

THE WHITENING OF SPORTS MEDIA AND THE COLORING OF BLACK ATHLETES' IMAGES

KEVIN B. BLACKISTONE†

The American Society of News Editors reported in April 2011 that the number and percentage of journalists of color in newspaper and online newsrooms declined for the third consecutive year.¹ The most precipitous drop continued to be with black journalists.²

Quantitative evidence in recent years showed that newspaper sports departments and sports websites followed the overall trend of waning racial diversity among producers of written media.³ A biennial report from the University of Central Florida's Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports also released in April 2011 found sports departments led almost exclusively by white men.⁴ It reported that the percentage of sports editors who were women or people of color declined from 11.7 percent in 2008 to 9.42 percent in 2010.⁵ Conversely, the percentage of sports editors who were white males increased by three percentage points.⁶

† Shirley Povich Chair in Sports Journalism, The University of Maryland, Philip Merrill College of Journalism. BS, Northwestern University; MS, Boston University.

1. *Newsroom Employment Up Slightly, Minority Numbers Plunge for Third Year*, AM. SOC'Y OF NEWS EDITORS (Apr. 7, 2011, 11:53 AM), http://asne.org/article_view/articleid/1788/newsroom-employment-up-slightly-minority-numbers-plunge-for-third-year.aspx.

2. See Richard Prince, *Blacks Hardest Hit in Newsroom Cuts*, MAYNARD INST. (Apr. 11, 2010), <http://mije.org/richardprince/asne-releases-diversity-figures> (discussing evidence of a 31.5 percent drop in the number of black journalists, compared to a drop of no more than 20.9 percent of journalists in any other racial group during the same time period).

3. See Richard Lapchick et al., *The 2010–11 Associated Press Sports Editors Racial and Gender Report Card*, THE INST. FOR DIVERSITY & ETHICS IN SPORT, 1 (Apr. 27, 2011), http://tidesport.org/RGRC/2011/2011_APSE_RGRC_FINAL.pdf?page=lapchick/110517.

4. *Id.* at 8.

5. *Id.* at 2.

6. *Id.*

Meanwhile, major U.S. sports continued to be predominated by black athletes and athletes of color, according to The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports (“TIDES”).⁷ It reported that, in 2009, 67 percent of the players in the National Football League (“NFL”) were black, 77 percent of the players in the National Basketball Association (“NBA”) were black⁸ and a record high of 40 percent of players in Major League Baseball (“MLB”) were of color, including 27 percent from Latin America.⁸

Furthermore, the audience for the coverage produced about sports leagues made up mostly of athletes of color continued in recent years to see growth in people of color and shrinkage among white audiences. The latest U.S. census found non-Hispanic white citizens made up roughly 64 percent of the U.S. population in 2010, down from 69 percent in 2000.⁹ It estimated the U.S. Hispanic population grew to 16 percent from 13 percent a decade ago, while the African American population stayed at about 12 percent.¹⁰

More importantly, the census found that racial minorities, with Hispanics leading the way, made up almost 85 percent of U.S. population growth over the last decade.¹¹

All of this rests against a backdrop of research on media over decades that demonstrated it was a lens constructed by predominantly white journalists to serve white audiences.¹² It often supported stereotypes steeped in beliefs of racial superiority rather than challenging them. Most infamously, studies of sports broadcasts showed how the success of black athletes was credited to their natural athletic ability, while the success of their white

7. See Richard E. Lapchick et al., *Think Beyond the Competition: 2009 Racial and Gender Report Card*, THE INST. FOR DIVERSITY & ETHICS IN SPORT, 8–10 (2009), www.tidesport.org/RGRC/2009/2009_RGRC.pdf (stating that 39.6 percent of MLB players, 82 percent of NBA players, and 67 percent of NFL players are of color).

8. *Id.* at 8–10.

9. Karen R. Humes, Nicholas A. Jones & Roberto R. Ramirez, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, 4 (Mar. 2011), <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>.

10. *Id.*

11. Hope Yen, *Census Estimates Show Big Gains for U.S. Minorities*, ABCNEWS.COM (Feb. 3, 2011), <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory?id=12828885>.

