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Abstract

There are numerous studies that exist which discuss the issue of race along with media coverage. This issue exists as studies often find that the coverage of white athletes is significantly different than that of black athletes. Many of these previous studies are centered around the main concept of the Critical Race Theory. This study went more in depth with this theory and examined if the specific coverage of player arrests differed by race. A content analysis was performed that looked at the featured articles from Sports Illustrated dealing with player arrests over a three year period from 2008 to 2010. The results of the study found that racism did not exist within the Sports Illustrated articles over this time period.

Document Type

Undergraduate Project

Professor's Name

Emily Dane-Staples

Subject Categories

Sports Management

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April 27, 2012

Abstract

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Sports Illustrated Coverage of Player Arrests in Sports

The high number of player arrests in sports today is a growing issue surrounding athletes (“Boys Gone Wild”, 2010). Leagues have tried to implement stiffer penalties and fines under their disciplinary actions in order to try and help fight this growing problem within sports. An example of these efforts by sports leagues are displayed by NFL commissioner, Roger Goodell, who has become heavily involved in dealing with player behavior (“Boys Gone Wild”, 2010). The commissioner has not passed this responsibility off to an NFL executive as he has handled it himself in meeting with players numerous times to discuss their behavior and possible consequences (“Boys Gone Wild”, 2010).

These actions by Roger Goodell are significant because the commissioner has dealt with the problem head on. He has taken such a stiff stance in order to prevent even more player arrest in the future for NFL players. If more commissioners and leagues took a similar stand as Roger Goodell has with player arrests, this significant problem would be more easily controlled in sports.

Throughout the years, the issue of criminal arrests has been discussed right along with the players’ on the field performances. These arrests have been highly covered in the media and include stories on players of different races (Lumpkin, 2009). This coverage of arrests and different races coincides directly with the Critical Race Theory. This theory contends that racism remains widespread in the world (Primm, DuBois, & Regoli, 2007). However, this racism may not exist in the same form as it once did. Racism in the present day world of sports is more delicate and subtle, but it certainly still does exist (Lumpkin, 2007). This research will show to what extent that this racism still exists in the media by exploring the featured stories from Sports Illustrated that are based on player arrests.

Literature Review

Previous studies have used the Critical Race Theory to help explore the issue of racism in the media's coverage of sports. This theory is not only a theoretical framework but also a social movement (Closson, 2010). Closson explains that the Critical Race Theory draws together premises and strategies derived largely from the Critical Theory (2010). The Critical Theory looks more broadly at an entire society while critiquing and trying to effectively change it (Closson, 2010). The Critical Race Theory is more specific as it looks directly at the issue of racism in society. This theory is increasingly being used by scholars to analyze society as well (Closson, 2010). The theory will help with this study in comparing the differences of Sports Illustrated coverage between black and white athletes.

Closson goes on to explain that the Critical Race Theory concisely challenges the experience of whites as the normal standard (2010). It also establishes the conceptual framework of the theory in the specific experiences of people of color (Closson, 2010). He further explains that this definition is crucial for understanding the racial dynamics between blacks and whites; more particularly the way that current inequalities are connected to these racial dynamics (Closson, 2010). This in-depth explanation and analysis of the Critical Race Theory provides the framework to look at the literature that was used for this study.

Previous research has shown that racism does exist within the media coverage of sports and non-sport related news. Two articles specifically looked at how racism was present in two widely covered news stories; Hurricane Katrina which devastated New Orleans in 2006 and the 2008 Democratic presidential primary. Within both of these articles, a content analysis was used that looked at popular media publications and their coverage of those two news stories. The

content analysis examined elements of racism along with different perceptions and stereotypes generated in the coverage of these two events.

In both articles, the language and words used within the media coverage was looked at first. It was found that racism was present in the media's coverage of the two major events. The content analysis of the Hurricane Katrina coverage, found that the word refugee was used twice as much after Hurricane Katrina as compared to evacuee (Sommers et al., 2006). New Orleans is a predominantly black area and these terms were being used due to the demographics of the survivors (Sommers et al., 2006). Refugee is a word that is racist in nature and often used to describe black civilians rather than their white counterparts. The study indicated a high tendency of the media to associate blacks with crime and violence (Sommers et al., 2006). This is a clear racial difference that was found within the language used to describe the different races in the articles.

