

ON-FIELD PERCEPTIONS OF OFF-FIELD DEVIANCE
SPORT, CRIMINAL TRANSGRESSION, AND PUBLIC OPINION

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ABSTRACT

Over the past few decades athletes have moved from being on-field performers to full time celebrities, and frequent role models. As a result, these athletes are constantly under surveillance, through what Foucault (1985) would refer to as the panopticon. Utilizing Bourdieu's (1986) discussion of social and economic capital to parse out how different athletes might be framed by the media, this dissertation examines what happens when an athlete steps outside the bounds of normalcy off the field of play.

This dissertation scrutinized how a player is perceived on the field after an off-field deviant action through an experimental design. The player's personality was examined through a player image scale combined from Reysen (2008) honesty scale and Reysen (2005) likability scale, while his on-field performance was measured through a scale designed for this dissertation. Ultimately, it was found that the athlete's type of deviance impacted the way participants saw the player as a person, and that his previous on-field performance impact the way participants saw him on and off the field.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my amazing, wonderful, quirky, family. Mom and Dad, I could not have done this without you. Breana, Caden, and Pilot, thanks for always being there for me. Your support means the world to me.

Nick, this is dedicated to you, thank you for supporting me in this crazy journey.

To all six of you, thank you for making sure I stuck to this.

I'd also like to dedicate this dissertation to my favorite deviant athlete: Billy Martin.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to my favorite all time athlete: Peyton Manning.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>a</i>	Cronbach's index of internal consistency
<i>df</i>	Degrees of freedom: number of values free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed on the data
<i>F</i>	Fisher's <i>F</i> ratio: A ratio of two variances
<i>SD</i>	Standard deviation
η_p^2	Partial Eta Squared
<i>p</i>	Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value
<i>r</i>	Pearson product-moment correlation
<i>t</i>	Computed value of <i>t</i> test
<	Less than
=	Equal to

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Chapter 1

Introduction

While crime has been a constant throughout human existence, societal norms consistently change regarding what constitutes a “criminal” or “transgressive” act. Society has tended to spin forward toward more civil behavior and with less tolerance for deviant acts, yet the lines of acceptability have consistently changed (Blackshaw & Crabbe, 2004). As such, deviance (ranging from perceived to immoral to criminal transgressions) is a rich place for research because of its perceived lack of linearity of definition. Making understandings of deviance even more difficult to comprehend is the potential influence of identity, as issues such as race (Billings, 2013) and gender (Mean, 2010) seemingly enact differential standards for acceptability.

However, one area currently unexamined by scholars involves identity aspects that are less visible than gender or race. For example, one’s social capital, defined as their rank within a particular organization and their ability to rely on others, can influence perceptions, as can one’s economic capital, defined as the amount of money they earn and/or in which they have access to. Professional athletes are continually judged not only for their on-field behavior, but also, increasingly, for their behavior off the field of play as well. This dissertation is designed to test notions of athlete off-field deviance. Specifically, it will test the degree to which fan perception of on-field performance shifts depending on (a) the type of transgression an athlete commits, (b) an athlete’s social capital, and (c) an athlete’s economic capital. It is hoped that this will provide insight into how an off-field action can impact the way fans view on-field actions of their heroes.

The History of Sport Deviance

Deviance in sports media has largely unfolded over the course of the past century, yet the perceived severity of athlete indiscretions has fluctuated as societal stances have changed. Thorn (2011) points out that it was common practice for early baseball players to gamble on games, yet perhaps the earliest (and certainly most documented) incident of athlete deviance was the 1919 Black Sox Scandal, where eight players were banned from Major League Baseball for fixing the outcome of the World Series. The famous saying “say it ain’t so, Joe” arose, as society’s faith in the players dropped, as did positive beliefs surrounding the game. Shortly after the Black Sox incident, Major League Baseball got its first commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, and issues related to the game were left to his interpretation of the rulebook.

Many decades later, Pete Rose, Major League Baseball’s all-time hit leader, was banned from the game for betting on baseball while serving as manager of the Cincinnati Reds. Rose violated baseball’s rule 21 by gambling on the game, and was subsequently banned—never to participate in Major League Baseball again, or be eligible for election to its Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

Another moment of high visibility for sport-related deviance happened in 1994, when O.J. Simpson, former college and professional football running back, was arrested for allegedly murdering his ex-wife and her then-boyfriend. Simpson was eventually acquitted of this crime in the court of law, yet many felt that the trial was unjust, and that Simpson had literally gotten away with murder. The Simpson trial offered a new perspective on race in America, as “the countries racial divide suddenly seemed to come into sharp focus” with skin color often dividing the line on one’s opinion of Simpson’s guilt or innocence in the case (Auther, 1997, para. 1). Regardless of what the legal system had to say regarding Simpson’s guilt or innocence, every

American seemed to form their own judgment, because of the unique cocktail of issues the case presented, ranging from the role of race to the role of sport to the role of celebrity (and the social capital it brings).

Then, in 2013 Aaron Hernandez, Pro Bowl tight end for the New England Patriots, was arrested on suspicion of the murder of Odin Lloyd. Hernandez, a promising young football star with a troubled past, was drafted by the Patriots, quickly becoming a fan--and fantasy football--favorite. Hernandez' arrest was enough for the Patriots to subsequently release him (despite the fact that he had not yet been arraigned), and expeditiously offer an exchange program for his jersey (Patriots.com, 2013). Because of the severity of the crime alongside the degree and depth of evidence, Hernandez was guilty until proven innocent.

Such atrocities, particularly in the cases of Simpson and Hernandez, are often depicted within the media as a variation on "sports gone wild", yet are actually less likely to occur within the community of professional athletes than within a community in one's local neighborhood (Fischer-Baum, 2013). As a result, these athletes provide an interesting context to research deviance, media coverage of deviance, and the impact that this coverage has on viewers. Fischer-Baum (2013) found that, when compared to American society in general, NFL players were:

- 11% less likely to get a DUI
- 23% less likely to get an assault charge
- 59% less likely to get a drug charge

Despite the fact that these athletes are less likely to be arrested than their peers, they are more highly scrutinized and covered by the media. Within this line of argument, one is not attempting to excuse athletic deviance as much as the extrapolation that arises from it—the notion that this is something athletes disproportionately do.

Since O.J. Simpson's fateful 1994 chase down California's 405 freeway, media and fans alike have become even more enamored with the personal, deviant, lives of athletes. The media generally--and mediasport specifically (see Wenner, 1998) --are pervasive in their coverage. No stone is left unturned; perceived and actual transgressions are covered 24/7, 365 days per year by print media, radio, television, and, of course, the Internet. Within this process, the media is frequently given the ultimate say in who is good/bad, guilty/innocent, or reprieved/scorned (Tankard, 2001). The media (both traditional and new) also can influence what is personal and what is public through their portrayals of perceived vs. actual transgression, on- vs. off-field incident, and immoral vs. illegal act. On the heels of the 20th anniversary of O.J.'s chase, it seems apt to question the role that media frames and athlete deviancy play in the perception of the athlete's performance, and how this perception might impact various elements of the athlete's marketability and overall career.

Perceptions persist of increased athletic transgressions (Fischer-Baum, 2013) with scholars arguing that recently entire years have been marred by scandal. In actuality, it is not the frequency of crime that has escalated nearly as much as the mediated coverage of every aspect of people's lives. Benedict (2010), for example, writes that he was "seeing what seemed like daily stories about athletes in trouble with the law" (para. 2). In recent years, there has been no shortage of arrests in American men's major professional team sports (the National Basketball Association, Major League Baseball, and National Football League), yet no evidence exists demonstrating that these numbers are demonstrably different than a generation ago. Rather, information about these arrests has become so coveted that entire websites (arrestnation.com), and portions of major newspaper websites (<http://www.utsandiego.com/nfl/arrests-database/>) are dedicated to tracking every arrest in these leagues. TMZ (2014a), the notorious home of celebrity

gossip, even has a sports section (<http://www.tmz.com/category/tmzsports/>) dedicated to discussing celebrity athlete sightings while documenting their strange and (sometimes) deviant actions.

Such sites demonstrate how lucrative the business of sports celebrity gossip can be, especially when these athletes commit deviant actions. In recent memory, these actions have ranged from alleged rape (NFL quarterback, Ben Roethlisberger), spousal abuse (NFL running back, Ray Rice), child abuse (NFL running back Adrian Peterson), dog fighting (NFL quarterback, Michael Vick), bar fights (NFL cornerback, Adam “Pacman” Jones), gun possession (NBA guard, Gilbert Arenas and NFL wide receiver, Plaxico Burress), DUI (MLB first baseman, Miguel Cabrera and NFL linebacker, Aldon Smith), illicit drug use (NFL wide receiver, Josh Gordon), and the ultimate deviant action: murder (NFL tight end, Aaron Hernandez). The obsession with these actions leads many to feel as though the realm of professional sport is a fishbowl, where something that might otherwise be ignored or diminished is covered by the aforementioned media spaces (in addition to ESPN and other mainstream media outlets).

Sport Deviance and the Fishbowl

The National Football League’s commissioner, Roger Goodell, has described the scrutiny of playing professional sport in America as such:

The phrase, ‘I live in a fishbowl,’ is an excuse, [...] You know what that is? It’s the benefit you [the athlete] have by being associated with the NFL. That’s just life – get with it. You want to be paid a lot of money? Be associated with the NFL? Be idolized? Behave like it. Live up to the standards. (as cited in Saraceno, 2007, para. 5-6).

Some athletes, however, have not lived up to Goodell's expectations, and the heightened scrutiny of living in a fishbowl has not been conducive to them. This happens despite the league's best efforts. For example, in 2013 Uber (a ride sharing service used in many major cities) and the NFL Player's Union initiated a joint venture to prevent impaired driving; despite this, DUIs are still prevalent throughout the league (NFL.com, 2013, Fischer-Baum, 2013).

An example of how perceptions of off-field deviance can influence behavior can be found in the recent case of Rashard Mendenhall. On March 9, 2014, Rashard Mendenhall (a running back for the Arizona Cardinals) announced his retirement from the game of football. Offering his justification on the *Huffington Post*, Mendenhall (2014) described his reasoning as "journeying through those waters symbolized living a private life in the public eye. Imagine having a job where you're always on duty, and can never fully relax or you just may drown" (para. 7).

Mendenhall's statement suggests that the level of scrutiny placed on deviant athletes manages to bleed into the lives of other athletes without records of deviant acts. Professional sports leagues seemingly operate under what Foucault (1995) refers to as a panopticon. That is to say, that there is a hierarchical figure (the commissioner) overseeing those imprisoned in the fishbowl (the players) through the periphery (the media). Mendenhall, for example, was critiqued for comments he made on his Twitter account criticizing jubilating responses to Osama Bin Laden's death (ESPN.com, 2011) while many similar comments are rendered without attention or judgment. The question emerging from this infatuation with celebrity athlete off-field deviance is whether or not such coverage influences how fans perceive a player's on-field performance. Jones (2004) summarizes the situation thusly:

In examining the life of any celebrity, there is always the urge to simplify a complex individual into a few words that can serve as an object lesson in how we as mere mortals ought to live our own insignificant lives. One could argue that is why we celebrate athletes in the first place, not because hitting a baseball is such a miraculous thing but because the celebration of that act is cathartic for us. And when the athlete's private flaws are exposed, we can also simplify that, just as we might boo him for striking out or making an error. The hero's world has no room for moderation. One slip-up, one revealed flaw, and 'Camelot' becomes 'The Dark Side of Camelot.' (p. xxi)

The hyper mediation of sport ultimately hinders athletic/league brands, leading commissioners to serve as final arbiters of the degree of acceptability of any behavior (on or off the playing court/field/arena). The judgment rendered by a commissioner becomes a surrogate for what the public should deem acceptable, with the number of games or amount of a fine purported to be commensurate with the offensiveness of the act. Foucault (1995) would refer to the constant media bombardment, and inability for NFL players (or any professional athlete) to seek refuge in what Goffman (1959) might refer to as their back stage region as a panopticon.

As alluded to above, deviance is a rich area for academic study. Fields such as criminology and sociology have explored deviance as a whole, deriving various typologies to understand the "how" or "why" behind an action. Scholars have been keenly aware and highly interested with how deviant acts unfold and are categorized (Smith, 1983, Young, 2012), yet most works have been focused on attempts to rectify offensive behavior more than how the public perceived the deviance when initially informed about the event (see Brown, Brown, & Billings, 2013). Others have studied whether such a deviant action influences levels of fan identification (Fink, Parker, Brett, & Higgins, 2009), or whether it impacts endorser

effectiveness (Parker & Fink, 2012). Whether or not these deviant actions--and knowledge of them gained via the media--impacts perceptions of on-field performance has yet to be empirically tested.

Sport Deviance and Forgiveness

More recent studies (Brown et al., 2013) have explored the seeming elasticity of fan forgiveness for certain types of offensive acts, arguing that public reactions largely hinge on a variety of external components. For instance, while examining off-field deviant actions (specifically that of Josh Hamilton, Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim outfielder) from a parasocial interaction standpoint, Sanderson and Emmons (2014) posit, “a fan’s decision to extend or withhold forgiveness is part of the sensemaking process, which plausibly dictates future actions” which they argue “may influence other behaviors such as consumer purchasing or support for the athlete and/or team” (p. 25). Hamilton’s deviant action was that of dependence upon drugs and alcohol, but athletes who engage in criminally deviant actions have yet to be examined through such a lens. As a result, it is important to understand how perceptions of these criminal actions might impact the athlete’s on-field performance, at least in the eyes of fans of the game. For example, Billings (2013) studied how Tiger Woods’ off-field deviant action of cheating on his wife impacted his Q-Score, or the positive or negative rating fostered by consumers toward endorsers, finding that Woods, despite his efforts to apologize, still lost substantial favor in public opinion. It stands to reason that similar patterns could take place within the context of the game, ultimately impacting (as Sanderson, et al., 2014 suggest) revenue and marketability for athletes and teams alike.