12. JOHN HOBERMAN, *DARWIN’S ATHLETES: HOW SPORT HAS DAMAGED BLACK AMERICA AND PRESERVED THE MYTH OF RACE* 33 (1997).

counterparts was tied to diligence and, most importantly, intelligence.¹³

That lens of a predominantly white sports media also treated black athletes in a pejorative manner more often than it did white athletes.¹⁴ Black athletes have been presented as more self-centered, arrogant, and mercenary.¹⁵ They were more often described with words and phraseology that infantilized them.¹⁶ Black players have continued to be portrayed more as deviant, drug abusers, violent, women beaters, and menaces to society, or in general, as “black men misbehaving.”¹⁷

As a result, it stands to reason that the retreat in diversity underway among sports staffs will aggravate the old problem of tainted coverage of black athletes in particular and athletes of color in general.

In the aftermath of uprisings in the urban United States in 1967, President Lyndon Johnson created a commission to find the root causes of the civil disorder, as well as some antidotes.¹⁸ The commission, which took the name of its chair, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, found myriad maladies in society that metastasized into riots in large cities across the country.¹⁹ They included poverty, inequality in income and education, crime, and racial injustice.²⁰

But the Kerner Commission Report, published in 1968, singled out one industry, the media, for particular criticism.²¹ The report stated: “We have found a significant imbalance between

13. Susan Tyler Eastman & Andrew C. Billings, *Biased Voices of Sports: Racial and Gender Stereotyping in College Basketball Announcing*, 12 HOW. J. COMM’N 183, 184 (2001).

14. Ronald Bishop, *It Hurts the Team Even More: Differences in Coverage by Sports Journalists of White and African-American Athletes Who Engage in Contract Holdouts*, 4 J. SPORTS MEDIA 55, 57 (2009).

15. *Id.*

16. *Id.*

17. See Stuart Alan Clarke, *Fear of a Black Planet: Race, Identity Politics, and Common Sense*, 21 SOCIALIST REV. 37 (1991), reprinted in CULTURAL AND LITERARY CRITIQUES OF THE CONCEPTS OF “RACE” 267, 270 (E. Nathaniel Gates ed., 1997); see also James G. Muhammad, *Stereotypes, the Media and Black Athletes Who Get into Trouble*, FINAL CALL (last updated Dec. 15, 2009, 12:28 PM), http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/National_News_2/article_6656.shtml.

18. NAT’L ADVISORY COMM’N ON CIVIL DISORDERS, REPORT OF THE NAT’L ADVISORY COMM’N ON CIVIL DISORDERS I (1968) [hereinafter CIVIL DISORDERS].

19. *Id.* at 203.

20. *The Kerner Commission and the Media*, BILL MOYERS J. (Mar. 28, 2008), <http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/03282008/profile4.html>.

21. *Id.*

what actually happened in our cities and what the newspaper, radio, and television coverage of the riots told us happened.”²²

Our . . . fundamental criticism is that the news media have failed to analyze and report adequately on racial problems in the United States and, as a related matter, to meet the Negro’s legitimate expectations in journalism. By and large, news organizations have failed to communicate to both their black and white audiences a sense of the problems America faces and the sources of potential solutions.²³

The commission made several recommendations, including: “News organizations must employ enough Negroes in positions of significant responsibility to establish an effective link to Negro actions and ideas and to meet legitimate employment expectations. Tokenism—the hiring of one Negro reporter, or even two or three—is no longer enough.”²⁴ Furthermore:

[T]he news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of the Negro, both as a Negro and as part of the community. It would be a contribution of inestimable importance to race relations in the United States simply to treat ordinary news about Negroes as news of other groups is now treated.²⁵

As a result, ten years later in 1978, ASNE introduced a plan to hire and promote enough people of color and women in its newsrooms by 2000 or sooner, to be the equivalent of the U.S. minority population.²⁶ In 2000 ASNE admitted it failed its goal.²⁷

22. CIVIL DISORDERS, *supra* note 18, at 363.

23. *Id.* at 366.

24. *Id.* at 385.

25. *Id.* at 386.

26. ASNE *Diversity History*, AM. SOC’Y OF NEWS EDITORS, http://asne.org/key_initiatives/diversity/asne_diversity_history.aspx (last visited Aug. 25, 2011).

27. Edward L. Seaton, *Some Light on ASNE’s Revised Diversity Goal*, AM. SOC’Y OF NEWS EDITORS, <http://asne.org/kiosk/editor/98.may/seaton1.htm> (last visited Aug. 25, 2011).