The article about the 2008 presidential primary examined three areas: how frequently racial content appeared in the news, how noticeable the racial content was, and what factors went into explaining the overall race-related coverage (McIlwain, 2011). It found that racism was present even at the highest level of the United States within the presidential election. It also found that the presence of one or more racial minorities in the newspapers' stories increased the presence of racial references found in the story (McIlwain, 2011). This shows that racism was present and also that the authors were not just simply reporting about the elections. The authors were also trying to influence their readers' perceptions.

The content analysis of both articles also examined the perceptions and stereotypes generated from the media's coverage of the two major events. In the presidential primary article, it was found that the journalists had a direct hand in this racial content. It was not just simply due

to there being more minority candidates present in the articles. One of the main factors that contributed to this increase in racial content was the author's desire to increase the presidential primary's competitiveness (McIlwain, 2011). In adding a higher amount of racial content to their stories, the authors effectively influenced the readers' perceptions.

The ability for authors to influence their readers' perceptions was also explored in the Hurricane Katrina article. Numerous comparisons were explored that showed different perceptions presented in the media's coverage of the tragedy. One comparison looked at two pictures of couples tracking through high water with food from a local grocery store (Sommers et al., 2006). The article about the black couple described them as looting with an overall negative tone (Sommers et al., 2006). The article about the white couple was drastically different as it talked about them finding food and had a positive tone (Sommers et al., 2006). This basic comparison between two articles after Hurricane Katrina, showed the difference of perceptions created by the media coverage.

The coverage dealing with the black demographics of New Orleans was very negative and created the wrong perception from the articles. It was found that exaggerated and inaccurate reports were published regarding criminal activity in Hurricane Katrina's aftermath (Sommers et al., 2006). Also, the review of new media sources identified stereotypes developed about storm survivors that expanded upon the coverage found in the more traditional media outlets (Sommers et al., 2006).

Racism in the media's coverage along with different perceptions and stereotypes generated from this coverage, can clearly be seen from the articles on Hurricane Katrina and the 2008 Democratic presidential primary. The authors of the media coverage need to be made aware of the racial bias they are supporting through their work (McIlwain, 2011). This is one of

the most important factors in preventing racism from continuing to be present, even in large U.S. events such as a presidential election or after natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina.

Racism has existed in the world for numerous years and sport has not been exempt from that (Primm, DuBois, & Regoli, 2007). This racism has been prevalent in the coverage that is given to sports via the media sources such as Sports Illustrated, which has been called into question numerous times when dealing with race (Primm, DuBois, & Regoli, 2007). This can be seen and is prevalent in previous studies that were performed in the area of racism and sports coverage.

These articles are not directly related to player arrests, but show the presence of racism within the media's coverage of sports in general. Therefore, it can be inferred from these articles that when talking about player arrests, the media will employ the same bias that they do when talking about these other criminal activities. Racism in the media's coverage of sports exists in two forms. These are the quantity of media coverage given to black athletes and the actual content of the coverage.

Past research in sports has shown that racism exists in the quantity of coverage given to black and white athletes. Angela Lumpkin examined feature articles that were written by Sports Illustrated in the 1990's (2009). She more specifically looks at whether the coverage of the African American athletes during this time was equivalent to their participation in sports (Lumpkin, 2009). The results of her study found that that the African American athletes did not receive the same amount of coverage that was representative of their participation levels in the sports they played (Lumpkin, 2009). This is significant because it shows that racism was present in the quantity of Sports Illustrated coverage given to the black athletes. They should have been

given more media coverage that was at least equal their participation, such as what white athletes were receiving at that time.

A similar study was performed previously by Lumpkin in 2007, which also examined African American athletes and if they were receiving appropriate coverage for their participation. However, this article by Lumpkin dealt with the covers of Sports Illustrated and not the featured stories. The results of this study showed that the coverage was not representative for African American athletes when compared to their participation levels (Lumpkin, 2007). These results are significant as they proved the same racism that her later study in 2009 would as well. These two studies by Lumpkin show that racism is present in the quantity of media coverage given to black athletes, specifically Sports Illustrated.

