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A Media Analysis of Racism and Ethnocentrism Issues Framed in US and European Mass Media
Within the Setting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup Competition

A thesis
presented to
the faculty of the Department of Communication
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts in Professional Communication

by
Monica Năstase
May 2007

Dr. Stephen Marshall, Chair
Dr. Jack Mooney
Dr. Donald Shemwell

Keywords: agenda setting, media framing, FIFA World Cup, racism, ethnocentrism, content
analysis, soccer

ABSTRACT

A Media Analysis of Racism and Ethnocentrism Issues Framed in US and European Mass Media

Within the Setting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup Competition

by

Monica Năstase

The present exploratory study, framed in agenda-setting theory, analyzes the way European and US newspapers frame racism and ethnocentrism issues, on the background of the 2006 FIFA World Cup. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, 2 research hypotheses and 9 research questions were explored. The results showed the distribution of articles that used a positive frame and the ones that used a negative frame was relatively equal across geographical regions.

The US media have shown as the most ethnocentric nationality the Spanish, while the European media, the Scottish. There is an agreement across different geographical regions that the French and the German have the most tolerant or anti-discriminatory actions or attitudes. The most prominent theme to describe nationalities' tolerant attitudes was the power of football to unify peoples and to enhance global understanding. Both the American and the European media described the Argentinean team mostly in terms of athletic skill.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study analyzes the way European and US newspapers frame issues of racism and ethnocentrism in coverage of the 2006 FIFA World Cup.

Unfortunately, “international soccer has been plagued for years by violence among fans, including racial incidents” (Longman, 2006, para. 3). Journalist Jere Longman reports on how the European soccer stadiums have become “a communal soapbox, one of the few remaining public spaces, where spectators can be outrageous and where political correctness does not exist and is even discouraged” (Longman). Thus, ever since 2002 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the international body that governs the soccer game, applied the action called FIFA Anti-Discrimination Day and includes in each World Cup competition a campaign called “Say No to Racism.” These actions are possible because the World Cup is not only a football competition anymore but a brand in itself and also a universal intercultural phenomenon where all nations come together.

Because the media coverage of World Cup is extensive all over the world and millions are reading about it daily, journalists are able to raise different social issues, such as racism or ethnic problems, and thus reach a large number of people from all over the world. Moreover, framing of such issues is decisive of the way it will shape public opinion. Through its recently-created campaign, “Say No to Racism”, The World Cup governing body facilitates the issue of racism in the journalists’ agenda by making it a prominent theme.

The advent of the Internet together with the possibility of live coverage and instant access to information has helped tremendously in shaping the football game as an international and multicultural affair. In world competitions, like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympics, TV

reporters from all over the world broadcast the games live. Thus, people from any part of the world can watch the same game at virtually the same time.

Therefore, the current study examines which of the discrimination issues, racism or ethnocentrism, is most discussed in each of the two socio-geographic settings, Europe and USA, and the importance given to each of them. This research analyzed all the available articles from US and European print media found in the Lexis Nexis database. Through the process of content analysis, the researcher answered two research hypotheses and nine research questions by exploring issues such as sources of news and their manner of framing set by the respective nations' journalists.

This research will be useful to both sociopolitical entities, first as a cultural study on discrimination and second as an account for journalists of the present tendencies in media framing of cross-cultural issues. This study would also be useful in education as a tool for professors to teach students the importance of framing and its effects when reporting worldwide events and through framing the great influence journalists can have on public opinion. Students would also have the opportunity to learn about differences in the approach of social issues between the two continents, North America and Europe. This study is exploratory and groundbreaking because a similar study comparing the two issues, racism and ethnocentrism, and their portrayal in the media was not found. Thus, the present analysis benefits mass communication researchers with a new aspect added to the body of knowledge about intercultural topics. Furthermore, the two cultural spaces will gain from the results of this study by becoming more aware of, and further perhaps take action against, the discriminatory practices possibly going on and their depiction in the media.

The study is even more significant in light that few past research articles have dealt with cross-cultural comparisons of racism and ethnocentrism. The importance of continuing to study the intercultural issues in a world sporting event of such magnitude resides in the permanent international interchanges of players and coaches and their constant need of social and cultural adjustment in different teams, traditions, and nations. The study is also essential in describing the power newspapers have in influencing fans across the world through processes of framing about newsworthy and important ethnic and race-related issues.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic Issues

Neuliep, Chaudoir, and McCorskey (2001) reviewed the social science literature and traced back the earliest definition of ethnocentrism, given by Sumner (1906, as cited in Neuliep et al.) who defined it as “the technical name for this view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it” (p. 137-138). Other social scientists have tried to give alternative definitions. Levinson saw it as “a hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate” (1950, as cited in Neuliep et al., p. 138). Neuliep et al. stated the following: “The idea is that all cultures are so embedded in their own special codes and value orientations that there is an ethnocentric inclination to believe that their unique interpretations and perceptions of the world and human nature are the best and most correct ones” (p. 138).

When analyzing ethnic issues, previous reviewed research focuses primarily on two paths: either the European problems between different cultures of the continent or the relations between white Americans and Latinos in the North American setting.

Even though Hispanic people originally from Central or South America are more and more a common population in many North American cities, research illustrates that Latinos are still viewed as an oppressed social group. Gaudio and Bialostok (2005) make a critical discourse analysis on everyday speech of Katherine, a white middle-class American, married to a working-class Latino man (p. 57-62). Katherine’s conversations are benevolent when talking about her husband’s less-educated family, about the Latinos who cling to their culture long after settling in USA, or about the Latinos’ lack of socioeconomic success as being “in their blood” (p. 62-63).

Yet, “Implicit in all these accounts is the proposition that the cultural values of the white middle class are morally superior to those of other ethnic and class groups, and that it is the responsibility of ‘ethnic’ poor people of color to renounce their old values and adopt new ones” (Gaudio & Bialostok, p. 52-53).

Sizemore (2004) also addressed this issue when assessing the whites’ discourse of ethnic inclusion, which “allows for the sentiment, especially among Anglos, that this is “our country” and Hispanics should “fit in.” (p. 535). Sizemore’s research project consists of qualitative interviews with white people from a rural area in southern Illinois on the topic of Hispanic social integration in their community. Virtually all white Americans interviewed, from local people to government representatives, described the change of their community by the arrival of Hispanics by using language of ethnocentrism and paternalism.

The way ethnocentrism was manifested in Sizemore’s (2004) article is by the distinction of “we” the rightfully inhabitants of this place and “them”, the outsiders who need to conform if they want to fit in. The paternalism was manifested in whites’ language in two ways: either as a “local benevolence” in order to use them as cheap labor for the work on the state’s orchards or as people with “universal rights”, language used by government agencies in order to undergo their political agenda of “providing entitlements to minority groups” (Sizemore, p. 548).

The other focus on ethnic problems is the mixture of a multitude of nationalities living together on the European continent. This constitutes an old debate and research area that has become even more intense since the formation of the European Union in 1992. “The European Union itself, in recent years, has been acting rather like a state without a nation – or, rather, as a state busily trying to invent a (super) nation for itself, through its control of communications and cultural technologies” (Morley, 1998, p. 342). In Europe, cultural diversity and homogeneity

have been redefined in order to correspond with standardization and unity promoted by the European Parliament.

Morley (1998) addressed in his research the question of the future of the European Union trying to become a single entity by creating a single market in the audiovisual area. Morley discussed the people's difficulty in finding their own cultural traits in a politico-economic alliance and with this the rebirth of ethnic nationalism: "not everyone feels attracted to this kind of Euro-identity and many are, at the very least, uncertain about what the claims to 'unity in diversity' of European culture might actually mean. [...] One response to these upheavals has been to find refuge in more localized senses of place and identity; we have seen the flourishing of cultural regionalism and small nationalisms" (p. 343).

In an interview given to the London newspaper, *The Guardian*, in 1992, Umberto Eco expressed his concern on the same idea addressed by Morley (1998) of unity in Europe, either it is through language, culture, or politics: "We've got to pin our hopes on polyglot Europe. Europe's problem is to find political unity across a polyglot culture" (p. 25).

Cultural Racism

The instances when explicit racism makes its way in the media channels are rare nowadays, but that does not mean that racism has disappeared completely from the public realm. As Gaudio and Bialostok (2005) stated: "The relative absence of overt racism has led some to suppose that racism itself no longer exists [...] But racism is alive and well [...] It is just hiding under the guise of 'culture'" (p. 51-52). Under the pretext that for instance, Hispanics *culturally* are less focused on achieving higher education (Gaudio & Bialostok, p. 62), people convey racist ideas and they cover them up under the name of cultural diversity. Therefore, rather than

recognizing the distortion of underprivileged races in US society, middle-class white Americans “blame culture for the lower classes’ suffering and poverty, and for dragging down the living standards of the country as a whole” (Gaudio & Bialostok, p. 64).

