2018 - 31st October 2018.

The 'silencing applied to the representation of African American women in sport and sport research, both metaphorically and literally' (Bruening 2012: 331), is a key influence on the research undertaken by this dissertation. In an aim to overcome this marginalisation and absence of female African American athletes from linguistic research, this dissertation builds on existing concepts proposed by sociologists and various other scholars, to explore the relationship between Serena's identity and her depiction in the media. The *MailOnline* was chosen for its nationwide circulation and appeal, and 44 articles were sampled to form a corpus constructed of 40,951 tokens. The corpus is used to discern the prominent argumentation topics and strategies the *MailOnline* used in the period, which is then followed by an in-depth Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of two chosen articles. This dually layered analysis aims to satisfy three research questions:

1. Across the chosen time period, how were discursive representations of Serena Williams constructed linguistically in the *MailOnline's* coverage?
2. To what extent did the *MailOnline* engage with socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood in their representation of Serena Williams?
3. What common argumentation themes and topics are present?

Background

Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought

Second wave western feminism has been highly criticised for its homogenised and 'white assumptions' about women's experience (Maynard 2002). Scraton and Flintoff

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(2013), further this, stating that historically 'by focusing on gendered power relations, white feminist theories have neglected to problematize racial power as central to the production of white feminist knowledge' (101).

The concept of 'intersectionality' emerged from the work of Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), who acknowledged that dominant conceptions of discrimination were constructed along a single axis of thinking, where race and gender were understood to be mutually exclusive categories. Crenshaw's work (1989), aims to overcome the theoretical absence of Black and other marginalised women, in an aim to recognize those who are multiply-burdened. As such, 'intersectionality' acts as an analytical tool which 'views categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, class - among others - as interrelated and mutually shaping one another' (Hill Collins and Bilge 2020: 14).

Hill Collins (1990), advanced Black feminist thinking to propose that 'the dominant ideology of the slave era fostered the creation of four interrelated, socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood' (71):

1. The 'Mammy' stereotype presents these women as faithful and obedient, where she has accepted her subordination.
2. The 'Matriarch' stereotype exists in opposition to the 'Mammy', symbolising the 'bad' black mother, who is overly aggressive and unfeminine, and emasculates her lover or husband.
3. The 'Welfare Mother' stereotype claims that Black women are able to produce children as easily as animals, objectifying and controlling Black women's fertility.
4. The 'Jezebel' stereotype depicts these women as sexually manipulative, promiscuous and sexually aggressive, in an attempt to control Black women's sexuality.

(Hill Collins 1990)

The legacy of such controlling images dictate and promote racialized gender expectations in society and have been fundamental to sustaining Black women's oppression (Hill Collins 1990). A further dominant stereotype is that of the 'Angry Black Woman' (Romero 2018). A study by Motro et al. (2022), revealed that the existence of the 'Angry Black Woman' stereotype still remains a hurdle for black women, and significantly influences how individuals view and perceive displays of anger between Black women and white women.

Serena Williams exists at the intersection of her race, class and gender, among other factors and Schultz (2005), argues that it is impossible to discuss the depiction of Serena Williams' blackness, without 'consideration of her gendered, classed and sexualised subjectivities' (339). Tredway (2020), furthers this thinking, stating that Serena Williams has received differential treatment across her career, experiencing a 'racialised form of sexism or a sexualised form of racism' (1569), whereby her mannerisms, hair and clothing, both on and off the court, have been subject to intense scrutiny.

The notions of 'propriety' inherent within tennis culture, have been unsettled by the presence of both female athletes and certain individuals, such as Serena Williams, who challenge the traditional hierarchical order and the concept of sport as a white male preserve (Adjepong and Carrington 2014; Vincent 2004; Schultz 2005).

Female Athletes in the Media

Newspaper reporting of sport promotes narratives of manhood, masculinity and superiority in men, whilst simultaneously typifying female athletes as the inferior 'other' (Harris and Clayton 2002; Vincent 2004), and sports journalism constructs a female sporting aesthetic which is both racialised and sexualised (Rowe 2004). Not only is there an expectation of female athletes to maintain an acceptable degree of femininity (English 2017; Scranton and Flintoff 2013), yet Krane (2001), draws attention to the hegemonic narrative that femininity and athleticism are contradictory, and in order to be accepted socially, females must balance their aesthetic appeal with their athletic nature.

Vincent (2004) acknowledges that female athletes with a heterosexually feminine appearance have been actively marketed by the media, for example Anna Kournikova. A study by Harris and Clayton (2002), uncovered how coverage of women's tennis only accounted for 6% of their collected data, and within this small percentage Kournikova was the most 'visible' of all female athletes, even though she has never won a major tennis tournament. Harris and Clayton (2002), conclude that Kournikova, 'epitomises the mould, which has long supported gendered myths of physical capabilities and her "visibility" is indicative of the ideology of hegemonic femininity in sport' (400).

A study by Vincent (2004), monitoring the British newspaper coverage of the 2000 Wimbledon Championships, builds on this, identifying several frequent tropes in the coverage of female athletes: (1) Described in stereotyped, infantilised and egregiously sexist terms. (2) Contained denigrating comments about their athleticism or the quality of their matches. (3) Portrayed as psychologically fragile and emotionally dependent 'girls'. (4) A focus on their 'animosity' they had for one another. (Vincent 2004)

The Sports Corpus is a 150 million word subset of the Cambridge English Corpus, containing data only related to the subject of Sport. Results from the corpus found 'clad' and 'dress' amongst top collocations of female athletes, confirming the preoccupation with aesthetics (Cambridge University Press). The corpus provides quantifiable evidence for the heterosexual market which has been created within news coverage of female athletes; identifying the adjectives 'unmarried' and 'married' as amongst the top collocations exclusively for female athletes, amongst others which included 'age', 'older' and 'pregnant' (Cambridge University Press).

Black Female Athletes in the Media and Serena Williams

Douglas (2019), engages with the work of Crenshaw (1989), recognizing that whilst all female athletes are subject to heterosexual and gender expectations, 'black women are heirs to a history of un/gendering that annulled black women's status as human and as female' (335)

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Adjepong and Carrington (2014), propose that Black female athletes are often framed within media reporting in problematic ways, which leads them to be viewed as ‘space invaders’. Bruening (2012), furthers this emphasising how stereotypically the presence of African American females is accepted in basketball or on the track, yet these women emerge as ‘outliers’ or ‘tokens’ in other sports such as tennis.

Black women encounter not only resistance to their presence within such sports, yet also a lack of control over their image and freedom of expression (Adjepong and Carrington 2014; Martin 2019; Williams 1994). The mass media is preoccupied with monitoring Serena’s ‘off-court’ activities (Douglas 2012; Ifekwunigwe 2019). The media’s use of controlling images (Hill Collins 1990), makes up the persona of the ‘off-court’ Serena Williams, where the hyper-surveillance is a method used by the media to control the range of representations available to her (Douglas 2012; Tredway 2020).

‘Off court’ media coverage of female athletes frequently depicts these women within their heterosexual familial roles as wives and mothers (Vincent 2004). Martin (2019) upholds how the two identities of ‘mother’ and ‘athlete’ have been historically viewed as unable to occupy the same space. Martin (2019) uncovers how within media reporting, Serena Williams does not fit the ‘super mum’ or ‘golden girl’ narrative commonly found amongst female athletes. Instead, coverage of Williams’ struggle and guilt from balancing motherhood and sport has been widely reported.

In her career Serena Williams has simultaneously been deemed natural, unnatural and supernatural (Schultz 2005), as well as misrecognized as male, manly or inhuman (Douglas 2019). Whilst there is a market for assessing female athletes on their aesthetic value, the bodies of black female athletes are sexualised through a different set of circumstances (Adjepong and Carrington 2020). A study by Ifekwunigwe (2019), uncovered a trope in media reporting that Serena Williams and her sister were described numerous through the adjective ‘delicious’; ‘revealing ambivalent semiotics of ‘inter-racial desire’ (441).