Athletes are--whether former NBA star Charles Barkley wants to admit it or not-- role models. As a result, media are often harsh in critiquing their choices whether on- or off- field.

Because of the media's obsession with the delinquency of professional athletes, and the potential repercussions in terms of marketing, the perception of the performance of the athlete role model after an the off-field deviant action must be examined. As athletes continue to serve as role models, whether they wish to or not, delineating how their actions differentially unfold depending on a given set of circumstances and variables represents a logical next step for research of transgressions in sport to begin empirically testing the impact these off-field transgressions have on fan's on-field perceptions.

More specifically, this study intends to employ three independent variables. The type of athlete transgression is the first independent variable. This will involve participants being shown an article, and video clip of an athlete accused of an off-field deviant criminal action via the text, and voiceover. The following four crimes were utilized: violence with a power relationship, violence with no power relationship, violence against oneself, and possession/DUI.

The second independent variable is the social capital of the athlete (high vs. low). The athlete's social capital can be viewed as the rapport and reputation an athlete has throughout the league, and amongst fans.

The third independent variable is the athlete's economic capital (high vs. low). Economic capital is directly related to the athlete's salary when combined with the endorsement contracts the athlete receives. The more money the athlete earns, the higher the economic capital of the athlete.

Combined, these variables comprise a 4 [type of deviance] x 2 [social capital] x 2 [economic capital] factorial design. Using the theoretical lens of framing, answers to the following questions are sought: Does the type of criminal activity significantly alter public perceptions of on-field performance? Does one's social or economic status change how society

views athletic performances? Does an authority figure provide one amnesty from judgment? This dissertation is designed to answer these questions while also providing theoretical and applied insight as to the role of athletic transgressions in overall public perceptions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

There are several conjoined lenses for understanding the core underpinnings of this dissertation. Theories most pertinent to the discussion are Foucault's (1995) Panopticon, Goffman's (1959) front and back regions, Goffman's (1973) framing theory, and Smith (1983) and Young's (2012) work on sport deviance. These lenses provide a theorization for how celebrity deviance (and athlete deviance as such a subcategory) unfolds as spectacle, as well as how the media portrays the spectacle. Utilizing the panopticon alongside issues of the front and back region, the argument follows that with the media's strong focus on these athlete actions, there is a search for authenticity and the ability to envision the real life of these athletes—whether optimal or not. Media subsequently frames each of these actions in a particular way, although there is a cultural stigma around each accusation, until a statement from the commissioner is made, which often cements a story arc positively or negatively. Each of these theories will be outlined in the following subsections.

The Panopticon and Authenticity

One common bridge between the understanding of the panopticon, Foucault's (1995) theorization of the prison complex and how people come to self-police, and the role of framing comes from the work of Erving Goffman, who informs both theoretical discussions. Such underpinnings seem apropos, as sports fans are in search of authenticity as they consume information about these off-field deviant actions. Goffman (1959) wrote that performances could be deconstructed into front and back regions. In theory, the “‘front region’ [refers] to the place

where the performance is given,” where one in the limelight has time to construct how they want to present themselves, and is able to show what one wants others to believe about themselves (Goffman, 1959, p. 107). The back region, then, is where individuals act in an authentic way, “where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course” (Goffman, 1959, p. 113). For athletes, this would constitute their private lives, which were traditionally “cut off from” or “partition[ed] and guarded” from the public light, but this is no longer the case (Goffman, 1959, p. 113).

Within the notion of authenticity, this application of Goffman to the panopticon is noteworthy because, as Manning (1992) argues, “sometimes authenticity exists center-stage, sometimes it exists in a dimly lit corner” (p. 42). In the context of professional sports leagues, the commissioners (Selig, Silver, and, specifically, Goodell) would prefer that the player’s authentic life, would remain in that dimly lit corner, or not exist at all. Instead, they live in a fishbowl: well lit and always under the watchful eye of the commissioner. Birrell’s (1981) interpretation of Goffman (1959) posits that through the idealization of performance, “individuals [i.e. athletes] are not attempting in a deceitful way to claim values for themselves that they do not in fact possess. They are attempting to demonstrate through their selves the ideal role characteristics valued by society” (p. 360). Put simply, while these athletes may engage in unflattering behavior off the field of play, they are not attempting to deceive their fans (or the media), but instead trying to embody what the fans, media, and league have developed into the ideal for an athletic role model.

Commissioners continually attempt to impose these league ideals upon their players but, unfortunately for them, the media does not overtly recognize mere improvements. Off-field

deviant actions of players simply escalate in coverage in light of any other information about the incident or player, in order to feed the media cycle.

Foucault (1995) describes the panopticon as an:

enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings (p. 197).

Johns and Johns (2000) point out “the Foucauldian perspective allows examination of power as it effectively shapes the discursive practice through constant surveillance and manipulation” (p. 220). As such, the pairing of sport and the panopticon is not an entirely novel idea. Furthermore, Foster (2003) used the panopticon as a lens for observing a women’s athletic program by analyzing the “surveillance, control, and discipline”, making connections between sports leagues, oversight, authenticity, and the lens of Foucault’s panopticon (p. 301).

To examine Major League Baseball--and the other men’s major sports leagues--as a panopticon the definitions must first be deciphered. The individuals in this case are the players, constantly monitored by the media, the league, and the fans. The periphery, then, are the fans continually observing and consuming information disseminated to them through the media serving as the supervision. Finally, the “continuous hierarchical figure” is the league commissioner, who serves as both “judge and jury” (as baseball’s first commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis is often referred, including the title of his most well known biography, Pietrusza, 2001, title) as “commissioner sanctions are appealable only to the commissioner or his

designee gives the NFL commissioner an enhanced power that the MLB and NBA commissioners do not enjoy: in effect, the NFL commissioner decides whether his own penalty is reasonable under the circumstances” (Daniels & Brooks, 2009, p. 31). While Selig and Silver do not have all of the same linear abilities as Goodell, they are still the hierarchical figures with ultimate say within the league. Again, the fishbowl metaphor seems apt, perhaps in the sense that the fishbowl is much like the prison originally used in Foucault’s (1995) discussion. Seemingly because of his stance as judge and jury, sports writers frequently defer their opinion to what Goodell specifically has to say about a subject before issuing their own opinion.

MacCannell (1973) extends Goffman’s work in the realm of authenticity, applying it largely in the context of consumer tourism. MacCannell (1973) argues that tourists can never see an authentic space, as once a tourist arrives, natives move from the back to front regions. Similarly, as athletes are continually consumed, they increasingly move into the front region, perhaps losing sight of themselves as those in the hierarchical structure of the panopticon gain sight into their authentic lives. As Ting-Tomey (1994) states, individuals “must also come to terms with what it is to both generate and maintain [... their] own self-identity in a world that is not independent of” themselves, i.e. the panopticon (p. 19). Leigh, Peters, and Shelton (2006) paraphrase Boorstin (1964) as they write that there is “a growing everyday prevalence of pseudoevents, or media-driven constructs, designed to deceive and influence an audience” into perceived authenticity (p. 481). Ting-Tomey (1994) contends that “facework is not something that we do some of the time, it is something that we unavoidably do all of the time” meaning individuals are constantly trying to portray their best self to others--much like Goffman (1959) asserted--to stay under the radar of the panopticon (p. 21). When paired with the theories of front and back regions, and authenticity, facework in the men’s major professional is of the utmost

importance in terms of the panopticon, as athletes must always be “on,” with players presenting a false authenticity. Moreover, the league itself must always be watching, with commissioners presenting a best face for fans. On-field hits result in fines, while off-field behavior cannot always be monitored, despite the commissioner’s best attempts. Fans are provided evidence that the leagues are working on discipline, yet it is unknown how many instances go unreported off-field. No doubt, however, when they are observed, the league will do its best to ensure swift and timely punishment.

Framing

In addition to his contributions regarding the role of authenticity, Goffman (1974) is also oft credited with the origin of framing theory, despite the fact that he, himself, attributes the theory to earlier works. To frame is to provide a context for organizing the world around one. Moreover, Entman (1993) argues that to frame is to make an idea or concept more “salient” (p. 52). Entman (1993) offers framing theory as a paradigm; Glazier and Grover (2002) argue that a paradigm is beyond theory and just below a worldview within taxonomy of thinking. Framing also allows for a contextual understanding of broad media writings while allows one to examine not only how the meaning of a text became salient, but also with other contextual clues can help one figure out why. Framing offers a way for scholars to understand the impact of a text, as well as the true meaning of verbiage, as Tankard (2001) elaborates, “framing recognizes the ability of a text – or media presentation – to define a situation, to define the issues, and to set the terms of a debate” (p. 96). Gitlin (1980) states: “Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters” and that through “selection, emphasis, and exclusion [...] symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse” (p. 6, 7). In the context of athlete deviancy, framing theory allows scholars the

opportunity to interrogate how media can create a frenzy of the phenomenon, and have choices to select and emphasize these frames, and that they are worthy of being examined and discussed.

Framing has been used in the context of sport media (or mediasport, see Wenner, 1998) for several decades as frames have been used to demonstrate sportswriter bias and emphases (Kian & Hardin, 2009), the differences in sportscasting between women's and men's sports (Parker & Fink, 2008), the comparison between war and sport (Jansen & Sabo, 1994), the portrayal of mixed martial arts (Santos, Tainsky, Schmidt, & Shim, 2013), the negotiation of race (Mercucio & Filak, 2010), and more seminal issues that percolate beyond the direct enactment of sports. Put simply, evidence abounds for the various ways sports are framed through the media.

Studies have also evolved regarding how the media frames sport violence and off-field deviance. Messner and Solomon (1993) studied how various newspapers framed champion boxer Sugar Ray Leonard's spousal abuse case, finding that "the wife abuse story was probably ignored or marginalized because no such ready-made media package exists for wife abuse stories" (p. 130). This was approximately 20 years ago, before the O.J. Simpson trial, and the pre-packaged frames for off-field deviant actions of athletes have since become more accessible (Benedict, 2010, Fischer-Baum, 2013). Gitlin (1980) asks: "What difference do the frames make for the larger world?" (p. 7).

Defining Deviance

Deviance in and of itself is a difficult term to coin, as an act that may have at one point been considered deviant, may at another be considered within the realm of normality (Blackshaw et al., 2004). Within a larger societal context, this may be applied to something such as the sale, distribution, and consumption of alcohol. Now legal for those over 21 in all fifty states, during the 1920s the prohibition of alcohol was the law of the land. Similarly, marijuana possession is

currently a federal crime (with many athletes being suspended for “deviant” uses of it), however states such as Colorado (2014) have recently legalized the drug, states such as California have largely decriminalized it, and other states have much more stringent laws. Further complicating the issue, especially within the realm of professional sport and deviance, involves who is violating the rules of the game, but not violating the rules of the state or federal government. For example, if a member of the Denver Broncos or Colorado Rockies tests positive for marijuana usage under a league sanctioned drug test they may be considered deviant through the lens of the league’s rule structure, but not through the eyes of the law. Similarly, Major League Baseball had banned the use of ephedra within the Minor Leagues prior to the Food and Drug Administration doing so, leaving those who violated the MLB ban subject to those rules, not the rules of the United States’ government (Bloom, 2004). In short, what is deviant is consistently inconsistent.

Joe DiMaggio, center fielder for the New York Yankees from 1936-1951, is often cited as the first celebrity athlete. DiMaggio married film icon Marilyn Monroe, and had his own demons. Jones (2004) describes the best-known work on DiMaggio’s life (Cramer, 2000) as a “sordid portrayal of DiMaggio as a greedy, self-absorbed man who verbally and physically abused his two wives,” (Jones, 2004, xxi). While DiMaggio and his athletic predecessors may have been able to keep their misgivings away from the media during their time in the major leagues, future athletes were not so lucky. The Yankees alone had no shortage of deviant athletes after DiMaggio’s time; for instance, star player Mickey Mantle, and his best friend, second baseman Billy Martin, got in a fight at the Copacabana club in New York. A bar fight, often amplified in today’s media but then forgotten about (see PacMan Jones, Charles Barkley, among others), nonetheless ultimately led to Martin being traded to the Kansas City Athletics because of

its perceived deviance at the time. From this point forward, athletes have had a difficult time maintaining their anonymity while participating in deviant actions.

Hughes and Coakley (1991) assert that “since the mid-1970’s the media have frequently reported cases of deviance among those connected with sports” yet, none was so thrilling to the public as the O.J. case outlined above (p. 307). As Atkinson and Young (2008) point out, “the legitimate place of deviancy theory within the sociology of sport is yet to be determined” (p. 22). Moreover, the place of deviancy theory within sport and communication is essentially uncharted territory.

Smith (1983) created a typology for on-field deviant actions. He deconstructed deviance into two subcategories relatively legitimate, and illegitimate violence. “relatively legitimate” includes “brutal body contact,” defined as deviance that “conforms to the official rules of the sport, hence legal in effect under the law of the land; more or less accepted” and “borderline violence” which “violates the official rules of the sport and the law of the land, but [are] widely accepted” (Smith, 1983, p. 9). The two forms of “illegitimate” violence are “quasi-criminal” which “violates the formal rules of a given sport, the law, and to a significant degree, the informal norms of players” and “criminal violence” which “includes behaviours so seriously and obviously outside of the boundaries of acceptability of both the sport and the wider community that they are treated formally by the criminal justice system from the outset” (Young, 2012, p. 19). While this typology is helpful in the context of “sports administrators and the law” it does not help to explain off-field deviance unrelated to the sport itself, the communicative and media aspects, or the power functions of athletes, media, and the league (Young, 2012, p. 19).

Young (2012) attempts “to move beyond the limiting and de-contextualizing inclination of existing research that tends to focus on players and crowds [...] and view types of sport

violence as separate episodes of social action” (p. 70). As a result, Young (2012) developed nineteen various forms of what can be considered off-field deviance, (for a complete list, see Appendix A). This typology, while helping conceptualize various types of violence, is exceedingly less succinct compared to Smith’s (1983). Young (2012) later attempts to compact his 19 types into six, including “individual; interpersonal; institutional; community; social structural; global,” but these do not account for the power athletes typically possess as individuals and symbols of sport (p. 127). The six macro-types also do not help to organize crimes into power relationships, necessary in the case of professional athletes, as they exercise a great deal of power in American society.