Cultural racism is manifested not only by individuals, like in Gaudio and Bialostok’s (2005) discourse analysis, but also and maybe more importantly by mass media. The way journalists portray the different races in news stories affects public understanding and opinions on the races portrayed and the social implications in diversity. Gandy and Li (2005) analyzed through a quantitative content analysis of news articles how African-Americans are framed in stories about racial disparity and inequality. The articles from different newspaper sections are studied: finance, criminal justice, healthcare, education, and employment. Both whites and African-Americans were studied. The results showed that the tendency is to portray blacks discriminately, as having the hardships regardless of the field, rather than reporting on whites as having the advantages in situations relating to the above-mentioned fields.

The portrayal in the media of discrimination of blacks was studied by other researchers as well, and the same findings are presented: blacks’ loan applications are refused based on the risk they present (Goshorn & Gandy, 1995), and in an exposure to hazards and risks blacks are portrayed more negatively than whites (Gandy, Kopp, Hands, Frazer, & Phillips, 1997).

The issue of portraying the African and white Americans in press has also been studied by Richardson (2005) through an experiment with readers who were given either framed or non-framed editorials about affirmative action in the American society. Although the framed articles with the diversity frame did not influence White readers into favoring more the affirmative action policy, they created more concern and empathy towards Blacks, leading them to have better interracial attitudes. The results showed that framing is effective because “the diversity

frame appears to improve Whites' pro-Black affect" (Richardson, p. 522). So, this study gave further evidence, based on the literature reviewed, that media can manipulate readers using different frames and that frames can affect readers' racial and ethnic perceptions.

The racist representations of African-Americans go even into the field of sports (Wilson, 1997), where African-American basketball players are categorized in Canadian media as either "good" or "bad" by their ability to integrate in the white dominated society rather than by the quality of their play. "The success or failure of African-Americans was attributed to their ability or inability to take advantage of the 'American dream'" (Wilson, p. 177). If they are "good blacks" they achieved their goals through hard work and discipline, if they are "bad blacks" they were blamed for not being able to take advantage of the opportunities they had. Either way, by not mentioning the racist barriers that exist in society, the news stories managed to "reinforce the view that the failure of the black underclass is their own fault" (Wilson, p. 185) without any contribution from the society. Wilson's findings support previous literature reviewed regarding the racist descriptions of African-Americans in the media, the active construction of negative stereotypes about African-Americans. They also support "Wenner's concept of the good black/bad black dichotomy" (Wilson, p. 186).

Consequently, the articles that study the impact of the framing on the public's perception of the different races, and specifically on the African-American one, demonstrate that mass media are indeed an important influence that shapes public opinion concerning the different races and ethnicities in the US society.

Nationalism in Football

Several studies regarding nationalism have been conducted (Hermes, 2005; Inthorn, 2002; Rivenburgh, 2000; Stankovic, 2004; Tzanelli, 2006), but the most comprising in terms of civilizations from all over the world is the one done by Boster and Maltseva (2006). They analyzed through a survey of positive and negative phrases Europeans' views on various nationalities from Europe, Asia, and North America. The results showed a great deal of stereotyping from each of the nations interviewed, regardless of the proximity or distance from the country stereotyped.

Generally, the closer the nation is to the one of the interviewee the harsher will be the judgment and the stereotype, and the farther away the nation is the easier it is judged. As the authors put it, "The distant background is homogenized, reduced to a sparse schema; it is the social foreground, one's neighboring nations and one's fellow nations, where the images are complicated, contested and conflicted" (Boster & Maltseva, 2006, p. 59). Thus, the researchers already started from the premise that there is certainly stereotyping going on among nations, and so the study was solely concerned with examining the *degree* of stereotyping each nation expressed towards others.

The most recent article that analyzed the aspects of nationalism in the football arena is the qualitative analysis conducted by Hermes (2005). Through interviews taken to fans of the Dutch national football team, there was revealed their nationalist character, despite their famous claims that they are a non-racist nation. Many players in the Dutch football team are from Suriname; a nation governed by Netherlands until 1975 and composed mainly of black people.

Thus, the interviews focused on nationalism and the black players in the team. Even though almost no one consciously believed or stated he or she is racist, "it is clearly somewhat

painful that the Netherlands, a nation felt to be essentially white, should be represented by non-whites” (Hermes, 2005, p. 61). Furthermore, another type of racism emerged from the results, called enlightened racism, “in which black players are seen as the naturally (biologically) more gifted players: ‘They can do more than the average European player’ (Jaap). [...] ‘The way they play the ball, it’s instinct’ (Johan)” (Hermes, p. 63).

Because of the speed of coverage that needs to be done, reporters have to be prepared with all data necessary to make astute reviews and commentaries. Tudor (1992) made a qualitative discourse analysis of the language of British TV reporters at the England – Cameroon game in 1990 World Cup. The reporting of the event relied mainly on stereotypes that have been reinforced throughout the entire game time. England, the home team, was unmistakably portrayed with partisan comments; the language being used was of “us”, or “we want our team to win” (Tudor, p. 403). In opposition, in regard to Cameroon team, “Their players are unfamiliar and, in a Eurocentric context, the cultures themselves have little or no pre-established footballing identity” (Tudor, p. 399). Thus the Cameroon team was described in an “extra-footballing language, often basically patronizing in tone”, as coming “out of Africa” and “a happy-go-lucky bunch”, “just happy to be here” (Tudor, p. 399-401). However, after Cameroon won the game, they were suddenly characterized with the lines: “They’re not as naïve as we’d like to think they are” and “African football will never be underestimated in Europe again” (Tudor, p. 403-405).

A similar study was conducted by Alabarces, Tomlinson, and Young (2001) who analyzed the media narratives of nation and the popular players after Argentina’s win over England at 1998 World Cup in France. The framing of the articles was a mix of reporting from the field of play, historical rooted rivalries, culture, and principles of the game of football. “Mass media and sport are indispensable forms of such discourse, in their contribution of ‘a shared

culture which makes men into nationalists” (Gellner, 1994: viii, as cited in Alabarces et al., p. 548). One other aspect of the coverage was the stereotyping of both the countries’ national traits and their historic ability of play. The media coverage is crucial in forming the public opinion and in this case the fact that this game was “the biggest UK television audience since the funeral of Princess Diana” (Alabarces et al., p. 554) shows how practical it is for media to shape public opinion with the help of such a world sporting event as the World Cup.

Across Europe, in a politically troubled part of the continent, Slovenians have similar nationalist perceptions on their national football team. Stankovič (2004) conducted a historic analysis on the national identity of Slovenians under political rule of the Serbs in Yugoslavia. Because they could not express themselves freely in politics, the conflict took shape in culture, religion, and sports, mainly in football. In the 1960s and 1970s, Slovenians used winter sports as a means of distancing themselves culturally from Serbs, who did not have either mountains or winter sports. However, to prove their superiority, Slovenians had to prove they are good in football as well. Their social strategic move was to change the meaning of football into a pejorative one, so they would not have to prove their superiority as a nation through an inferior game. “Soccer literally became a synonym for a game that does little else other than stimulate the basest of human instincts (anger, hate, mindful passion, quasi-orgasmic joy when a goal is scored, and so on)” (Stankovič, p. 238-239).

However, after they started to win football games internationally in mid 1990s because of their better team, Slovenians switched the social meaning of football again, now with the connotation of “Slovenian soccer as a proof of the incredible vitality of a small nation, its homogeneity, cooperation, solidarity” (Stankovič, 2004, p. 247). They also accepted the “inferior” immigrants, the Serbs, who comprised at least half of the national football team. Yet,

they explained the success of the football team not through the talent of the Serbs, but through the “hard work” characteristic to Slovenians, who consider themselves to be a part of the civilized Germanic type of Europeans.

Eastern European peoples like Slovenians might look up to Germany and other Western European countries, but these nations are not spared the nationalist discourse either. As Inthorn (2002) showed, German national identity is discussed up to the present day. Through a qualitative analysis of the German press coverage, the researcher portrayed how the present German nation was described within the setting of 1998 FIFA World Cup discourse as an antithesis of the pre-1945 Germany. The results of the analysis showed that indeed Germany criticizes nationalism that involves violence or discrimination and accepts the new forms of nationalism that entails “pride in one’s country without sentiments of national superiority” (Inthorn, p. 65).