Adjepong and Carrington (2020), maintain that ‘Black female athletes are conditionally accepted and celebrated as long as they act and talk in ways deemed acceptable, codes of behaviour that are implicitly modelled on notions of appropriate white middle-class femininity’

(175). Martin (2019), furthers this, arguing how being black and a woman in tennis deems you more probable to be scolded and punished publicly, than other white women and white men. Serena Williams is commonly pulled up on for her ‘outbursts’, in the media and after the U.S. Open in 2018, public perceptions of Serena focused on her being ‘violent, out of control and hostile’ (Tredway 2020: 1576). This dissertation extends existing research by sociologists by offering a sociolinguistic perspective which aims to uncover how the *MailOnline* negotiates and engages with the existing sociological theories and perspectives in their linguistic choices and discursive representation of Serena Williams.

Methodology

Data Collection

From across the chosen time period of 1st August 2018 - 31st October 2018, a sample of 44 articles from the *MailOnline* was selected from LexisNexis to form the corpus for this study. A search was made for 'Serena and title (Serena)'. The search results were then filtered to those where Serena was the subject of the article, to remove all articles where her name was only mentioned. The search produced a total of 89 articles, which were then ordered chronologically. To ensure representation from across the time period, and to avoid selectivity, every alternate article was chosen for sampling. A future improvement for this study would be to use the full 89 articles from across the time period, to ensure a higher degree of both coverage and possible findings, such as new collocates. Yet, due to time and word constraints, this study will engage with a corpus of 44 articles.

Corpus Analysis

The objective of using corpus analysis in this dissertation is to identify the specific argumentation topics being utilised by the *MailOnline* across the time period. Corpus linguistics offers a valuable approach to analysing media discourse (O'Keeffe 2006), through uncovering quantitative patterns within *MailOnline's* coverage of Serena Williams (O'Halloran 2010), which substantiates and grounds the latter qualitative interpretation. Corpus linguistic methods help to restrict our cognitive biases and can act as a more reliable tool and guide to understanding language use (Baker 2008; Hunston 2002).

Two corpuses were created, both using the tool SketchEngine. The first consisted of all 44 articles and their headlines, which amounted to 40,951 tokens. The second was a subset of the first corpus, which was composed of headlines only, which amounted to 1,202 tokens. As identified by van Dijk (1991), 'headlines are a subjective definition of the situation, which influences the interpretation made by the readers' (51). To gain an alternative opinion from the stance promoted by headlines, readers would have to choose to actively derive an alternative (van Dijk 1991), and this study found it useful to investigate whether certain key words or ideas were being promoted specifically in the headlines.

The reference corpus used for this study is the English Web 2020 corpus (enTenTen20). Another future improvement for this study would be to use the Cambridge Sports Corpus as a reference corpus. This study recognises that by not using the Cambridge Sports Corpus the findings of this study have potentially been limited to a certain degree, and that aspects of difference in the language can be due to language variety as opposed to constituting legitimate, valid findings (Baker 2008). The enTenTen20 is made up of texts collected from the internet, and *MailOnline* exists as an electronic news outlet, therefore proving a strong level of suitability as a reference corpus. Furthermore, there is a subcorpus titled 'Topic Sports', which contains over one million words related to the topic of sport. This subcorpus was deemed useful and was utilised by the study as a reference corpus when collecting the 'keyword' findings.

This study will analyse corpus data through exploring the keywords, frequency of words as well as identifying collocates. Baker (2008) emphasises that an essential step to corpus analysis is functional qualitative interpretation, and this study will incorporate this by looking at the concordance context of the keywords, frequency

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words and collocates. The use of these methods and frameworks uncover what broad argumentation trends the *MailOnline* employed across this time period.

CDA Framework

To further the corpus analysis, two articles were sampled for in-depth qualitative CDA. One article was sampled from each event within the selected time period. To avoid selectivity, the article with the largest word count was chosen, which proved a suitable measure for in-depth analysis. The central concern of feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) is to critique discourse and language use which perpetuates a patriarchal social order and sustains inequality (Lazar 2005). Whilst this feminist stance on CDA is relevant to ideas of female inferiority and subordination within media reporting of tennis, this dissertation chooses to engage with Wodak's discourse historical approach (2001). Due to the intersectional focus of this dissertation, this model of CDA proved the most relevant as it provides a framework and focus for questions of racial, national and ethnic issues in discourse.

Wodak's approach adheres to the 'socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory' (Wodak 2001: 64). Wodak argues that CDA should not be preoccupied with assessing what is 'right' or 'wrong', instead analysts should justify at each point in the research 'why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others' (65). One of the most salient features of Wodak's approach is its 'triangulatory approach', which proposes three interconnected critiques which characterise the analysis:

1. 'Text or discourse immanent critique' - aims at discovering inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
2. 'The socio-diagnostic critique' - embedding the communicative or interactional structures of a discursive event in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances.
3. 'Prognostic critique' - contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication. (Wodak 2001)

The 'triangulatory approach' is built upon the concept of 'context', which aims to integrate knowledge of the historical, social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded. Wodak outlines four levels of 'context'. Firstly, the immediate language or text. Secondly, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses. Thirdly, the extra linguistic social variables and institutional frames and lastly, the broader socio-political and historical contexts (Wodak 2001).

This method proves particularly relevant when considering both the realm of tennis and the media. As this study has already identified, tennis historically has existed as a heterosexual, white domain and the approach of Wodak aims to incorporate both the context of the media with societal contexts into the analysis of Williams's discursive representation.

Wodak proposes discourse-analytical tools useful in the analysis of discourses about racial, national and ethnic issues in the form of five selected questions:

- (1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
- (2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- (3) By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimise the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?
- (4) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
- (5) Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?

The most salient feature of Wodak's DHA framework is to analyse discourse as three interconnected critiques; this analysis will be structured by these three critiques.

Analysis

Corpus Analysis

Findings from the corpus analysis indicate that the *MailOnline*'s argumentation strategy was focused, coherent and consistent. Three key focuses and topics were identified:

- (1) Semantic patterns of 'anger' projected onto Serena.
- (2) Promotion and discussion of her heterosexual gender roles.
- (3) Surveillance of her off-court activities.

Semantic Pattern: Anger

Despite the particular lexical item 'angry' being used only twice, the *MailOnline* projects a strong semantic association with anger and aggression onto Serena Williams (see Appendix 1.0). The collocates used about Serena are primarily negative, and include lexical items which relate to aggression: 'argument', 'furious' and 'verbal abuse', as well as infantile tendencies: 'tantrum' and 'outbursts', forcing Serena to assume the position of both an aggressor and child-like. 'Outburst' is present in the headline corpus six times (appendix 1.1), revealing that the *MailOnline* promotes Serena as problematic in the headlines to predetermine and pre-construct the evaluation of the reader (van Dijk 1991). Whilst it is important not to over-interpret concordance line data, concordancy context of 'Serena', (see appendix 3.0), reveals she is frequently attached to peremptory verbs such as 'demands', and 'claims'. Serena also exists in clusters such as 'got into a shouting match' (l.10), 'lost her rag' (l.38) and 'lost her head' (l.15).

Serena is often present in concordance lines of 'umpire', (see appendix 3.1), where the *MailOnline* discursively links Serena to verbs such as: 'harass', 'overrule', 'enraged', 'abusing', 'insulted' and 'accused'. Within the concordance lines of 'umpire', Serena consistently assumes the role of subject within the sentence construction and thus the umpire as the object. The internal dynamic created within these constructions naturalises and reinforces to the readership Serena's agency, and alleviates the responsibility of the umpire. Whilst the syntactic structure positions Serena as active, the discourse function of the verb usage furthers this is to set up an aggressive, dominant Serena, which subsequently positions the umpire as passive and ultimately victimised.

