

'Roids and Race

A content analysis of Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens media coverage, 2009-2013

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Abstract

This study is a content analysis comparing the media coverage of Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens during their respective steroid scandals from 2009-2013. Articles from the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *USA Today* were examined. The research sought to answer whether there were differences in terms of prominence, racial descriptions, and tone. After five key elements were analyzed – headlines, the article, lead paragraphs, quote selection, and closing paragraphs – it was concluded that the coverage was equitable, with little evidence of discrimination.

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Introduction

Past studies examining race in sports reveal the public perceive athletes and athletic scandals (Rowe 2007; Seate, Hardwood, & Blecha, 2010). As a result, many communication researchers have studied how journalists frame athletes. Evidence suggests that the media frame African-American athletes as athletic, naturally gifted, and more aggressive. In comparison, White athletes are framed as intelligent and hardworking (Butterworth 2007; Rada, 1996; McElroy, 2014). For baseball specifically, previous research has analyzed topics ranging from the heroic construction of Whiteness to the racial framing of minority baseball players (Butterworth, 2007; Eagleman 2011). I continued the research of racial framing in the sports media by studying the coverage of two former baseball players – Barry Bonds, an African-American, and Roger Clemens, a Caucasian.

Statistically, Bonds is the home run king. In his 22 seasons Bonds hit 762 home runs, which is an MLB record (Baseball-Reference.com). In the 2001 season alone, Bonds hit 73 home runs – also an MLB record (Baseball-Reference.com). Clemens is also regarded as a top player, but from the pitcher's mound. Known as the "Rocket," Clemens tallied 4,672 strikeouts – the third-most in MLB history – and he is the only pitcher to have a single-game total of 20 strikeouts on multiple occasions (Baseball-Reference.com & Baseball-Almanac.com). Both have garnered several accolades. But both are also closely connected to MLB's dreaded steroid era.

Bonds was the first to be accused. In 2004 Greg Anderson of the Bay Area Laboratory Co-operative (BALCO) was indicted and charged with supplying steroids to athletes (*Associated Press*, 2015). Because Anderson was Bonds' trainer, the indictment led to speculation that Bonds might have used performance-enhancing drugs. Before Anderson was indicted, Bonds testified

before a grand jury in December 2003 and denied using steroids (*Associated Press*, 2015). Criminal investigations continued over four years, and more evidence was obtained that suggested Bonds had taken steroids from Anderson. So in November 2007, Bonds was charged with perjury and obstruction of justice for allegedly lying about steroid use in his grand jury testimony (*Associated Press*, 2015). In 2009, Bonds' trial was delayed when lawyers appealed the judge's decision to exclude evidence, so the trial began in March 2011 (*Associated Press*, 2015). Bonds was found guilty a month later and sentenced in December. Bonds' conviction was upheld after a three-judge panel heard an appeal in September 2013. But in April 2015, the conviction was reversed, effectively ending the saga (*Associated Press*, 2015).

Clemens experienced similar tribulation. In 2007, the Mitchell Report – a lengthy document detailing the use of steroids by MLB players – named 89 players who were alleged to have used performance-enhancing drugs (*Associated Press*, 2012). Most of the evidence was provided by Clemens' former trainer, Brian McNamee. In January 2008, Clemens filed a defamation suit against McNamee (*Associated Press*, 2012). A month later, Clemens swore under oath before a congressional committee that he had not taken steroids (*Associated Press*, 2012). But the committee noticed several inconsistencies in his testimony and recommended that the Justice Department investigate. In August 2010, as a result of the investigation, Clemens was indicted by a grand jury. He was charged with perjury, making false statements, and obstruction of justice (*Associated Press*, 2012). His trial began in July 2011, and he was eventually found not guilty on all charges in June 2012 (*Associated Press*, 2012)

Bonds and Clemens both had tremendous careers that were tarnished by steroid allegations and court proceedings. Additionally, both had negative reputations before the accusations. One *New York Times* article states, “Barry Bonds has worked for years to construct

his reputation as the surly superstar, a man who cares so little about public opinion that he could barely face a television camera without sneering” (Zinser, 2007). Clemens was also hot-headed. He was known as a headhunter, which is a pitcher who aims at batters’ heads. The best example of this is when he nailed Mets catcher Mike Piazza in the head during the 2000 season. One *New York Post* headline read “Roger’s rotten to core” (Kernan, 2000).

These two athletes have evenly-matched careers and personalities, making them perfect subjects for a study about racial framing. Few studies have investigated how the media framed baseball players in the fallout of the steroid era. Both Clemens and Bonds have had similar careers and a similar reputation. One noticeable difference is that Bonds is Black and Clemens is White. My research analyzed any discrepancies in stereotypical terms, prominence, and tone between the coverage of Bonds and Clemens during their respective steroid controversies.

I used framing and social learning theory as conceptual foundations. These two concepts suggest that the public might follow the media’s example in how to judge a particular storyline or group of people. This includes how the media frame attitudes about minority groups, particularly African-Americans. My main focus was how stereotypes affect African-American athletes, but it is also important to understand that racial framing transcends athletics. Framing of race exists politically, economically, and culturally.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Social Learning Theory

Researchers who study racial framing often use social learning theory as a conceptual foundation (Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Sanders & Ramasubramanian, 2012). Social learning theory postulates that knowledge is obtained via observation, imitation, and modeling of others. By observing the positive and negative outcomes of different actions, people learn which actions are appropriate for specific situations. Bandura (1999) argues that people have “evolved an advanced capacity for observational learning that enables them to develop their knowledge and skills from information conveyed by modeling influences” (p. 25). According to one theory about observational learning, there are four mechanisms involved in the modeling process – paying attention to events, retaining the information, performing actions similar to modeled behavior, and being incentivized to perform the modeled actions (Bandura, 1977). Some exemplars are more efficient in providing socially learnable behavior than others. Grusec (1992) argues that “power and attractiveness of the model as well as the conditions under which behavior is viewed” are important in determining the extent to which an exemplar will be imitated (p. 781). For example, TV is visually compelling and more likely to garner observation as opposed to other media.

Previous studies have applied the theory to determine whether media influences public perception. For example, Anuradha (2012) found that gender stereotyping in television commercials influenced how young children viewed gender roles. Moreno and Whitehill (2014) argue that social media affects how adolescents and young adults view alcohol consumption.

In the sports media specifically, athletes are often perceived as role models for young males and females, and the media's depiction plays a role in how viewers imitate a particular player. Smith and Hattery (2006) argue that when the media extensively cover an athlete's sexual behavior, this presents an issue of viewers "mimicking the sexual promiscuity and even violence they associate with athletes" (p. 22). Some contend that social learning theory might be practiced among media members. For example, one generation of sports writers and sportscasters might unknowingly teach stereotypes to impressionable future writers as part of sports culture (Eastman & Billings, 2001).

In some research, social learning theory is discussed in tandem with the theory of media framing, which also plays a role in shifting public perception.

Framing

Framing describes how "news media resort to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context" (Chuma, 2012, p. 316). The frames used by media control which information is relevant and might influence how the public thinks (Kensicki, 2004). However, framing is different than agenda-setting. While agenda-setting is concerned with the prominence of issues, framing is concerned with the presentation (De Vreese, 2005). A variety of devices are used to frame a certain issue. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) contend that frequent framing devices include metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images. Entman (1993) notes that framing essentially has four functions: defining the issue, diagnosing the causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.