Another aspect analyzed by Inthorn (2002) was the series of stereotypes that are involved when describing the polarity of the ‘self’ and ‘other’. Just like Tudor’s (1992) analysis outlined previously, “common constitutive features of collective identities are identified [...] a sense of ‘us’ – the members of the national collectivity of the ‘self’ – and ‘them’ – those who do not belong, the ‘other’ – is established.” (Inthorn, p. 50). Overall, the discourse analysis showed that even though the German media tries to create an image of the new nationalism of Germany, old descriptions of “mystic homelands” are still a part of the German press discourse.

One of the latest articles portraying the ways in which nationalism manifests itself in European countries in the setting of the international football competitions is the content analysis conducted by Tzanelli (2006). Starting from Greece’s unforeseen triumph in the Euro 2004 Football Cup, the researcher made an account of the sociological meaning of the victory for the

Greek nation, concluding that the Greek media took every chance to explore the nature of their national identity presenting Greece after the victory as “the Greek revival”, having a “heroic uniqueness” or that “Olympus has new Greek Gods” (p. 485-497).

In conclusion, all the articles outlined in this section portray several nations’ trend towards seeing their own people as liberal, multicultural, and open but at the same time superior to others in a nationalist manner. Clearly, the football setting is just a support and not the main focus of the explored theme.

Agenda Setting

In 1972 McCombs and Shaw (as cited in Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004) were the first two researchers who conceptualized the agenda setting notion by measuring the agenda of the media. They stated that “mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda” (as cited in Griffin, 2006, p. 395). Their first practical study on which they tested the theory was the 1968 presidential campaign between Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey. They analyzed the agenda of the media, major newspapers and TV stations, and then also conducted interviews with voters. Remarkably, there was a great convergence of the voters’ perceptions with the predominant issues resulting from the media analysis. So the media managed to set the agenda for the voters’ perception of the most important issue at the time.

The selection of the news stories is at the core of the agenda-setting process, practice that the mass media professionals conduct for every issue of a newspaper or TV news bulletin. The stories that journalists and news directors choose to include in the newspaper or air on TV, as opposed to the news stories they choose to leave out, represent the agenda the journalists set for

the public. McCombs and Shaw stated that this agenda-setting function creates “a correlation between the media and public ordering of priorities” (as cited in Griffin, 2006, p. 395).

The hypothesis of agenda setting predicts a relationship between the content in the media and the public’s perception, more precisely an equivalent between the agenda of the media and the subsequent public agenda. In order for this hypothesis to prove true, the media agenda must precede the public agenda in time. Through framing, the media not only tells the public *what to think about*, but it tells them *what to think* by emphasizing some issues instead of others. Furthermore, McCombs and Shaw even state that “some people look to print and broadcast news for guidance on which issues are really important” (as cited in Sparks, 2006, p. 178).

Bernard Cohen, political scientist, also summarized the agenda-setting theory in the following way: “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about” (as cited in Sparks, 2006, p. 176). So, the continued coverage of certain chosen issues defines what is newsworthy in a given day, before the public even gets to read the respective news stories and be influenced by their framing. The coverage of a certain issue may not establish precisely what the public position will be on the issue, but it guarantees that the issue will be considered important enough.

Wanta et al. (2004) used the agenda-setting theory to study if the newscasts’ coverage of foreign nations set the agenda for public perceptions of those countries. They used content analysis and survey to study public agenda and the media agenda of the newscasts’ content. The results show that the more media coverage a certain nation received, “the more likely the respondents were to think the nation was vitally important to US interests” (Wanta et al., p. 364). The results support the agenda-setting theory and show a strong relationship between media coverage and the forming of public opinion.

Media Framing

Despite Cohen's definition, some researchers believe that the press does indeed tell us both what to think about and also *what to think*. The media are able to persuade the public into what to think about certain issues through the process of framing. A media frame is an organizing idea for the content of the news in such a way that it "supplies a context and suggests what this issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Griffin, 2006, p. 328). One of the earlier definitions is given by Entman (1992, as cited in Poindexter, Smith, & Heider, 2003), who stated that framing is "selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 526).

By using frames, media not only set the agenda of news for the public opinion but also transfer the importance of specific attribute to topics, actions, or happenings. These two ways of persuading the public are called first-level and second-level agenda-setting.

Thus, first-level agenda-setting represents the ability of the media to tell people *what to think about* by using the amount of coverage of a certain issue to set its importance. Afterward, second-level agenda-setting represents a further ability of the media to tell people *what to think*. They are able to accomplish this by focusing on the characteristics of the issues published to transmit how people should think about the respective issue (Griffin, 2006).

Framing actually tells the reader what the important subject is, who are the characters, and the opinion they should form about them after reading the news story. Framing can also form opinions about what races get to count in the public debate by the amount of exposure each gets. Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) have studied how TV stories from local television news markets all over USA framed race and ethnicity in the last 2 decades of the 20th Century. They found that "Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans were virtually non-existent as

anchors, reporters, subjects and sources” and that “reporters were segregated by race” (Poindexter et al., p. 533). They also found that African-Americans were only visible in negative news stories.

Regarding various races, even small differences in framing may have strong influences on how the public perceives and prefers them. “These framing cues might, however, also involve racial identifications that would trigger implicit evaluative responses in certain subgroups of the general population” (Gandy et al., 1997, p. 163). Gandy et al. stated that “the subject or theme of the story is an important determination of the ways in which the story will be framed in the headline and in the lead” (p. 177). So the stories about white people will be framed differently from stories about blacks.

Gandy et al. (1997) created a sample of newspaper articles and analyzed comparisons between whites and blacks in an ordinal scale from “no focus” to “primary focus”. The findings showed that “the overwhelming majority of the stories were about black victimization or disparities in which blacks were on the losing side” (Gandy et al., p. 170). Also, when whites compared to blacks are at risk, Gandy et al. found when talking about whites, journalists tend to frame them positively, as opposed to the negative frames placed on blacks. When newspapers deal with an issue about African-Americans, “those stories, almost without regard to topic, are bound to emphasize the negative” (Gandy et al., p. 178).

Several research articles (Gandy & Li, 2005; Gandy et al., 1997; Goshorn & Gandy, 1995) discuss the issue of framing of African-Americans in US setting in regard to risk. Risk is seen as “the probability of property damage, injury, illness or death associated with a hazard” (Gandy & Li, p. 73), including the assignment of blame and responsibility for the respective harm. Gandy and Li’s study was concerned with the way the media frame stories about disparity

and inequality for white and African-American races in the US social setting. The researchers conducted an analysis of stories of different types, from finance, criminal justice, education, or healthcare, and revealed editorial bias in terms of discriminatory frames. Specifically, their findings show that African-Americans are portrayed as the social category that is subject to more risk in the society, in comparison with middle-class whites. Additionally, when African-Americans are the victims of a risk, the blame and responsibility is attributed to them rather than the system.

Consequently, all the previously discussed articles (Gandy & Li, 2005; Gandy et al., 1997; Goshorn & Gandy, 1995; Poindexter et al., 2003) that deal with the framing of whites in comparison with blacks in the American media portrayed the discrimination of blacks in favor of whites, regardless of the subject analyzed. Thus, it is revealed the importance media framing has on shaping public opinion on different races in the society.

From a different perspective, media framing is not only important in shaping public opinion but also in setting the scene for the global businesses that invest in the football industry. Boyle and Haynes (1996) made an analysis of the place of football in the new cultures built within the economics of global capital. They mainly discussed Scottish football in the process of increasing globalization that is primarily driven by television. The researchers illustrated that the cultural and national identities, with all their complexities and particularities, become much more prominent world-wide when media reports on global sporting events such as the World Cup or the Olympics.

At a time when both football and visual media industries in Scotland are under pressure of either Europeanization or globalization, they turned their interest to local or regional heritage rather than conforming to standardization. Through an extensive discourse analysis, Boyle and

Haynes (1996) showed that “The Scottish print media also stress their distinctive Scottish character, in part through their sports coverage and by recourse to particular local idioms and discourses” (p. 562).

Insufficient Data

The majority of the articles reviewed until now suggest that the European social setting has many more difficulties regarding the complex issues of nationalism and ethnocentrism, and that the United States setting has primarily issues regarding racism. However, a thorough search yielded only one study that actually made an intercultural comparison of ethnocentrism involving USA and another social setting. Neuliep et al. (2001) made an analysis of the degrees of ethnocentrism among Japanese and American college students.