Past research in the sports field has also shown that racism is present in the content of the media's coverage. Andrea Eagleman performed a study in 2011 dealing with race and media coverage of MLB players (2011). She specifically looked at Sports Illustrated and ESPN the Magazine, to discover if racial stereotypes still existed in the media (Eagleman, 2011). Some of the racial stereotypes that she discussed first looked at the basic skills of players. White players were depicted as possessing controllable factors such as strong work ethic and intelligence that lead to their success (Eagleman, 2011). However, black players were seen as having uncontrollable factors such as natural talent and biological advantages that lead to their success (Eagleman, 2011).

Eagleman also looked at the stereotypes with the use of derogatory words to describe the black baseball players (2011). Many of these stereotypes portrayed through the media were developed due to baseball being considered America's pastime, with white players (Eagleman, 2011). These stereotypes of black players having natural talent and biological advantages were

clearly present in the past. These stereotypes suggest that white players earn the success that they achieve, but black players have an advantage beforehand that is unfair. Eagleman's results to her study would show if racial stereotypes such as those above, still existed in Sports Illustrated and ESPN the Magazine today.

The results from her study did show that racial stereotypes still exist in both media publications (Eagleman, 2011). Black athletes are seen in a much more negative light than their white counterparts through the writing of the articles (Eagleman, 2011). Eagleman discusses the fact that it is if these black players have something to prove to the public while white players are already accomplished (Eagleman, 2011). This in depth research by Andrea Eagleman shows even further that racism still exists in the media and even more so within the editions of Sports Illustrated.

The research and previous studies performed show that few studies have explored race and criminality in the sport world. This research looks to explore the undiscovered issue to see if racism was present in the coverage of athletes' arrests. The research will show to what extent this racism still exists in the media by exploring the featured stories from Sports Illustrated that are based on player arrests. The focus of this study was to explore the prevalence of racism regarding player arrests in Sports Illustrated feature articles published from 2008 till 2010. This was broken down into two additional research questions,

- 1) Is there a difference in the quantity of Sports Illustrated articles published on white and black athletes who have been arrested?
- 2) Is the coverage of black and white athletes' arrests in Sports Illustrated different across the four established categories of sports?

Method

Sample Selection

A content analysis exploring the feature stories from Sports Illustrated was performed over a three year period from 2008 to 2010. The arrested players in these stories were the subjects of the content analysis and overall research. This was the most relevant period of time because it was recent and therefore the results were more current. There was enough arrests wrote about in Sports Illustrated to provide an accurate comparison that could be applied to a longer period of time.

The featured stories are the prominent articles in the beginning of each Sports Illustrated editions. The stories that were examined included all arrested players even if they were not convicted of the crime. However, players who were involved in legal altercations, but not actually arrested were not included in the content analysis. Any other feature stories written by Sports Illustrated authors were disregarded as only the ones dealing with player arrests were focused on. Once the main stories for the content analysis were discovered, they were explored more in depth to look at how they were presented and perceived. A total of 17 articles were used in the final analysis, ten on white athletes and seven on black athletes (see Table 1).

Definition of Variables

Categories were established that helped to organize the research into different variables in order to accomplish the final objectives. An example of the chart that was used for these studies can be seen in Table 1. The title of the article and date of publication were the first variables coded to help organize the content.

As seen in Table 1, the next variables that were used were the actual athletes, their teams, and the leagues they played in. This helped to organize the players by their specific sport. This

was needed because four categories of sports, the NFL, MLB/NBA, UFC/Boxing/Hockey and NCAA, were established in order to look at the player arrests more closely and answer the additional research questions. These categories of sports were established based on the similarities between the sports. The more violent sports that had similar styles such as UFC, Boxing, and NHL were put together. While professional sports that were more non-contact based, such as the NBA and MLB, were grouped together.