Understanding Athlete Criminal Deviance

Deviance, for the purpose of this paper, is thought of in four distinct categories. These categories were constructed by Marshall and Bagley (2013) after the researchers explored the most common types of deviance amongst professional athletes (via the San Diego *Union Tribune’s* (SDUT) Arrest Database), and an analysis of Young’s (2012) typology. The *SDUT* showed high incidences, and/or interesting cases, of the following: murder, drug possession, assault, spousal abuse, weapons, driving under the influence (DUI), bar fights, and animal abuse.

Utilizing data from these various crimes, Marshall and Bagley (2013) then organized them in terms of power, through the lens of Bowers, Ochs, Jensen, and Schulz (2009), which explain how uprising can occur based upon the types of power that various activists have, and Foucault (1995), yielding four groups of criminal violence: a) violence with a power relationship, b) violence without a power relationship, c) violence against oneself (i.e. attempted suicide), and d) possession/DUI.

Atkinson and Young (2008) assert “criminological literature on police work shows that any urban police force creates a hierarchy of crimes to investigate” (internal citations omitted, p. 12). The four types of deviance that these crimes can be compartmentalized into, in hierarchical order, are: (a) violence in which there is a power relationship, (b) violence in which there is no power relationship, (c) violence against oneself, and (d) possession/DUI.

First, violence in which there is a power relationship accounts for Young’s (2012) incidents of: individualized fan-player violence, athlete initiation/hazing, harassment, stalking and threat, sexual assault, partner abuse/domestic violence, offences by coaches/administrators/medical staff, parental abuse, sexism/racism, other identity violence, and animal abuse. The issue of sexual assault is constantly emphasized by the media, with high profile players such as the NBA’s Kobe Bryant, and NFL’s Ben Roethlisberger being accused of such crimes (but not convicted) it is worth investigating whether these accusations change the way fans view a touchdown or free-throw.

Second, violence in which there is no power relationship includes Young’s (2012): player violence (technically on-field), crowd violence (not the athlete), player violence away from the game, street crimes, political violence/terrorism, offences against workers and the public and offences against the environment. Again, it must be emphasized that only those transgressions taking place entirely off the field of play are considered for the purpose of this dissertation. Issues such as bar fights, fall into this category, the NFL’s Cedric Benson provides an excellent example of such a deviant athlete.

Third, violence against the self is kept as its own entity from Young’s (2012) typology. Examples of this type of deviance are self-harm, and attempted suicide. While professional athletes may seem an odd demographic for this type of deviant act, suicide and suicide attempts

have become all too common (Terrell Owens, NFL wide receiver attempted, and Jovan Belcher, NFL linebacker committed suicide after murdering his girlfriend). Moreover, while current athletes are the focus of this study, the National Football League has recently come under scrutiny for the suicides of former players (including San Diego Chargers' great Junior Seau). Despite this, Flynn (2014) writes (based on a National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health study) that "saturation media coverage whenever one of thousands of NFL players commits suicide does not mean that thousands of NFL players commit suicide" (para. 3). The media's obsession with this phenomenon, and the recent suicides of players past and present warrants investigation.

Finally, Young does not specifically address DUI and possession of a controlled substance, but since driving under the influence is likely to harm not only the athlete, but also another victim. Because, "Under Goodell, [...DUI] has accounted for about 27% of arrests" it must be considered as a unique version of violence (Schrotenboer, 2013, para. 11). Possession of a controlled substance, while in a vehicle (such as schedule 1 prescription drugs or recreational drugs) are similarly considered. Players such as the MLB's Miguel Cabrera, the NBA's Lamar Odom, and NFL's Aldon Smith have all been charged with driving under the influence.

These typologies help to conceptualize deviancy in sport, placing them in a framework analyzing the type of power that athletes have in today's modern society. With that having been said, they do not (and cannot) fully explain the phenomenon of sport deviancy, both on and off the field of play. These simply help to place the most common types of athlete off-field, criminal, violence into context. Thus, two initial research questions are posed to query whether the type of deviance yields different public perceptions:

RQ₁: Will the type of deviance a player engages in significantly impact the rating the player receives on the player image scale?

RQ₂: Will the type of deviance a player engages in significantly impact the rating the player receives on the performance scale?

Social and Economic Capital

Athletes themselves receive saturating coverage in the media and, as outlined in the panopticon, to different degrees based upon how valuable the athlete is perceived to be by the league, the media, and the fans. Young (2012) points out that his typology “should be examined for its sociological underpinnings, and its association with factors such as age, gender, social class, regoinality, race and ethnicity, on its own accord, as well as for the links it may share with other” types of deviance (p. 96). In order to make these assessments, Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986) forms of capital should be applied to a sport-specific context.

During (1993) states that “Bourdieu’s is an analysis heavily dependent on notions of class and class factions” (p. 30). Bourdieu (1986) proposed that there are three types of capital: social, economic, and cultural. While not originally intended to serve as a means for understanding professional athletes and their commodification, the lenses of capital can work here as well. For the purpose of this dissertation, social capital will be defined in terms of the athlete himself, and will include those who perform well at the plate, and are well respected throughout the league by fans and those on the inside. Baseball’s Derek Jeter is an excellent example of someone who has high social capital throughout baseball--except amongst those who are statistically inclined, for whom his capital drops.

In contrast, economic capital is thought of in terms of the athlete as an individual and includes his contract. Economic capital is perhaps easiest to define in terms of this dissertation,

as facts and figures for most professional athletes are made available to the public through websites like baseball-reference.com. One can clearly gauge how much a player is making. Furthermore, many athletes' entire net worth are available from Forbes.com.

Finally, cultural capital is defined in terms of the sport as a whole; as this is an Americentric dissertation, sports such as football, basketball and baseball will all have high cultural capital. These sports do not have low counterpoints as, while there is a Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) there is no such league equivalent for Major League Baseball or the National Football League. Men's sport in America gets considerably more television time than female sports (Whiteside & Hardin, 2011, p. 124), and as Cooky, Messner and Hextrum (2013) show, coverage over time has dwindled for women's sport, ticker time is lesser than, and finally "the longitudinal data from [their...] study show that there is no reason to expect evolutionary growth in media coverage of women's sports" (p. 225). Thus, the choice to focus upon the media's portrayal of male athletes was a conscious one. Cooky et al. (2013) further point out that "100% of the *SportsCenter* programs and 100% of the local affiliates sports programs had men's sports as the lead story" in their longitudinal sample (p. 211-212). As Steward (1987) explains, in the case of female athletes, "supreme athletic excellence does not qualify as deserving in the eye of the spectacle unless it sells" (p. 181). Additionally, Whiteside and Hardin (2011) point out "the majority of women's athletic events receive low ratings" (p. 124). Consequently, major men's American team sports serve as the limited focus of this dissertation, high cultural capital as a constant factor.

Each form of capital can be broken into a high and low category. However, for the purpose of this dissertation (as outlined above), cultural capital will only be conceptualized from an Americentric "high" position, allowing for four total potential combinations. When focusing

on the three major men's American sports the four potential combinations are: (a) high cultural capital, high economic, and low social, (b) high cultural capital, high economic, and high social capital, (c) high cultural capital, low economic, and high social, and finally (d) high cultural capital, low economic, and low social capital. These four variations of capital in major men's American sport help to compartmentalize and conceptualize the 19 types of deviancy outlined by Young (2012), further deconstructed into four typologies as explained above, and then applied within contextually-specific areas.

While cultural capital is a non-variable for the purpose of this dissertation, it is still important to contextualize the role of cultural capital within sport. Perhaps one of the largest reasons this must be considered is because the sports that are considered to be of high cultural capital for the purpose of this dissertation speak to its Americentricity. For example, American Football has arguably the highest cultural capital within the United States due to the high ratings it produces, fans' obsession with playing fantasy football, and the revenue it generates in gate receipts and television contracts. American Football would have low cultural capital in other countries as professional games are not played there, and other sports have more storied histories. While not being empirically tested here, without providing the backbone of what cultural capital is, how it was conceptualized for this dissertation could easily be misunderstood. Bourdieu (1986) argues that "cultural capital can exist in three forms," for the purpose of this research cultural capital refers explicitly to the sport the athlete plays, and will be "in the objectified state" which refers to "capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc. is transmissible in its materiality" (para. 5, 13). This befits sports specifically as it is media-centric (far more watch these sports on television than witness them in first-person) and is objectified. Wilson (2002) contends that for "Bourdieu

[...] all cultural consumption including sports consumption requires the appropriate references and tastes as well as skills and knowledge” (internal citations omitted, p. 6). This largely refers to how classes intend to participate in sport, yet it seems apt to apply the concept to how individuals consume it as well. Therein, sport is continually commodified, leading to “content, [...] tones, atmosphere, manners and attitudes, which constitute the degradation of autonomous and non-utilitarian values” (Steward, 1987, p. 186). These “non-utilitarian values” (Steward, 1987, p. 186) become what many have referred to as spectacle (Butterworth & Moskal, 2009, Real, 1975), leading athletes, the league, and fans to self-serving attitudes, even if not what is best for society. Despite this, these sports have high cultural capital, as they are constantly and consistently consumed, objectified, and commodified in the United States by highly identified and casual fans alike.

Bourdieu (1986) states that if an individual “draw[s] their profit from a particular form of capital then they will be classified among the dominant groups” (para. 14). As noted, for the purpose of this paper, all sports discussed constitute high cultural capital. With this having been stated, athletes will be compared to other athletes in terms of their social and economic capital. As a result, their high cultural capital does not necessarily place them in the high bracket for social and economic capital in these constraints. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, membership in a group” (para. 15). While playing in one of the major three sports may be considered as membership in a group, for the purposes of this paper, this group membership is not enough to place an athlete into the high category. Rather, they must be regarded as an elite player within the sport they play. Social capital in sport may also refer to the

relationship that athletes have with reporters. As a historical example, someone like Joe DiMaggio had more social capital amongst reporters (because he embraced their questioning) than was Ted Williams (who was often harsh with them) (Gaffney, 2000b). Consequently, reporters framed DiMaggio in a more positive light; ultimately resulting in sponsorship deals with brands like Mr. Coffee “despite [...] which, his] reputation seemed to rise over time” (Gaffney, 2000a, para. 13). Social capital is operationalized in terms of the player’s awards (often voted upon by fans, players, and reporters), and performance.

In contrast, the main portion of an athlete’s economic capital is his professional contract. While most players would be considered to have a “high” economic capital even when earning the league minimum in comparison with the general public, they are again being compared to other athletes, some of who have eight-figure annual contracts. For Bourdieu (1986), economic capital is defined as that “which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights” (para. 4). As a means for comparison, a rookie making the league minimum (less than the league average) will be considered to have low economic capital. Major League Baseball serves as an excellent example; the league minimum of \$480,000 per season is considerably higher than what most Americans make and is substantially higher than 98% of all Americans. Baseball-reference.com (2012) stated that in 2002, when the league minimum was \$300,000 it “was 2,913% higher than a full-time salary based on U.S. federal minimum wage” and yet pales in comparison to the “record \$3.2 million” average contract (para. 1). Ryan Howard, conversely, has high economic capital as he has a large contract with the Philadelphia Phillies, making \$25.7 million dollars for the 2014 season, and has multiple sponsorship deals totaling \$25 million (Forbes.com, 2014).

Thus, based upon the aforementioned literature, the following hypotheses are proposed:

- H_{1a}:** Players with a higher social capital will have higher performance scale ratings than will players with lower social capital.
- H_{1b}:** Players with a higher social capital will have higher player image scale ratings than will players with lower social capital.
- H_{2a}:** Players with a higher economic capital will have higher performance scale ratings that will players with lower economic capital.
- H_{2b}:** Players with a higher economic capital will have higher player image scale ratings that will players with lower economic capital.
- H₃:** There is an interaction effect between social capital and economic capital towards performance scale ratings.
- H₄:** There is an interaction effect between social capital and economic capital towards player image scale ratings.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Experimental Design

This experiment features a 4 (type of deviance) x 2 (social capital) x 2 (economic capital) experimental design, resulting in a 16-cell experiment. The experiment utilizes Major League Baseball players as they uniformly fit within the high cultural capital parameters outlined above, making that variable constant. Major League Baseball was chosen as it provided a context where race would be less of an issue, as Krogstad (2014) points out “Major League Baseball’s racial diversity today roughly mirrors that of the U.S. population” (para. 6). As a result, baseball was chosen as the focus of this experiment so confounding variables such as race would be diminished compared to other American team sports. With a minimum of 20 subjects per cell, a minimum total of 320 participants were utilized. The experiment was hosted on the online survey software, Qualtrics.com.

independent variables.

type of deviance: Categorical variable. Type of deviance is defined as the deviant action an athlete is *accused* of participating in. The type of deviance will utilize two of the four categories of athlete deviance previously delineated: (a) violence against oneself, (b) violence in a power relationship, (c) violence in a non-power relationship, and (d) DUI/Possession of a controlled substance. Only one type of deviance will be present in any given condition (i.e., an attempted suicide would not also include a fight with a spouse).

level of social capital: Categorical variable. The level of social capital will be divided into two categories: “high” and “low”. Social capital will be defined by how much fans and managers like a player, as well as their on-field performance. Fan and player social capital will come from an All-Star selection, as position players as selected by either the fans or the manager for the game. Furthermore, traditional counting statistics will be used to measure the player’s social capital. In terms of counting statistics, players who had at least 22 home runs, and a batting average above .280 in the 2013 season will be considered for high social capital as these are above the mean for the average starting player in Major League Baseball. Conversely, a player with none of these requisite requirements would be considered as having low social capital, i.e. no All Star selection, and less than 22 home runs with a batting average below .280 in 2013.

level of economic capital: Categorical variable. The level of economic capital will be divided into two categories: “high” and “low”. Economic capital will be defined by how much a player earns in terms of his Major League salary (not including endorsement deals). A player making between the league minimum, but less than the league average salary of \$3,386,212 (MLB.com, 2014) in the 2014 season will be considered low economic capital, despite the fact that the league minimum salary is significantly more than national averages, as economic capital will be gauged with the subgroup of professional baseball players. Conversely, a player making at least \$10 million dollars (approximately three times the league average) in the 2014 season will be considered to have high economic capital.

dependent variables.

player image- Continuous variable, interval level. Based upon the Reysen (2005) “Likability” scale and Reysen (2008) “Honesty” scale, items from these two scales were combined to create an image scale (Appendix B). Questions will gauge whether the player is perceived as a positive influence on and off the field.

on-field perception scale- Continuous, interval level. Scales based on the player’s performance. This scale measures how the audience views a player’s home run, a three-pointer, or a touchdown based on the participant’s perception. Scales cover whether an on-field action was graceful, meaningful, valuable, strong, powerful, helpful, worthy of a large contract, aesthetically pleasing, and whether the player had a seemingly innate ability. This scale was created and pretested for the purpose of this dissertation (for a full list of the questions in the scale please see Appendix C). Moreover, because the researchers developed this scale, it is baseball specific.