De Vreese (2005) defines the stages of media framing as frame-building, frame-setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. Frame-building is comprised of

factors that shape the structure, modification, and creation of news frames. This includes how journalists interact with social movements and the elite (Cooper, 2002; Hanggli, 2012). For those studying frame-building, media frames are considered the dependent variable. For example, Hanggli (2012) examined how political actors promote and influence media frames. He argues that frame-building includes three main factors – power, salience of the media frames input, and the multiplication effect (Hanggli, 2012).

Frame-setting is the interaction between media frames and how individuals currently perceive a topic. In this case, media framing is considered the independent variable (Scheufele, 1999). This type of research is used more frequently than frame-building. For example, several studies have researched news framing to determine how it affects people’s interpretation and evaluation of events (Powell, 2011; Shen, Lee, Sipes, & Hu, 2012).

De Vreese (2005) argues that the consequences of framing can be observed on both an individual and societal level. An individual consequence could be a changed attitude because of increased exposure to a particular news frame. On a societal level, framing could potentially shape “social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions” (De Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

The individual and societal consequences of framing are especially important when the media cover hot-button issues, including the portrayal of different races.

Media Coverage of Race

Winant (2000) defines race as a “concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies” (p. 172). Race is a pervasive and complicated social construct, so society often puts different groups into simplified categories, also known as stereotypes. These stereotypes can have significant implications when discussing race relations (Domke, McCoy, & Torres, 1999). This includes how the media cover different ethnicities or as Brooks and Rada (2002) state, “The media help to classify our world in terms of the categories of race” (p. 119). In the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, pop culture suggested that all Black people fit into the image of “Jim Crow” – slow-thinking, uneducated, and subservient. The stereotypes were so widespread that White Americans did not realize that they were degrading African-Americans (Lemons, 1977). More recent research reveals that racial stereotypes in the media have persisted into the rest of the twentieth century and even in contemporary coverage.

Economically, a consistent stereotype has been the association of African-Americans with poverty and welfare. For example, when Gilens (1996) examined news coverage on poverty and related topics between 1988 and 1992, he found that Black people were overrepresented in U.S. coverage. This overrepresentation causes White people to infer that African-Americans benefit the most from welfare programs. As a result, White Americans are more likely to oppose welfare legislation because Black people are often stereotyped as lazy and thus undeserving of the benefits (Gilens, 1996). Even after welfare reform in the mid-1990s, media portrayals of poverty still disproportionately featured Black people and depicted them as the unsympathetic poor (van Doorn, et. al, 2015).

Race, media coverage, and politics have been noticeably intertwined, as well. Historically, African-American candidates have had negative depictions. Research has found that Black politicians are ignored on nonracial issues and are portrayed as pretentious (Ziber & Niven, 2000). When the media do cover African-American candidates, they have a tendency to focus on the politician's race. The most prominent and recent example of this is the 2008 presidential election. Holt (2012) found that Barack Obama was described as the "Black" candidate even though he preferred not to discuss race during his campaign. In some cases, White candidates have argued against their African-American opposition by appealing to the public's negative perception of blackness, including inferiority and aggressiveness (McIlwain, 2007).

Culturally, criminality has often been framed through racial lenses. A persistent stereotype is that Black people are often characterized as violent and aggressive (John & Moore, 1996). An experiment by Dixon and Maddox (2005) analyzes viewer's discomfort with a crime story and how it could be manipulated by race. The participants were exposed to a variety of perpetrators: White, light-skinned Black, medium-skinned Black and dark-skinned Black. Results of the study found that the dark-skinned Black offenders were the most memorable (Dixon & Maddox, 2005). Studies have shown that the media are guilty of perpetuating these prejudices (Mastro, Knight-Lapinski, Kopacz, & Behm-Morawitz, 2009; Oliver, 2003). For example, in an examination of media coverage of Hurricane Katrina, researchers found that stories tended to associate Blacks with crime and violence (Sommers, Apfelbaum, Dukes, Toosi, & Wang, 2006). Additionally, a survey of Los Angeles County adults found a positive correlation between overrepresentation of Black people as criminals in local television news and the perception that Black people are violent (Dixon, 2008). As a result of Black people's

overrepresentation as criminals, some White perpetrators engrossed in high-profile murder cases initially blamed anonymous African-Americans. Smith and Hattery (2006) give the examples of Susan Smith who drowned her children in South Carolina and Charles Stuart who murdered his pregnant wife in Boston. Both perpetrators blamed anonymous African-Americans for their crime and “made the choice based on the images that pass across our media pages and TV screens daily” (Smith & Hattery, 2006, p. 7).

The media’s framing of race, particularly African-Americans, has used stereotypes rooted in economics, politics, and culture. Traces of these stereotypes can be extended to the sports media, where Black athletes tend to be prominent figures.

Racial Framing in Sports Media

Studies have shown that sports journalists can set the agenda in how athletes are perceived (Rowe, 2007). Researchers have examined the framing of both sports announcers and print journalists (Rada, 1996; Mangun, 2013; McElroy, 2014). Enck-Wanzer (2009) argues that mass-mediated images of Black athletes serve as one of the few areas in which African-Americans appear to be superior to White people, and these “depictions simultaneously serve to preserve (white) cultural hegemony by legitimizing the racist notion that blacks are naturally superior physically (and whites, superior mentally)” (p. 9).

In an early study by Rainville, Roberts, and Sweet (1978), 90 White undergraduates and 90 Black undergraduates were given transcripts from nationally televised NFL games. A majority of the time, the students identified players as either White or Black from the announcer’s stereotypical descriptions. In football, quarterback is arguably the most important position. And comparable to the previous examples, White quarterbacks and Black quarterbacks

are described much differently. For example, Mercurio and Filak (2010) examined how *Sports Illustrated* described Black and White quarterbacks prior to the NFL Draft in the years 1998-2007. The research shows that Black quarterbacks were depicted as having athletic ability, while White quarterbacks were described as mentally prepared (Mercurio & Filak, 2010).

These stereotypes have been perpetuated in the coverage of other sports, as well. In an analysis of 1980s newspaper coverage of prominent NBA players Magic Johnson and Larry Bird, the research shows that Johnson, an African-American, was commonly recognized for his flashiness and natural athletic ability while Bird, a Caucasian, was more likely to be characterized as having a high basketball IQ (Ferruci & Perry, 2015). Similar results have been found in college basketball. White players were praised for hard work and effort while Blacks were lauded for their quickness, agility, and strength (Eastman & Billing, 2001; Johnson, Hallinan, & Westerfield, 1999).

Among the core professional sports leagues – MLB, NBA, NHL, and NFL -- baseball includes a much higher percentage of Latino and Asian players. As a result, much research has been done on the racial framing of minorities other than African-Americans (Juffer, 2002; Eagleman, 2011; Nakamura, 2005). One study in particular observes the different portrayals of Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa during their 1998 home run race – the season when both players surpassed Roger Maris’ single-season record of 61 home runs. McGwire finished the season with 70 home runs while Sosa had 66. Butterworth (2007) hypothesizes that McGwire, a White male, was elevated to heroic status while Sammy Sosa, a Latino, had a diminished role in the home run race. Butterworth found that writers portrayed Sosa as an intruder in the race and that most stories about Sosa focused on his heritage, further emphasizing the difference between him and McGwire (Butterworth, 2007). For Asian players, one study shows that the media

frequently described pitchers Hideo Nomo and Hideki Irabu as model minorities and economic threats (Mayeda, 1999).

Similar to Latino and Asians, African-American baseball players have been constantly subjected to racial typecasts by the media. In fact, the racial framing of Black players dates back to the late nineteenth century.