As the new millennium dawned, ASNE stated that while its membership had “shown . . . progress, the racial diversity of newsrooms does not come close to the fast-growing diversity in the U.S. population as a whole.”²⁸ As a result, ASNE moved its goalpost to 2025 with a new mission statement that called on newspapers to “reflect the racial diversity of American society by 2025 or sooner.”²⁹ ASNE challenged every news staff to include “journalists of color” to mirror its community’s population.³⁰

ASNE stated that “[t]o cover communities fully, to carry out their role in democracy, and to succeed in the marketplace, the nation’s newsrooms must reflect the racial diversity of American society by 2025 or sooner.”³¹

There is no evidence that producers of written sports in the United States are any closer to the 2025 idyllic goal than the newspaper industry was in 2000 of meeting a goal for diversifying its staffs established over a generation earlier. More troublesome, where the industry showed some forward progress between 1978 and 2000 toward diversity, the most recent evidence showed the industry in retreat from 2000.³² To be sure, black journalists declined more than 30 percent since 2001.³³

TIDES showed in 2008 that 78 percent of the staffs at Associated Press Sports Editors newspapers and websites were white men and 88 percent of the columnists on those staffs were white men.³⁴ It found that 5 percent of sports staffs were black men.³⁵

28. *ASNE Key Initiatives: Diversity*, AM. SOC’Y OF NEWS EDITORS, http://asne.org/key_initiatives/diversity.aspx (last visited Aug. 25, 2011).

29. *Id.*

30. *Id.*

31. *Id.*

32. *See Minority Employment in Daily Newspapers*, AM. SOC’Y OF NEWS EDITORS, http://asne.org/key_initiatives/diversity/newsroom_census/table_a.aspx (last visited Aug. 25, 2011).

33. News Release, Nat’l Ass’n of Black Journalists, Newsrooms Continue to Cut Black Journalists from Their Ranks (Apr. 13, 2010), <http://www.nabj.org/news/48867/News-Release-Newsrooms-Continue-to-Cut-Black-Journalists-From-Their-Ra.htm>.

34. Richard Lapchick et al., *Think Beyond the Competition: The 2008 Racial and Gender Report Card of the Associated Press Sports Editors*, THE INST. FOR DIVERSITY & ETHICS IN SPORT, 15 (June 26, 2008), http://www.tidesport.org/RGRC/2008/2008_APSE_RGRC_Press_Release.pdf.

35. *Id.*

An *Editor & Publisher* survey in 2005 found five black sports editors at 1,456 daily newspapers.³⁶ There was one black sports editor at a daily newspaper in 2010.³⁷ However, the editor of *ESPN.com*, the biggest sports website, is Rob King, who is black.³⁸ The new editor of *The Sporting News*, Garry Howard, is black.³⁹

Major sports website, *Yahoo! Sports*, the second-largest site next to *ESPN.com*,⁴⁰ is virtually all white with two black editors and one black writer assigned to the NBA.⁴¹ *CBSSports.com* is not quite that diverse, with one black writer, a general columnist.⁴² *FoxSports.com* is the same, with one black general columnist.⁴³ Among the more diverse websites was AOL's *Fanhouse*, which counted three black columnists and several other black writers and editors.⁴⁴ It was sold to *The Sporting News* in early 2011⁴⁵ and *The Sporting News* retained only one black columnist.⁴⁶

The editor of the popular sports website Deadspin, A.J. Daulerio, was asked by *ESPN.com* columnist Jemele Hill last September in New York at the annual digital sports media conference Blogs With Balls: "Why is your staff so white?" Daulerio responded: "It's a white industry."⁴⁷

36. Allan Wolper, *One Black List That Shouldn't Be Short: The Low Number of African-American Sports Editors at U.S. Dailies Only Fosters Inadequate Coverage*, EDITOR & PUBLISHER, Mar. 2005, at 28.

37. Richard Prince, *Newspaper's Last Black Sports Editor Leaving*, ROOT (Nov. 4, 2010), <http://www.theroot.com/blogs/journal-isms/newspapers-last-black-sports-editor-leaving>.

38. *Chat with ESPN's Senior VP Rob King*, ESPN.COM, http://espn.go.com/sportsnation/chat/_/id/39701 (last visited Sept. 6, 2011).

39. Lapchick et al., *supra* note 3, at 8.

40. *Top Sites by Category—Sports*, ALEXA.COM, <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/category/Top/Sports> (last visited Sept 6, 2011).

41. *See Opinion & Analysis*, YAHOO! SPORTS, <http://sports.yahoo.com/top/experts/corner> (last visited Sept. 6, 2011).