Stimuli/Manipulations

Each participant was shown a set of two stimuli, one text and one video of the same athlete. The stimuli packages consisted of four different Major League Baseball players. Because this experiment was conducted at a large southeastern university, players from the Atlanta Braves were excluded. Additionally, players from the top five ranked media markets for 2013-2014 (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Dallas-Fort Worth) were excluded from the final experiment as players from professional teams in these regions were likely more recognizable to students than players from smaller market teams (Nielsen, 2013). As a comprehensive list, this excluded the Atlanta Braves, Chicago Cubs, Chicago White Sox, Los

Angeles Angels of Anaheim, Los Angeles Dodgers, New York Mets, New York Yankees, Philadelphia Phillies, and Texas Rangers.

Players throughout the league were evaluated based upon their on-field performance at the plate, awards they had won, reputation amongst other players and fans, and Major League contract. On-field performance was indicated in terms of batting average and home run numbers (i.e. traditional counting statistics, not advanced metrics), players who performed in the top 50 for home runs in the preceding season, with a batting average above .280 could be considered for high social capital; those who performed below it on all measures were considered for low social capital. Furthermore, All Star game selection was an indicator of respect throughout the league and amongst fans. Finally, the Major League contract numbers were found on Baseball-Reference.com on the player's page, if the player made more than \$10 million dollars in the current season they were considered to have high economic capital; if they made less than the league average they were considered to have low economic capital. None of the players selected had been publicly accused of an on-field (i.e. performance enhancing drug usage) or off-field deviant action during their time as a Major League Baseball player. Players were considered to have no public accusation if their name did not appear in the Mitchell Report (2007, a report commissioned by Bud Selig regarding steroid use in Major League Baseball), and they had not been accused of using steroids, or another deviant action outlined in either Smith's (1983) or Young's (2012) typologies. All players were Major League Baseball position players (no pitchers or designated hitters were included). Based upon these criteria the following players were selected. For high social and high economic capital Chris Davis, first baseman for the Baltimore Orioles, and Troy Tulowitzki, shortstop for the Colorado Rockies, for high social and low economic capital Paul Goldschmidt, first baseman for the Arizona Diamondbacks, for low

economic and low social capital Garret Jones, first baseman for the Miami Marlins, finally for high economic and low social capital, Nick Markakis, outfielder for the Baltimore Orioles was selected. All four players appear Caucasian, are position players, and each was between the age of 25 and 30 as of April 2014.

As data were being collected, in September 2014, Chris Davis (high social, high economic) was suspended 25 games for violating the league's substance abuse policy (September 12, 2014). Because of this, data collection was stopped once the announcement was made, and the Chris Davis (high social, high economic) conditions were replaced to those featuring Colorado Rockies' shortstop Troy Tulowitzki. Tulowitzki was 29 years old as of September 2014. Tulowitzki made \$16 million in 2014, was a 2013 and 2014 All Star, hit 25 home runs in 2013 with a .312 batting average.

Table 3.1

Player List

Player Name	Capital Combination	2014 Salary
Chris Davis (28)	High Social- High Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2013 Home Run Leader, 53• 2013 All Star• .286 batting average	\$10,350,00
Troy Tulowitzki	High Social- High Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2013 25 Home Runs• 2013 All Star• .312 batting average	\$16,000,000
Paul Goldschmidt (26)	High Social- Low Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Led National League with 36 Home Runs in 2013• 2013 All Star• .302 batting average	\$1,100,000
Garret Jones (25)	Low Social- Low Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Left Pittsburgh after 5 seasons• 15 Home Runs in 2013• .233 batting average	\$2,750,000
Nick Markakis (30)	Low Social- High Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2013 10 Home Runs• .271 batting average	\$15,000,000

In order to create the text news article, the researcher searched for incidences of the same deviant action occurring in another sport, specifically within the National Football League. For example, the rape condition was taken from an article regarding the alleged misconduct of National Football League quarterback Colin Kaepernick run on SFgate.com (for complete list of original articles see Appendix E). The text of the article was then altered to be about the Major League Baseball player, include his stats, and mention his salary, and photoshopped with a photo

of the player and an article from SIWire. At no point was the player's guilt or innocence stated in any condition (i.e. if the player was caught with marijuana, he had not been arrested, charged, or convicted in the article), moreover, the commissioner was not mentioned.

The video conditions were based upon home runs hit by the players during their Major League Careers. The footage was accessed via YouTube. A voiceover was created using similar texts, explaining the player's situation, his salary, and his place within the league. Original broadcast voiceovers were deleted. Each player was featured hitting a home run in the same time frame, no extra inning home runs were featured, no playoff home runs were featured, and all home runs had similar contexts (i.e. one was not a game winning home run while others were in a losing effort).

Reliability Tests

Two scales utilized in this experiment had previously been developed by other researchers (Reysen, 2005, "Likability" scale and Reysen, 2008, "Honesty" scale), and were adapted in order to conduct this study. Other scales were created by the researchers, and were pre-tested to ensure their validity. Reliability tests were run on the manipulated scales in order to show that they were both internally and externally reliable.

Procedure and Administration

The experiment was uploaded via Qualtrics after being approved by the Institutional Review Board. Participants were recruited via Qualtrics panels (an online service run through Qualtrics.com where participants are recruited to match demographic requirements, and paid for their time) and paid approximately three dollars per response. Participants then clicked upon the questionnaire entitled "Media Study." The questionnaire was self-administered, and participants were allowed to finish at their own pace. Participants first agreed to an informed consent

statement, followed by a sport fanship scale, participants were then asked to read one of 16 text based stimuli randomly assigned, they were then asked about the player in the form of four manipulation check questions, then every participant was shown the corresponding home run video to the condition they had read, then participants were given the player and performance scale, were given a set of basic demographic questions, and were finally debriefed. Participants had the option to opt out of the survey with no repercussion at any point in time.

Manipulation Checks

Participants were given one set of manipulation tests throughout the questionnaire, which took place after the text stimulus. At this point, participants were asked questions regarding the athlete's type of deviance, his salary, his statistics, and whether he was an All Star according to the article. The questions were:

- What type of action was this player involved in?
- How much money does this player earn each year?
- Did this player hit over 21 home runs last season? (Based on the top 50 leaders in all of MLB having at least 22 in the 2013 season, ESPN.com, 2014).
- Was this player an All Star in the 2013 season?

All questions were designed as multiple choice, and participants were given ranges as potential choices (i.e. less than 10 home runs, between 10 and 23 home runs, more than 23 home runs).

Furthermore, in order to ensure that participants were reading the articles, and not simply clicking through responses they could not leave the page with the text based stimuli without correctly responding to every manipulation check. 92% of participants yielded completely correct answers to the manipulation checks. Responses that could not distinguish the correct type of crime, were disregarded, leaving 360 useable responses. Useable responses meant that

participants answered the type of deviance question right, of the 360 useable responses, 17 participants missed at least one of the other manipulation checks (regarding the social and/or economic capital of the athlete), but because they responded correctly to the deviance question they were utilized.

Data Cleaning and Coding

Data were collected using Qualtrics survey software. Once the data were collected the file was converted into a Microsoft Excel file, at which point in time the data was cleaned and coded to be useable in SPSS. Once the data were cleaned, the file was converted into an SPSS file in order for statistical analysis to be performed.

Statistical Analysis

Statistical analyses were performed in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences for the following research questions and hypotheses as outlined above. RQ₁ tested whether the type of deviance (independent, categorical variable) would impact the rating the player received from participants on the player image scale (dependent, continuous variable). A one-way ANOVA was required for this test. RQ₂ asked if the type of deviance (independent, categorical variable) would impact participant responses on the player performance scale (dependent, continuous variable). Again, a one-way ANOVA was required. H₁ posited that those players with higher social capital (independent categorical variable) would have higher performance scale ratings (dependent, continuous variable) than those with lower social capital, a one-way ANOVA was necessary. Similarly, H₂ suggested that those players with higher economic capital (independent categorical variable) would have higher performance scale ratings (dependent, continuous variable) than those with lower social capital, a one-way ANOVA was necessary. H₃ contended that there would be an interaction effect for those players with higher combined capital

(independent categorical variable) would have higher performance scale ratings (dependent, continuous variable) than those with lower combined capital, a factorial ANOVA was required. Similarly, H₄ contended that there would be an interaction effect for those players with higher combined capital (independent categorical variable) would have higher player image scale ratings (dependent, continuous variable) than those with lower combined capital, a factorial ANOVA was required.

Table 3.2

Statistical Analyses

Research Question or Hypothesis	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Statistical Analysis
RQ ₁	Type of Deviance: Categorical	Player Image Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
RQ ₂	Type of Deviance: Categorical	Performance Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
H _{1a}	Social Capital: Categorical	Performance Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
H _{1b}	Social Capital: Categorical	Player Image Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
H _{2a}	Economic Capital: Categorical	Performance Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
H _{2a}	Economic Capital: Categorical	Player Image Scale: Continuous	One-Way ANOVA
H ₃	Combined Capital: Categorical	Performance Scale: Continuous	Factorial ANOVA
H ₄	Combined Capital: Categorical	Player Image Scale: Continuous	Factorial ANOVA

Chapter 4

Results

Participants

This study was conducted online using Qualtrics panels, 389 participants were utilized from a national sample, of these 389 participants, 360 (92.55%) results were considered valid for the purpose of this dissertation (n=360), meaning they answered the deviance manipulation question properly. A total of 343 (95.28% of utilizable sample) participants answered all manipulation checks correctly. Additionally, 157 participants were male (43.6%), whereas 203 were female (56.4%). The mean age of the participants was 47 (SD= 14.18), with the oldest participant being 76 and the youngest being 19 (the legal age of consent in the state the experiment was conducted in is 19). The data for the age of the participants was considered normally distributed with a kurtosis of -1.07 and a skewness of -.032.

Participants from 41 states were utilized. The highest percentage of participants had completed some college level coursework (n=130, 36.1%). The next highest percentage of participants were those who had an undergraduate degree (n=99, 27.5%), followed by those with graduate degrees (n=68, 18.9%), those with high school diplomas (n=50, 13.9%), those who had completed some graduate work (n=9, 2.5%), and finally those who had no high school diploma (n=4, 1.1%). This may skew slightly toward a more educated population than the general populous. Full demographic information is available in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Demographic Information

Variable	Number of Participants	Percentage
Gender	360	100%
Male	157	43.6%
Female	203	56.4%
Education	360	100%
No High School Diploma	4	1.1%
High School Diploma	50	13.9%
Some College	130	36.1%
Under-Graduate Degree	99	27.5%
Some Graduate School	9	2.5%
Graduate Degree	68	18.9%

Each participant was shown one of 16 conditions. Table 4.2 reports the number of participants within each of the 16 cells.

Table 4.2

Participants Per Cell

Capital	Deviance	Participants
HSHE (Davis & Tulowitzki)	Drug Possession	26
HSHE (Davis & Tulowitzki)	Violence with Power Relationship	22
HSHE (Davis & Tulowitzki)	Violence without Power Relationship	22
HSHE (Davis & Tulowitzki)	Attempted Suicide	23
HSLE (Goldschmidt)	Drug Possession	21
HSLE (Goldschmidt)	Violence with Power Relationship	25
HSLE (Goldschmidt)	Violence without Power Relationship	22
HSLE (Goldschmidt)	Attempted Suicide	22
LSHE (Markakis)	Drug Possession	20
LSHE (Markakis)	Violence with Power Relationship	22
LSHE (Markakis)	Violence without Power Relationship	19
LSHE (Markakis)	Attempted Suicide	23
LSLE (Jones)	Drug Possession	24
LSLE (Jones)	Violence with Power Relationship	22
LSLE (Jones)	Violence without Power Relationship	24
LSLE (Jones)	Attempted Suicide	25

Scale Analysis

As stated in Chapter 3, participants were not allowed to move forward in the experiment until they correctly responded to the manipulation check regarding the player's type of deviance, social, and economic capital. To do this, custom validation through Qualtrics survey hosting

software was utilized. A timer was placed on the page with the video lasting for one minute, ensuring that every participant watched the full video. Table 4.3 displays the reliability and validity of both the player and performance scale.

Table 4.3

Scale Reliability and Validity

Scale	α	% Variance Explained	Eigenvalue	Mean	Skewness	Kurtosis
Player	.95	70.95	7.95	4.24	.17	.45
Performance	.93	65.38		4.81	-.07	.80
Factor 1			5.92			
Factor 2			1.07			

Both the player and performance scales were pre-tested prior to running the entire experiment, and were found to be both reliable and valid. Before running statistical analyses pertaining to the research questions and hypotheses, the reliability and validity for both scales were run again on the data obtained via Qualtrics. The original player image scale consisted of a total of fourteen items. The player image scale reliability with all items was high ($\alpha = .91$), but when validity was run, four items needed to be removed for all items to load on one factor (see APPENDIX B for final scale items). After these items were removed, a 10-item scale was created, with player image scale reliability increasing ($\alpha = .95$), and the scale explaining 70.948 percent of total variance (eigenvalue, 7.95). To assess the distribution of the data, normality tests were run. The mean for the player score was 4.24 (SD=1.05), with a skewness (.17) and kurtosis (.45) within the range of normality.