Media Portrayal of African-Americans in Baseball

The origin of baseball's racism is rooted in how the sport was founded. In *Football Red and Baseball Green: The Heroics and Bucolics of American Sport*, Ross (1971) states that baseball was "conceived in nostalgia" and that it "creates an atmosphere in which everything exists in harmony" (p. 31). The mythical qualities that surrounded baseball – pure, innocent, and pastoral – are often descriptions associated with Whiteness (Nowatzki, 2002). In the early twentieth century, the best example is when eight White Sox players were accused of fixing the 1919 World Series. The scandal tarnished the innocent, pastoral nature of baseball, so it was called "The Black Sox Scandal." The name "implied the innocence of whiteness and the wickedness of blackness" (Nowatzki, 2002, p. 83).

The first African-American player to gain prominent media attention was Moses Fleetwood Walker in the 1880s. Walker played catcher for the Toledo Blue Stockings. Once the Blue Stockings moved to the American Association, Walker became the first Black player in a Major League. In an essay discussing newspaper coverage of Walker, Rowell (2015) notes that initially, the media did not dedicate much time to discussing his race. But soon, Walker was derided and vilified for being a mulatto. On sports pages, he was often referred to as coon, brunette, or dusky (Nowatzki, 2002). In a game in which Walker's replacement was injured, an article by the *Louisville Courier-Journal* states that the crowd called "in good nature for the

‘nigger’” (Rowell, 2015). Additionally, in a piece by *Sporting Life*, an article complimented Walker by stating he “hasn’t grumbled at extra work.” Roessner (2011) explains that the comment subtly spreads the idea that other Black players would have complained and insinuates that African-American players are lazy. It is important to note that in baseball’s early history, prominent White baseball players eluded criticisms from the media, unlike their black counterparts. Ventresca (2014) states “However, for a number of these players, including Ty Cobb and Babe Ruth, immoral behavior has often been downplayed, reframed, or even ignored, allowing them to better exemplify the positive societal values associated with the sport” (p.59).

The end of Walker’s career marked the last time a Black player would play Major League baseball until Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 and broke the color barrier. Since Robinson, African-Americans have made their mark in “America’s Pastime.” Hank Aaron, Barry Bonds, and Willie Mays rank top-10 in home runs and Ricky Henderson is the all-time leader in stolen bases. But stereotypes manifested in media coverage of Walker in the 1880s still existed in the sports media of the mid-twentieth century. For example, in an article about Aaron by the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1956, the author states, “Aaron is still adding polish to his abundance of natural ability, good strong wrists juice up his well-coordinated batting swing.” But earlier in the piece, the writer notes Aaron’s reputation of being the “all-time sleeping king” of the Braves (Bisher, 1956). In a different article about Mays, the *Saturday Evening Post* writer clarifies that Mays “works at his business”, but also notes that he is the type of competitor that sports writers like to describe as a “natural” (Linn, 1957).

In more contemporary examinations of sports articles, researchers have found that Black baseball players are closely associated with physical strength and natural abilities (Tandoc, Painter, & Leshner, 2013; Eagleman, 2011). For example, in an analysis of stories from *ESPN*

the Magazine and *Sports Illustrated*, Black players were described as having to overcome obstacles. The articles pointed to talent, not hard work, as the reason for their success (Eagleman, 2011).

All of these studies suggest that racial framing of African-American baseball players has been a salient issue for the sports media. These tendencies remain unchanged when the media racially frames athletes in the midst of a scandal or criminal activity.

Framing of Athletic Scandals

When athletes, teams, or collegiate programs are embroiled in scandals or criminal lawsuits, news articles “have the ability to shape public opinion of the crime and the alleged criminal” (Seate, Harwood, & Blecha, 2010, p. 344). An experiment by Seate, Harwood, and Blecha (2010) examines how news articles about crime affect the perception of an athlete. Contrary to perceived notions of stereotypes, Black athletes were not viewed as guiltier, which might be a sign that people have grown more aware of racial typecasts (Seate, Harwood, & Blecha, 2010).

But Smith and Hattery (2006) argue that White male athletes are shielded from the criminal justice system and from extensive media attention because of the attribution theory which states “that when African-American men perpetuate these crimes and behavior it confirms all of White America’s worst fears about the black man and thus it receives attention” (p. 7). These fears are perpetuated by the stereotype that Black males are more violent and aggressive. By combining the expectation that sports pushes men toward violence, and the expectation that Black athletes are physically superior, society is left with the conclusion that African-American athletes are more prone to physical violence when provoked (Enck-Wanzer, 2009). One study in particular researches these stereotypes through coverage of then-NBA player Allen Iverson.

After Iverson was involved in an alleged domestic incident, Brown (2005) argues that the media reduced Iverson to the common, stereotypical descriptions of Black men – sexually aggressive and prone to violence

There is also evidence to suggest that preconceptions take a more subtle form, especially with baseball and steroid use. Alexander (2009) states in her research that sports writers, who are mostly White, point to *Game of Shadows* as evidence to negatively depict Bonds, but disregard the unethical work of fellow White sports writers. *Game of Shadows*, written by *San Francisco Chronicle* reporters Mark Fainaru-Wada and Lance Williams, recounts the alleged use of performance-enhancing drugs by Bonds. But the authors used illegally obtained evidence, including grand jury testimonies and other court documents. Alexander (2009) argues that White sports writers disregard that the authors include illegal material when reporting on Bonds. The selective reporting demonstrates the protection of Whiteness and “perpetuates a racial system where mostly White sportswriters can frame issues about athletes, the majority of whom are men of color, without equitable accountability” (Alexander, 2009, p. 84).

In a content analysis of Barry Bonds and Lance Armstrong, Greer and Murray (2014) explored the episodic and thematic framing of criminality in sports coverage. The authors define episodic framing as attaching blame to an individual, and define thematic framing as attaching blame to the culture. They found that a majority of articles discussing Bonds were episodically framed, meaning he was to blame for using steroids. However, Armstrong’s stories were mostly thematically framed, meaning the articles blamed the culture of cycling (Greer & Murray, 2014).

Although there are few studies, some research has analyzed media coverage of race as it relates to the steroid fallout. One recent study found that Bonds was framed more negatively by

television news in comparison to Rafael Palmeiro, a Latino player accused of steroid use, and Mark McGwire, a White player who admitted to using steroids (Quick, Lambert, & Josey, 2014). Bonds was viewed as a less sympathetic figure because he “should have no reason to use steroids given his athleticism and as such, his usage would be vilified the most” (Quick, Lambert, & Josey 2014, p. 23).

Based on the review of literature, I examined how media professionals portrayed Bonds and Clemens during their steroid controversies.

Justification

Research reveals that the media have consistently shown racial framing when covering Black and White athletes. These frames are significant because the media might influence public perception (Rowe, 2007; Seate, Harwood, & Blecha, 2010). Since Barry Bonds was a prominent African-American baseball player linked to the steroid era, several studies have investigated whether the media framed him in racial terms (Greer and Murray, 2014; Alexander 2009; King, Leonard, Kusz, 2007). I continued this research through a content analysis of Bonds and Clemens during their respective steroid controversies.