The next variable established was the race of the arrested athlete who was discussed in the article. This variable served as the starting point of the content analysis when comparing all of the articles together. The race of the athletes looked at were only white and black players. The races of these athletes were determined based on photographs of the individual players. This is why the race of the arrested players in the articles was such a central and important variable for the final research. The following variables of: the tone of the article title, the tone of the overall article, and the perception of the players; allowed for connections and relations to be established based on the race of the athletes.

The first of the final three variables dealt with the title of all the articles, which shows why the early variables that organized the articles were so important. This variable of including the title may not seem important for the content analysis; however the titles of the Sports Illustrated articles were a very important variable to consider. The titles were looked at to see if they had a positive, negative, or neutral tone. Based on these determinations for each article in the content analysis, relationships between the tone of the titles and race were established.

The variable of looking at the tone presented by the Sports Illustrated author in the feature articles was important to take into consideration for the content analysis. This can have a large impact on the readers and direct their beliefs the way that the author wants them to be. The

possible tones for the overall articles were broken down, based on the way they were written, into three categories of: positive, negative, and neutral. Key words were used to help classify the tone of the articles (see Table 2 & 3). It was very important to read the entire article thoroughly in order to figure out what the actual tone was. This eliminated the possibility of basing the tone just simply on a certain part of the article that did not represent the article as a whole.

This category went more in depth than just simply looking at the article title. This variable showed how the tone of the article differed by the arrested player who was being discussed within the article. The tone presented within each individual article was an important variable to look at in order for a connection to be established with the race of the player. These connections were developed in order to see if there was a consistent pattern between the tone of the article and his race.

The last variable established was the perception of the arrested player within the Sports Illustrated articles. This was defined as a good, bad, or neutral perception based on how the article was presented by the Sports Illustrated author. This category showed if the perceptions that the Sports Illustrated authors were trying to convey in the overall article, differed for the black and white arrested players. This overall process of establishing variables helped to find the relationships or meanings within the information that was discovered from the overall content analysis.

Data Collection Procedure

The data collection started with gaining access to online editions of Sports Illustrated from 2008 to 2010. This access to the editions of Sports Illustrated during that time frame was gained through the SPORTDiscus database. This database contained all featured article from

Sports Illustrated for the timeframe that was necessary to complete the study. Once this access was gained, the actual collecting of data for the study began.

The featured articles that dealt with all player arrests in the three year period within the Sports Illustrated editions were the focus. Every featured article was read carefully and evaluated on the main variables discussed earlier. The basic organizational information for the articles was recorded first. The race of each individual player was also recorded in order for the final analysis and contrast of the variables to be performed. The three final variables for evaluation were looked at more in depth and recorded for every article. These variables were the tone of the article's title, tone of the overall article, and perception of the arrested player within the article. The data collection was concluded when the articles were re-examined twice in order to make sure no data was overlooked.

Data Analysis

The results from reading each article were first compared to the other articles, which is where the analysis for the study started to develop. The analysis process then looked at all of the featured articles on white athletes together and all the featured articles on black athletes together. This allowed for the variables to be analyzed separately and started to show the differences in coverage. The articles were then grouped into four individual categories developed based on the sport that the individual athlete participated in. As discussed earlier, these categories were: the NFL, MLB/NBA, UFC/Boxing/Hockey and NCAA. Finding relationships while in the process of analyzing the data was important in seeing if racism was presence in Sports Illustrated coverage. The research examined, based on the established variables, how these player arrests were covered by Sports Illustrated over the three year period according to the different races.

Results

The actual results of the content analysis of Sports Illustrated articles differed drastically from what previous research had found. The first variable that significant data was collected for was the race of the athletes. This is important because this variable may show if there was an actual difference in the quantity of articles published on white and black athletes who were arrested. As seen in Table 1, there was a difference in the quantity of articles published as there were ten articles written about white players who were arrested while only seven articles were written about black athletes arrested. This is the opposite of what previous literature discovered that more coverage is designated to black players who were arrested.

The second variable that significant data was collected for was the tone of the article's title. This will show how many of the 17 Sports Illustrated articles written about player arrests between 2008 to 2010 were positive, negative, and neutral. The results from Table 4 showed that there were an overwhelmingly amount of more negative articles at nine than positive and neutral articles at four each. This shows that the Sport Illustrated authors wrote more negative articles about player arrests in the time period, but does not show the more significant difference by race which will be discussed later.