42. *See List of Expert Columnists*, CBSSPORTS.COM, <http://www.cbssports.com/columns/writers/> (last visited Sept. 6, 2011).

43. *See Fox Sports Voices*, FOXSPORTS.COM, <http://msn.foxsports.com/writer/index> (last visited Sept. 6, 2011).

44. *See generally* *Sporting News Paid AOL Millions to Drop Fanhouse*, SPORTSBYBROOKS (Jan. 19, 2011, 7:33 PM), <http://sportsbybrooks.com/sporting-news-paid-aol-millions-to-drop-fanhouse-29433>.

45. Richard Sandomir, *Sporting News Will Take Over AOL FanHouse Content*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 13, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/14/sports/14fanhouse.html?scp=1&sq=&st=nyt>.

46. *See* AOL FanHouse, SPORTINGNEWS.COM, <http://aol.sportingnews.com/fanhouse> (last visited Sept. 6, 2011).

47. Richard Prince, *Finding Sly Stone, a Rock Icon, Penniless*, ROOT (Sept. 27, 2011), <http://www.theroot.com/blogs/david-neil-and-nbc-sports/finding-sly-stone-rock-icon-penniless>.

It is difficult to qualify whether the recent whitening of sports media is coloring the image of black athletes and athletes of color. There is however, anecdotal evidence to suggest black athletes continue to be victimized in the media by the stereotypes developed over years about black athletes.

Think, for example, of NBA commissioner David Stern's reaction to no longer having Michael Jordan, a transcendent racial athletic star, on which to hang his league's shingle. In reaction, he sought conservative political image-maker Matthew Dowd to offer recommendations to touch up the NBA's look.⁴⁸ He ordered a dress code for players that mostly forbid them from emulating the fashion choice of their cultural peers in their entertainment community.⁴⁹ Or, as David Leonard at Northeastern University said, "blackness has come to embody the pollutant within the NBA that necessitates surveillance and regulation."⁵⁰

Fast-forward to the start of the 2009 college football season that featured Oregon and Boise State in a nationally televised game.⁵¹ In the immediate aftermath of what was Boise State's win, white Boise State defensive end, Byron Hout, taunted black Oregon running back, LeGarrette Blount, by slapping his shoulder pad to get his attention.⁵² Blount responded by punching Hout in the jaw, knocking him to the ground.⁵³

Hout recovered and continued his season despite an NCAA mandate to crack down on taunting.⁵⁴ Blount however, was suspended for the season and despite immediately and profusely apologizing for his reaction, was branded a thug—a euphemistic sports media and popular societal term for black athletes—forever

48. TODD BOYD, *YOUNG, RICH AND FAMOUS: THE RISE OF THE NBA, THE HIP-HOP INVASION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE* vii (Univ. of Neb. Press 2008).

49. *Id.* at vi.

50. David J. Leonard, *It's Gotta Be the Body: Race, Commodity, and Surveillance of Contemporary Black Athletes*, in *STUDIES IN SYMBOLIC INTERACTION* 165, 171 (Norman K. Denzin ed., 2009).

51. *No. 16 Oregon Fails Road Test at No. 14 Boise State, 19-8*, GODUCKS.COM (Sept. 3, 2009), http://www.goducks.com/ViewArticle.dbml?SPSID=3377&SPID=233&DB_LANG=C&DB_OEM_ID=500&ATCLID=204787368.

52. *Id.*

53. *Id.*

54. Kevin Blackistone, *Boise State Lets Byron Hout Skate*, ESPN.COM (Sept. 5, 2009), <http://www.aolnews.com/2009/09/05/boise-state-lets-byron-hout-skate/>.

more.⁵⁵ To be sure, even as Blount played thirteen games in 2010 as an NFL rookie, gaining 1,007 rushing yards, the most by a rookie that season,⁵⁶ he was continually referred to in the media by the punch he threw in college.⁵⁷ The few times in 2010 I saw Boise State, where Hout remained a student, play on television, I do not recall hearing his name referenced by his encounter with Blount.