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By pre-modifying 'punished' (l. 18, 39, 44) and 'penalised' (l. 16, 17) with adverbs such as 'heavily', 'rightly' and 'correctly', the *MailOnline's* evaluative judgement is naturalised and their subjective stance disguised so that it is presented to be objective and as fact. 'Punished' and 'penalised', which have semantic connotations of authority, and subsequently accrue validity, linguistically confirm Serena's position as wrong. It can be concluded that regular readers of the *MailOnline* are frequently exposed to Serena Williams as both belligerent and disruptive, and that the measures taken to control and subsidise her anger were legitimised and valid.

Heterosexual Gender Roles

The keyword findings reveal the presence of her daughter: 'Olympia', 'adorable', 'tutu', as well as her husband, Alexis Ohanian, indicated by the words 'Ohanian' and 'Reddit' a reference to his surname and company (appendix 2.0). The large saliency of her daughter and husband in this corpus, prompts the *MailOnline's* readership to view her in the role of a mother and wife, detracting from her identity as an individual and athlete.

Whilst frequency counts can be limited in the validity of their findings, within the top fifty most frequent nouns (see appendix 2.1), the first twenty-three nouns were semantically related to the topic of tennis, yet, 'daughter' and 'olympia' were the following most common nouns which were not related to the sport. This is also evident in the headline corpus (appendix 2.2), where 'Olympia', 'daughter' and 'mom', are in the top 20 most frequent nouns and exist as the only nouns not related to sport or tennis. The high frequency represents her identity as a mother to be of next importance and significance after her career. 'Postpartum' and 'work-life' (see appendix 2.0), also make clear the prominent discussion of motherhood. Concordance lines of 'work-life', (see appendix 3.2), show that it always exists in the phraseology of 'work-life balance'. The *MailOnline* reproduces the perspective that motherhood and athleticism struggle to occupy the same space, and promotes that this struggle has a space in public conversation.

Surveillance of Her Off-court Activities

Focusing on her circle of friends and acquaintances is a strategy used by the *MailOnline* to control available images and opinions of Serena. Yetunde, her sister who was shot and killed in an incident in California, is mentioned fifteen times during the corpus and within the keyword findings (see appendix 2.0), the presence of 'Yetunde', 'Parole', 'Maxfield', 'crips' and 'drive-by' all semantically relate to the incident. Drawing on ideas of Hill Collins (1990), and the concept of controlling images, it could be argued the *MailOnline* uses this incident to actively remind the readership of Serena's upbringing in Compton California, 'a location readily understood as a site of urban decay and gang violence' (Douglas, 2012: 130). The *MailOnline* uses this promoted association as a distancing strategy between Serena and the elitism of tennis, emphasising her difference to marginalise her as a form of othering.

The preoccupation of the *MailOnline* with Serena's friendship with Meghan Markle is an attempt to undermine Williams' credibility within the *MailOnline's* readership. Markle has received predominantly negative media treatment within the

British tabloid press, branded as deeply problematic and an outsider (Pramaggiore and Kerrigan 2022). When looking at concordance lines of 'Meghan', (see appendix 3.3), Serena consistently adopts the position of subject, and the verb 'texted' appears in all capitals, which is an attempt to characterise this event as provocative and controversial. Furthermore, by placing Serena in a position of agency within their friendship, implicitly suggests that Serena wants to be friends with Meghan. By aligning her with other controversial figures in the British press, it forms a process of mirroring, and works to homogenise her within the category of controversial celebrities, sustaining the idea that Serena should not be viewed as a respectable figure.

'Jehovah' also appears amongst the top ten keywords in this corpus. The reference to Serena's religion is often regarded in a negative context. Looking at concordance lines of 'Jehovah', the *MailOnline* fixates on not celebrating Olympia's first birthday. Promoted reporting about these events characterises Serena as outside the 'super mum' aesthetic.

CDA Analysis

Text or Discourse Immanent Critique

Diverging slightly from the 'angry black women' (Romero 2018), and 'matriarch' (Hill Collins 1990) stereotypes, Serena's anger is characterised by the *MailOnline* as a form of arrogance and entitlement (see appendix 5.0). The lexical choice of 'circus' and 'tantrums', within phrases like 'circus of entitled petulance' (l.45) and 'entitled tantrums', serve to reduce Serena to both child-like and performative, used strategically by the *MailOnline* as a form of reduction and ridicule. The use of parallelism in the phrase 'her right to do as she pleased; to never be judged; to never be censured' (l.17), is effortless, where the notable and rhythmic phonological structure performs poetically, thus naturalising the perception that Serena is entitled within the mind of the reader. To further this the *MailOnline* also constructs a neologism or a play on words, as a hook and memorable phrase to solidify and assimilate her with this sense of entitlement. The *MailOnline* transforms 'MeToo' into 'Me, Me, Me' as present in the title 'This wasn't #MeToo... it was just me, me, me', which is later repeated (l.46-47). The phonological play on words is a captivating strategy used by *MailOnline* to discredit Serena and undermines her stance on women's rights by assimilating it with arrogance and self-importance. Yet, there is an inconsistency in the *MailOnline*'s use of #MeToo, which as defined by the movement's website is 'a global, and survivor-led, movement against sexual violence' (metoomvmt.org). Whilst the standpoint of Serena and MeToo movements both fall under the scope of feminist aims, the *MailOnline* has essentially drawn a contradictory and incoherent link between sexual assault and entitlement.

The *MailOnline* consistently not only mitigates the actions of the umpire but praises them (see appendix 5.0). The *MailOnline* discerns assertive phrases like 'that is unknowable and irrelevant' (l.22), 'that is absolutely within his right' (l.27), 'proved him right' (l.31). The consistent tone and structure of an assertive and matter-of-fact narrative removes space for doubt, and the umpire accrues validity in the mind of the reader. A second use of parallelism, 'after taking a point from Williams, Ramos was a thief, after deducting a game, he was a sexist' (l.32), by the *MailOnline* removes contextual details to connect incoherent and disjointed statements together in an aim to characterise this incident as unjust and prejudiced, further mitigating the actions of

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the umpire. The *MailOnline* alleviates the focus and blame from Ramos by using phrases such as 'it isn't just men' (l.60), with the use of the adverb 'just' diminishing accountability from him.

If the actions of an in-group are mitigated, the actions of the outgroup are therefore intensified (Van Dijk 1991). Williams' actions are labelled 'a disgrace' (l.27) and 'tirade' (l.31), and the *MailOnline* utilises contexts of other tennis tournaments (l.61-64), to advance that Williams is a frequent user of invective language. The lexical items and construction choices characterise Serena as being manipulative. The *MailOnline*'s use of constructions such as 'by making her outburst about egotism and not sexism, Williams immediately shifted the blame and earned support' (l.53), characterise Williams as calculated and destabilise her credibility. This is furthered by 'she had adjusted her story' (l.79), which promotes ideas of fabrication and performance. The *MailOnline* furthers ideas of lack of credibility, assimilating her actions at the US Open with 'when a woman talks BS it can get hidden in a self-serving, self-pitying mitigation about wanting to 'express themselves' and be a 'strong woman' (l.58). By subverting Serena's protest as 'self-pitying' and 'self-serving', it removes any activism behind it, limiting her protest to exclusively selfish aims, rendering her position as simply problematic. Whilst ideas of her daughter were associated with 'adorable' and 'tutu' in the corpus, the *MailOnline* promotes the perception in this article that Williams strategically uses her daughter, labelling her as: 'a golden ticket' (l.15), 'a get out of jail free card' (l.12) and 'your daughter isn't special' (l.14), consequently disregarding Williams from the 'supermom' narrative (Martin 2019).