Secondly, the performance scale contained nine items, which had a high reliability ($\alpha = .93$). When validity was run using a factor analysis, two factors loaded, with no scale items

removed (see APPENDIX C for final scale items). The performance scale, with all nine items, explained 65.74 percent of total variance (factor one 5.92 eigenvalue, factor two eigenvalue 1.07). Again, normality tests showed the data were normally distributed for the performance scale, the mean for the performance scale was 4.81 (SD=1.03), with a skewness (-.07) and kurtosis (.80) that are considered normal. Both the player image scale and performance scale were therefore considered normal, reliable and valid.

Statistical Analyses

Research question 1 asked whether the type of deviance a player engages in would significantly impact the rating the player receives on the player image scale. To examine this question, a one-way ANOVA using the categorical, independent, variable of type of deviance was run with the continuous, dependent variable of the player image scale. The deviance variable was determined based upon the four types of stimuli the participant saw (violence with a power relationship, violence with no power relationship, violence against oneself, or DUI/possession). Table 4.4 shows the difference in means for each type of deviance on the player image scale.

Table 4.4

Type of Deviance and Player Image Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Violence with Power Relationship	91	4.16	1.06
Violence with No Power Relationship	85	4.02	1.19
Violence Against Self Possession	93	4.50	.93
Total	360	4.24	1.05

A total of 91 participants saw conditions where the player was accused of violence with a power relationship, 85 saw conditions where the player was accused of violence with no power relationship, 93 saw conditions where the player was accused of violence against himself, 91 saw conditions where the player was accused of possession. The mean for the entire player image scale was 4.24 (SD=1.05). The condition with the highest mean was violence against the self (4.50, SD=.93), the lowest was that for violence with no power relationship (4.02, SD=1.19)

The Levene's Test showed values of ($F(15, 344) = 1.21, p = .26$) therefore the variances are considered equal. The one-way ANOVA for type of deviance and player image scale resulted in a significant relationship ($F(3, 359) = 3.41, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$). Research Question 1 was answered in that the type of deviance one engaged in significantly impacted player image scale scores. A bonferroni test was run in order to assess where the significant differences were.

Research question 2 asked if the type of deviance a player engages in significantly impacts the rating the player receives on the performance scale. To examine this question, a one-way ANOVA using the categorical, dependent, variable of type of deviance was

run with continuous, independent variable, of the player image scale. The deviance variable was determined based upon the stimulus the participant saw, either violence with a power relationship, violence with no power relationship, violence against oneself, or DUI/possession.

Table 4.5 shows the means for the performance scale in terms of the type of deviance.

Table 4.5

Type of Deviance and Performance Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Possession	91	4.87	1.06
Violence with Power Relationship	91	4.82	1.01
Violence with No Power Relationship	85	4.62	1.04
Violence Against Self	93	4.91	1.02
Total	360	4.81	1.03

Exactly 91 participants saw conditions where the player was accused of violence with a power relationship, 85 saw conditions where the player was accused of violence with no power relationship, 93 saw conditions where the player was accused of violence against himself, 91 saw conditions where the player was accused of possession. The mean score for all conditions on the performance scale was 4.81 (SD=1.03). Much like RQ1, the highest mean came for the violence against oneself condition (4.91, SD= 1.02), while the lowest mean came from the violence without a power relationship condition (4.62, SD=1.04).

The Levene's Test showed ($F(15, 344) = 1.30, p=.20$), therefore, the variances were considered equal. The one-way ANOVA for type of deviance and player image scale yielded a significance level of ($F(3, 359) = 1.47, p=.22, \eta_p^2 = 0.01$). Research Question 2 showed that the

type of deviance an athlete was accused of did not have a statistically significant effect on the mean score a player's home run received on the performance scale.

Hypothesis 1a proposed that players with a higher social capital will have higher performance scale ratings than will players with lower social capital, 183 participants saw conditions with high social capital. Whereas 177 participants saw conditions featuring low social capital players.

Table 4.6 displays the means on the performance scale for the type of social capital.

Table 4.6

Type of Social Capital and Performance Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low Social	177	4.56	.93
High Social	183	5.05	1.07
Total	360	4.81	1.03

The total mean for the performance scale was 4.81 (SD=1.03). The high social capital conditions yielded a higher mean (5.05, SD=1.07) than the low social capital (4.56, SD=.93) conditions. A one-way ANOVA was run, revealing a significant impact ($F(1, 359) = 21.57, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.06$). The player's previous on-field performance had a statistically significant impact on the rating their home run will receive on the performance scale. Therefore, Hypothesis 1a was supported.

Hypothesis 1b proposed that players with a higher social capital would have higher player image scale ratings than will players with lower social capital. A total of 183 participants saw conditions with high social, leaving, 177 participants who saw conditions featuring low social capital players.

Table 4.7 shows the mean scores for the player image scale in terms of social capital.

Table 4.7

Type of Social Capital and Player Image Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low Social	177	4.10	1.05
High Social	183	4.39	1.03
Total	360	4.24	1.05

The total mean for the player image scale was 4.24 (SD=1.05). Much like H1a, the high social capital conditions warranted a higher mean (4.39, SD=1.03) than the lower social capital (4.10, SD=1.05) conditions. A one-way ANOVA was run, revealing a significant impact ($F(3, 359) = 6.96, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = 0.02$). The player's previous on-field performance has a statistically significant impact on the rating the mean score they received on the player image scale.

Therefore, Hypothesis 1b was supported.

Hypothesis 2a suggested that players with a higher economic capital would have higher performance scale ratings than will players with lower economic capital. A total of 177 participants saw conditions with players who were considered to have high economic capital. A total of 183 participants saw conditions featuring low economic capital players.

Table 4.8 displays the mean scores for the performance scale divided by type of economic capital.

Table 4.8

Type of Economic Capital and Performance Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low Economic	183	4.74	1.01
High Economic	177	4.87	1.05
Total	360	4.81	1.03

The mean for the performance scale was 4.81 (SD=1.03). The high economic capital conditions earned a higher mean score (4.87, SD=1.05) than the lower economic capital (4.74, SD=1.01) conditions did. A one-way ANOVA was run, revealing no significant impact ($F(1, 359) = 1.25, p = .27, \eta_p^2 = .004$). This demonstrates that economic capital had no statistically significant impact on the mean score a player received toward his performance. Hypothesis 2a was not supported.

Hypothesis 2b posited that players with a higher economic capital would have higher player image scale ratings than will players with lower economic capital. A total of 177 participants saw conditions with high economic capital. A total of 183 participants saw conditions featuring players with low economic capital.

Table 4.9 exhibits the mean scores for the player image scale divided by type of economic capital.

Table 4.9

Type of Economic Capital and Player Image Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low Economic	183	4.17	1.05
High Economic	177	4.32	1.04
Total	360	4.24	1.05

The mean for the player image scale was 4.24 (SD=1.05). The high economic capital conditions again yielded higher means (4.32, SD=1.04) than the low economic capital conditions (4.17, SD=1.05). A one-way ANOVA was run, revealing no significant impact ($F(1, 359) = 1.64, p = .20, \eta_p^2 = 0.01$). Given that economic capital had no statistically significant impact on the mean score a player received on the player image scale, hypothesis 2b was not supported.

Hypothesis 3 queried whether there is an interaction effect between social capital and economic capital towards performance scale ratings. To answer this hypothesis, each condition of combined (high and low, social and economic capital) was analyzed.

Table 4.10 presents the mean scores for the performance scale in terms of all possible capital combinations.

Table 4.10

Combined Capital and Performance Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
HSHE	93	5.13	1.07
HSLE	90	4.97	1.08
LSHE	84	4.59	.97
LSLE	93	4.52	.90
Total	360	4.81	1.03

The mean for the performance scale was 4.81 (SD=1.03). The high social, high economic capital condition garnered the highest mean (5.13, SD=1.07), while the low social, low economic condition earned the lowest mean (4.52, SD=.90). A factorial ANOVA was run to analyze these data, ($F(1, 359) = .14, p = .71, \eta_p^2 = <.01$), indicating a player's combined capital had no statistically significant impact on the mean rating on the performance scale. Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Hypothesis 4 suggested there would be an interaction effect between social capital and economic capital towards player image scale ratings. To address this hypothesis, each condition of combined (high and low, social and economic) capital was analyzed.

Table 4.11 demonstrates the mean scores for the player image scale in terms of combined capital.

Table 4.11

Combined Capital and Player Image Scale

Condition	Participants	Mean	Standard Deviation
HSHE	93	4.47	.11
HSLE	90	4.13	.11
LSHE	84	4.28	.11
LSLE	93	4.04	.11
Total	360	4.24	1.05

The mean total for the player image scale was 4.24 (SD= 1.05). Again, the high social, high economic capital condition earned the highest mean (4.47, SD= .11) while the low social, low economic capital condition procured the lowest mean (4.04, SD=.11). A factorial ANOVA was run to analyze these data. The interaction was not significant, ($F(1, 359) = .19, p = .66, \eta_p^2 < 0.01$), showing no interaction effect between a player's capital and his mean score on the player image scale. Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Data were also run in terms of gender, and the sport fanship scale, neither created significant values for either scale. Table 4.12 shows the significance of all research questions and hypotheses.

Table 4.12

ANOVA Statistics

H or RQ	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	η^2	Supported
RQ ₁	3.414	.018	0.29	Yes
RQ ₂	1.47	.22	.01	No
H _{1a}	21.57	<.001	.06	Yes
H _{1b}	6.96	.02	.02	Yes
H _{2a}	1.25	.27	.004	No
H _{2b}	1.64	.20	.01	No
H ₃	.14	.71	<.01	No
H ₄	.19	.66	.01	No

All statistically significant research questions and hypotheses related to the athlete's social capital. The economic capital of the athlete had no statistically significant impact. As a result of the insignificance of, no interaction effects were found. One of two research questions was supported, alongside two of six hypotheses.

Chapter 5

Discussion

Core Findings

This dissertation serves as the first step toward analyzing how the off-field deviant actions of athletes impact fans' on-field perceptions. To do so, the independent variables of social and economic capital were measured alongside the dependent variables of player perception and performance perception. RQ₁, H_{1a}, H_{1b} were supported; these three pieces all related to the players social capital, the number of home runs/ batting average, and All-Star status a player had attained in the previous season. The research questions and hypotheses that did not show significance were those dealing with economic capital.

In essence, social capital had more of an impact on the participants' view of the player, both as a person and an athlete, than any other measured variable. As discussed above, the social capital of the athlete pertained to his previous on-field performance, specifically how the athlete performed during the previous season. This is especially interesting as the athlete's aggregate career totals were not discussed. The athlete's economic capital was discussed only in terms of his current season total, not his career net worth. The social capital of the player had a significant impact on how participants viewed him as a person, as well as how they viewed his home runs, while his economic capital showed no statistically significant impact on either scale.

In many cases in Major League Baseball (the sport examined in this dissertation), a player's economic capital is correlated with this social capital, although Gennaro (2013) concedes "several factors blemish the relationship between salary and player value" (p. 69).

There are occasions where this is not the case. One prime example is when a player is under team control (via a signed contract), and not yet eligible for arbitration (otherwise known as the date when a player can go on the free agent market seeking his fair-market value). Gennaro (2013) demonstrates that “these classes lead to dramatic differences in pay, even for similar performances” (p. 70). Many teams have recently moved toward securing long-term contracts for young stars early on within their careers. The Tampa Bay Rays attained a contract with young phenom Evan Longoria in this manner, with it oft-referred as the “most team-friendly” (Passan, 2012). Since deals in Major League Baseball are often multiple years, a prior on-field performance can guarantee future economic capital; such was the case for the player in the low social, high economic capital condition. Deals like Longoria’s (and Paul Goldschmidt’s of the Arizona Diamondbacks) demonstrate the fact that while on-field performance and economic capital are correlated for some of baseball’s “classes” to use Gennaro’s (2013) term, there are ways for teams to avoid this by signing a prominent player to a long contract early in his career. Those surveyed seemingly recognized the discrepancy between how much a player makes and the value of his home run. As in baseball contracts--for both the performance scale and player image scale--the past performance of the player can possibly serve as a predictor for the future likability of the player.

These data seem to reveal interesting facts about the American public and their consumption of sport and celebrity. Most noteworthy would be that the higher the social capital a player possesses, the more likely fans are to disregard their transgressions. In the example of a Major League Baseball player who has been accused of rape multiple times, it is possible that the public would still find him honest and likable off the field because of his previous on-field production if he won multiple World Series. The findings of this study could seemingly suggest

that the public may see his home runs as just as valuable as a similarly situated player, who has never been accused of an off-field deviant action. These players, who are very similar on the field, have little in common off the field of play, yet are likely regarded in a similar manner by fans.

Interestingly, the largest gap was found between those accused of violence with no power relationship (i.e. were accused of getting into a bar fight) and those who attempted suicide on the player image scale (as evidenced through a post hoc test). The mean ratings of players who attempted suicide were significantly higher than those who were accused of getting into a bar fight. Ultimately, those who were accused of violence with no power relationship scored the lowest on the player image scale when compared to the other three forms of accusation. In sum, participants thought the player was statistically more likeable and honest if he tried to commit suicide than if he got into a bar fight, a likely correlate of empathy.

The fact that violence with no power relationship was the most offensive in terms of the player image scale of the four types of deviance presented is cause for discussion. These data suggest the conclusion that those accused of violence with no power relationship (i.e. the bar fight condition) are somehow perceived as less likable and honest than someone who is accused of violence with a power relationship (i.e. the rape manipulation). In the explicit terms of this experiment, this means that if an athlete is accused of rape, they are more likely to be forgiven in terms of their likability and honesty than if they are accused of getting into a bar fight. This may be because of a victim-blaming culture that many regions of the United States are currently trying to legislate against including California's recent law referred to as "yes means yes" (Welch, 2014).