Cultures are generally so embedded in their own values and heritage that they have “an ethnocentric inclination to believe that their unique interpretations and perceptions of the world and human nature are the best and most correct ones.” (Neuliep et al., 2001, p. 138). Aside from most nations of the world, the United States has the political ideology “based on a melting pot metaphor where people from diverse cultures enter the US and get stirred up in the same pot. The phrase *e pluribus unum* represents the socio-political philosophy that from myriad ethnicities comes a single unified culture.” (Neuliep et al., p. 140). Thus, based on these assumptions, Neuliep et al. conducted a study with the hypothesis that Japanese people will score higher on measurements of ethnocentrism. The results supported the hypothesis; Japanese students scored much higher than American students, and an additional study of data revealed that men scored higher than women in ethnocentrism in both cultures.

Because this is “the first direct empirical comparison of ethnocentrism among Japanese and Americans” (Neuliep et al., 2001, p. 143), the three researchers proposed for future research that other studies are done on more diverse cultures in order to get closer to the indicators as to what aspects of a culture are likely to lead to higher or lower ethnocentrism.

In addition, two other researchers, Imada and Schiavo (2005), have done a study in 16 academic journals on a period of 10 years, from 1990 to 1999, to find out the share of articles studying different ethnic groups. They selected all articles that analyzed ethnic issues regarding African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans and found African-Americans were the most studied ethnic group. However, the overall results show that in the APA journals the percentage of ethnic studies was as low as 4.7% and in non-APA journals it was 8.1%. The results of this analysis prove once again the importance of continuing to study racial and ethnic issues within the setting of different cultures.

This awareness of the need of more studies of cross-cultural comparisons of ethnocentrism and racism combined with the evidence outlined above that international football competitions and their media portrayal encompass more than just a game, give reason for the present study. However, it is an exploratory analysis, employing research concepts and methods that have not been used until now in a quantitative study.

As a result of the previous review of literature, the following research questions and hypotheses are formulated.

Research Hypotheses

RH1: US media will more frequently cover racial issues than ethnocentric issues within the setting of 2006 FIFA World Cup.

RH2: European media will more frequently cover ethnocentric issues than racial issues within the setting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup.

Research Questions

RQ1: Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the athletic skill descriptor by the US media?

RQ2: Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the athletic skill descriptor by the European media?

RQ3: Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the concentration descriptor by the US media?

RQ4: Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the concentration descriptor by the European media?

RQ5: Which frame was used predominantly by each geographic region?

RQ6: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having ethnocentrism attitudes by the US media?

RQ7: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having ethnocentrism attitudes by the European media?

RQ8: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having anti-ethnocentrism attitudes by the US media?

RQ9: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having anti-ethnocentrism attitudes by the European media?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis was used in the present exploratory study to examine the research questions and to test the research hypotheses. This study examines racism and ethnocentrism issues that appeared in the print media during the time of the 2006 FIFA World Cup, between June 9th and July 9th, 2006.

Neuendorf (2002) defined content analysis as the “summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method [...] and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented” (p. 10). Content analysis provides researchers with a quantitative method for studying what people say; from human interactions to character portrayals in TV ads, movies, or shows; or the use of words in news releases, commentaries, or political speeches. Thus, by identifying specific characteristics of messages, researchers use content analysis as “an indirect way to make inferences about people” (Keyton, 2006, p. 234).

Previous content analysis studies explored racial issues mainly focusing on the differences between the white and the black races. Gandy et al. (1997) studied the framing of racial inequality of whites and blacks, in regard to risk in society, in the headlines and leads of 29 newspapers. Billings (2004) focused on the differences in ways white and black players were represented in terms of athletic skill or perceived intelligence. Hardin, Chance, and Walsdorf (2004) studied a set of 800 images of US Olympic athletes, categorized as “black”, “white” and “other”, to analyze if illustrations reinforced notions of racial difference. Poindexter et al. (2003) content analyzed a series of local TV newscasts to find representations of five races in news

stories: how they were presented and if they were segregated and the roles each race played in a news story.

Concerning the study of ethnicities, Rivenburgh (2000) did a content analysis of one national newspaper from each of US, Argentina, and Denmark to find out if the notions of “in-group favoritism” and “protection” were used when portraying citizens engaged in international activities. Wal et al. (2005) also used content analysis to answer research questions regarding the framing of ethnic minorities in the European and Dutch mass media in different categories of news stories, from family issues to violence.

Neuliep et al. (2001) used a questionnaire for a quantitative analysis to find out ethnocentrism levels in American and Japanese college students. The questionnaire consisted mainly of the statements in the GENE scale, used in the present study for reference as well, and results showed that Japanese students scored significantly higher than Americans in ethnocentrism attitudes.

The present analysis constitutes an exploratory study because, as stated above, no other study was found to have similar methodology.

Sample Frame and Unit of Analysis

The news stories were searched in the online database Lexis Nexis by several criteria: first there was chosen the region, US and European newspapers, and then the date range between June 9th and July 9th, 2006. Two series of keywords were used to narrow the search for the appropriate articles: “world cup” and “ethnicity” and then “world cup” and “race”.

The Lexis Nexis database was built in the 1960s initially comprising only the legal database (Lexis), and by the beginning of the 1990s, after the addition of the news sources

(Nexis), it had developed into “the most comprehensive and well-constructed message archive on earth” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 219). Lexis Nexis consists of approximately 10,200 different databases, with 15 million documents being added each week (Neuendorf, p. 219). All these facts make it a reliable online source for researchers in their study of mass media content. However, the publications available in the mass media section of the database are somewhat biased towards the US news sources “except for the international wire services” (Neuendorf, p. 221). The addition of newspapers’ content from different regions of the world depends strictly of the respective newspaper’s availability of online content. Consequently, this constitutes one of the drawbacks of the present study, which was not able to reach all the European and American newspapers, just the ones loaded into the Lexis Nexis database.

Therefore, all the stories found in the database using the two sets of keywords were downloaded and printed. Stories that came up in the search but had nothing to do with the 2006 FIFA World Cup were eliminated. Such examples are news stories dealing with other global competitions, such as racing or rowing, or others that contained the word “race” but the reference was to different subjects, such as a horse race or political race. Initially there were downloaded and printed 503 news stories. However, after coding the entire data, 166 stories were eliminated based on the reasons mentioned above.

For each story found, the title and the entire article were analyzed. The unit of analysis is each segment of a news story containing a mentioned race, ethnicity, or nation and the related descriptors of the social issue presented. The researchers coded 337 news stories, or 448 segments of a news story.

The 2006 FIFA World Cup Competition is just the background setting for studying the depiction in media of racial and ethnocentric issues, and it does not constitute the main subject of

the study. That is why some of the segments that contained mentions of races, ethnicities, or nationalities but were not a direct reference to the social issues analyzed in this study were not coded. Examples of such instances are the mentions of upcoming games between two nations, rendering of latest scores of games, and other similar instances. For example, a segment that would not be coded because of the lack of relevance for the present study is the following: “He was referring to the elimination of Argentina and France, with Italy on the brink unless it defeats Mexico” (Dell’Apa, 2002, June 13). There are four nations mentioned, but there is no ethnic issue discussed. There is no discrimination portrayed about any of the nations mentioned. Thus, such a segment would not constitute a part of the research. Another example of a similar instance is the following: “On the short list of games that won’t be shown live are Ireland-Cameroon (2:25 a.m. EDT) tomorrow and England-Sweden (5:25 a.m. Sunday)” (Griffith, 2002, May 31). These examples are just mentions of the upcoming games. The segment has nothing to do with an ethnic or racial issue; there is no qualifying term for either of the nation, so it will not be coded for the purposes of the present research.

Codebook. Independent Variables and Dependent Variables

The independent variables were the following: the newspaper’s name, its date of publication, the country of the newspaper, and the type of article. The dependent variables were: the race, the ethnicity or nationality, the word-for-word descriptor, the ability descriptor, and the frame.

The independent variables had the following specific classifications: the newspaper’s name variable had 73 categories (see Appendix A); the newspaper’s date of publication had 31 categories: from June 9th to July 9th; the country of newspaper variable had seven categories (see

Appendix A); and the type of article had three categories, factual news story, editorial or opinion article, or “cannot tell or don’t know”.

The dependent variables had the following specific classifications. The race variable had six categories: white; Black; Asian; Latino, Latina or Hispanic; Native American, and “not mentioned or don’t know”. One previous study from the ones reviewed coded races with six terms: white, African-American, Latino or Latina, Asian American, Native American, unable to determine or other (Poindexter et al., 2003). However, in their study Poindexter et al. (2003) only analyzed news stories from the US mass media and focused on the Americanized races and ethnicities living in USA. Because the present study is an analysis of the coverage of a global event in which nations from all over the world participate, the race categories have been changed to represent the original source. The races changed were from African-American into Black, from Asian American into Asian, and from Latino or Latina into the more general phrase, Latino or Latina or Hispanic. The rest of the categories for the race variable were left the same. The present study includes the five races mentioned in the previous study because of relevance of the present intercultural analysis.