The third variable that significant data was collected for was the tone of the overall Sports Illustrated article. This will expand upon the previous variable by not specifically looking at the title or the article, but rather the entire article as a whole. As can be seen by Table 4, nine of the articles about player arrests were positive, seven were negative, and one was neutral. This is a much different result than for that of the article's title as more of the overall articles were negative. This variable will be broken down by the specific race to determine if there was a

significant connection between the race of the player in the article and the overall tone of the article.

The final variable that significant data was collected for was the perception of the player in the article. As can be seen in Table 4, nine of the players wrote about in the Sports Illustrated articles had a good perception, seven had a bad perception, and one had a neutral perception. These numbers from the content analysis are the same as for the tone of the overall article variable. This relationship between these two variables will be explored further later on in the study.

In order to further establish the relationship between the race of the arrested players and each of the last three variables with significant data, a series of chi-square analyses were performed. Table 4 shows the relationship between the race of the athletes and the three variables with significant data. This table shows the actual number of articles in each category while also listing the percentages to more effectively show the relationships among the three different variables.

The first analysis was performed between the race of the player and the tone of the article title. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 4. There were three negative titles about black athletes (42.86%), one positive (14.28%), and three neutral (42.86%). This seems significant but there was a higher percentage of negative titles about white athlete's arrests, with a total of six (60%) while only three articles (30%) about a white athlete's arrest were positive. This chi-square relationship between the race of athlete and tone of article title was not significant as the p value was .279. This value is not close to being below .05 in order to make this a significant relationship.

The next chi-square analysis compared the race of the arrested players with the tone of the overall article. As can be seen by Table 4, the results show that more negative articles were written about white players than black players. In total, there were five positive articles (71.43%) written about black players while only four positive articles (40%) were written about white players. This is a substantial difference between the two with only two negative articles (28.57%) about black players' arrests and five negative articles (50%) about white players' arrests, but the difference was not statistically significant ($p=.381$).

The final chi-square analysis that was performed looked at the race of the athlete versus the perception of the player in the article. The results for this cross tabs comparison are shown in Table 4. This table shows that the results of this comparison are identical to that between the race of the player and the tone of the overall article. There are five articles about black players' arrests that have a good perception (71.43%) while only two have a bad perception of the athlete (28.57%). On the other hand, five articles about white players' arrest have a bad perception (50%) while only four have a good perception (40%). These numbers and percentages show that there is no relationship between the race of the athlete and the perception of the player in the article. Also, the p value for this chi-square relationship was not significant as the p value was .381.

Discussion

Few studies have explored race and criminality in the sport world. This research set out to explore this undiscovered issue to see if racism was present in the coverage of athletes' arrests. The focus of this study was to determine if racism was present in Sports Illustrated's feature articles on player arrests published from 2008 till 2010. Through the exploration of previous

studies, initial expectations were that racism would indeed be present in the writing of the Sports Illustrated articles.

Previous research and studies found that racism was present in the media's coverage of major events such as Hurricane Katrina and the 2008 presidential election. A content analysis was performed for these articles that looked at the media's coverage of these major events. It was found that elements of racism existed along with different perceptions and stereotypes generated about different races in the coverage of these two events.

More studies were performed that specifically looked at sports and found that racism was also present in the media's coverage. Angela Lumpkin performed two studies of sports that found the presence of racism in the media's coverage. She specifically looked at Sports Illustrated and the quantity of coverage black athletes received. Andre Eagleman had similar results for her study that she performed in 2011. She found that racism existed in the actual content of Sports Illustrated's coverage.

Despite the results found in all of these previous studies, the results of this study were the opposite of these past studies and initial expectations. The data taken from the content analysis performed in this study proved that racism was not present in Sports Illustrated feature articles on player arrests published from 2008 till 2010. The results of this study were based on the content analysis performed and the significant data taken from the main variables of: tone of the article's title, tone of the overall article, and perception of the arrested player within the article (see Table 4). A main reason that the results of this study differed from the previous studies is that this study was more specific. This study looked particularly at Sports Illustrated coverage of player arrests to see if racism was present, which very seldom studies have looked at in the past.