A 2009 study of the differences in the coverage of black and white athletes who engage in contract holdouts found that a black athlete, NFL tight-end Kellen Winslow Jr., was “emasculated” and that sports writers treated him “like a moody adolescent incapable of making significant decisions on his own. Any athlete takes a risk by confronting management, but this research suggests the risk is heightened for African American athletes.”⁵⁸ Compared to Winslow, the white athlete who held out, NFL quarterback Philip Rivers, escaped criticism and instead was said to be a victim of his employer’s “history of inept negotiating.”⁵⁹

An article in the *Philadelphia Tribune* in February 2011 raised the image of star black athletes who ran afoul of the law and societal mores, NFL quarterback Michael Vick and pro golfer Tiger Woods, suffering harsher critiques by the media than a star white athlete, NFL quarterback Ben Roethlisberger, who did the same.⁶⁰ Where the improprieties of black athletes draw lots of coverage, scandals involving white counterparts seem to get swept under the rug. Last year, Roethlisberger was suspended from the first four games of the NFL season over an alleged sexual assault harassment incident in an Atlanta nightclub on March 5. Whereas Vick’s dog fighting charges and Woods’ adulterous affairs kept

55. Stephen Cuce, *LeGarrette Blount Feels Fortunate to Be Living a Dream Come True, Credits the Birth of His Son as His Career Saver*, SPORTSRADIOINTERVIEWS.COM (Sep. 2, 2011), <http://sportsradiointerviews.com/2011/09/02/tampa-bay-buccaneers-training-camp-legarrette-blount-nfl/>.

56. Stephen Holder, *LeGarrette Blount Claims Monthly Honor; Is Rookie of the Year Next?* TAMPABAY.COM (Jan. 06, 2011), <http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/bucs/content/legarrette-blount-claims-monthly-honor-rookie-year-next>.

57. E.g., Dustin Hull, *2011 NFL Predictions: Tampa Bay Buccaneers Are Ready to Shock the World Again*, BLEACHER REPORT (Aug. 1, 2011), <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/788115-2011-nfl-predictions-tampa-bay-buccaneers-ready-to-shock-the-world-again>.

58. Bishop, *supra* note 14, at 55.

59. *Id.* at 77.

60. Larry Miller, *A Double Standard Does Skin Color Determine Scandal? Roethlisberger, Vick Cases Get Different Scrutiny*, PHILA. TRIB., Feb. 1, 2011, at A1.

their names bouncing on the airwaves around the world, many argue Roethlisberger was merely a footnote. “And, it wasn’t the first time the quarterback was accused of sexual assault, according to the Georgia Bureau of Investigations.”⁶¹

Black athletes also are more often victims of the subtle slight of infantilization than white athletes, a practice of reducing their maturity by referring to them by their first names. “Cam.”⁶² “Kemba.”⁶³ “A.J.”⁶⁴ A former black sports editor at *USA Today* said he felt compelled to plead with his white colleagues to cease the practice because “it showed a lack of respect” they were not using with using with white players.⁶⁵

The 2010–2011 college basketball season saw the emergence of Jimmer Fredette, a white player from BYU who captured the media’s fascination.⁶⁶ He became known simply as Jimmer, a fate rarely suffered by a white player.⁶⁷

Make no mistake, white athletes rarely suffer the slings and arrows that their black brethren do. If white athletes harbor a desire in college to get to the pros as fast as possible, they are not derided as amateur mercenaries like the two biggest college stars in North Carolina this year, Harrison Barnes in Chapel Hill⁶⁸ and

61. *Id.*

62. See, e.g., Steve Reed, *It’s Cam! Panthers Take a Gamble, Select Auburn QB Newton No. 1*, CAROLINAGROWL.COM (Apr. 28, 2011), http://www.carolinagrowl.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=895:its-cam-panthers-take-a-gamble-select-auburn-qb-newton-with-no-1-pick&catid=1:articles.

63. See, e.g., Rob Dauster, *Kemba’s Supporting Cast Is Just as Important as the UConn Star*, NBCSPORTS.COM (Apr. 1, 2011), <http://beyondthearc.nbcsports.com/2011/04/01/kembas-supporting-cast-is-just-as-important-as-the-uconn-star/>.

64. See, e.g., Geoff Hobson, *Quick Slant to AJ*, BENGALS.COM (Aug. 5, 2011), <http://www.bengals.com/news/article-1/Quick-slant-to-AJ/93ab3fae-63a7-41b2-babc-8b7cddbba18>.

65. Allen Wolper, *Ethics Corner: One Black List That Shouldn’t Be Short: The Low Number of African-American Sports Editors at U.S. Dailies Only Fosters Inadequate Coverage*, DALLAS NEWS (March 10, 2005), <http://apse.dallasnews.com/news/2005/031005ethics.html>.