The ethnicity or nationality variable had 40 categories (see Appendix A). This is an intercultural study about the framing of a multitude of nationalities and ethnicities within the setting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup, so each ethnicity that was portrayed in a social issue of discrimination was coded. At the end of the coding process, each ethnicity or nationality was given a number and the variable was transformed from string into numerical for the purposes of statistical research.

The word-for-word descriptor variable means coding the exact phrase used to describe a race, ethnicity, or nationality of a person or team. It was adopted from Billings and Eastman’s

(2002) study that analyzed the media coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics looking at gender, ethnicity, and nationality. They defined the word-for-word descriptor or the descriptive phrase variable as “all adjectival descriptors and descriptive phrases applied” (p. 357). The word-for-word descriptor was further used by Billings (2004) in a subsequent study. Several examples of word-for-word descriptors included in the present study are: “attacks on dark skinned foreigners”, “prejudice against immigrants is high”, “regardless of whether they are black or brown or white the team represents France”, or “multiracial team”.

The ability descriptor variable had three categories: concentration, athletic skill, and “not mentioned or other”. The first two categories represent a part of the taxonomy created by Billings and Eastman (2002) in their study. The same taxonomy was further used by Billings (2004) to analyze the TV commentaries on Black and white players within the setting of college and professional football. For the entire classification table see Appendix A.

The frame variable had four categories: “positive”, “negative”, “factual”, and “none”. In order to conceptualize the frame variable, the present study used Neuliep and McCorskey’s (1997) research in which they created a generalized ethnocentrism scale. The scale consists of 24 statements that can be grouped in 12 sets of opposite pairs of statements in which one is ethnocentric or discriminatory towards other cultures, and the other one is tolerant or accepting of other cultures besides one’s own, or even disapproving of one’s culture. This generalized ethnocentrism scale was used as a reference to define and set the parameters of the positive frame and the negative frame. A segment of a news story was coded as having a positive frame when there was evidence of ethnocentrism attitudes portrayed about a certain ethnicity and it could be correlated in meaning with any of the 12 ethnocentric statements from the ethnocentrism scale. A segment of a news story was coded as having a negative frame when

there was evidence of tolerant or accepting attitudes portrayed about a certain ethnicity and could be correlated in meaning with any of the 12 anti-ethnocentric or tolerant statements from the ethnocentrism scale. A segment of a news story was coded as factual when there was a mention of race or ethnicity, but the comment or description of it was made without any evaluating words. A segment of a news story was coded as “none” when there was no ethnocentrism frame used, generally when the segment was coded for the “ability” category.

Grounded-Theory Approach

For the nine research questions formulated, chi-square tests of independence were not run because several cells in each case had the expected count less than five. A multitude of ethnicities were discussed both in the US and the European media. The frequencies ranged from 19 in the US media to 30 in European media. In the US media 16 out of 19 (84.2 %) ethnicities were mentioned fewer than 5 times. In the European media 25 out of 30 (83.3 %) ethnicities were mentioned fewer than 10 times, with 20 out of 30 (66.6 %) ethnicities mentioned fewer than 5 times.

Therefore, the researcher tried to categorize the ethnicities into larger geographical groups in order to find out if this method would allow a further chi-square statistical test. The larger categories were the following: Central and South America; North America; Africa; Europe; Middle East, and Asia and Pacific. All but five of the ethnicities coded were included in one of these larger categories according to their region. The five ethnicities that were left out are: English, French, German, Scottish, and Spanish. These ones stand out in the frequency test with 40 to 73 mentions. In comparison, of the remaining ethnicities only one is mentioned 12 times, 30.7 % between three and nine times, and 53.8 % are mentioned once or twice.

Furthermore, after the categorization of ethnicities into larger groups, another set of chi-square analyses were run to test if there are statistically significant relationships between the regions and the frames, and further on between the regions and the ability descriptors. Again, the instances when the expected count was less than five ranged from 20.8% to 60.6%. So, even collapsed into larger geographical categories the data were not suitable for chi-square tests.

Consequently, each of the eight research questions will be further discussed from a qualitative point of view, taking into consideration relevant frequencies and a deeper analysis of the data gathered.

The qualitative analysis was done using parts of the grounded theory approach, “one of the most influential models for coding qualitative data”, initiated by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 218). The grounded theory is the method of deriving theories from qualitative data. The grounded theory approach includes several stages of analytic steps from open or in vivo coding, further creating the codebook to integration and dimensionalization (Lindlof & Taylor, p. 220).

For the purposes of the present study, just a part of the grounded theory will be employed, specifically the construction of interpretative claims, in order to explain the data. For each research question, besides the quantitative descriptive results, a qualitative approach was employed by outlining the predominant descriptors of ethnocentrism issues and by defining emerging themes for each geographical area discussed.

Reliability Analysis

Because of the exploratory nature of the present study, the second coder had to be trained in understanding the conceptualization of each of the dependent variables. In order to do this, the

two researchers coded 10 articles and then discussed each segment coded and why each of them coded some segments and not others. The researchers had the most difficulties at the beginning with the ability and frame variables. A 5-hour training session was held to discuss the meaning of each of them and the correlation with the instruments from previous studies. After each coder understood how the other one comprehended the variables, they agreed on how to code the subsequent articles.

After this preliminary conversation and familiarizing with the new topic, an inter-coder reliability test was conducted between the two coders. An assessment of the inter-coder reliability was achieved by using Holsti's (1969) formula. The formula is the following: $2M/N1+N2$, where M is agreement number and N1 represents the decision by coder 1 and N2, the decision by coder 2. The confidence level is of 94% after the inter-coder reliability test. For the seven out of nine variables there was achieved the level of agreement of 100%.

The primary researcher selected the set of articles to code for each of the coders through a research randomizer table (<http://randomizer.org/form.htm>). The random selection was done for each of the four chunks of data gathered from Lexis Nexis: the US media with race topics, the US media with ethnicity topics, the European media with race topics, and the European media with ethnicity topics. Coder 1 analyzed 163 news stories, 247 segments, or 55.1 % of the data, and coder 2 analyzed 174 stories, 201 segments, or 44.9% of the data.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Several sets of frequency distributions show the following results for the data gathered for the present study.

According to the location of the newspaper, England was the country with the most newspaper articles reported with almost half the data coming from English mass media. It was followed by USA, with roughly half the count of England. The rest of the countries follow with significantly fewer newspaper articles coded. Table 1 demonstrates these results.

Table 1

Country Category

<u>Country</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
England	215	48.0%
USA	103	23.0%
Scotland	52	11.6%
France	31	6.9%
Germany	31	6.9%
Ireland	14	3.1%
Wales	2	0.4%
Total	448	100.0%

N: 448

According to the date of the news articles, the first day of the tournament, June 9th, the last day of the tournament, July 9th, when the World Cup Final was played, and June 25th, one of the days of the round-of-16 competition, are the three most coded dates. The rest of the dates follow in a random order. Table 2 demonstrates the frequencies of newspaper articles for the

most counts, with the “Other” category signifying 20 dates cumulated, having the least number of counts. For the entire table see Appendix B.

Table 2

Date Category

Date	Frequency	Percentage
June 25	39	8.7%
June 9	37	8.3%
July 9	29	6.5%
June 10	28	6.3%
June 28	27	6.0%
June 23	22	4.9%
June 29	22	4.9%
June 30	22	4.9%
July 4	22	4.9%
July 7	22	4.9%
June 18	20	4.5%
Other	158	35.2%
Total	448	100.0%

N: 448

According to the type of the article, the majority of articles coded were under the category “factual news-story”, with just a third of the articles being coded as “editorial or opinion”. Table 3 demonstrates the frequencies.

Table 3

Type Category

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Factual news-story	307	68.5%
Editorial or opinion	141	31.5%
Total	448	100.0%

N: 448

According to the race mentioned, only two out of the six races possible were coded. The Black race appeared 14 times, while the Asian race just two times in the entire data. Table 4 demonstrates the frequencies of the races within the present study.

Table 4

Race Category

Race	Frequency	Percentage
Black	14	3.12%
Asian	2	0.45%
Not mentioned – see “Ethnicity”	432	96.43%
Total	448	100.00%

N: 448

According to the ethnicity mentioned, the five most mentioned ethnicities are: English, French, German, Scottish, and Spanish. The other 34 ethnicities have significantly fewer mentions, with most of them ranging between one and two. Table 5 demonstrates the frequencies and percentages for the first five most mentioned ethnicities, with those with 1 to 10 mentioned combined. For the entire table see Appendix B.