Bonds is an intriguing athlete because it's hotly debated whether criticisms of him are due to his surly attitude and his alleged steroid use, or if it's caused by subtle, color-blind racism – a theory that states majority groups use practices of color-blindness as a means of avoiding the topic of racism and discrimination. For example, in a 2006 *USA Today* article, *Game of Shadows* co-author Mark Fairnar-Wada stated, “The premise that the media is going after Bonds is false. People are reporting on a federal investigation that is about steroids, in which Bonds is a major part of the investigation.” (Nightengale, 2006) However, later in the article, Minnesota Twins player Torii Hunter stated, “It's so obvious what's going on. He has never failed a drug test and said he never took steroids, but everybody keeps trying to disgrace him” (Nightengale, 2006). From a public relations perspective, Cabot (2011) wrote that “Barry Bonds, by all accounts, was a nightmare client” because he was mean to his teammates, fans, and the media.

In comparing Bonds and Armstrong, Greer and Murray (2014) found that more traditional newspaper articles portrayed Bonds as a scapegoat for his steroid controversy as opposed to Armstrong. However, there are several confounding variables in the study, including the fact that the athletes are from different sports and that Armstrong was the face of Livestrong,

a charity that supports people affected by cancer. As a result, there is an uneven juxtaposition – Bonds, the athlete with an unapproachable personality, and Armstrong, the athlete who battled cancer. Quick, Lambert, and Josey’s (2014) study suffered the same issue. Throughout his playing career McGwire was seen as a heroic figure, and was a key part of baseball’s resurgence in the late 1990s (Butterworth, 2007). Predictably, McGwire would be seen as a more sympathetic figure compared to Bonds.

In order to have a clearer study of racial framing, a content analysis requires Bonds to be matched with a White athlete who has similar characteristics. This includes career accomplishments, criminality, and negative reputation. Clemens, a former MLB pitcher, fits all of those categories. In addition to continuing the analysis of Bonds, my study also filled another gap in racial framing in the sports media. Few studies have compared how the media framed Black and White baseball players in the fallout of the steroid era. Quick, Lambert, and Josey (2014) state in their research, “However, unlike sports commentators, much less is known about sports journalists categorizations of players linked to steroid use from distinct racial backgrounds” (p. 3). I seek to fill this void and answer one comprehensive question about the coverage of Bonds and Clemens.

RQ1: How does coverage of Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens’ steroid controversy compare in terms of how they are framed?

- I. Is coverage of Bonds or Clemens framed in racially stereotypical terms?
- II. How does coverage of Bonds and Clemens compare in prominence of coverage?
- III. How does coverage of Bonds and Clemens compare in tone of coverage?

A quantitative content analysis was used to conduct the study. Additionally, certain framing devices were analyzed to determine how Bonds and Clemens were covered.

Chapter 2: Method

This study served as a longitudinal content analysis of Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens media coverage. The research analyzed whether there were noticeable differences in coverage of Bonds and Clemens, and did so by examining articles produced by traditional newspapers.

Sampling

Overall, this sample was purposive in order to obtain a national representation of both Bonds and Clemens. According to Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2014), purposive sampling is defined as a “nonprobability sample for logical or deductive reason dictated by the nature of the research project” (p. 76). For this study, five nationally recognized newspapers were selected: *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune*. As of September 2011, each newspaper had an average weekly circulation of more than 400,000, according to the Alliance for Audited Media. Additionally, each news outlet was among the nation’s 10 largest newspapers, meaning they can set the agenda for smaller news outlets.

Using the Proquest Newsstand, two separate searches were used – one for Bonds and one for Clemens. The chosen time period was February 1, 2009 to January 30, 2013. This time frame was used because the start and end date mark important events in each player’s controversy. The start date of February 1, 2009, was selected because during that month and year, Bonds’ trial was delayed because prosecutors wanted to appeal the judge’s decision to exclude evidence, and a judge dismissed most of Clemens’ defamation lawsuit against McNamee (*Associated Press*, 2012; *Associated Press*, 2015). The end date of January 30, 2013, was selected because in that month and year, both players were eligible for the Hall of Fame for the first time. But because of their alleged steroid use, neither gained enough votes (Svrluga, 2013).

The first search was run for articles that included “Barry Bonds” anywhere in the piece and that included “steroids” in the text. To ensure that Bonds was at least a subject of all searched articles, “Bonds, Barry” was selected under the Person section. The second search was run for articles that included “Roger Clemens” anywhere in the piece and that included “steroids” in the text. To ensure that Clemens was at least a subject of all searched articles, “Rogers, Clemens” was selected under the Person section. In both searches, any text that contained “Associated Press” was excluded since the research was intended to examine framing by the selected newspapers. Additionally, Proquest Newsstand contains the *Wall Street Journal* and *Wall Street Journal* (Online). The *Wall Street Journal* (Online) was excluded from the study. In the final analysis, 240 articles were coded for the study – 106 stories concerning Bonds and 134 stories concerning Clemens.

Coding

According to Zaharopoulos (2007), framing studies usually take one of two approaches – they either analyze the frames present in the article or they examine how the frames affect the public. My study used the former, which entailed researching how media frames shaped the coverage of Bonds and Clemens.

The unit of analysis was the article because that unit often used by communication researchers examining sports media coverage (Zaharopoulos, 2007; Greer & Murray 2014; Kian, Anderson, Shipka, 2015). The study took a deductive approach, meaning the frames were defined and operationalized before the analysis (De Vresse, 2005). As De Vresse (2005) also noted, frames can be divided into two typologies – issue-specific and generic. Because my study was specifically focused on the controversies surrounding Bonds and Clemens, I analyzed two

issue-specific topics: articles discussing Bonds and Clemens athletics careers and articles discussing Bonds and Clemens court proceedings.

Similar to past studies, variables relating to both form and content were measured. (Kinnick, 1998; Jones, 2013). In relation to form, the word length of each article was analyzed. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2014) state that physical units such as the size of an article and time given to topics “may be assumed in such research to relate to depth of coverage” (p.58). Specific framing devices – which are variables relating to content – were examined. Tankard (2001) suggests a list of 11 framing devices to help measure news frames. From this list, I analyzed four mechanisms: headlines, leads, quote selection, and concluding paragraphs. Additionally each article and each framing device within the article were analyzed in terms of tone (favorable, neutral, unfavorable), similar to past communication researchers (Zaharopoulos, 2007).

Usually, the headline is what catches a person’s eye and causes him or her to read further. The way a particular headline is framed has the potential to shape how the reader views the player even before the reader looks at the actual words in the article. More specifically, van Dijk (1990) stated that headlines have an important function in influencing how readers utilize and interpret the information in the article. After the headline, the reader’s eyes usually switch to the lead paragraph. The first sentence of an article gives an overview of the ensuing content. Past communication researchers including Goshorn and Gandy (1995) suggest that the first couple sentences might develop a certain frame for readers. Other than the headline, analyses of lead paragraphs “reveal additional patterns worthy of comment” (Goshorn and Gandy, 1995, p. 145).

In the body, most articles had sources to confirm and supplement the facts and figures. Quotes can be significant in the framing of a story because it is the only time that an article

contains clearly opinionated material. It is important to analyze who said the quote, the content of the quote, and where the quote is placed in the story. Previous studies have found that framing is manifested in source and quote selection. Reporters might use sources as framing devices by “linking certain points of view to authority by quoting official sources, and marginalizing certain points of view by relating a quote or point of view to a social deviant” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 60).

The last framing device was concluding paragraphs. Similar to a movie, book, or any other medium, the last portion of an article gives a final impression. Several communication researchers consider concluding paragraphs an important framing device (Tankard, 2001; Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). In the study by Price, Tewksbury, & Powers (1997), students were given different versions of a fictitious story with the same set of core facts, but differing frames set up by the opening and closing paragraphs. The framing of both paragraphs significantly affected the students’ responses.