The motherhood narrative utilised by the *MailOnline* is saturated in contradictions. The first article (see appendix 4.0), ceases coverage about the French Open half way through the article (l.22), and the focus of the *MailOnline* diverts to topics of her role as a mother and personal life. The *MailOnline* actively draws attention to her role as a mother, synthetically constructing this topic as salient; 'perhaps even more at Wimbledon there is a fascination about whether Williams can win her domestic grand slam as a parent' (l.22). Yet the second article contradicts this: 'Serena Williams has a daughter and a demanding job that she is brilliant at, but then so do a great many other women' (l.11). The *MailOnline* emphasises in the latter how being a mother and an athlete is not something which should be entitled to praise, yet the linguistic choice of 'fascination' in the former characterises this very concept as distinctive and noteworthy.

This paradoxical structure is also present again in the latter half of the French Open article. The *MailOnline* actively raises the topic of Yetunde, only then to discard it as irrelevant; 'more meaningful in tennis terms' (l.48). Once more the first article states 'They may have been disappointed that, on this occasion, Williams did not wish to fuel this indignation' (l.11), as opposed to the second article where 'Williams' reaction was a disgrace' (l.27), exposing how when she reacts it is characterised badly, yet if she doesn't then she is disappointing. The contradictions within the articles provide evidence for the confined cycle Serena exists in within the *MailOnline*'s narrative, where controlling images are promoted of her, which she is then blamed or scrutinised for in the latter.

The Socio-diagnostic Critique

Emerging as an outlier or token in a white elitist sport such as tennis (Bruening 2012; Adjepong and Carrington 2014), Serena Williams, alongside other black women, encounters resistance to her presence in the sport (Adjepong and Carrington 2014). The *MailOnline* fuels this resistance and uses the intense and prolonged scrutiny, previously identified in this analysis, to negotiate Serena Williams' level of stability and ownership over her position in tennis.

The scrutiny of her actions and discourse is both common and multifaceted. Serena's activism, character, actions, personal life and behaviour are all concepts which the *MailOnline* has examined in the articles. The *MailOnline* actively employs this level of intense and broad scrutiny as an attempt to reject both Serena and her voice completely. Serena's presence challenged the concept of tennis as a white male preserve (Adjepong and Carrington 2014; Vincent 2004; Schultz 2005), and since her material success in the sport is legitimate, the *MailOnline* is unable to evoke that part of her identity as invalid, therefore tarnishing her character exists as the only available option to undermine her presence within the sport.

Furthermore, the phrase 'her court' exists twice within the second article and is both times positioned as problematic. The concept of 'her court' indicates that Serena has some sort of ownership over it, yet the *MailOnline* extends the use of parallelism to position it after, 'Her right to do as she pleased; to never be judged; to never be censured. Her court, she called it, as she ranted ...' (l.17). Starting both sentences with 'her', conjures a coordinated link between 'her court' and the parallel phrases. This naturalises the concept of Serena's ownership as unstable, and that it instead constitutes part of her entitlement. The phrase is later repeated, 'the next person who wants to overmine, overrule and harass the umpire because she thinks it's her court and she has a daughter?'. By placing 'her court' within a question characterises it with a level of uncertainty and the use of 'she thinks', also evokes this doubt and renders that Serena's ownership is subjective opinion, thus forcing her position as unstable.

Prognostic Critique

The *MailOnline* frequently engages with ideologically motivated controlling images of black womanhood (Hill Collins 1990). Presenting Serena as aggressive, manipulative and calculated, heavily reproduces the idea of the 'Matriarch' (Hill Collins 1990). These controlling images promote and dictate racialized gender expectations of Serena within society, significantly marginalising her in modern day media by subjecting her to a realm of historic racial scrutiny. Future transformation of such narratives in the *MailOnline* would be to cease discursive reproduction and engagement with such stereotypes, in an aim to limit perpetuating racial othering.

There are various social implications of the *MailOnline's* artificially drawn parallel between 'MeToo' and 'Me Me Me'. The discourse from the *MailOnline* promotes the homogenisation of all aspects of feminism, equating discussions of feminine stereotypes with sexual assault, refusing the consideration of layered and distinct realms of feminist thinking. Further to this, the motive of the *MailOnline* was essentially to discredit Serena through promoting her entitlement, yet it subsequently discredits and insults the MeToo movement itself. By connecting the movement to

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phraseology such as ‘this wasn’t #MeToo’, opens up the space to attribute invalidity and lack of credibility with the MeToo movement, creating room for the negotiation of true and false narratives. Future recognition of the damaging effects to feminism should be adopted by the *MailOnline*, in an effort to not homogenise all aspects of feminism or actively align invalidity with sexual assault.

Discussion

This discussion will be oriented around answering the three research questions outlined at the beginning of this dissertation:

1. Across the chosen time period, how were discursive representations of Serena Williams constructed linguistically in the *MailOnline*’s coverage?
2. To what extent did the *MailOnline* engage with socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood in their representation of Serena Williams?
3. What common argumentation themes and topics are present?

The corpus analysis indicated three predominant topics which the *MailOnline* discursively engaged with across chosen time period: semantic patterns of ‘anger’, promoted discussion of her heterosexual gender roles and surveillance of her off-court activities. The in depth analysis confirmed these themes were also present at a micro-level. Yet, the three topics can be united by one singular purpose, to distance and remove Serena from the milieu of tennis.

Adjepong and Carrington (2014), maintain that Black female athletes are conditionally accepted, so long as they act through behaviours modelled off of white middle-class femininity. Ideas of Serena’s anger and emotional instability are amplified and accentuated in the discourse, and are positioned as her dominant and default behaviour. The strategy of hyperbole renders imagery that Serena is unhinged. This firmly contrasts the notions of propriety inherent within tennis, subsequently positioning her as an outsider to these formalities. Furthermore, in the latter article Serena is often structured linguistically in relation to the umpire. There is a metaphorical and moral difference created between the two of them, and the *MailOnline* offers the umpire as a representative of what tennis should be like and acts as a mirror for what Serena *should* act like too. Serena is represented as disrupting the respectability within tennis, which *MailOnline* utilises as a strategy for her removal.

Furthermore, the dominant narrative of anger discerns that the *MailOnline* discursively reproduces controlling images of Black womanhood. The descriptions of her actions constitute the ‘Matriarch’ (Hill Collins 1990), and ‘Angry Black Woman’ (Romero 2018), stereotypes, where women are overly aggressive and violent. The engagement with these controlling images sustains and fuels the racialized stereotypes of Black women within society.

The off-court images of Serena serve to remind the readership of Serena’s socio-economic background. Tennis has previously been understood as a sport for

the elites, and promoting images of Serena's background in Compton is an opportunity to 'other' her within this environment. As seen in the article about the French Open (appendix 4.0), the *MailOnline* actively draws the focus away from discussions about tennis, instead focusing on her heterosexual duty as a mother. The engagement with motherhood provides an excuse for distancing her from tennis, offering an alternative context where Serena belongs, which provides the *MailOnline* with an excuse for her removal.

Findings from this analysis reveal a lower level of discursive engagement with the catsuit than it was anticipated. Despite the lexical item 'catsuit' appearing within the top ten keyword findings (appendix 2.0), the in-depth CDA analysis proved that in this specific article the topic of the catsuit acted as a 'hook', to gain the reader's attention, and a substantial percentage of the coverage was consumed with discourse about her off-court persona instead.