Table 5

Ethnicity Category

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
English	73	19.3%
Scottish	57	15.0%
French	56	14.8%
Spanish	46	12.1%
German	40	10.6%
Other (1-10 mentions each)	107	28.2%
Total	379	100.0%

N: 379

According to the ability variable, only 4 mentions (0.9%) were made that used the concentration type, 8.5% used the athletic skill descriptor, while the rest of data were not coded for any ability but for the frame category. Table 6 demonstrates the frequencies for the ability variable.

Table 6

Ability Category

Ability	Frequency	Percentage
Concentration	4	0.9%
Athletic skill	38	8.5%
Not mentioned or other	406	90.6%
Total	448	100.0%

N: 448

According to the frame variable, the positive and negative categories are more balanced, with 47.1% and 36.2% of the mentions, while the rest are divided between the factual and no frame mentioned. Table 7 demonstrates the frequencies for each of the categories in the frame variable.

Table 7

Frame Category

Frame	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	211	47.1%
Negative	162	36.2%
Factual	32	7.1%
None	43	9.6%
Total	448	100.0%

N: 448

Research Questions

RH1: *US media will more frequently cover racial issues than ethnocentric issues within the setting of 2006 FIFA World Cup.*

A frequency distribution shows the result for the first research hypothesis. The first research hypothesis is not supported.

Following the framework of coding races proposed by Poindexter et al. (2003), the researcher had five categories to code for the “Race” variable. However, after all the data were computed the findings show that out of 103 cases reported from the US media only 3 articles mention a race, and that is the “Black” race, representing 2.9% of the cases. The rest 100 cases do not mention any race, but an ethnicity. Thus, the first research hypothesis is not supported. Table 8 demonstrates the frequencies for the first hypothesis.

Table 8

Racial Issues in US Media

Race or Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
Black	3	2.9%
Various ethnicities	100	97.1%
Total	103	100.0%

N: 103

RH2: *European media will more frequently cover ethnocentric issues than racial issues within the setting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup.*

A frequency distribution shows the result for the second research hypothesis. The second research hypothesis is supported (Table 9).

In the present study the two variables, “Race” and “Ethnicity” are mutually exclusive. The frequency distribution shows that there are 332 cases of ethnicity mentioned by the

European media, or 96.2%. The rest of the cases represent a mention of the “Race”. The second research hypothesis is supported, with the majority of cases covering issues related to various ethnicities. Table 9 demonstrates the result for the second research hypothesis.

Table 9

Ethnocentrism Issues in European Media

<u>Race or Ethnicity</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Various ethnicities	332	96.2%
Black	11	3.2%
Asian	2	0.6%
Total	345	100.0%

N: 345

Ethnicities by Ability Descriptor

RQ1: *Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the athletic skill descriptor by the US media?*

For the first research question a frequency distribution analysis has been done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity was described with the athletic skill descriptor by the US media.

Table 10 shows the rates for the first research question.

Table 10

Depiction with Athletic Skill: US

Ethnicity	Ability
Argentinean	4 36.4%
Brazilian	2 18.2%
German	2 18.2%
French	1 9.1%
Spanish	1 9.1%
Ukrainian	1 9.1%
Total	11 100.0%
N: 11	

The US media described with the athletic skill descriptor 11 times involving several nationalities: the Argentinean ethnicity four times, each of the Brazilian and German ethnicities twice, and each of the French, Spanish, and Ukrainian ethnicities once.

The qualitative data gathered under the “word-for-word descriptor” variable represents an idea, a phrase, or a sentence that depicts the respective ethnicity. The emerging theme for the athletic quality mentioned by the US media in these 11 instances is the *innate talent* and ability with which the athletes can move the soccer ball. Examples include: “a roster of incredible talent”, description made about Spanish football team and “Ronaldinho - this attacking midfielder is so talented”, about a Brazilian player.

The Argentinean group was the most frequently mentioned and is portrayed as “one of the most talented teams in the world”; players are praised for their talent, “both individually and as a team”, and overall for inspiring and powerful soccer.

RQ2: *Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the athletic skill descriptor by the European media?*

For the second research question a frequency distribution analysis has been done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity was described with the athletic skill descriptor by the European media. Table 11 shows the rates for the most frequent nationalities, with the Argentinean one mentioned most frequently. For the entire table please see Appendix C.

Table 11

Depiction with Athletic Skill: European

Ethnicity	Ability
Argentinean	Athletic Skill 6 22.2%
Brazilian	4 14.8%
English	3 11.1%
Spanish	3 11.1%
Dutch	2 7.4%
French	2 7.4%
South Korean	2 7.4%
Other (5 nationalities)	5 18.5%
Total	27 100.0%
N: 27	

The European media described players with the athletic skill descriptor 27 times, covering a multitude of nationalities: Argentinean 6 times; Brazilian, 4 times; each of English

and Spanish nationalities 3 times; each of Dutch, French, and South Korean, 2 times; and only one time each of the following: Czech, German, Italian, Ivorian, and Ukrainian ethnicities.

The qualitative data gathered for the “word-for-word descriptor” variable show that the athletic qualities mentioned are clustered into 2 main themes: the powerful play and the magic, beautiful game. The first theme, *the powerful play*, can be exemplified by: “powerful header” (about an English player), “battering-ram power” (about Ivorian team), “left-foots the ball home” (about a Spanish player), “a firm downward header” (about an Italian player), or “the sturdy Argentine defense”. The second theme observed, *the beautiful game*, is attributed only to 4 of the 12 ethnicities: Argentinean, Brazilian, Dutch, and English. Examples include: “style, skill and charisma” (about the Argentinean team), “they play the beautiful game beautifully” (about Argentinean and Brazilian teams), the English have a “magic play”, and the Brazilians “bring sunny beautiful soccer”. The most frequently mentioned nationality is Argentinean, which is portrayed predominantly with the magic and *beautiful game* theme. Examples are: “team’s fabulous play”, “wonderful, flowing football” or “beautiful game”.

RQ3: *Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the concentration descriptor by the US media?*

The third research question yielded insufficient data to run a cross-tabulation analysis. Of the entire data of the research there are only 4 mentions of the concentration descriptor and they are all authored by an English newspaper. So, there is no ethnicity mentioned by US media that would be described with the concentration category of the “Ability” variable.

RQ4: *Which ethnicity will be described predominantly with the concentration descriptor by the European media?*

For the fourth research question a cross-tabulation analysis was done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity mentioned was described with the concentration descriptor by the European mass media. Table 12 shows the rates for the fourth research question, with a half-and-half frequency result shared between 2 nationalities, English and Swiss.

Table 12

Depiction with Concentration: European

Ethnicity	Ability Concentration
English	2 50%
Swiss	2 50%
Total	4 100%
N: 4	

The English ethnicity was described as having a “fighting mentality and refusing to admit defeat” and also as “very methodical” in terms of the play. The two references made for the Swiss nationality are very similar and depicted them as “always in control”.

Frame in the Two Geographical Regions

RQ5: *Which frame was used predominantly by each geographic region?*

A chi-square test was run to find out if there is any significant relationship between the geographic regions and the frames of ethnocentrism or anti-ethnocentrism. The Phi value of

0.054 is slightly bigger than the maximum 0.05 accepted by the social sciences. However, because this is an exploratory study, $p=0.054$ will be accepted as showing a reasonably significant relationship.

The US media depicts predominantly issues of ethnocentrism, with 57.3% of the cases committed to this issue. Similarly, the European media also depicts predominantly issues of ethnocentrism, even though not with an absolute majority of cases (43.9%). In conclusion, the issue of ethnocentrism or discrimination against different ethnicities is the one that is given the most attention, regardless of geographical region.

Table 13 demonstrates a significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 13

Geographical Region by Ethnicity Portrayal

Country	Ethnicity			
	Positive	Negative	Factual	Total
US media	59 57.3%	29 28.2%	15 14.6%	103 100%
European media	151 43.9%	133 38.7%	60 17.4%	344 100%
Total	210 47.0%	162 36.2%	75 16.8%	447 100%

Note. N: 447; Chi-square: 5.830, df: 2, $p=0.054$

Because the previously-mentioned one is the only chi-square test that could be run with the data of this study, the following four research questions will be answered with the help of cross-tabulations and analysis of qualitative data gathered.

Ethnicities by Frame

RQ6: *Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having ethnocentrism attitudes by the US media?*

For the sixth research question a frequency distribution analysis was done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity was described by the US media as having an attitude of ethnocentrism or discrimination. Table 14 shows the rates relevant for the first seven nationalities, and the rest are clustered together. For the entire frequency table please see Appendix C.