The operationalization for the unit of analysis and framing devices can be found in the coding guide (see Appendix A for coding guide and Appendix B for coding sheet). In order to make sure that the categories are adequate and that research can be replicated by others, determining intercoder reliability was required.

Coder Training and Intercoder Reliability

One other individual was trained to code the articles. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2014) stated that the first step in training a coder is to familiarize him or her with the content and give the person an idea of what to expect. The person was given training by coding a randomly sampled article from January 1, 2008 to a January 31, 2009. In this time period, both Bonds and Clemens

were fully immersed in their steroid controversies. The start date of January 1, 2008 was used in the practice study because Bonds was indicted on federal charges in November 2007, and Clemens was formally accused of steroid use in December 2007 (*Associated Press*, 2012; *Associated Press*, 2015). The end date of January 31, 2009 was used in the practice study because it leads up to the timeframe of the main study, which is February 1, 2009 to January 30, 2013. The content of the articles written during the practice study's timeframe was similar to the content of the articles written during the main timeframe. This adequately prepared the coder to find variables in the actual research.

Once the coder was sufficiently trained, the individual coded 10 percent of Bonds articles and 10 percent of Clemens articles. Overall, the coder analyzed 24 articles – 11 from the Bonds sample and 13 from the Clemens sample. The articles were chosen via simple random sample. Each article was ordered chronologically, with the earliest dated article receiving a 000. After the researcher labeled the numbers, the sample of articles was identified using a random number generator. Holsti's coefficient was used to calculate intercoder reliability. The calculations can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 – Holsti Calculations, 27 total variables

	Agreement Coefficient
Name of newspaper	1
Date	1
Headline	
Article headline	1
Content of headline	1
Tone of headline	.88
Article	
Subject of the article	.96
How often is “steroid” used?	1
Tone of the article	.88
Word count	1
Racial terms used?	1
Depictions of athleticism or intelligence	1
Depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance	1
Frequency of other players mentioned	.83
Source selection & quotes	
Sources used	.79
Tone of quotes	.92
Depictions of athleticism or intelligence	1
Depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance	1
Lead paragraph	
“steroid” or other synonymous word used	1
Focus of lead paragraph	.83
Tone of lead paragraph	.96
Depictions of athleticism or intelligence	1
Depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance	1
Closing paragraph	
“steroid” or other synonymous word used	1
Focus of closing paragraph	.83
Tone of closing paragraph	.92
Depictions of athleticism or intelligence	1
Depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance	1

Chapter 3: Results

In the final analysis, I coded 240 articles – 134 articles in the Clemens sample and 106 articles in the Bonds sample. I removed 30 articles from both samples. Twenty-four articles were deleted because Bonds or Clemens was not the main subject, and six articles were deleted due to duplication.

In the Bonds sample, 48.11 percent of the articles were from the *New York Times*, 22.64 percent were from the *USA Today*, 15.09 percent were from the *Los Angeles Times*, 9.43 percent were from the *Wall Street Journal*, and 4.72 percent were from the *Chicago Tribune*. In Clemens sample, 35.08 percent of the articles were from the *New York Times*, 20.15 percent were from the *USA Today*, 19.40 percent were from the *Wall Street Journal*, 14.18 percent were from the *Chicago Tribune*, and 11.19 percent were from the *Los Angeles Times*.

The following results are broken down by the framing devices – headline, article, lead paragraph, quotes, and closing paragraph.

Headlines

To begin the analysis, I coded the headlines for the following content: “Bonds” in the headline, “Clemens” in the headline, “Bonds” and “steroid” in the headline, “Clemens” and “steroid” in the headline, neither player’s name nor “steroid” in the headline, and “other.” It was uncommon for either athlete’s name to be used in conjunction with “steroid” in the headline. This type of headline appeared in fewer than 6 percent of the articles in each athlete’s sample. There were a combined five articles that fell in the “other” category. Each of these articles mentioned “steroid” in the headline, but did not mention either athlete’s name.

Figure 1 – Analysis of headlines

Headline content	Bonds sample N=106	Clemens sample N=134
Name in the headline	79.25%	66.42%
Tone of headline: favorable	10.38%	4.48%
Tone of headline: neutral	76.42%	76.87%
Tone of headline: unfavorable	13.21%	18.66%

Next, I coded the headlines for tone – favorable, neutral, or unfavorable. Through this analysis, I sought to determine whether one athlete was depicted more negatively than the other. As stated previously, headlines might influence how readers interpret the article’s information (van Dijk, 1990). The tone of the headlines was mostly similar between the Bonds sample and Clemens sample. For both sets of articles, neutrality was the most consistent tone by a significant margin (Figure 1). There was a larger portion of unfavorable headlines in the Clemens sample (18.66 percent) compared the Bonds sample (13.21 percent).

Article

The average word count of the articles was 674.32 in the Bonds sample and 591.84 in the Clemens sample. For both samples, the most common topic was court proceedings. This topic occurred in more than 75 percent of the articles in each sample. The next largest topic was “other,” which occurred in 19.81 percent of the Bonds sample and 17.16 percent of the Clemens sample. Among the stories labeled “other,” a combined 16 articles discussed Hall of Fame voting or the overall perception of the steroid era. The topic of athletic career occurred only three times – once in the Bonds sample and twice in the Clemens sample.

Three coding categories helped analyze whether the samples were different in terms of racial descriptions. Out of all 240 articles that I coded, only two articles mentioned race. Both were in the Bonds sample. It was infrequent for either athlete to be portrayed as angry, arrogant, or violent. Bonds was depicted as overly angry, arrogant, or violent in 6.6 percent of the sample. Clemens was lower at 4.48 percent. Similarly, the athletes were infrequently described as athletic or intelligent. There were no clear depictions of athleticism or intelligence in more than 90 percent of the articles in each sample. Overall, there was not a significant difference in tone. Bonds sample had a slightly larger proportion of unfavorable articles in comparison to the Clemens sample (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Analysis of the article

Article content	Bonds sample N=106	Clemens sample N=134
“steroid” used one time	21.70%	24.63%
“steroid” used two times	13.21%	26.12%
“steroid” used three times	14.15%	15.67%
“steroid” used four times	12.26%	13.43%
“steroid” used five or more times	38.68%	20.15%
Zero players mentioned besides Bonds/Clemens	76.42%	61.94%
One player mentioned besides Bonds/Clemens	9.43%	14.93%
Two players mentioned besides Bonds/Clemens	2.83%	11.94%
Three players mentioned besides Bonds/Clemens	4.72%	5.97%
Four players mentioned besides Bonds Clemens	0.94%	2.24%
Five or more players mentioned besides Bonds/Clemens	5.66%	2.99%
Tone of article: favorable	10.38%	8.21%
Tone of article: neutral	74.53%	79.85%
Tone of article: unfavorable	15.09%	11.94%

I coded two categories for the frequency of the word “steroid” and the frequency of other players linked to steroids. The first category was formed with the belief that greater frequencies of the word “steroid” might make the athlete seem guiltier. As seen in Figure 2, a much higher percentage of Bonds sample (38.68 percent) included the word “steroid” five or more times, in comparison to Clemens sample (20.15 percent).

The next category was formed with the belief that greater frequencies of other players might make Bonds or Clemens seem less guilty. If other players are mentioned, more blame might be attached to the culture of baseball as opposed to the individual athlete (Greer & Murray, 2014). A higher proportion of Bonds sample (76.42 percent) mentioned no other player as opposed to the Clemens sample (61.94 percent).