66. See Adrian Wojnarowski, *Jimmer’s Magical Ride Should Slow in NBA*, YAHOO! SPORTS (Jan. 28, 2011), <http://sports.yahoo.com/nba/news?slug=aw-fredettenba012811>.

67. See, e.g., Eamonn Brennan, *Jimmer Mania Spawns Epic Facebook Thread*, ESPN.COM (Feb. 8, 2011, 2:44 PM), http://espn.go.com/blog/collegebasketballnation/post/_/id/22753/jimmer-mania-gives-us-epic-facebook-thread.

68. E.g., Gabe Zaldivar, *Harrison Barnes: Will UNC Super Frosh Barnes Bolt For the NBA After All?*, BLEACHER REPORT (April 6, 2011), <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/656546-masters-golf-skylar-diggins-wayne-rooney-and-wednesdays-sports-buzz/entry/60087-harrison-barnes-will-unc-super-frosh-barnes-bolt-for-the-nba-after-all>

Kyrie Irving in Durham.⁶⁹

At the University of Maryland, where I teach sports journalism with former longtime *Washington Post* sports editor George Solomon, we held a panel discussion in October 2010 with reporters, editors, and public relations people in sports on the current lack of diversity in sports media and how it developed.⁷⁰ It was agreed that there were myriad explanations for a historically low percentage of black sports journalists that is now in decline. At the moment, media organizations quickly cite to the struggling economy that has eroded newspaper circulation and advertising revenue and forced layoffs and hiring freezes.⁷¹

Another reason not so readily admitted is that burgeoning on-line media, whether news outlets like *The Huffington Post* or sports sites like *Yahoo! Sports*, do not have any stated goals as newspapers long did to make diversity part of their game plan.⁷² They have not had any working relationships with any of the minority journalists' organizations like the National Association of Black Journalists.⁷³

The situation appeared so dire that the author of the various TIDES studies on diversity in sports, Dr. Richard Lapchick, in 2011 urged APSE to adopt a "Ralph Wiley Rule," named after the late black sports writer and one of the first black sports columnists at a white-owned publication.⁷⁴ Lapchick compared the Wiley Rule to the NFL's Rooney Rule, which mandates a diverse pool of candidates to be considered for all key vacancies.⁷⁵

Until then, new media will increasingly resemble the old media that the Kerner Commission warned about: outlets owned

69. E.g., Chris Cusak, *An Open Letter to Kyrie Irving*, CHRONICLE (Duke Univ., Durham, NC) (Apr. 5, 2011), <http://dukechronicle.com/article/open-letter-kyrie-irving>.

70. *Diversity in Sports Media: What Happened? Panel Discussion* (Oct. 26, 2010), <http://www.merrill.umd.edu/events/diversity-sports-media-what-happened-panel-discussion>.

71. See Kyle Hightower, *Newspapers, Websites Lacking Diversity in Sports*, BLOOMBERG BUSINESSWEEK (April 28, 2011), <http://www.businessweek.com/ap/financialnews/D9MSP1VO0.htm>.

72. Angie Chuang, *Glenn Proctor: Journalism Associations Need to Help Online Outlets Hire for Diversity*, POYNTER.ORG (Apr. 15, 2011), <http://www.poynter.org/how-tos/leadership-management/128063/glenn-proctor-traditional-media-need-to-take-lead-in-helping-online-outlets-hire-for-diversity/>.

73. See Tanzina Vega, *A Rift Divides Members of Journalism Groups*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 2, 2011, at B2.

74. Hightower, *supra* note 71.

75. *Id.*

2012]

THE WHITENING OF SPORTS MEDIA

225

by white business and journalistic interests, and run with a proclivity to hire their own.⁷⁶ Pressrooms and press boxes at major college athletic events in particular will be increasingly all white to the eye.

The consequences of an increasingly less diverse or more white sports media, covering what is unquestionably a more diverse or more black and brown major sports team universe, are concerns proven by research over the years that black athletes are portrayed negatively and stereotypically.⁷⁷ They are concerns that will continue to heighten anxieties about black males in society in particular.

The reasons for these differences are not in the athletes but in those who hold the prism through which they are viewed.

76. CIVIL DISORDERS, *supra* note 18, at 211–12.

77. Richard E. Lapchick, *Crime and Athletes: New Racial Stereotypes*, in *SPORT IN CONTEMP. SOC'Y* 184, 185 (D. Stanley Eitzen ed., Paradigm Publishers 8th ed. 2009) (2000).