Table 14

Ethnocentrism Attitudes: US Media

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Frame</u>
	Positive
Spanish	12 23.0%
German	11 21.1%
French	10 19.2%
Eastern European	3 5.7%
European	3 5.7%
Italian	3 5.7%
Ukrainian	3 5.7%
Other (5 nationalities)	7 13.3%
Total	52 100.0%

N: 52

The US mass media reported 12 ethnicities that used ethnocentrism attitudes 52 times. The most reported ethnicity is Spanish, with 23% of the counts, followed closely by German and French. The rest of the nine ethnicities: Eastern European, European, Italian, Ukrainian, American, English, Colombian, Eastern German, and Mexican, have significantly fewer counts, with the higher four counting only three mentions each. So the mass media in United States focus their reports on Spanish, German, and French as discriminatory nations.

The qualitative data gathered under the “word-for-word descriptor” variable reveal that for the mostly-discussed nationality, the Spanish, there are only two themes that emerge: the explicit racist comments made by the Spanish coach and the blatantly anti-black actions of the Spanish fans. The coach’s racist words “black s***” (expletive word) against a French player with Black roots are reported seven times, while the rest of reports describe racist incidents on stadiums where Spanish fans met various Black players with “monkey noises” or chants, “tossing of bananas”, or “derisive singing”.

All the descriptions made about German nationals are connected with violence and attacks by either neo-Nazi groups or right-wing extremists. Examples of such reports are: “right-wing, racially motivated violence”, “attacks on dark skinned foreigners”, “prejudice against immigrants”, or “racist attacks have occurred in the east”. Thus, German nationals are portrayed as being discriminatory mainly against immigrants and people with Black roots, such as the following example: “an engineer of Ethiopian descent was beaten into a coma by three extremists in Potsdam”.

The most prominent (70%) rendering regarding French is the series of remarks made by one of the French politicians, Jean-Marie Le Pen, who expressed his disapproval that their team “is not a real French team” because there are too many Black and Arab French players, and in

the same time opinionated that “the coach went overboard on the proportion of colored players”. Another comment that pertains to the same theme is that “white should not just be the color of the shirts”.

The rest of the other ethnicities mentioned by the US media can be clustered in two categories according to the discriminatory themes they approach. All the nations from the European continent are portrayed as having racist actions against mainly Black players or fans. The Eastern Europeans, Eastern Germans, the English, the Italians, and the Ukrainians are all reported as being abusive by “throwing plastic chairs and bottles” (the English), making “ape noises and tossing bananas” (the Eastern Europeans, the Eastern Germans, and the Italians). The Ukrainian coach is reported as saying one of the most blatantly and shamelessly racist comments in this study: “let them learn from [our players] and not some Zumba-Bumba whom they took off a tree, gave two bananas and now he plays in the Ukrainian league”.

On the other hand, there are the nations on the American continents that show their discrimination by choosing to support one nation and not another. The Americans say that there are “scant advantages of being English”, the Colombians would want any Spanish-speaking country to win the World Cup “except for Argentina”, while the Mexicans do not tolerate other ethnicities wearing their national shirts.

RQ7: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having ethnocentrism attitudes by the European media?

For the seventh research question a frequency distribution analysis was done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity mentioned was described by European media as having ethnocentrism or discriminatory attitudes. Table 15 shows the frequencies for the highest 5

counts, with the “Other” category clustering the rest of the nationalities. For the entire table see Appendix C.

Table 15

Ethnocentrism Attitudes: European Media

Ethnicity	Frame
	Positive
Scottish	43 33.6%
Spanish	30 23.4%
English	28 21.9%
French	12 9.4%
German	9 7.0%
Other (5 nationalities)	6 4.8%
Total	128 100.0%
N: 128	

The European media reported 10 ethnicities 128 times that revealed ethnocentrism attitudes toward different nationalities. The most reported ethnicity was the Scottish, with 33.6% of counts, followed by Spanish and English ones. The rest of the seven ethnicities: French, German, Cameroonian, Ecuadorian, Italian, Polish, and Romanian have significantly fewer counts, with the higher three totaling 18% of the mentions, and the rest counting only one mention each. So, the European mass media focus their reports of discrimination on three ethnicities: Scottish, Spanish, and English.

The qualitative data gathered under the “word-for-word descriptor” variable show that for the Scottish, the mostly mentioned nationality, there is a record of just one theme discussed in all

of the 43 articles, the Scots' hate and discrimination against the English. Thus, newspapers in 3 countries from Europe all portray the Scottish people using this theme exclusively. Another remarkable finding is that the 3 countries that discuss the Scottish discriminatory attitudes are England, Ireland, and Scotland, with 26 mentions by Scottish mass media and 13 by English media. Examples of the anti-English theme include: "anti-English tone", T-shirts with "anyone but England", "intolerance of England and the English", "a visceral hatred of England", "all the windows in his house put in by Scottish vandals", "youngster attacked in a park for wearing an England shirt", "racist and unprovoked assaults", "7-year-old boy punched in the head for wearing England shirt", "we hate the English", "we hate people of the same color, our next door neighbors", or "physically attack English fans for cheering their team".

Descriptions about the Spanish, the second most-discussed ethnicity by the European media, focus on 2 themes: the racist remarks of the Spanish coach against a French Black player, Thierry Henry, and the racist actions of the Spanish fans against Black players of various ethnicities. Out of all the data collected about the Spanish in the European media, 63.3% discuss coach Luis Aragones' racist comment "you're better than that black s***", with variations such as: "he made racist comments about Henry", "the man who set the anti-racism movement back years", "Henry was racially abused by the Spain coach", or "Luis Aragones publicly abused Thierry Henry". The second theme covers the rest of the mentions, portraying Spanish fans as racist with the following descriptors: "black players were taunted as they entered the stadium", "racist chants directed at England's black player", "France were racially abused by Spain fans", or "monkey noises".

Descriptions about the English ethnicity represent 21.9% of all the mentions in the European media concerning ethnocentrism attitudes. There is no preponderant theme for the

mentions; the English are portrayed as being intolerant of a number of nationalities, from Portuguese (“anti-Portugal poster”), German (“racist chanting about Germans”, “making Nazi salutes”), to Scottish (“celebrating the fact that Scots die younger than their English counterparts” or “anti-Scot jibes”). Another theme that shows discrimination represents the articles’ authors who disapprove of other English people’s tolerant or anti-discriminatory actions. Examples include: “race-equality obsessing band of charlatans who now run Britain”, “their sinister agenda [...] to transform Britain from a homogenous society into a land mass of different nationalities”, or “the desire to take back our country from those who loathe it”.

The rest of the other ethnicities mentioned by the European media are depicted as discriminatory for a variety of reasons. Several nationalities show their intolerance towards others, such as “the Italians as *parasites, mommy's boys, slimy, and always tired*”, “Nigerian was [verbally] attacked on the field” or “racial slurs against a Ghanaian-born football player” (by the Germans); “fans positioned themselves to form a human swastika” (by Polish fans); and “fans held up a series of cards to form a picture of Hitler” (by Romanians). European media also states that “it's part and parcel of Italian fan culture to abuse black players and anybody else who isn't seen as indigenous Italian”. Also, regarding the French it is mostly mentioned the politician’s Jean-Marie Le Pen comments on the French team as having too many players of minority ethnicities: “the team is not representative [because] there are too many black players”, “the coach had gone overboard on non-white players” and “minorities were over-represented on Les Bleus”.

RQ8: *Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having anti-ethnocentrism attitudes by the US media?*

For the eighth research question a frequency distribution analysis was done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity was described by the US media as having anti-ethnocentric or tolerant attitudes. Table 16 shows the rates relevant for the eighth research question.

Table 16

Anti-Ethnocentrism: US Media

Ethnicity	Frame
	Negative
French	11 42.3%
German	3 11.5%
Ivorian	3 11.5%
African	2 7.7%
American	2 7.7%
Ghanaian	2 7.7%
European	1 3.8%
Israeli	1 3.8%
Serbian	1 3.8%
Total	26 100.0%

N: 26

The US media reported 9 ethnicities 26 times that had tolerant attitudes towards various other ethnicities. The most reported ethnicity is the French one with 42.3% of the cases. The rest of the 8 nationalities were mentioned once, twice, or 3 times each. So the US mass media focus their reports of tolerant actions on the French.

The qualitative data gathered under the “word-for-word descriptor” variable reveal that for the mostly-discussed nationality, the French, two themes emerge: Henry’s “Stand Up, Speak Out” anti-racism campaign and the portrayal of a diverse and tolerant France through its football team, which is made up of “practically all foreign blacks, Arabs, hardly any whites”. Other mentions of the diverse France include: “French team reflects the cultural diversity of France”, “if you are good [...] you are on the field no matter how you look”, or “Zinedine Zidane – the leader of multi-ethnic France”.