Lead paragraph

Past research suggests that leads work with headlines to introduce certain frames for the reader (Goshorn and Gandy, 1995). It was uncommon for Bonds or Clemens to be depicted as athletic or hardworking in the lead paragraph. There were no clear depictions of those attributes in 94 percent of the Clemens sample and 97 percent of the Bonds sample. Additionally, there were no descriptions of aggression or arrogance in more than 95 percent of the leads in each sample. There were no significant differences in tone between the two samples. Most of the lead paragraphs in both samples were neutral, but it was more common for both athletes to be depicted unfavorably in the lead paragraph instead of favorably (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Analysis of lead paragraphs

Lead paragraph content	Bonds sample n=106	Clemens sample n=134
Focus on the athlete	55.66%	51.49%
Focus on different subject	44.34%	48.51%
The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording is included	34.91%	47.76%
The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording isn’t included	65.09%	52.24%
Tone of the lead: favorable	11.32%	12.69%
Tone of the lead: neutral	68.87%	71.64%
Tone of the lead: unfavorable	19.81%	15.67%

In more than 50 percent of the leads in each sample, Bonds or Clemens was the main subject (Figure 3). The largest discrepancy among the lead paragraph categories was whether “steroid” or any synonymous wording was included. A much higher proportion of Clemens sample contained such phrasing in comparison to Bonds sample (Figure 3). Some examples of synonymous wording include “drug use,” “performance-enhancing drugs,” or “syringes.”

Quotes and source selection

Source selection was not mutually exclusive, meaning one or more sources could be selected for each article. The most frequent sources for both samples were lawyer, “other,” and law professor. Examples of sources that comprised the “other” category include jurors, witnesses, and representatives from the Hall of Fame. Bonds sample had a much greater portion of articles that contained no quotes in comparison to Clemens sample. As seen in figure 4, Clemens was used as a source in 9.70 percent of his sample. Bonds was used as a source in 1.89 percent of his sample (Figure 4).

The quotes uncommonly described Bonds or Clemens as athletic or hardworking. The quotes described Clemens as hardworking in 4.47 percent of the sample and described him as athletic in 2.24 percent of the sample. Bonds was almost never classified as athletic or hardworking in the quotes. The quotes described Bonds as athletic only one time, and no quotes described him as hardworking. Additionally, most of the quotes did not depict either athlete as arrogant or aggressive. The quotes showed no clear depictions of anger or arrogance in more than 95 percent of the quotes in each sample.

Figure 4 – Source selection

Source selection	Bonds sample n=106	Clemens sample n=134
Baseball player	4.72%	14.18%
Coach	0%	1.49%
Judge	5.66%	11.19%
Lawyer	36.79%	52.99%
Fan	4.72%	0.75%
Family member	0.94%	0.75%
Law professor	19.81%	15.67%
Congressman	0%	1.49%
Bonds	1.89%	0%
Clemens	0%	9.70%
Other	36.79%	29.10%
No quotes	30.19%	17.16%

Figure 5 – Analysis of quotes

Tone of quotes	Bonds sample n=106	Clemens sample n=134
Favorable	10.38%	15.67%
Neutral	51.89%	55.97%
Unfavorable	7.55%	11.19%
No quotes	30.19%	17.16%

The overall tone of the quotes was mostly neutral. The Clemens sample had a higher percentage of favorable and unfavorable quotes as opposed to the Bonds sample, but that might be due to Bonds sample not containing as many articles with quotes (Figure 5).

Closing paragraphs

I coded the closing paragraphs with the same categories used to describe the lead paragraph. The closing paragraphs infrequently described Bonds or Clemens as athletic, skilled, hardworking, or intelligent. There were no indications of athleticism or intelligence in more than 96 percent of the closing paragraphs in both samples. The same trend was found in depictions of aggressiveness and arrogance. In Clemens sample, only three articles had a closing paragraph that described the athlete as overly aggressive or arrogant. In Bonds sample, it happened in only one article.

Figure 6 – analysis of closing paragraphs

Closing paragraph content	Bonds sample n=106	Clemens sample n=134
Focus on the athlete	43.40%	39.55%
Focus on different subject	56.60%	60.45%
The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording is included	28.30%	34.33%
The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording isn’t included	71.70%	65.67%
Tone of the closing: favorable	16.04%	15.67%
Tone of the closing: neutral	62.26%	68.66%
Tone of the closing unfavorable	21.70%	15.67%

In most of the articles, the subject shifted away from Bonds or Clemens in the closing paragraph (Figure 6). The closing paragraphs in both samples usually did not contain the word

“steroid” or any synonymous wording. This type of wording was excluded in more than 65 percent of the closing paragraphs in both samples (Figure 6). In the analysis of tone, the closing paragraphs in both samples showed comparable percentages of favorability and neutrality. However, Bonds sample had a moderately higher proportion of unfavorable closing paragraphs in comparison to Clemens sample (Figure 6).

Chapter 4: Discussion

Through this study, I sought to find discrepancies in prominence, tone, and racial descriptions in the media coverage of Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens. The results revealed minimal differences across the framing devices.

Articles that focused on Bonds were usually much longer than articles that focused on Clemens. Sixteen of the articles in Bonds sample exceeded 1,000 words in comparison to just nine articles in the Clemens sample. In addition to word count, Bonds was more commonly the main focus of the lead and closing paragraphs, but by only a small margin. These findings seem to reject Smith and Hattery's (2006) statement that crimes by Black athletes are more captivating because they confirm "all of White America's worst fears."

There was no major difference in the tone of either sample. Bonds sample had a higher percentage of unfavorability in the lead paragraphs, closing paragraphs, and the article overall. But Clemens sample had a higher percentage of unfavorability in the headlines and quotes. On the other side of the spectrum, Bonds sample had a higher percentage of favorability in headlines, closing paragraphs, and the article overall, while Clemens sample had a higher percentage of favorability in lead paragraphs and quotes. Neither athlete had an overwhelmingly positive or negative tone throughout their samples.

Both samples had articles that included former players defending the athlete. Hank Aaron – who Bonds passed on the career home run list – said in a *New York Times* article that the home run record belongs to Bonds and that even if "the government produced 3,000 witnesses," Bonds would be the home run champion (Rhoden, *New York Times*). In a *USA Today* article, Clemens was defended by Hall of Famers Johnny Bench and Reggie Jackson. Both former players said

that Clemens' acquittal on charges of lying to Congress should allow him to enter the Hall of Fame (Nightengale, *USA Today*).

Another interesting trend is that more articles depicted fan support in Bonds sample in comparison to Clemens sample. For example, in October 2010 the *New York Times* published "Bonds is Still the King of the City" and "Giants Always Leave the Door Ajar for Bonds," and *USA Today* published "Bonds era, aura alive, though hard to find." Each article depicted Bonds favorably, with positive quotes from fans. After Bonds was convicted in April 2011, A *USA Today* author wrote, "Bonds' status as the city's favorite son seems to have eroded." However, the same article ends with a quote of a fan voicing his support, "There was a whole bunch of guys who were in exactly that situation from that era who are not on trial for anything right now" (Ortiz, *USA Today*). Clemens sample contained only one article that included quotes from fans. In August 2010, A *New York Times* author wrote that fans in Houston are divided about Clemens, but the article ends on a favorable quote from a fan, "...I'm not unhappy I saw games during the steroid era. The Astros would welcome him back" (Belson, *New York Times*).