The research also showed that there was indeed a difference in the quantity of articles published on white and black athletes who were arrested. However, this was the opposite of what was initially expected based on past studies. This past research such as performed by Andrea Lumpkin in 2007 and 2009, suggested that there was a difference in the coverage that black athletes were receiving. These studies also suggested that black athletes were receiving more negative coverage. However, the results of this study showed that there was actually more Sports Illustrated articles written about white player arrests than black player arrests (see Table 1).

This is significant because few if any recent studies have looked at the coverage of player arrests, which is as negative of coverage that a player can receive. Therefore, the assumptions that black athletes have a higher quantity of negative articles published and receive more negative coverage, was disproved by this study.

Finally, the results of this study also showed that the coverage of black and white athletes' arrests in Sports Illustrated was not different across the four established categories of sports. The four categories of sports were the NFL, MLB/NBA, UFC/Boxing/Hockey and NCAA. The 17 articles were divided into each of these categories and then the entire category was examined to see if racism was present. The results showed that the coverage of the player arrests in Sports Illustrated was not different. This is significant because it further proves that racism was not present in the writing of the Sports Illustrated articles. These results from the specific categories of sports had the same findings as the whole study in comparing the coverage of black vs. white athletes' arrests.

Conclusion

Past studies performed by various authors along with proponents of the Critical Race Theory, suggest that racism is still present in sport in different forms. Some studies have even looked specifically at Sports Illustrated and found that racism exists. This study looked to see if racism still existed in the media by exploring the featured stories from Sports Illustrated about player arrests. Though previous studies and the Critical Race Theory suggest that racism would be present, the study found that racism did not exist on the Sports Illustrated articles and this is very significant.

This study is different from past research because few studies have recently explored Sports Illustrated or other media outlets' coverage of player arrests in sports. Many studies have looked at differences in the media's coverage based on race, but not many have specifically looked at player arrests in sports. Therefore, this study is extremely significant as it explored a new area of the media's coverage and found that racism did not exist in the Sports Illustrated articles on player arrests.

Though this study provided significant data and results, it did have its limitations. The first limitation was the years examined in the study. After initial research was performed, it was expected that the three years from 2008-2010 would produce more than enough Sports Illustrated articles on player arrests for the study. However, this was not the case and it proved to be a negative aspect that limited the content analysis.

After numerous reviews of the Sports Illustrated feature articles, only a total of 17 articles were found on player arrests. Though this is definitely a small sample size, the results are still 100% accurate. This small sample size did not skew the data as the results overwhelmingly proved that racism was not present. The results found from this study could effectively be

applied to a longer period of time or examined with more recent years. Based on the content analysis performed in this study, it can be confidently predicted that the results of further studies would validate the results of this research.

Researchers in the future can take the research in this study and actually apply it to more recent years as mentioned. Time is always passing and even presently; this research could be applied to more recent years that have passed. It would be interesting to see if the same or similar results were found, as would be expected.

Another area for future research is that instead of examining Sports Illustrated coverage of player arrests as a whole, to look individually at the author's of the articles. Though racism was not present in the writing of Sports Illustrated articles as a whole, further research may find that specific authors have tendencies to be racist in their writing. This further research would be even more specific and provide significant results for the researcher.

A final direction for the research in this study would be to look at different publications. This study focused solely on Sports Illustrated coverage of player arrests, but did not look at any other publications. Research on the media's coverage of sports in the past has examined publications such as ESPN the Magazine and USA Today. It would be interesting to see if studies performed on these publications, produced the same results as this study on Sports Illustrated. The findings would be significant to see if Sports Illustrated is or isn't the only media outlet not racist in their coverage of player arrests.

All of these further studies in different years or on other media publications would only help to more effectively examine the results of this study. Past research before this study found that racism was present in the media's coverage of sports. However, this study examined a new area of the media's coverage that discovered the opposite results of those studies. The future

research of Sports Illustrated coverage of player arrests in sports can be taken in many different directions. There are many new areas of the media's coverage that can be examined much further and could certainly provide significant results.