Another suggestion as to why the bar fight manipulation resulted in lower means than the rape manipulation may have been the events happening in the NFL preceding and during data collection, specifically the release of the video of NFL running back Ray Rice beating his fiancé in an elevator and the ensuing public outcry. It may be that the text for the bar fight manipulation was a closer description to the Ray Rice incident than the rape manipulation for reasons detailed below. This is despite the fact that, for the typology used, the Ray Rice incident would have fallen into the same category as the rape manipulation. The bar fight manipulation included quotes detailing the fight, including a bite by the accused player. None of the other manipulations included the description of the physical contact between the accused player and the alleged victim. Moreover, the violence without a power relationship condition mentioned a surveillance tape, much like the video of Ray Rice that was leaked. Because Ray Rice was shown making physical contact in a surveillance video, it is possible that the bar fight manipulation seemed most similar to the Ray Rice video that leaked in the same timeframe the dissertation experiment was being conducted. Therefore, it is likely participants seeing conditions of violence with no power relationship were influenced to some degree by the Ray Rice video, but it is unclear exactly how this impacted their opinion.

Another finding was that the type of accused player deviance had no statistically significant impact on the performance scale. This means that regardless of the type of deviance an athlete engages in, participants view their on-field performance in the same light. While a relationship may be present, it was not shown statistically through the manipulations presented in the current research, leading to the conclusion that the type of deviance may not play as prevalent a role in fan evaluations as other variables assessed within the study.

Interestingly, player salary did not impact the way in which player performance is viewed. As shown in the answer to H_{2a} and H_{2b}, so long as a player can produce on the field, they can be seen as likable and honest, with their home runs perceived as equally valuable within the context of the game, regardless of the deviant action they committed. While most players comprising the high social capital category would also be part of the high economic capital category, these two categories are not always synonymous. Those who hit many home runs (or score many touchdowns or baskets as the situation may be) can still be seen in a positive light after such an accusation. Oddly, those who produce on the field are more likely to earn larger contracts than those who do not, and so one might assume that at the very least, the high social, high economic condition would have been statistically significantly different. The player's economic capital may not have had an impact on the perceptions of participants because a Major League Baseball player making the league minimum still makes significantly more money than the average American. As CNBC (2014) points out, "the average player would make more than 100 times the average American wage earner" when comparing mean salaries (para. 4). While these players are considered in the low economic capital segment for their profession, they would be considered high amongst the majority of the populous.

Practical or Applied Implications

As mentioned throughout this dissertation, the 20-year anniversary of the OJ Simpson chase in Southern California ultimately leading to the media circus around the off-field deviant actions has passed (Wells, 2014). This dissertation examined the way this media circus continues to evolve and impact public perceptions. Interestingly, this year has had more than its fair share of off-field controversies providing plenty of discussion topics. Shaughnessy (2014) of the *Boston Globe* referred to the early part of the 2014 NFL season as "the worst week in the history

of the National Football League” (para. 1). NFL wide receiver Josh Gordon received a season-long suspension for testing positive for marijuana, while NFL wide receiver Wes Welker was suspended just before data collection began for violating the league’s substance abuse policy by testing positive for “molly.” Similarly, during data collection, MLB first baseman (and subject of this dissertation) Chris Davis was suspended 25 games for testing positive for amphetamines, claiming to be taking Adderall without a prescription. During the first week of the season the video of the assault was released, showing Ray Rice’s physical abuse of his then fiancé. This video resulted in aggravated fans and players demanding Ray Rice’s two-game suspension be extended – which it eventually was. After Goodell assured fans that the league’s domestic violence policy was getting tougher (Belson, 2014), Minnesota Vikings’ star running back Adrian Peterson was indicted on charges of child abuse (Wilson, 2014). This was, as Edholm (2014) of Yahoo puts it, “the NFL’s darkest week” and part of one of the most infamous years of off-field deviance (para. 4). This dark time in the history of athletes provided an interesting backdrop for this dissertation, to discuss the influence on on-field performance.

Each of these types of deviance could have been classified through the typology of Marshall et al. (2014) described in Chapter 2. The findings of this dissertation demonstrate that while these incidents were given a great deal of media coverage, so long as these players (who were all extremely productive on the field prior to their suspensions) continue to be productive (therein maintaining their high social capital) they can be seen as both likable and honest. Ultimately, these deviant actions alone are not impacting the way their on-field performance is perceived.

celebrity role models and historical record-keeping.

Because there is no statistically significant difference on the perception of a player's on-field performance based on the type of deviance they commit, or the amount of money they make, there potentially is no impact on the way statistical records are viewed. This could be viewed as amplifying the values American society possesses along with the standards (or lack thereof) in which they hold their sports heroes. As Shuart (2007) summarizes: "It is clear that sports heroes will always be a solid piece of American societal makeup" (p. 136). It may be that sports heroes are not held to the same standard that others are, especially when it comes to the "difference between heroes and celebrities" (Shuart, 2007, p. 127).

As alluded to previously, Charles Barkley (former NBA star), famously stated in his Nike Air commercial "I am not a role model... Just because I dunk a basketball doesn't mean I should raise your kids" (Dobie, 2013, para. 5). Barkley himself has been in trouble since his playing days for driving under the influence (Goldiner, 2008). He remains a national broadcaster, and, despite his protests (and his flaws), is a role model for many. Perhaps this speaks to the ability of people to diminish the fallibility of their heroes, or to the lack of sensitivity people have developed toward the bad behaviors of athletes.

This is a stark juxtaposition to the asterisk that many people have insisted upon using near the all-time home run record of Barry Bonds, or the impending home run leader Alex Rodriguez. Logical connection can be made that while on-field deviant actions (i.e. steroids) do affect the way in which records are perceived, off-field deviant actions do not. This may mean that someone who is accused of rape would have records that were seemingly untainted, whereas someone who unknowingly took a performance-enhancing substance could have their records marked.

Such a comparison of two disparate concepts speaks to the value of the lusory attitude in high cultural capital within American sport. Suits (1978) speaks to the definition of a game, or for this purpose, a sport:

“To play a game is to engage in activity directed towards bringing about a specific state of affairs, using only means permitted by rules, where the rules prohibit more efficient in favour of less efficient means, and where such rules are accepted just because they make possible such activity” (p. 34).

Because these off-field deviant actions do not violate the lusory attitude or give a player an on-field advantage, it appears they also do not change the way participants viewed the home runs.

the hunt for justice.

While Major League Baseball players were used in the stimuli for this experiment, the implications reach beyond Major League Baseball to the rest of sport. However, many of Major League Baseball's issues with discipline dealt with on-field issues, specifically steroid use. As mentioned in the literature review, the National Football League's Roger Goodell often was the sole arbiter of off-field actions of his athletes, but in light of the league's discipline problems the lens was turned inward. The findings of this dissertation, therefore, can be applied to various sports, with the National Football League serving as a prime example.

With no sleep for the weary, Roger Goodell went from being at the center of the panopticon to being no better than his prisoners. With his every move under surveillance, and the public calling for a new commissioner, as Volin (2014) put it, “for many outsiders [...] their mind on Goodell is made up” (para. 6). Thomas (2014) of Grantland called for Goodell's head in an article entitled “Together we make football: On the NFL's dark, intractable history of domestic violence.” Budweiser issued a statement about the league's policies and actions, while

Nike stopped selling Peterson's jerseys (Edholm, 2014). Even Goodell's decision to create a new "task force" consisting of "four women [who] will shape the league's new domestic violence and sexual assault policy" (Elliot, 2014, para. 1) is being scrutinized. Despite the call to arms on social media resulting in increased scrutiny on Goodell, he remained in control.

Ultimately, the media attention that all of these atrocities garnered may have served as a way to start an important discussion, but may not have had the impact necessary to create a culture of change--not just in the league, but amongst the American public in their attitude toward celebrity deviance, in general, and athlete deviance specifically. Calling for change and demanding justice is much easier than enacting it, specifically when this change and justice may come at the expense of entertainment and the social capital of one's sports team. An article discussing fans' reactions to Ray Rice's contract termination puts it best by stating:

"This, after all, is the franchise of Ray Lewis, who was charged in a murder case in 2000 but now has a statue outside the stadium. His No. 52 remains arguably the most visible jersey among tailgaters" (White, 2014, para. 11).

Fans of the game, and fans of a specific team, are willing to talk about the failures of a player, but are not necessarily willing to act upon this. As evidenced in H_{1a}, and H_{1b} of this study, many likely feel that if Ray Lewis can help the Ravens win a championship, he deserves a statue, regardless of his off-field woes. Historically, off-field deviant athletes (such as the Yankees' Billy Martin) have been honored for their on-field performance through team celebrations, such as the Yankees retiring his number- despite the fact that, in Martin's case, his off-field woes got him traded and fired. While fans utilized social media, and pundits utilized television and radio to discuss the NFL's shortcomings, people largely kept watching. For example, even amongst the off-season turmoil, the NFL's 2014 opening night ratings were higher than the 2013 opening

game (Deerwester, 2014). Furthermore, NBC Sunday Night Football reached the top of the “Prime Broadcast Network TV” ratings according to Nielsen (2014). Apparently, deviance does not cause fans to change habits at the expense of their own personal enjoyment.

fantasy sport.

Fantasy sport has been the focus of much communication research recently, and the findings of this dissertation may impact the way scholars may perceive fantasy sport ownership in the future. On-field performance is directly linked to a fantasy player’s value, meaning issues of social capital are of the utmost importance when deciding who to draft, and who to start in a fantasy sport lineup. While fan perceptions of a player’s home run may seem arbitrary in terms of who will start a Major League Baseball game, they are intrinsically linked to one’s fantasy sport lineup, as the more valuable a home run, the more valuable a player. More home runs and more production equate to more value for an individual fantasy player, especially in leagues where defensive play is discounted. The finding that an athlete’s previous social capital influences how participants viewed their on-field performance may mean they are more likely to draft and start these who have high previous social capital than players than those who had not performed well previously.

The implications of athlete off-field deviance on fantasy sport became even more apparent when NFL wide receiver Roddy White made his outcry about Adrian Peterson’s behavior. White lamented not that Peterson had tarnished the shield, or hurt his team, or set a negative example for children who looked up to him. Instead, Roddy White took issue with Peterson’s suspension because he had drafted Peterson in his fantasy football league, writing “I’m probably going to lose my fantasy football matchup this week cause all day can’t play Sunday for disciplining his child Jesus help us” (Smith, 2014, para. 3). This research provides

evidence to further White's point, if a player can produce on the field, what he does off the field is largely irrelevant; even White's comments were shortly forgotten. In the following weeks, Adrian Peterson was deemed worthy of picking up in deep lineups after he pled down his charges due to his previous high social capital (Heaney, 2014). The professional athlete's fascination with owning other professional athletes in a "fantasy" points to the odd phenomenon of fantasy ownership, and the lengths many fantasy owners (professional athletes, and average fans alike) go to in order to improve their teams by drafting high social capital players.

Theoretical Implications

This research provides insights into various theories expanding them specifically relating to sport and deviance. Foucault's (1995) panopticon, Bourdieu's (1986) capital, and Goffman's (1974) framing are all explored in relation to this research.

the panopticon.

Ultimately, the goal of the panopticon, as Foucault describes it, is for prisoners to police themselves. In other words, those in power attempt to create a culture that causes those under surveillance to be so concerned with the constant observation that they alter their behavior to the point they no longer need to be watched. Ultimately, the constant surveillance on players may not set a precedent for others to self-police. This dissertation used Major League Baseball players, but the manipulations themselves were based on real-life incidents from the National Football League with examples such as Colin Kaepernick and Terrell Owens (players who were involved in the incidents the text based manipulations were based on). The panopticon argument might be that the constant surveillance of players like Kaepernick and Owens that caused the media coverage of these incidents might encourage other similarly situated athletes to self-police, therefore preventing further accusations. This dissertation demonstrates that so long as

the athlete possesses a high level of social capital this self-policing may not be necessary, as their capital helps create a positive image both on and off field.

While there was uproar on social media regarding recent incidents in the National Football League and the league did change its policies as a result, for an individual player's perception this was not really necessary, as evidenced by this dissertation data. In terms of the panopticon, players should, theoretically, police themselves to avoid negative scrutiny. The players are consumed in--and through--the panopticon, but ultimately, in terms of how players are viewed both on and off the field of play, these acts of deviance are largely irrelevant so long as they have a historically high level of social capital. The data from this dissertation indicate that those with previously high levels of social capital are more likable and more valuable in the context of the game. This may mean they need to self-police to a lesser extent than those with lower social capital, as they seemingly have more leeway with their actions both on and off the field. Interestingly, those athletes with high social capital are those most likely to be observed in the panopticon and garner a large amount of media attention (i.e. Derek Jeter, Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods) with or without a deviant action.

Those athletes with higher Q-Scores, a well-respected "measure[ment of] awareness and popularity," frequently appear in commercials and act as endorsers (Badenhausen, 2013, para. 9). As Badenhausen (2013) points out, Michael Jordan consistently tops this list for sports fans, and has done so almost exclusively since the late 1980s. Jordan has arguably the highest social capital of any athlete, continually places himself in the public eye, and is constantly monitored by the panopticon for his commercial success, and private faults. As Simmons (2006) points out "there are many famous gambling stories about MJ" (para. 1). Despite Jordan's faults, and the media's constant obsession with them, his social capital on the basketball court, led to

commercial success, and ultimately the ability for fans to look past his deviant actions while consuming his products on the court, as well as off of it. According to the findings of this dissertation, Michael Jordan's high social capital allows him to disregard certain social norms and act in, what some may deem, deviant ways off the field of play. As a result, Jordan's on the court basketball prowess is not devalued (no matter how long ago this may have been), and his income does not suffer, despite the watchful eye of the panopticon. Conversely, an athlete with low social capital (perhaps a bench player) would be seen as less likable than Jordan, even if he had scored the same game-winning three-pointer. Moreover, while the low social capital athlete could largely operate outside the panopticon (at least in comparison to Jordan), a deviant action would likely cause him to be in the midst of the resulting firestorm, rendering him helpless as media frames and public opinion devalue his on-field performance, and his humanity—something Jordan, thanks to his stunning career has no need to worry about. While these anecdotes are not exact, as race was not accounted for in this study, and Michael Jordan is one persona who transcends sport, these colloquialisms provide case studies to further support the research questions and hypothesis dealing with social capital, in terms of the panopticon.

capital.