Conclusion

This dissertation builds upon the existing research of sociologists, to offer findings from a sociolinguistic perspective about the *MailOnline*'s discursive representation of Serena Williams during the summer of 2018. Serena has been consistently evaluated negatively within the discourse and this study has proven that a coherent distancing strategy was employed by the *MailOnline*, in an aim to remove Serena from the world of tennis. A future direction for this study could be to adopt a diachronic approach. Serena Williams also encountered media backlash in 2002 for wearing a catsuit again at the US Open, and it could be interesting to explore whether the *MailOnline*'s representation changed or evolved between the period of 2002 to 2018. Nevertheless, this dissertation has provided original findings for the field of sociolinguistics about Williams' discursive representation in the *MailOnline* across this period and has highlighted a suggested direction for future study.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1.0 – FULL CORPUS. SEMANTICS RELATED TO ANGER DIRECTED TOWARD SERENA.

| LEMMA | Freq. | LEMMA | Freq. | LEMMA | Freq. |
|----------|-------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| OUTBURST | 26 | TANTRUM | 10 | HYSTERICAL | 4 |
| BAD | 24 | ENTITLE | 9 | THREAT | 3 |
| ABUSE | 16 | THREATEN | 9 | LOST-IT | 2 |
| SCREAM | 12 | ARGUE | 8 | LOST HER RAG | 2 |
| SMASH | 12 | CRY | 8 | ANGRY | 2 |
| DEMAND | 11 | 'VERBAL ABUSE' | 6 | VIOLENT | 2 |
| SHOUT | 11 | OVERSHADOW | 6 | ENRAGED | 1 |
| THROW | 11 | EMOTIONAL | 6 | ROW | 1 |
| ARGUMENT | 11 | INSULT | 5 | OVER-EMOTIONAL | 1 |
| FURIOUS | 10 | HEATED | 4 | LOST HER HEAD | 1 |

APPENDIX 1.1 – HEADLINE CORPUS. SEMANTICS RELATED TO ANGER.

| LEMMA | Freq. | LEMMA | Freq. | LEMMA | Freq. |
|----------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | | | | . | |
| OUTBURST | 6 | ARGUE | 2 | EXPLOSIVE | 1 |
| ROW | 3 | FURIOUS | 2 | ANGRY | 1 |
| DRAMATIC | 2 | DEMANDS | 1 | THREATEN | 1 |
| TANTRUM | 2 | ENTITLE | 1 | | |

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APPENDIX 2.0 – FULL CORPUS. TOP FIFTY KEYWORDS (Reference Corpus = Topics Sports of enTenTen20).

| LEMMA | LEMMA | LEMMA | LEMMA |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. MOURATOGLOU | 14. MAXFIELD | 27. KONTA | 40. ABLOH |
| 2. THIEF | 15. NAOMI | 28. UMPIRE | 41. WORK-LIFE |
| 3. SERENA | 16. VENUS | 29. OUTBURST | 42. WINTOUR |
| 4. OLYMPIA | 17. LIAR | 30. INSINUATE | 43. INSECURITY |
| 5. OHANIAN | 18. ASDERAKI | 31. TRESS | 44. CARINA |
| 6. YETUNDE | 19. WITTHOEFT | 32. DELLACQUA | 45. KAEPERNICK |
| 7. OSAKA | 20. PAROLE | 33. TANTRUM | 46. UNATTRACTIVE |
| 8. SEXISM | 21. RACKET | 34. EQUALITY | 47. WORMLEY |
| 9. JEHOVAH | 22. RAMOS | 35. ON-COURT | 48. DRIVE-BY |
| 10. SEVASTOVA | 23. CRIPS | 36. APOLOGY | 49. REDDIT |
| 11. CATSUIT | 24. ANASTASIJA | 37. ASHE | 50. LISA |
| 12. SEXIST | 25. ADORABLE | 38. POSTPARTUM | |
| 13. TUTU | 26. DOCK | 39. VOGUE | |

APPENDIX 2.1 – FULL CORPUS. TOP 30 MOST FREQUENT NOUNS.

| NOUN | Freq. | NOUN | Freq. | NOUN | Freq. |
|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| 1. WILLIAMS | 363 | 11. RAMOS | 90 | 21. POINT | 64 |
| 2. SERENA | 338 | 12. COACHING | 83 | 22. VENUS | 64 |
| 3. OPEN | 160 | 13. PLAYER | 82 | 23. COURT | 64 |
| 4. UMPIRE | 147 | 14. MAN | 82 | 24. DAUGHTER | 64 |
| 5. TENNIS | 145 | 15. SLAM | 75 | 25. OLYMPIA | 54 |
| 6. US | 118 | 16. OSAKA | 73 | 26. COACH | 49 |
| 7. GAME | 115 | 17. YEAR | 66 | 27. SISTER | 49 |

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|----------|-----|----------------|----|-------------|----|
| 8. WOMAN | 113 | 18. THIEF | 66 | 28. NIKE | 45 |
| 9. MATCH | 107 | 19. GRAND | 65 | 29. THING | 44 |
| 10. TIME | 98 | 20. TOURNAMENT | 65 | 30. APOLOGY | 42 |

APPENDIX 2.2 – HEADLINE CORPUS. TOP 20 MOST FREQUENT NOUNS.

| NOUN | Freq. | NOUN | Freq. | NOUN | Freq. |
|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| 1. SERENA | 44 | 8. OLYMPIA | 6 | 15. VENUS | 4 |
| 2. WILLIAMS | 42 | 9. STAR | 5 | 16. SET | 3 |
| 3. OPEN | 26 | 10. DAUGHTER | 5 | 17. SHARE | 3 |
| 4. US | 20 | 11. MATCH | 5 | 18. NIKE | 3 |
| 5. UMPIRE | 10 | 12. DEFEAT | 4 | 19. MOM | 3 |
| 6. TENNIS | 6 | 13. WOMAN | 4 | 20. INTERVIEW | 3 |
| 7. OUTBURST | 6 | 14. U.S | 4 | | |

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APPENDIX 3.0 – FULL CORPUS. A SAMPLE OF 50 CONCORDANCE LINES OF ‘SERENA’.

| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|---------|---|---------------|--|
| 1 | doc#0 :>I have a daughter and I stand for what's right for her': | Serena | Williams demands umpire apologizes in furious row aft |
| 2 | doc#0 :HEATING in dramatic U.S. Open women's final Body • | Serena | Williams got into a shouting row with the umpire during |
| 3 | doc#0 >ry and it made her Japan's first Grand Slam champion | Serena | Williams got into a shouting match with the umpire in th |
| 4 | doc#0 he floor to be given, inevitably, a point penalty.</s><s> | Serena | teared up as she said: 'I don't want to be rude but I just |
| 5 | doc#0 ilous' behavior.</s><s>'Ridiculous behaviour here from | Serena | Williams, angrily pointing her finger and demanding an |
| 6 | doc#0 her to have an emergency caesarean-section.</s><s> | Serena | admitted that she had a 'wonderful female doctor' who |
| 7 | doc#0 r: woman should be the inspiration to the next.</s><s> | Serena | recently admitted finding a good work/life balance is dif |
| 8 | doc#0 :.</s><s>'You stole a point from me, you're a thief too': | Serena | Williams breaks down as she argues with umpire during |
| 9 | doc#0 1 For Dailymail.comMike Dickson for MailOnline Body • | Serena | Williams got into a shouting row with the umpire during |
| 10 | doc#0 >ry and it made her Japan's first Grand Slam champion | Serena | Williams got into a shouting match with the umpire in th |
| 11 | doc#0 he floor to be given, inevitably, a point penalty.</s><s> | Serena | teared up as she said: 'I don't want to be rude but I just |
| 12 | doc#0 ilous' behavior.</s><s>'Ridiculous behaviour here from | Serena | Williams, angrily pointing her finger and demanding an |
| 13 | doc#0 nal against Sam Stosur.</s><s>'You're a thief!</s><s> | Serena | Williams receives game penalty after incredible outbur |
| 14 | doc#0 r: first Grand Slam with US Open final win after beating | Serena | Williams 6-2, 6-4 • The 20-year-old became first man o |
| 15 | doc#0 :nt US Open final win on Saturday night when she beat | Serena | Williams after the 36-year-old American totally lost her |
| 16 | doc#0 : another in a long line of on-court controversies Body • | Serena | Williams was heavily penalised in her US Open final lo |
| 17 | doc#0 :nts involving the 23-time grand slam singles champion | Serena | Williams was penalised a game in her US Open final d |
| 18 | doc#0 :s>It was just me, me, me.</s><s>'Sexism?</s><s>'No, | Serena | Williams was rightly punished for her entitled tantrum a |
| 19 | doc#0 r entitled tantrum at the women's US Open final Body • | Serena | Williams was wrong to bring her daughter into her argu |
| 20 | doc#0 of entitlement of many at the pinnacle of modern sport, | Serena | Williams' cry that she 'has a daughter' when required to |
| 21 | doc#0 3 of 36, and the acclaim has been universal.</s><s>So | Serena | Williams has a daughter and a demanding job that she |
| 22 | doc#0 ritish No 1 You just can't act like that I'm afraid.</s><s> | Serena | now claiming that men do this.</s><s>More nonsense. |
| 23 | doc#0 lass and makes us proud.</s><s>FULL TRANSCRIPT: | Serena | Williams' entire outburst as American star has furious r |
| 24 | doc#0 dows US Open final Body • FULL TRANSCRIPT: Read | Serena | Williams' entire outburst in the US Open final • The inci |
| 25 | doc#0 s awarded Osaka a game after she called him a 'thief | Serena | Williams' furious outburst at umpire Carlos Ramos over |
| 26 | doc#0 der issue': Australian tennis star Casey Dellacqua says | Serena | Williams was WRONG to claim US Open umpire was s |
| 27 | doc#0 inings An Australian tennis star has spoken out against | Serena | Williams' outburst during the US Open final in which sh |
| 28 | doc#0 rk out for the next person.</s><s>WTA chief backs up | Serena | Williams claim of sexism during US Open final and call |
| 29 | doc#0 Djokovic does not think there is double standard Body • | Serena | Williams was warned for coaching, docked point for sm |
| 30 | doc#0 believe she was treated fairly The WTA has backed up | Serena | Williams' claim of sexism in the way she was treated by |