The largest discrepancy between the samples came in the categories that coded for frequency of the word "steroid" and the frequency of other players linked to steroids. Bonds sample used "steroid" five or more times in nearly 40 percent of the sample, while that was the case in only 20 percent of Clemens sample. It was also more common for no other players linked to steroids to be mentioned in Bonds sample in comparison to Clemens sample. These results are the strongest evidence that Bonds was depicted as guiltier than Clemens during the steroid fallout. These findings suggest that Bonds was more to blame for his steroid use while Clemens was caught up in the culture of the sport. This is similar to what Greer and Murray (2014) found in their content analysis of Bonds and Lance Armstrong. However, the word "steroid" or any

synonymous wording was found more often in the lead and closing paragraphs of the Clemens sample. So while part of the evidence supports that Bonds was depicted as guiltier, there were compelling results to counter it.

Several studies have found that the media might often portray Black athletes as skilled and athletic and portray White athletes as hardworking and intelligent (Rada, 1996; Mangun, 2013; McElroy, 2014). Differing results were found in this study. Across all the framing devices, the athletes were infrequently referred to as athletic, skilled, hardworking, or intelligent. The descriptions that did appear were brief. One *Chicago Tribune* article said Bonds broke the home run record “with an incredibly advanced skill set,” but he does not make another reference to his athletic ability (Rogers, the *Chicago Tribune*). In one *Wall Street Journal* article, Clemens was described as hardworking by defense witnesses during the trial. The article states, “A series of former players extolled Mr. Clemens as an athlete who outworked, out-trained, and outsmarted his fellow players” (Devlin, the *Wall Street Journal*). However, these descriptions reflected more on the defense witnesses during the trial, not the media. While there were instances of racial stereotypes, there were not enough examples to suggest it was a trend or common theme throughout either athlete’s sample.

There was no trend in descriptions of aggressiveness or arrogance either. However, among the few depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance, the descriptions were usually overt. Bonds was described as moderately aggressive or arrogant three times and described as overly aggressive or arrogant seven times. Clemens was described as overly aggressive or arrogant five times, but was never described as moderately aggressive. In one *Chicago Tribune* article about Bonds, the writer states, “But this trial was about Bonds, an arrogant, entitled celebrity athlete, not the sport he played” (Rogers, *Chicago Tribune*). For Clemens, one *Wall Street Journal* writer

states, “Rolling over for your dramatic benefit is not Mr. Clemens's style. Not when he feels he's been wronged. Not ever” (Gay, *Wall Street Journal*). Since the depictions of aggressiveness or arrogance were similar between samples, these findings do not match the results of past studies that argue the media might depict Black athletes as more aggressive than their White counterparts (Enck-Wazner, 2009; Brown, 2005).

There were only two articles that mentioned race. However, these two articles offered strong opinions about Bonds, Clemens, and the racial issue in athletics. The first was an article from the *New York Times* entitled “Again, a Star is Prosecuted for his Unlikability.” The author states, “...the eight-year pursuit of Bonds also reflects America's discomfort with prominent, powerful, wealthy black men” (Rhoden, *New York Times*). The author later states that some people make the argument that because it was Roger Clemens who was going to trial for perjury, Bonds was not being singled out because he was a Black star. However, the author disregards this argument by stating, “The government was virtually forced to go after Clemens, who loudly denied allegations of drug use by his former trainer during a Congressional hearing” (Rhoden, *New York Times*).

The second article that mentioned race was an article from the *Chicago Tribune* called “Cry for baseball, but not for its 2 greatest sinners.” The *Tribune* column criticizes the author of the *New York Times* column for suggesting the Bonds’ fiasco was due to racism. In response to the *New York Times* column, *The Chicago Tribune* author states “...seeing (the race card) invoked on behalf of a narcissistic juicer who made millions — in the same game played by Jackie Robinson — is just too pathetic for words” (Kass, *Chicago Tribune*). These two columns are an example of how some baseball fans are split on Bonds and the race issue. Both authors describe Bonds as aloof, arrogant, and aggressive. However, the *New York Times* author views

the arrogance as refusing to be “limited by social convention about how a champion was supposed to behave” while the *Chicago Tribune* author states “He shared it, distributing his sin like some baseball-transmitted disease” (Rhoden, *New York Times*; Kass, *Chicago Tribune*). Although most of the articles in each sample were neutral, these two columns showcase strikingly different opinions about Bonds, further emphasizing the importance of studying the media coverage of Bonds and Clemens.

When Bonds was matched with Lance Armstrong in Greer and Murray’s (2014) study, Armstrong was shown as more favorable. However, when coverage of Bonds was analyzed with a more accurate comparison in Clemens, there were minimal differences. These findings propose that the media did not treat Bonds unfairly because of race.

Due to time and resource restraints, there were several limitations to this study. Only five national newspapers were used for the research. A greater selection of media would have provided more accurate results in how Bonds and Clemens were depicted across the country. Also, the news articles were retrieved electronically. A collection of the actual printed articles would’ve revealed important information such as page placement, use of photos, column inches, and headline size.

Media coverage of Bonds and Clemens requires more examination before researchers can draw any firm conclusions. This research uncommonly found racial stereotypes because the timeframe of the study takes place after both athletes’ playing careers. A future study could be conducted examining Bonds and Clemens in the midst of their playing careers, before either athlete was accused of using steroids. That research would be more accurate in finding descriptions of athleticism or intelligence. Additionally, one of the most interesting findings in

the study was the use of fans in Bonds sample. It makes sense that writers would use quotes from fans more often since Bonds' trial was located in San Francisco, where he played for a number of years. A study comparing local coverage of Bonds' trial and Clemens' trial to national coverage would have significant value because it might reveal subtle bias in how Bonds and Clemens were portrayed. Media coverage of race is a salient issue, especially in sports. These future studies would add to the extensive research done by previous scholars.

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Appendix A

Codebook

For the study, 240 articles were analyzed. The following codebook explains the process of operationalizing the categories.

Headline

1. Is “Bonds” or “Clemens” included in the headline? Is “Bonds” or “Clemens” included in combination with the word “steroids?” Having the name of the player and their alleged drug use might make the story more prominent in the 24/7 news cycle and make the player appear more guilty.
 - a. This included six variables.
 - i. Bonds in headline, but no “steroids”=1
 - ii. Clemens in headline, but no “steroids”= 2
 - iii. Bonds and “steroids” in headline=3
 - iv. Clemens and “steroids” in headline=4
 - v. Neither the player’s name or “steroids” in headline=5
 - vi. Other=6
2. What is the tone? A favorable headline reads “Bonds is still the king of the City” while an unfavorable headline reads “Baseball shares in shame and blame over Bonds.”
 - a. This included three variables
 - i. Favorable=1
 - ii. Neutral=2
 - iii. Unfavorable=3

Article

1. What is the story topic?
 - a. This included three variables
 - i. The main subject is Bonds/Clemens athletics career=1
 - ii. The main subject is Bonds/Clemens court proceedings=2
 - iii. Other=3
2. How often is the word “steroids” used in the article?
 - a. i.e. four times, three times
3. What is the overall tone of the story?
 - a. This included three variables
 - i. Favorable=1
 - ii. Neutral=2
 - iii. Unfavorable=3
4. What is the word count of the article?
 - a. i.e. 600 words, 430 words
5. Is race or ethnicity mentioned in the article?
 - a. This included two variables
 - i. Yes=1
 - ii. No= 2
6. Are any words used to describe Bonds or Clemens in terms of their baseball career? This includes descriptions of being athletic/naturally gifted or hardworking/intelligent. Several studies reveal that Black athletes are commonly framed as being athletic and naturally gifted while White athletes have been depicted as hardworking and intelligent.