Bourdieu (1986) classifies capital in social, economic, and cultural terms. The impact on the concept of cultural capital that this dissertation had cannot be discussed as only high cultural capital was used. Again, for the purpose of this dissertation high cultural capital sports were discussed in an Americentric notion, and functioned under the operational definition of Major League Baseball, National League Football, and the National Basketball Association. Those playing these sports at lower levels (i.e. Minor League Baseball) are not thought of in these exact terms. These findings, then, can be thought of in terms of these sports, though they not entirely

analogous, or 1:1 situation. For example, a Major League Baseball player engaging in what Smith (1983) would define as “brutal bodily conduct” would be thought out of place on the field (think Pete Rose and Ray Fosse), and, therefore, a similar off-field action may be thought of in much the same way (p. 9). Conversely, an NFL player is expected to tackle someone, and, therefore might be perceived more leniently for a similar off-field incident. While cultural capital was controlled, both social and economic capitals were explored in this dissertation in binary terms of “high” and “low.”

Social capital had a statistically significant impact on the way players were seen, meaning the way one has performed in the past has the greatest impact on how their future performance will be interpreted in light of a controversy. When the type of deviance, and economic capital of a player were equal, the athlete’s ability to hit in the past impacted how likeable and honest participants found him to a statistically significant degree. In terms of image repair, this may mean that those who performed well previously have a better chance at rehabilitating their on and off field images than those who did not.

The finding that economic capital has little impact on a player’s perceived honesty and likability, or his on field performance suggests that, at least in terms of athletics, economic capital is potentially the least important factor. This is especially interesting when considering that sports requiring low economic capital (baseball, basketball, and football) are high cultural capital sports in the United States. This may speak to the very Americentric notion that one can define one’s own destiny and that what matters is one’s performance rather than how much they earn.

framing.

This research expands upon the paradigm of framing, specifically its uses and applications. Crime stories continue to be newsworthy, as Pritchard and Hughes (1997) point out “the media’s emphasis on crime, for example, helps to maintain the salience of crime as a political issue” (p. 49, internal citations omitted). Furthermore, Shoemaker, Danielian and Brendlinger (1991) claim “one need only look at any major U.S. newspaper to discover that crime, violence and sensationalism represent a large proportion of the total day’s news, or at least of the news which is displayed most prominently” (p. 782). Crimes committed by an average person are newsworthy, yet, when a celebrity or hero is involved, the story increases in newsworthiness and salience. Moreover, as these frames of deviance have become so “newsworthy” it is entirely possible that those consuming the media have become desensitized to many of these types of actions. Through this dissertation data, it has been discovered that despite athletes being negatively framed in regard to their off-field behavior, they have the ability to overshadow these media constructions with their on-field performance.

Pritchard et al. (1997) delved into how different forms of deviance became newsworthy, finding that certain “culturally deviant” actions are “especially newsworthy” (p. 64). When on-air talent on ESPN spend hours upon hours discussing the most recent scandal an athlete has been involved in, and when CNN and NPR dedicate significant news time to an athlete recently charged with a crime, these athletes may not have the power to change the narrative constructed around them, but they can control how the public perceives them. It is possible that the frames around these “culturally deviant” crimes might be different than those around other types of deviance, and therefore might result in different responses to the on and off-field perception of an athlete. Even still, these data indicate that while a “culturally deviant” action may warrant

news coverage, the social capital of an athlete might shift the narrative around it. As long as these deviant athletes are allowed to play, their prior production on the field (and seemingly their continued production) allows them to construct the manner in which lay audiences view them both on and off the field of play.

Limitations

This research is exploratory; as a result, there were various limitations to it. The use of a lab experiment, the types of deviance utilized, race and the recent happenings in the NFL are all discussed as potential limitations and/or confounding variables to this dissertation.

lab experiment.

As preliminary research into studying the phenomenon of off-field deviance and the how this impacts on-field perceptions, this lab experiment was an ideal way for testing the reliability and validity of scales, as well as variables that may have had an impact on participant evaluation of these athletes. While real-life scenarios were manipulated to suit the needs of this dissertation (i.e. the conversion of the news articles from NFL players to MLB players), it is possible that something was lost amongst participants during this transition. Because these players had never been accused of a deviant action in the news, participants may have been aware that the conditions were not truly authentic and were overt manipulations.

In reality, after an athlete is accused of such a crime, they would likely have much more in-depth background stories than were available in the minute-long clip. Moreover, the frame in a home, away, or national broadcast would have provided different information. Because of the nature of this experiment, players could not have been accused of a deviant action prior to the experiment. Players who had previously been accused of deviant actions could not be used,

despite the fact that this would have created entirely authentic manipulations, because of the predisposition participants may have had toward the athlete and the crime.

Additionally, as in any lab experiment or survey, participants may have had a pre-conceived idea of what was being asked. As a result, participants may have answered with a heightened degree of social desirability, surmising how they thought the researcher (and society) would have wanted them to answer. This may have been confounded by the background noise in the video stimuli, as the crowd excitement in terms of noise did not differ once the home run was hit. Moreover, while the experiment was entirely anonymous, some participants may have responded to the scale questions with answers that they perceived to be culturally appropriate, rather than entirely in line with their own belief system. This is a common concern with experimental lab work, and something that must be considered as a potentially confounding issue. However, given the lack of support for many key hypotheses, this effect is presumed to be negligible.

types of deviance.

Because of the nature of the lab experiment, only four different types of deviance were used. While the four-part typology accounts for the most common types of off-field deviance, it does not allow researchers to observe the nuances of cases categorized within each of the four factions. The cases of Ben Roethlisberger and Michael Vick provide an interesting juxtaposition. While Roethlisberger has been accused of rape multiple times (ESPN.com, 2010), and Vick was found guilty of fighting dogs, these two types of deviance would both fall into the “violence with a power relationship” category. These are two distinctly different actions with very different legal repercussions. Similarly, the murder accusation against Aaron Hernandez’ would also be in this same category. While each of these athletes allegedly committed a crime in which they had a

power relationship, they were each treated differently in the court of law, and likely would be seen differently in the eyes of the public if tested separately.

On the other end of the spectrum, infractions seen as “lesser-than” the marijuana accusation (e.g. the aforementioned Michael Jordan gambling scenarios) may have garnered different responses. As a result, the inability to use real-life situations, as well as the limited simulations that could be enacted because of the constrictions of a lab experiment led to less realistic conditions than would be found in the normal sporting environment.

race.

As discussed in the method section of this dissertation, Major League Baseball was utilized as the sport from which players were featured in order to minimize the impact race had on participant perceptions. All players featured in the stimuli were Caucasian. Data regarding race were not collected in the demographic information section of the post-test. As a result, the impact of the race of the participant on their perceptions of deviance. Additionally, accusations pertaining to Caucasian Major League Baseball may not be exactly analogous to accusations against African American National Football League players.

the current sporting environment and hyper-sensitivity.

During data collection the high social capital, high economic capital player Chris Davis was suspended for 25 games for PED usage. Thus, his condition was immediately substituted with another similar player, in this case Troy Tulowitzki. Still, while this change could have been the most confounding, abnormally high amounts of reporting related to off-field deviance during the time still could have altered responses. The off-field deviance of athletes such as Ray Rice and Adrian Peterson provides evidence underscoring the need for this research, yet it is

possible that participants had been bombarded with information about off-field deviance, skewing the results via this priming and oversaturation.

Two primary concerns of the impact of non-stop coverage of Roger Goodell and the NFL in the days leading up to, and during data collection could have impacted the responses elicited for this dissertation. Firstly, participants were likely aware of all deviant actions happening in the news; this could either heighten awareness (making one more critical of these types of actions) or cause desensitization (making one less critical as the events appear increasingly commonplace). Secondly, participants may have been desensitized to the types of deviance utilized in this dissertation.

Participants were likely to have seen the video of Ray Rice punching his fiancé prior to participating in this experiment. Sports fans and non-fans alike were bombarded with footage of this leaked on TMZ. The September 2014 video uploaded by TMZ presently has over ten-million views on YouTube (TMZ Sports, 2014b). Many argued that, as Thomas (2014) points out, “the video from the elevator wasn’t entertainment – but it was a spectacle” (para. 10). As a result, the video was played, and replayed, which encouraged discussion on topics of assault, specifically domestic assault.

For the reasons listed above, a lab experiment, while a great place to begin research in an increasingly important field, does have a unique set of limitations. That said, there are other ways to control for these issues and to expand upon what has been found through this dissertation in the future.

Directions for Future Research

As discussed in the literature review, this area of research is relatively new, and this study provides a foundation for further research into how deviance and sport are related, as well as

how these two cultural phenomena impact society as a whole. Despite the various limitations to this dissertation, it serves as a theory building exercise, and there are multiple venues for future research. Four future areas are proposed, including (a) close consideration of the role and impact of the commissioner in a time of crisis, (b) how the race of an athlete might alter player and performance scores, (c) the potential role of fantasy sport ownership in influencing participant perceptions of deviant athletes, and (d) the need to analyze real-time data.

authority figures.

Another area of future research specifically deals with crisis response, and the commissioner of the league. The commissioner of the league is often the person the media turn to first to frame the situation; at the very least, the commissioner's statement is newsworthy. When Pete Rose was accused of gambling in the 1980s, Major League Baseball commissioner Bart Giamatti issued an inquest into Rose's behavior. Despite Rose's insistence that he did not gamble on the game, Giamatti's banned Rose from the game, with "the only tangible checks on the office [of the commissioner being...] the censure of public opinion and opposition by club owners" (Rodgers, 1999, p. 139).

The recent happenings in the NFL offer a timelier example of why this one area is particularly interesting. Because of the falling out between the league commissioner, Roger Goodell, the teams, and the fans as a result of the Ray Rice incident, it is of the utmost importance to examine what a statement from the head of the league can do persuasively in terms of the perceived image of the player as well as the player's performance. Prior to the Ray Rice incident, when Goodell held all of the power, it was likely that a statement from the commissioner would have swayed public opinion toward whichever side the commissioner landed on.

Future research should examine the impact that a statement from an authority figure—such as a league commissioner--has on the perception of a player, and his on-field performance. As noted above, and coined in the title of the biography of baseball's first commissioner, the commissioner of the league often acts as the “judge and jury”, making the ultimate decision for the league, and possibly the public (Pietrusza, 2001, title). Experimental conditions structuring three groups (control group, a positive commissioner statement, and a negative commissioner statement), could ascertain insight regarding potential impact on the ratings of both the player as a person, as well as their performance. This experiment did not include statements from outside sources instead focusing on manipulated news articles and the voiceover accompaniments. Future research should include statements from outside sources, namely the commissioner.

race and perception.

There are multiple potential dimensions to explore within issues of race, off-field deviance, and on-field perceptions. This experiment utilized five players that had all been in the league for a similar amount of time, were considered position players (i.e. non- pitchers), were a similar age, and were Caucasian. Krogstad (2014) points out that in recent years there has been an upswing in the number of Caucasian players. While the majority of Major League Baseball players are Caucasian, other American sports do not have the same demographic makeup. In other words, seeing a Caucasian player framed in a positive or negative light is not abnormal within baseball, Caucasians are the demographic majority; such is not the case in most other major American team sports.

Utilizing other sports and other races may provide insights into racial tensions in relation to sport and deviance. For example, the National Basketball Association earned an “A+ for racial hiring practices” according to Lapchick, Hippert, Rivera, and Robinson (2013a) with “eighty-one

percent of players [...being] players of color” (p. 1, 2). Similarly, the NFL scored well, with only a slight difference in numbers between 2011 and 2012 (Lapchick, Beahm, Nunes, Rivera-Casiano, 2013b). For these sports with players predominantly of other races, this issue may yield different results. Moreover, comparing players with similar social capital of different races within the same sport, specifically those sports with more racial diversity could provide further insights into perceptions of deviance both on and off the field. As Brown, Billings, Mastro, and Brown (in press) found, athletes of different races should engage in different image repair strategies to maximize effectiveness, likely meaning that all other things being equal (i.e. social capital), their off-field actions are perceived much differently. Brown et al. (2015) continue that “exposure to criminality in [... a] context could be more damaging to the White athlete than the Black athlete” as they are likely “already aligned with such negative characterizations” as a halo effect around race and deviance seemingly exists (p. 19). Gladwell (2007) points to this phenomenon, stating that “the disturbing thing about the test is that it shows that our unconscious attitudes may be utterly incompatible with our stated conscious values” regarding race (p. 39). Finally, the race of the participant was not accounted for during data collection; a more racially-robust sample may have yielded statistically significant results.

fantasy players.

Fantasy sport players tend to skew toward a younger demographic than the sample collected for this dissertation (Fantasy Sport Trade Association, 2014). Thus, collecting data from a target demographic of fantasy sport players that would ideally be approximately 13 years younger than the demographic surveyed for this dissertation. Furthermore, the current dissertation did not ask participants whether they owned a fantasy sport team of any type.

Future research should look at social identity theory (Tajfel & Billig, 1974), in order to examine both in-groups and out-groups of fantasy sport participation to gauge whether owning a particular player in a fantasy team increases the mean score of a player's player image scale and performance scale. Ownership is a particularly relevant aspect of fantasy sport receiving focus in other studies (Spinda & Haridakis, 2008; Billings & Ruihley, 2013). Previous research has shown that "teen participants reported significantly higher motivation means for play in regard to [...] ownership (compared to the 20s and 30s)" (Ruihley, Billings, & Rae, 2014, p. 190-191). If fantasy sport players feel a sense of ownership over a player, they will likely feel a strong attachment to the athlete's social capital as it directly impacts their ability to win a fantasy game. Fantasy ownership may cause "participants [to] actively seek out information and interact with all aspects of the sport" in a unique and unprecedented way, causing fantasy owners to think in terms of what will create the most interesting and beneficial fantasy matchups, instead of the most moral real life role models as their ownership may result in "the point of attachment in fantasy sport [...] to] shift from 'other' (i.e., favorite teams or even multiple teams' players) to 'self'" (Lee, Seo & Green, 2013, p. 193, 196).