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| | |
|----|---|
| 31 | doc#0 at each other fairly and the same.</s><s>'I know what Serena did and her behaviour was not welcome, a line could ha |
| 32 | doc#0 ry awkward situation.</s><s>A lot of emotions.</s><s> Serena was crying.</s><s>Naomi was crying.</s><s>It was re |
| 33 | doc#0 '00 for verbal abuse.</s><s>Umpires could BOYCOTT Serena Williams' future matches following extraordinary US Op |
| 34 | doc#0 in final outburst Body • Umpires considering boycotting Serena Williams' games after US Open final row • They feel Ca |
| 35 | doc#0 campaign against Magda Linette next week Wherever Serena Williams goes, some kind of drama follows closely behi |
| 36 | doc#0 .</s><s>'Disturbed' tennis umpires consider boycotting Serena Williams matches and forming a union after chair ump v |
| 37 | doc#0 <s>MARTIN SAMUEL: Fighting for all women?</s><s> Serena wasn't even bothered about the one across the net... he |
| 38 | doc#0 prospect of losing • Umpire Carlos Ramos got it right - Serena Williams lost her rag • The official wasn't incompetent b |
| 39 | doc#0 's>It was just me, me, me.</s><s>Sexism?</s><s>No, Serena Williams was rightly punished for her entitled tantrum a |
| 40 | doc#0 ourite football clubs this week, to focus debate-style on Serena Williams' self-regarding meltdown/righteous blow for th |
| 41 | doc#0 uthority of an umpire.</s><s>And men need to support Serena in what?</s><s>Her right to act as a spoiled child wher |
| 42 | doc#0 asingly poor reaction to the prospect of defeat.</s><s> Serena was bested on 'her court'.</s><s>I agree that she was |
| 43 | doc#0 coach copped to it.</s><s>He's got more integrity than Serena does, obviously.</s><s>Sore loser, poor sportsmanship |
| 44 | doc#0 n manner and action and brilliant at her sport.</s><s>If Serena was correctly punished for the accumulation of violator |
| 45 | doc#0 unishments should be deterrents, after all.</s><s>Had Serena simply disagreed with Ramos about the illegal coaching |
| 46 | doc#0 an was thin and posh, used public transport, and thinks Serena Williams acted with an unpleasant sense of entitlement |
| 47 | doc#0 </s><s>Will the tennis authorities do the same and ban Serena or is it simply just a slap on the wrist fine that amounts t |
| 48 | doc#0 s you recall.</s><s>Yes the first set was tied 5-5 when Serena complained, but light drizzle was falling, not a few spots |
| 49 | doc#0 rampton is still reading.</s><s>Until next time.</s><s> Serena Williams won't be celebrating daughter Olympia's first b |
| 50 | doc#0 s>The cast of Gogglebox weigh in on the debate about Serena Williams' tantrum at the US Open Body The cast of Go |
| 51 | doc#0 air bet the little cutie will be with her.</s><s>On Friday, Serena shared a sweet Instagram snap of herself in athleisure |
| 52 | doc#0 st the number one ranked men's tennis player.</s><s> Serena pulled her dark tresses back into a tight bun, and proud |

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APPENDIX 3.1 – FULL CORPUS. A SAMPLE OF 20 CONCORDANCE LINES OF 'UMPIRE'.

| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|---------|---|----------------|---|
| 1 | doc#0 and for what's right for her'. Serena Williams demands | umpire | apologizes in furious row after she was accused of CH |
| 2 | doc#0 too': Serena Williams breaks down as she argues with | umpire | during the U.S. Open women's final who issued her a |
| 3 | doc#0 men's final • The 23-time Grand Slam winner accused | umpire | Carlos Ramos of 'stealing a point from her' as he claim |
| 4 | doc#0 : tournament.' | umpire | , calling him a liar and a thief and demanding an apolo |
| 5 | doc#0 : as long as you live!' | umpire | .</s><s>Amid an increasingly febrile atmosphere it ap |
| 6 | doc#0 ams receives game penalty after incredible outburst at | umpire | as Naomi Osaka takes maiden US Open title in straight |
| 7 | doc#0 /ershadowed by Williams angry outburst as she called | umpire | 'a thief' for giving her point penalty • Williams had alrea |
| 8 | doc#0 en a point penalty.</s><s>She repeatedly insulted the | umpire | , calling him a liar and a thief and demanding an apolo |
| 9 | doc#0 : as long as you live!' | umpire | , who was only following long-established procedures. |
| 10 | doc#0 i.</s><s>He later embarrassed himself by blaming the | umpire | for wanting to get too involved, while his player embarr |
| 11 | doc#0 </s><s>Her court, she called it, as she ranted that the | umpire | was a liar and a thief.</s><s>And she was wrong.</s> |
| 12 | doc#0 son who wants to undermine, overrule and harass the | umpire | because she thinks it's her court and she has a daught |
| 13 | doc#0 warning for sure.</s><s>But the third time, calling the | umpire | a thief, while we hear mostly men say four-letter words |
| 14 | doc#0 called him a 'thief' Serena Williams' furious outburst at | umpire | Carlos Ramos overshadowed her US Open final defea |
| 15 | doc#0 see him - which is why she became so enraged at the | umpire | .</s><s>Williams then came to blows with Ramos afte |
| 16 | doc#0 during the defeat to Naomi Osaka for verbally abusing | umpire | Carlos Ramos, calling him a 'thief' and a 'liar' after he d |
| 17 | doc#0 t lose games, but then maybe the verbal challenges to | umpires | were not repeated and carried on across the best part |
| 18 | doc#0 dged she threatened there in 2009?</s><s>She called | umpire | Asderaki 'unattractive inside' and said she shouldn't ev |
| 19 | doc#0 r lost to Japan's Naomi Osaka for shouting at the chair | umpire | .</s><s>The 23-time grand slam winner uploaded a pi |
| 20 | doc#0) as the runner-up.</s><s>Williams' furious outburst at | umpire | Carlos Ramos overshadowed her 6-2, 6-4 final defeat |