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Table 1

Major Demographic Classifications of Articles

	Date	Article Title	Athlete	League	Team
White Athletes					
	11/08/10	The fire inside	Joakim Noah	NBA	Bulls
	8/30/10	The First domino	Roger Clemens	MLB	Retired
	7/19/10	The wake-up call	Miguel Cabrera	MLB	Tigers
	5/17/10	Did Yeardeley Love have to die?	George Hugely	NCAA	Virginia
	5/10/10	The hangover	Ben Roethlisberger	NFL	Steelers
	12/07/09	Whole lotta nasty	Chris Pronger	NHL	Flyers
	6/30/08	A whole new rush	Jared Allen	NFL	Vikings
	6/02/08	The super natural	Josh Hamilton	MLB	Rangers
	4/14/08	Breaking the bank	Lee Murray	UFC	N/A
Black Athletes					
	11/29/10	Is it OK to cheer?	Michael Vick	NFL	Eagles
	11/01/10	Catch Cam if you can (you can't)	Cam Newton	NCAA	Auburn
	10/04/10	Starting here, starting now	Michael Vick	NFL	Eagles
	8/02/10	Mike Tyson	Mike Tyson	Boxing	Retired
	3/22/10	Clipped wings	Jeremiah Masoli	NCAA	Oregon
	11/09/09	Do you believe in Cedric Benson	Cedric Benson	NFL	Bengals
	7/13/09	What's next for Michael Vick	Michael Vick	NFL	N/A

Note. 17 total articles were coded. Articles on White athletes constituted 58.8% of the sample (n=10), with 41.2% of the articles (n=7) being written about Black athletes.

Table 2

Articles on Black Athletes: Descriptor Words Used

Article Title	Descriptor Words
Is it o.k. to cheer?	illegally, lie, dog fighting, redemption, second chance, conflicted, trouble
Catch Cam if you can (You can't)	dominated, unraveled, arrested, mistake, leadership, impress, second chances
Starting here, staring now	redemption, celebrity, best thing, value, repayment, success, off-field, abuse, revolutionary
Mike Tyson	recovery, arrested, assault, respect, safe, change, discipline, honesty
Clipped wings	burglary, suspension, probation, not eligible, incident, lack of honesty
Do you believe in Cedric Benson?	arrested, mistakes, surprising, rushing leader, drunk, charges, responsibility
What's next for Michael Vick?	suspension, future, spectacular, not worse, mitigation, remorse, reformed, sincere

Table 3

Articles on White Athletes: Descriptor Words Used

Article Title	Descriptor Words
The fire inside	brighter, pleasant, solution, transition, troubled, late, suspension
The first domino	steroids, indictment, guilty, felony counts, prison, supplying
The wake up call	dispute, drunk, abuse, treatment, happy, great, mentor
Did Yeadley Love have to die?	domestic violence, first-degree murder, perpetrator, crime, horrific
The hangover	alcohol abuse, sexual assault, recklessness, aggressive conduct arrogance, anger, disappointment
Whole lotta nasty	young, dumb, suspension, dirty, problem, efficient, professionalism, leader
A whole new rush	hope, second chance, sobriety, arrested, DUI, personality, confident
The super natural	cocaine, addiction, jail, sober, resentment, standing ovation, leader, motivation, fortunate
Breaking the bank	robbery, fugitive, ultimate fighter, road rage, arrested, ringleader, heist, guilt

Table 4

Race of Player and Perspectives of Story

	Tone of Title			Tone of Article			Perception of Player		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
White Athletes	1 (10)	6 (60)	3 (30)	4 (40)	5 (50)	1 (10)	4 (40)	5 (50)	1 (10)
Black Athletes	1 (14.28)	3 (42.86)	3 (42.86)	5 (71.43)	2 (28.57)	0 (0)	5 (71.43)	2 (28.57)	0 (0)
Totals	2	9	6	9	7	1	9	7	1
χ^2 value	2.550			1.927			1.927		

Note. Numbers in table indicate the frequency of articles. Numbers in () indicate the percentage.