The "fantasy" is arguably for a player to win their league, regardless of whether doing so involves utilizing immoral players during the season. As Billings et al. (2013) mentions, "if a fantasy participant is frustrated with the performance of his or her shortstop, the owner can waive or trade that player," similarly, they may add a player that another fantasy participant will not add for moral reasons (p. 10). Fantasy player's age and ownership status reveal two interesting variables to explore, providing insight into both fantasy sport motivations and on-field perceptions of off-field deviance.

public opinion.

As discussed in the limitations section, a lab experiment is an ideal starting point to recognize certain elements in the phenomena of off-field deviance. Nevertheless, there are frequently confounding variables in lab experiments preventing researchers from gaining even greater insight into something as controversial as off-field deviance. To examine these moments in real time, future research should focus on how the valance and frequency of how public opinion changes before and after an athlete is accused of a crime, especially in relation to his social capital in terms of distinct on-field moments.

Because both fans and non-fans make their athletic performance opinions public via online personas, it is possible to capture the thoughts and emotions of these individuals at the moment it happens. By analyzing data from social media, it may be possible to see exactly how fans react to these atrocities, without worrying that they are responding to questionnaires in the manner they think a researcher will find least offensive. These data can be collected not only through social media platforms such as Twitter, but also through the comments sections on blogs and other news articles.

Furthermore, in light of the Ray Rice and Adrian Peterson cases, it appears that once one media outlet begins covering a story about an athlete's off-field actions it becomes newsworthy. This newsworthiness begins a conversation not only about the athlete, but also about the league and the status of the current norms of human behavior. Through monitoring various media outlets along with discerning how public outcry to a particular topic changes over time, more authentic data may be available.

Conclusions

This dissertation interrogated the impact of off-field deviance on on-field perceptions. While other studies had focused on the image repair of athletes (Brown et al., 2015), or how off-field actions influence team perceptions (Fink et al., 2009) this study pinpointed how off-field factors, specifically deviance, potentially impact on-field perceptions. More specifically, analyzing the way a player's past performance, off-field actions, and income combine to influence the value a viewer puts on the player's home run within the context of the game.

Professional athletes have continually set the bar for the public not only in terms of on-field performance, but in career aspirations as well. The "Like Mike" campaign was (and is) so wildly successful not only because Michael Jordan was one of the greatest basketball players of all time, but also because the ad was "the first to actually succeed in reaching an enormous and diverse audience while really hammering home a potentially irresponsible message" (Brining, 2009, para. 10). Jordan also created a brand around himself, with a positive off-field image, and various movie appearances. Brining (2009) states that he (like many others) "love[s] Jordan and [...] believes] he can do no permanent wrong [...] (short of going OJ on us)" speaks not only to the pervasiveness of the ad and celebrity, but of the willingness to forgive such a celebrity for atrocious actions (para. 8). As athletes are increasingly role models to children and adults alike, their on-field and off-field behavior warrants the highest level of scrutiny regarding their potential impact.

This dissertation underscored how adults--many of whom have influence over children as parents, friends, or family--do not gauge the value of a home run differently if a player was accused of rape or accused of a suicide attempt, creating a potential long-term problem. Athletes prior to OJ Simpson, as discussed in the literature review, were considered celebrities, but did

not have a media circus following them after every deviant action. Today, children are aware of the off-field deviant actions their favorite athletes commit; if those that they admire in their personal life find no problem with these off-field deviant actions as evidenced by still praising on-field performance, this could set a potentially troubling precedent.

The question posed earlier in this dissertation (What if “like Mike” no longer meant Jordan, but instead Vick?) can be answered to some degree of precision with the findings of this research. Ultimately, according to the data collected for this dissertation, so long as the athlete performs well on the field of play, it matters little what they do off the field when speaking in terms of accusations and not convictions. More aptly, so long as an athlete has historically performed well, they are more likely to be forgiven for these actions in terms of their persona and their on-field value than otherwise. Perhaps more poignantly, the only statistically significant difference in type of deviance on the player image scale (i.e. how likable and honest a player was perceived, based only on the text and video pertaining to his home run) was between attempted suicide and a bar fight. This means that it appears as though the worst choice an athlete can make, at any level of social or economic capital, is to act abusively toward someone they have no power relationship with.

These findings suggest that, based on a nation wide sample from the United States, being accused of getting into a bar fight is somehow worse for one’s public perception than being accused of rape, in the explicit terms of this dissertation. The ability to decipher types of off-field deviance into four distinct types, and knowing which will have the largest impact on on-field perceptions provides researchers with a clear path for future research into not only how this phenomenon happens, but also the impact it seems to have on the media and insights into American values.

In sum, while not all hypotheses were supported by the data collected in this experiment much can be gleaned by what was found, as well as what was not. The realization that the public may be able to disregard off-field transgressions, so long as a person performs well, speaks to why juries allow seemingly guilty people free, why some people wanted to let Ray Rice and Adrian Peterson continue to play, and the general obsession with athletes possessed by the American public. Shakespeare (2009) once said, “all the world is a stage.” (p. 118). For athletes in the panopticon, this is especially true. While ESPN and other sports media opinion leaders enjoy discussing what is happening behind closed doors, such fodder may be precisely that: a stage.

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APPENDIX A: YOUNG'S (2012) VIOLENCE

Young's (2012) 18 types of deviance: player violence, individualized fan-player violence, street crimes, athlete initiation/hazing, sexual assault, offences by coaches/administrators/medical staff, sexism/racism, animal abuse, offences against workers and the public, crowd violence, player violence away from the game, violence against the self, harassment, stalking and threat, partner abuse/domestic abuse, parental abuse, other identity violence, political violence/terrorism, and offences against the environment (p. 71).

APPENDIX B: FINAL PLAYER IMAGE SCALE

Player Image Scale

Adapted from Reysen (2005) Likability scale

This player seems friendly.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player seems likeable.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player seems approachable.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I would like to be friends with this player.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player is similar to me.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Honesty Scale adapted from Reysen (2008)

I would believe what this player says.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player has integrity.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I trust this player would tell the truth.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player is honorable.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player is honest.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

APPENDIX C: FINAL ON-FIELD PERCEPTION SCALE

I found his home run graceful.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I found his home run valuable.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

He looked strong when he hit his home run.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This home run was powerful.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This home run was meaningful in the context of the season.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player's performance could really help the team.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player's performance could propel the team to the playoffs.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player's performance warrants a large contract.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

This player's swing looked great.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

APPENDIX D: ARTICLES TEXT MANIPULATIONS WERE BASED ON

Articles originally about NFL football players, manipulated to be about baseball player.

Rape article: <http://blog.sfgate.com/49ers/2014/04/11/report-woman-in-investigation-involving-kaepernick-given-rape-test/>

Bar fight: <http://www.wfaa.com/news/crime/Surveillance-video-shows-NFL-player-tossed-from-Grapevine-bar-after-punching-biting-owner-249994261.html>

Drug Possession: <http://nesn.com/2013/11/report-chiefs-receiver-dwayne-bowe-arrested-for-speeding-marijuana-possession/>

Suicide article: <http://www.cbssports.com/mcc/blogs/entry/22475988/32961290>

APPENDIX E: TEXT MANIPULATION EXAMPLE

MLB SCORES | SCHEDULES | STANDINGS | STATS | TEAMS | TICKETS

PHOTO: FEBRUARY 23, 2014

REPORT: ROCKIES' SHORTSTOP TROY TULOWITZKI ATTEMPTS SUICIDE

BY BRENDAN MALDY



Troy Tulowitzki hit .312 with 25 home runs last season. (Donald Marlene/Getty Images)

MLB shortstop Troy Tulowitzki was rushed to the hospital this off-season though the reasons he was there weren't made public at the time. Now, months later, SIWire has obtained the 911 call, made by Tulowitzki's assistant.

According to the female caller, who identified Tulowitzki as her boss, the MLB star took "four prescription pain pills -- I just don't know how many he's taken but he took them about 30-45 minutes ago."

LEADER: Orioles sign Nelson Cruz in extended winter shopping spree

When the 911 operator asked if Tulowitzki was awake, the caller said, "Barely - we talk to him and he understands what we're saying." She also described his breathing as "kind of shallow." Later during the call the operator asked if this was a suicide attempt. "Yes, I believe so," the caller said.

Tulowitzki's on-field performance has been stellar. He is making \$16 million dollars during the 2014 season, which he earned during 2013 by hitting 25 home runs, being elected to the All-Star Game, and batting .312.

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Assistance for Health Coverage
 The deadline is March 31st. Enroll now.
www.coveredca.com

Buy LifeLock® Protection
 LifeLock Ultimate® Monitors your Credit, Identity and Bank Accounts
www.LifeLock.com/protection

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47 comments

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 • Report: Marlins gut starting pitcher Jacob Turner on trading block
 • Danica Patrick improves, more NASCAR notes

From Around the Web
 • Beloved TV Star Battling Incurable Lung Cancer Proves That Each Day is Worth Living to the Fullest (AARP)

WE SET OUT TO MAKE THE SMARTEST

THE ALL NEW 2015 F-150 EXPAND TO SEE THE TEST DRIVE

RECENT POSTS

- Report: USF nixes hire of Steve Masiello due to background check issues
- Report: Bruins ownership family proposing stadium to keep Bills in region
- Georgia men's basketball team policy: 'One, Not two or three girlfriends'
- Report: Los Angeles Dodgers have MLB's top payroll
- Four U.S. cities in running to bid for 2024 Summer Olympics
- Tom Izzo on NBA rumors: Michigan State 'good' for me
- Twins P Vance Worley traded to the Pirates for cash

MORE MLB

- 14 things to watch for in 2014, a season of change for baseball
- 2014 Season Preview: Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim
- Quick Pitch: Breaking down all 30 teams for 2014
- White Sox buy out Jose Quintana's arbitration years with an eye toward the future
- 2014 Season Preview: Capsules for each team
- Report: Dodgers overtake Yankees for top payroll
- Danvish [neck] scratched for Opening Day start
- Report: MLB aims for new drug agreement soon
- Breaking down all 30 teams for '14
- '14 Season Preview: Mets | Phillies

SI BLOGS

Home Ice
 Sharks' Joe Pavelski records hat trick in win over Edmonton

APPENDIX F: TEXT OF VIDEO VOICEOVER

High Social, High Economic: Troy Tulowitzki

Voiceover text, suicide condition: Now back from our injury break, ballpark shots from PNC park earlier today.

Troy Tulowitzki at the plate. Tulowitzki has had an excellent season so far- despite his off-field troubles. As you may remember, Tulowitzki was rushed to the hospital after a shocking 911 call was made by his assistant this off-season. Tulowitzki had overdosed on prescription pills.

Well that is OUT OF HERE! Tulowitzki is going to round the bases and add another home run to his already impressive season total, he has really earned his \$16 million dollar per season salary in Colorado.

As Tulowitzki rounds the bases you can tell just how excited the crowd is to have the slugger, who hit 25 home runs last year, in a Rockies uniform, they helped elect him to last year's All Star game.

Voiceover text, rape condition: Now back from our injury break, ballpark shots from PNC earlier today.

Troy Tulowitzki at the plate. Tulowitzki has had an excellent season so far- despite his off-field troubles. As you may remember, Tulowitzki was accused of rape this off-season, and has ongoing legal troubles.

Well that is OUT OF HERE! Tulowitzki is going to round the bases and add another home run to his already impressive season total, he has really earned his \$16 million dollar per season salary in Colorado.

As Tulowitzki rounds the bases you can tell just how excited the crowd is to have the slugger, who hit 25 home runs last year, in a Rockies uniform, they helped elect him to last year's All Star game.

Voiceover text, bar fight: Now back from our injury break, ballpark shots from PNC earlier today.

Troy Tulowitzki at the plate. Tulowitzki has had an excellent season so far- despite his off-field troubles. As you may remember, Tulowitzki was in a bar fight this off-season, and has ongoing legal troubles as a result.

Well that is OUT OF HERE! Tulowitzki is going to round the bases and add another home run to his already impressive season total, he has really earned his \$16 million dollar per season salary in Colorado.

As Tulowitzki rounds the bases you can tell just how excited the crowd is to have the slugger, who hit 25 home runs last year, in a Rockies uniform, they helped elect him to last year's All Star game.

Voiceover text, Marijuana: Now back from our injury break, ballpark shots from earlier today.

Troy Tulowitzki at the plate. Tulowitzki has had an excellent season so far- despite his off-field troubles. As you may remember, Tulowitzki was accused of possession of an illegal substance this off-season, and has ongoing legal troubles as a result.

Well that is OUT OF HERE! Tulowitzki is going to round the bases and add another home run to his already impressive season total, he has really earned his \$16 million dollar per season salary in Colorado.

As Tulowitzki rounds the bases you can tell just how excited the crowd is to have the slugger, who hit 25 home runs last year, in a Rockies uniform, they helped elect him to last year's All Star game.

APPENDIX G: SCREEN CAP OF VIDEO MANIPULATION



APPENDIX H: IRB APPROVAL

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects



September 3, 2014

Coral Marshall
Graduate Studies
College of Communication & Information Sciences
The University of Alabama
Box 870172

Re: IRB # 14-OR-062 (Revision #3) "On-Field Perceptions of Off-Field Deviance"

Dear Ms. Marshall:

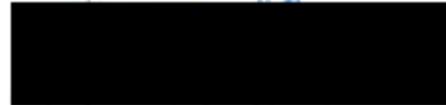
The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has reviewed the revision to your previously approved expedited protocol. The board has approved the change in your protocol.

Please remember that your approval period expires one year from the date of your original approval, March 4, 2014, not the date of this revision approval.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance
The University of Alabama



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