- a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as athletic/naturally gifted=1
 - ii. Clemens described as athletic/naturally gifted=2
 - iii. Bonds described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=3
 - iv. Clemens described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=4
 - v. No description of their baseball career=5
7. Are Bonds or Clemens described as being overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent? Past research suggests that the media frame Black athletes as more aggressive and violent in comparison to other athletes.
- a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=1
 - ii. Bonds described as overly aggressive, angry, or violent=2
 - iii. Clemens described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=3
 - iv. Clemens described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=4
 - v. Bonds or Clemens not described as aggressive, arrogant, or violent=5
8. How often are other players mentioned in the article? That means any other player besides Bonds in Bonds-related articles, and any other player besides Clemens in Clemens-related articles. Demonstrating that other players have been involved in the steroid scandal might make either player's bad deed less problematic.
- a. This included one variable
 - i. In Bonds-related articles, count the number of players mentioned besides Bonds and in Clemens-related articles, count the number of players mentioned besides Clemens

Quotes

1. In Bonds-related articles, how often did the quote criticize Bonds and how often did the quote show support of Bonds? The same questions are asked for Clemens-related articles.

Also, what sources are quoted for each article?

- a. This included three variables
 - i. Favorable=1
 - ii. Neutral=2
 - iii. Unfavorable=3
- b. This included 12 variables
 - i. baseball player=1
 - ii. coach=2
 - iii. judge=3
 - iv. lawyer=4
 - v. fan=5
 - vi. family member=6
 - vii. law professor=7
 - viii. congressman=8
 - ix. Bonds=9
 - x. Clemens=10
 - xi. Other=11
 - xii. No quoted sources in article=12

2. Do sources describe Bonds or Clemens playing career? If so, what terms are used?
 - a. This included six variables
 - i. Bonds described as athletic/naturally gifted=1
 - ii. Clemens described as athletic/naturally gifted=2
 - iii. Bonds described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=3
 - iv. Clemens described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=4
 - v. No description of their baseball career=5
 - vi. No quotes=6
3. Do any sources describe Bonds or Clemens as being overly aggressive, arrogant or violent?
 - a. This included six variables
 - i. Bonds described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=1
 - ii. Bonds described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=2
 - iii. Clemens described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=3
 - iv. Clemens described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=4
 - v. Bonds or Clemens not described as aggressive, arrogant, or violent=5
 - vi. No quotes=6

Lead Paragraph

1. Is “steroids” or any synonymous word i.e. drug use, PEDs, included in the lead?
 - a. This included two variables
 - i. Yes=1
 - ii. No=2

2. Is the focus on Bonds or Clemens specifically, or is it related to something broader?
Court-related articles that mention details of the case, but do not mention Bonds or Clemens are considered “something broader”.
 - a. This included two variables
 - i. Focus specifically on Bonds/Clemens=1
 - ii. Focus on a broader issue=2
3. Is the tone of the lead favorable, neutral, or unfavorable?
 - a. This included three variables
 - i. Favorable=1
 - ii. Neutral=2
 - iii. Unfavorable=3
4. Does the lead paragraph describe Bonds or Clemens playing career? If so, what terms are used?
 - a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as athletic/naturally gifted=1
 - ii. Clemens described as athletic/naturally gifted=2
 - iii. Bonds described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=3
 - iv. Clemens described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=4
 - v. No description of their baseball career=5
5. Do any words in the lead paragraph describe Bonds or Clemens as being overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent?
 - a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=1

- ii. Bonds described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=2
- iii. Clemens described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=3
- iv. Clemens described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=4
- v. Bonds or Clemens not described as aggressive, arrogant, or violent=5

Closing Paragraph

1. Is “steroids” or any synonymous word i.e. drug use, PEDs, included in the closing paragraph?
 - a. This included two variables
 - i. Yes=1
 - ii. No=2
2. Is the focus on Bonds or Clemens specifically, or is it related to something broader? Court-related articles that mention details of the case, but do not mention Bonds or Clemens are considered “something broader”.
 - a. This included two variables
 - i. Focus specifically on Bonds/Clemens=1
 - ii. Focus on a broader issue=2
3. Is the tone of the closing paragraph favorable, neutral, or unfavorable?
 - a. This included three variables
 - i. Favorable=1
 - ii. Neutral=2
 - iii. Unfavorable=3
4. Does the closing paragraph describe Bonds or Clemens playing career? If so, what terms are used?

- a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as athletic/naturally gifted=1
 - ii. Clemens described as athletic/naturally gifted=2
 - iii. Bonds described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=3
 - iv. Clemens described as being a hard-worker/strong mental ability=4
 - v. No description of their baseball career=5
5. Do any words in the closing paragraph describe Bonds or Clemens as being overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent?
 - a. This included five variables
 - i. Bonds described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=1
 - ii. Bonds described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=2
 - iii. Clemens described as moderately aggressive, arrogant, or violent=3
 - iv. Clemens described as overly aggressive, arrogant, or violent=4
 - v. Bonds or Clemens not described as aggressive, arrogant, or violent=5

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

Name of Newspaper _____

Date Published _____

Article Headline _____

Headline:

Bonds in headline, but no "steroids"=1 Clemens in headline, but no "steroids"=2

Bonds and "steroids" in headline=3 Clemens and "steroids" in headline=4

Neither the player's name or "steroids" in headline=5 Other=6 _____

Favorable=1 Neutral=2 Unfavorable=3 _____

Article:

Athletic Career=1 Court Proceedings=2 Other=3 _____

How often is "steroid" used? _____

Favorable=1 Neutral=2 Unfavorable=3 _____

What is the word count? _____

Bonds depicted as athletic/gifted=1 Clemens depicted as athletic/gifted=2

Bonds depicted as hardworking/intelligent=3 Clemens depicted as hardworking/intelligent=4

No clear depictions=5 No quote=6 _____

Bonds depicted as moderately aggressive=1 Bonds depicted as overly aggressive=2

Clemens depicted as moderately aggressive=3 Clemens depicted as overly aggressive=4

Bonds/Clemens not depicted as aggressive=5 No quote=6 _____

Lead Paragraph:

The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording is included=1

The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording isn’t included=2 _____

Focus on Bonds/Clemens=1 Focus on broader issue=2 _____

Favorable=1 Neutral=2 Unfavorable=3 _____

Bonds depicted as athletic/gifted=1 Clemens depicted as athletic/gifted=2

Bonds depicted as hardworking/intelligent=3 Clemens depicted as hardworking/intelligent=4

No clear depictions=5 _____

Bonds depicted as moderately aggressive=1 Bonds depicted as overly aggressive=2

Clemens depicted as moderately aggressive=3 Clemens depicted as overly aggressive=4

Bonds/Clemens not depicted as aggressive=5 _____

Closing Paragraph:

The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording is included=1

The word “steroid” or any synonymous wording isn’t included=2 _____

Focus on Bonds/Clemens=1 Focus on broader issue=2 _____

Favorable=1 Neutral=2 Unfavorable=3 _____

Bonds depicted as athletic/gifted=1 Clemens depicted as athletic/gifted=2

Bonds depicted as hardworking/intelligent=3 Clemens depicted as hardworking/intelligent=4

No clear depictions=5 _____

Bonds depicted as moderately aggressive=1 Bonds depicted as overly aggressive=2

Clemens depicted as moderately aggressive=3 Clemens depicted as overly aggressive=4

Bonds/Clemens not depicted as aggressive=5 _____