APPENDIX 3.2 – FULL CORPUS. ALL EXISTING CONCORDANCE LINES OF 'WORK-LIFE'.

| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|---------|--|------------------|---|
| 1 | doc#0 >Asked whether she believes there's such a thing as a | work-life | balance, she added: 'I think there is.</s><s>The thing |
| 2 | doc#0 :t, but I'm getting there.</s><s>I'm finding my personal | work-life | balance.'</s><s>'You stole a point from me, you're a th |
| 3 | doc#0 >Asked whether she believes there's such a thing as a | work-life | balance, she added: 'I think there is.</s><s>The thing |
| 4 | doc#0 :t, but I'm getting there.</s><s>I'm finding my personal | work-life | balance.'</s><s>Serena Williams surges into US Oper |

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APPENDIX 3.3 – FULL CORPUS. ALL EXISTING CONCORDANCE LINES OF 'MEGHAN'.

| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|---------|---|-----------------|---|
| 1 | doc#0 to work to accept her body.</s><s>Her friendship with | Meghan | Markle,' Lisa wrote, before addressing Serena's recent |
| 2 | doc#0 er a lot!</s><s>Serena Williams reveals she TEXTED | Meghan | Markle after her US Open outburst.... as she gushes o |
| 3 | doc#0 e Harry Serena Williams says she and longtime friend | Meghan | Markle 'have been relying on each other' as they cope |
| 4 | doc#0 <s>Serena and her husband Alexis Ohanian attended | Meghan's | wedding to Prince Harry back in May.</s><s>'You said |
| 5 | doc#0 at happened.'</s><s>According to Metro, Serena and | Meghan | reportedly first met at the 2010 Super Bowl in Miami at |

APPENDIX 3.4 – FULL CORPUS. ALL EXISTING CONCORDANCE LINES OF 'JEHOVAH'.

| Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|---------|---|------------------|--|
| 1 | doc#0 rthdays,' said Williams matter-of-factly.</s><s>'We're | Jehovah's | Witnesses, so we don't do that.'</s><s>Her status as |
| 2 | doc#0 e celebrating daughter Olympia's first birthday due to | Jehovah's | Witnesses believes Body She's been a Jehovah's Witn |
| 3 | doc#0 ie to Jehovah's Witnesses believes Body She's been a | Jehovah's | Witness since her mother converted to the faith in the |
| 4 | doc#0 rdays,' the 36-year-old tennis pro said.</s><s>'We're | Jehovah's | Witnesses, we don't do that.'</s><s>Practicing Jehov |
| 5 | doc#0 vah's Witnesses, we don't do that.'</s><s>Practicing | Jehovah's | Witnesses do not observe holidays they believe to ha |
| 6 | doc#0 a participant in the faith until recently.</s><s>'Being a | Jehovah's | Witness is important to me, but I've never really pract |
| 7 | doc#0 ighout her career, Williams has consistently thanked ' | Jehovah | god' for her success as a tennis player.</s><s>'I am |
| 8 | doc#0 i god' for her success as a tennis player.</s><s>'I am | Jehovah's | Witness.</s><s>I think if you don't believe in God, it's |
| 9 | doc#0 ' she told ASAP Sports back in 2002.</s><s>'Being a | Jehovah's | Witness, obviously we believe in God and the Bible.< |
| 10 | doc#0 rdays,' the 36-year-old tennis pro said.</s><s>'We're | Jehovah's | Witnesses, we don't do that.'</s><s>Practicing Jehov |
| 11 | doc#0 vah's Witnesses, we don't do that.'</s><s>Practicing | Jehovah's | Witnesses do not observe holidays they believe to ha |
| 12 | doc#0 a participant in the faith until recently.</s><s>'Being a | Jehovah's | Witness is important to me, but I've never really pract |

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Appendix 4.0

'I'm sure everything will be okay': Serena Williams insists a solution can be found after French Open officials declare a ban on her catsuit

MailOnline. August 25,2018 Saturday 6:16

PM GMT Mike Dickson

1. - Serena Williams wore a black catsuit during this summer's French Open
2. - French Tennis president Bernard Guidicelli claimed her catsuit would be banned
3. - Williams defended her outfit and believes issue can be resolved through talks
4. - The American starts her US Open campaign against Magda Linette next week

5. Wherever Serena Williams goes, some kind of drama follows closely behind, especially when it

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6. comes to playing Grand Slams.
7. On the eve of the US Open the crisis du jour involved the apparent banning by the French Open of
8. the famous black catsuit she wore at Roland Garros this year.
9. When the grandstanding French tennis supremo Bernard Guidicelli issued the decree last week it
10. caused an outcry on social media, with people queuing up to attack the symbolism of the move.
11. They may have been disappointed that, on this occasion, Williams did not wish to fuel the
12. indignation. In fact she spoke of an entente cordiale over the issue with the French tennis
13. authorities, even though part of the outfit's purpose was to protect her from the blood clots that
14. have seriously endangered her health in the past.
15. 'I feel like if they know that some things are for health reasons, then there's no way that they
16. wouldn't be okay with it, so I think it's fine,' she said.
17. 'The president of the French Federation, he's been really amazing. He's been so easy to talk to. My
18. whole team is basically French, so we have a wonderful relationship. I'm sure we would come to an
19. understanding and everything will be okay.'
20. Perhaps even more than at Wimbledon there is a fascination about whether Williams can win her
21. domestic Grand Slam as a parent, having given birth to daughter Olympia during last year's
22. tournament.
23. The working mother narrative involving a genuine sporting superstar is the most compelling
24. potential narrative of the next fortnight, and television already smells a ratings winner.
25. The fact that Williams did not want to further inflate the catsuit debate suggests a strong desire to
26. avoid distractions, as she tackles a task that will not get any easier with the passing years.
27. As she pointed out, having a child has not led to her taking a more philosophical attitude towards
28. winning and losing.

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29. 'If anything, I have more fire in my belly,' said Williams.' It's very difficult to describe. I thought
30. after having a child I would be more relaxed, but I'm not. I work just as hard if not harder actually.
31. I feel like I take it just as serious if not more. That's been really surprising for me.'
32. Prior to Wimbledon she shared pictures of her showing her daughter the Centre Court, but it
33. sounds like this will not be happening with its equivalent, Arthur Ashe Stadium.
34. 'It's a very long drive and Olympia is not very good in the car. She's not good if we're more than a
35. five-minute ride.'
36. A reporter asked hopefully if there were any plans for celebrations of her first birthday next
37. Saturday, only to forget that religious faith prevents this from fitting into any schmaltzy story-line.
38. 'Olympia doesn't celebrate birthdays,' said Williams matter-of-factly. 'We're Jehovah's Witnesses,
39. so we don't do that.'
40. Her status as the greatest female player ever has ensured that she starts this tournament as
41. favourite but, beyond any symbolism, she faces a lot of hard work to win a 24th Grand Slam title.
42. Since making the Wimbledon final - helped by a draw that completely subsided in her favour - she
43. has played only three matches and lost two of them.
44. One was a 53-minute thrashing at the hands of Jo Konta, winning only one game. Again there was
45. unknown drama attached to this jaw dropping result, as she later revealed that, just prior to the
46. match, she had learned that the man convicted of shooting dead her half-sister Yetunde fifteen
47. years ago had been released on parole.
48. More meaningful in tennis terms was her three-set defeat to Petra Kvitova in Cincinnati two weeks
49. later.
50. The draw has not been kind to Williams this fortnight, and with the tournament played on hard

51. court there will not be the same rout of the women's seeds as on the grass at SW19.
52. There is a potentially awkward meeting with her sister in the third round and then a theoretical
53. match-up against Simona Halep. As Angelique Kerber showed at Wimbledon, the way forward for
54. someone like Halep will be to try and run her all over the court, testing the movement of someone
55. who will soon turn 37.

Appendix 5.0

MARTIN SAMUEL: This wasn't #MeToo... It was just me, me, me. Sexism? No, Serena Williams was rightly punished for her entitled tantrum at the women's US Open final

MailOnline. September 9, 2018 Sunday 8:02 PM GMT. Martin Samuel

1. • Serena Williams was wrong to bring her daughter into her argument on Saturday
2. • Williams having a daughter isn't a golden ticket to permitting tantrums on court
3. • That is what Williams appeared to demand at the US Open women's final
4. • This is a player who called an umpire a thief and a liar for upholding the rules
5. Even given the overwhelming sense of entitlement of many at the pinnacle of modern sport,
6. Serena Williams' cry that she 'has a daughter' when required to abide by an umpire's ruling, takes
7. some beating.
8. Alexis Olympia is one year and nine days old and her mommy is frequently lauded for that
9. achievement. She has balanced motherhood, and a difficult pregnancy, with returning swiftly to the
10. top of her profession at the age of 36, and the acclaim has been universal.
11. So Serena Williams has a daughter and a demanding job that she is brilliant at, but then so do a
12. great many women. But it's a baby, not a get out of jail free card. Babies are not hard to come by.
13. There are between 40 million and 1.2 billion sperm cells per healthy male ejaculation and
14. approximately half of the planet is female. So your daughter isn't special and neither are you for
15. having her, and she certainly isn't some golden ticket permitting tantrums when a call doesn't go
16. your way on the tennis court.
17. That is what Williams appeared to demand at Flushing Meadows on Saturday. Her right to do as
18. she pleased; to never be judged; to never be censured. Her court, she called it, as she ranted that

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19. the umpire was a liar and a thief. And she was wrong. Not just morally, but literally too.
Umpire
20. Carlos Ramos said he believed Patrick Mouratoglou was coaching Williams with hand signals from
21. the sidelines, and Mouratoglou confessed that he was. He said that he didn't think Williams saw
22. him, but that is unknowable and irrelevant.

23. Tic-like signals between partners are illegal in the card game, bridge, too - but they don't have to
24. be successful to result in disqualification. They just have to be there. So it doesn't matter whether
25. Williams picked up on Mouratoglou's gestures. They existed, Ramos spotted them, and took action
26. against the player.

27. That is absolutely within his right and Williams' reaction was a disgrace. 'You need to make an
28. announcement that I didn't get coaching,' she insisted. 'You owe me an apology.' Why? Because
29. she says so? The only reason for Ramos to make such a retraction was if he had reconsidered and
30. doubted his decision.

31. He didn't, and Mouratoglou's admission proved him right. Yet still the tirade continued. After taking
32. a point from Williams, Ramos was a thief, after deducting a game, he was sexist. It would never
33. have happened to a male tennis player, Williams concluded, doubling down on this accusation in
34. her press conference. 'I've seen other men call other umpires several things,' she said. 'I'm here
35. fighting for women's rights and for women's equality and for all kinds of stuff. For me to say "thief"
36. and for him to take a game, it made me feel like it was a sexist remark. He's never taken a game
37. from a man because they said "thief".

38. 'I just feel that I have to go through this as an example for the next person that has emotions, and
39. that wants to express themselves, and wants to be a strong woman. They're going to be allowed to
40. do that because of today. Maybe it didn't work out for me, but it's going to work out for the next
41. person.'

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42. What, the next person who wants to undermine, overrule and harass the umpire because she
43. thinks it's her court and she has a daughter? As for women's rights, the eventual US Open
44. women's champion Naomi Osaka would seem to have rights, too. The right to win a tennis match,
45. for instance, without her opponent turning this triumph into a circus of entitled petulance. The
46. right to play by the rules and the decisions made by those appointed to give them. This really
47. wasn't a #MeToo moment. It was #Me,Me,Me.
48. Nor was it about race, an underprivileged upbringing or any of the other specious mitigations
49. advanced for what was simply poor sportsmanship. We only have to look at Williams commercial
50. potential compared to that of the inferior Maria Sharapova to draw our conclusions about the
51. fairness of the marketplace in modern society, but that no more affords a free pass than a pram in
52. the hall.
53. Yet by making her outburst about sexism not egotism, Williams immediately shifted the blame and
54. earned support. 'When a woman is emotional, she's "hysterical" and she's penalized for it. When a
55. man does the same, he's "outspoken" and there are no repercussions. Thank you, Serena Williams,
56. for calling out this double standard. More voices are needed to do the same,' said Billie Jean King.
57. Equally, though, when a man talks BS, he is told he's talking BS, when a woman talks BS it can get
58. hidden in a self-serving, self-pitying mitigation about wanting to 'express themselves' and be a
59. 'strong woman' and everyone tiptoes around it for risk of causing offence.
60. It isn't just men that get away with a disrespectful attitude in tennis. In 2009, a player threatened
61. to shove a ball down the throat of a line judge at the US Open. That was Serena Williams. Then in
62. the 2011 US Open final, an umpire was called 'a hater and unattractive inside' for correctly
63. identifying that a female player had shouted 'come on' before her opponent, Sam Stosur, had
64. reached the ball.
65. 'If you ever see me walking down the hall, look the other way. Wow. What a loser,' hissed noted

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66. champion of women's rights Serena Williams to Eva Asderaki in a way that was no doubt totally
67. supportive. And yes, as Andy Murray stated, most of the sport's worst behaved players are men -
68. tennis being like society - but from Martina Hingis to Anna Smashnova, and certainly through
69. Williams, this is not a club from which women are entirely excluded. It isn't golf in Midlothian.
70. 'If it was a men's match, this wouldn't happen like this. It just wouldn't,' said former world No 1
71. Victoria Azarenka. Then again, what also wouldn't happen is the 2013 Australian Open semi-final in
72. which Azarenka blew five match points against Sloane Stephens, had a minor breakdown on court,
73. and disappeared for nine minutes for a medical time out.
74. Returning to win, she admitted: 'I almost did the choke of the year. I had to take a little bit of time
75. to calm down. I had so many chances but couldn't close it. I felt a bit overwhelmed. I couldn't
76. breathe. I had chest pains. It was like I was having a heart attack or something. I did it to make
77. sure I was OK.' The problem being that what Azarenka was describing wasn't a medical condition.
78. It was a mental one, more commonly known as bottling it, and no grounds for a time out. By the
79. time she reached the press conference she had adjusted her story to take in rib and back injuries,
80. and the authorities stood for it. Just as they stood for an umpire coaxing the most tiresome man in
81. sport, Nick Kyrgios, back into action earlier in this tournament. Just as they bent over backwards
82. to indulge Williams on Saturday, despite stealing the crowning career moment from Osaka, simply
83. because she played nice during the presentation when the crowd was still booing.
84. A statement from United States Tennis Association Chairman of the Board and President Katrina
85. Adams read: 'What Serena did on the podium today showed a great deal of class and
86. sportsmanship. This was Naomi's moment, and Serena wanted her to be able to enjoy it. That was
87. a class move from a true champion. What Serena has accomplished this year in playing her way
88. back onto the tour is truly amazing. She continues to inspire, because she continues to strive to be

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89. the best. She owns virtually every page of the record book, but she's never been one to rest on
90. her laurels.
91. 'She's always working to improve; always eager to embrace new challenges; and to set new
92. standards. She is an inspiration to me, personally, and a credit to our sport, win or lose. I know
93. that she was frustrated about the way the match played out, but the way she stepped up after the
94. final and gave full credit to Naomi for a match well-played speaks volumes about who she is.'
95. This, do not forget, is a player who had just called an umpire a thief and a liar for correctly
96. upholding the rules. But she has a daughter - and how many people can claim that?