The rest of the ethnicities mentioned have one common theme, the use of football as a team game to unify people, to enhance global understanding, and to fight racism. An African person commented: “you'll see rebels watching the games and holding their weapons aside”. The German team tries to “use soccer to fight racism and xenophobia”. Ghanaian people believe that “football makes everybody feeling as one”, while a Serbian player commented: “we're all the same DNA, with a different emblem”.

RQ9: Which ethnicity is portrayed most frequently as having anti-ethnocentrism attitudes by the European media?

For the ninth research question a frequency distribution analysis was done to observe the rates at which each ethnicity mentioned was described by the European media as being anti-ethnocentric, or tolerant. Table 17 shows the frequencies for the nationalities with the most counts, with an “Other” category at the end, clustering 6 nationalities with fewest counts. For the entire table please see Appendix C.

Table 17

Anti-Ethnocentrism: European Media

Ethnicity	Frame
	Negative
English	36 34.0%
French	15 14.2%
German	12 11.3%
Scottish	11 10.4%
Canadian	9 8.5%
Australian	6 5.7%
African	3 2.8%
Arabian	2 1.9%
Brazilian	2 1.9%
Italian	2 1.9%
Pakistani	2 1.9%
Other (6 nationalities)	6 5.4%
Total	106 100.0%
N: 106	

The European media reported 17 nationalities 103 times that rendered anti-ethnocentric attitudes toward different other nationalities. The most reported nationality was the English, with 34% of the counts, followed by French, German, and Scottish with percentages varying between 14.2% and 10.4%. The rest of 13 nationalities have significantly fewer counts between 1 and 9 each.

The qualitative data gathered under the “word-for-word descriptor” variable show that for the English, the mostly mentioned nationality, the predominant theme represent English people’s actions or attitudes to support tolerance and diversity in their team and in football in general. Examples include: “this competition has such a good stance against racism”, “we are determined to take a stand against racism”, “England fans set example of anti-racism”, “they are no better nor worse no more nor less brave than any other race”, or “football is now much part of our culture that it cuts across barriers of race”.

The tolerance qualities of the French are represented by two themes: the support of anti-racism campaigns and attitudes and the praise for diversity in France. Examples of support for anti-racism include stances such as “we want to silence the racists once for all”, “I’ve always been a supporter of campaigns against racism”, or “he has become closely involved in FIFA’s drive to stamp out racism”. Regarding diversity in France, examples are: “it doesn’t matter if we’re black or not, because we’re French”, “regardless of whether they are black or brown or white the team represents France”, or “symbol of cultural diversity”.

The German nationality, being the host of the 2006 FIFA World Cup, was depicted mostly with attitudes of tolerance connected to the behavior during the World Cup. Examples include: “there will be no tolerance for racist violence during the event”, “the World Cup is a wonderful antidote to racism and in favor of integration”, “anyone caught making racist remarks or carrying racist banners - expelled from stadiums”, or “read out declaration against racism”.

The theme with which the Scottish people were portrayed in the European media focused on the journalists’ and people’s support of tolerant actions and condemnation of ethnocentric attitudes. Examples of such instances include: “physically attack English fans for cheering their

team is a disgrace to our nation”, “school children who make anti-English remarks [...] at risk of being thrown out of school for racism”, or “anti-English feeling is despicable”.

For the rest of ethnicities mentioned, a common theme emerges from the qualitative data gathered: the power of football to unify different ethnicities and to promote understanding and tolerance. The Africans see the most popular sport as “a platform for communicating a positive image of Africa and to fight against racism and discrimination”, the Americans feel united “in spirit, emotion and pride”, while the Bangladeshi believe that “football makes us all brothers”. The Australians are portrayed to believe that because of football “the world has become more international, and there is more understanding there in various nations”. Some English fans with Pakistani origins support their adopted country by saying that “the color of your skin is just the color of your skin: we just want England to win”, and a player of Muslim origin is happy to report about his colleagues that “I don't see their color and they don't see mine”. Finally, the Canadians are represented as “leaders on that their [tolerant] attitude to immigration and ethnic minorities”.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Discussion: Reporting on the Ability Descriptor

Mass media portrayed various ethnicities using the ability descriptor variable either by emphasizing athletic skill or the concentration or intellectual ability. The nationality that was described the most by mass media in general using the athletic skill is the Argentinean one. Both the US media and the European media had the most counts of athletic skill descriptions regarding the Argentinean team. In 10 out of 38 mentions of athletic skills by the mass media in both US and Europe Argentineans were portrayed as having a “sturdy” defense and a “fabulous play”.

Regarding concentration or intellectual ability, there was a small count, with only four articles mentioning this type of ability in a team or a player. Moreover, only the European mass media employed this approach when describing certain players. Within the four mentions, two of them were about the English nationality and the other two about the Swiss team.

The present study included the ability descriptor variable because of the significant results it had when employed in the past research. However, the ability descriptor variable was previously used only in studies analyzing blacks and whites, with the results that blacks are predominantly portrayed with the athletic skill descriptor and the whites with the concentration skill descriptor. The present exploratory study applied this variable to ethnicities to find out if there is any significant correlation between the two. The results were sparse and no significant relationship was found between ability descriptors and ethnicities. Thus, this conceptualization of describing players was not successful when applied to different ethnicities, but only when applied to various races, just as Billings and Eastman (2002) previously tested.

Discussion: Reporting on the Framing Variable

The distribution of articles that used a positive frame and the ones that used a negative frame was relatively equal across geographical regions. However, the ethnicities portrayed were different from region to region.

The US mass media have shown as the most ethnocentric nationality the Spanish, and the most tolerant or anti-ethnocentric the French. The count of the times each of the two is portrayed is almost equal, Spanish nationality getting 12 mentions, while the French one, 11 mentions. The US media is consistent in their report of the Spanish, with all accounts showing this nation as ethnocentric and with no mention referring to Spanish as tolerant nation. The second and the third places as ethnocentric nations described by the US media are the Germans and the French. Even though the French is portrayed as being ethnocentric in 10 accounts, the US media also show them in their most accounts as an anti-ethnocentric nation. This finding shows a somewhat balanced coverage in the US media of the French regarding their discriminatory and their tolerant actions or attitudes.

The European mass media portray most frequently the Scottish as an ethnocentric nation. However, knowing that over 62% of the European articles coded came from English newspapers, the result is biased. Also taking into consideration the ongoing conflict between the English and the Scottish ethnicities, it can be accurately reported that the result is as such because of the powerful influence of the English mass media.

The second most frequently reported nationality as being ethnocentric by the European media is the Spanish one. The Spanish were most frequently portrayed as ethnocentric by the US media and second most frequently by the European media. In fact, there is not one mention of the Spanish as a tolerant ethnicity in the entire study. The two themes with which the Spanish

were portrayed as ethnocentric by the media across the world are coach Luis Aragones racist comment against a Black French player (66% of entries) and the racist chants of the Spanish fans against Black players. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the most talked about ethnocentrism issue of the 2006 FIFA World Cup was the racist outburst of Spain's football coach.

The European media reported with the most frequent mentions the English as a tolerant nationality. Second and third places are filled by the French and the Germans. Again, because most articles coded from the European mass media come from English newspapers, it cannot come as a real surprise that the English themselves are portrayed most favorably. Actually, all but three of the articles that depict England as a tolerant nation come from English newspapers.

The French and the Germans, the second and third nations described as tolerant, correspond with the first and second most mentioned nations by the US media as tolerant. So, there is an agreement across different geographical regions that these 2 nationalities have the most tolerant or anti-discriminatory actions or attitudes.

When portraying attitudes of anti-ethnocentrism, both the US and the European media reported a multitude of nationalities. The US media reported 9, while the European media reported as many as 17 nationalities and their tolerant attitudes or actions. In the Results section the most frequent nationalities were reported and the rest were clustered into "Other" category. The "Other" category for both the US and the European media comprises 19 nationalities, from Bangladeshi to African and from Portuguese to Brazilian, with one to three mentions about each of them. A common theme emerges from these scattered mentions about ethnicities from all over the world: the power of football to unify peoples and to enhance global understanding. This means that across the continents of this world the predominant view of football as a team sport is

that it is helpful in increasing tolerance between peoples and in seeing everyone as equal, just like players of different ethnicities are equal on the football field.

All these findings about how the US and the European media portray different nationalities are ground-breaking results, as the literature reviewed yielded no other similar studies or findings. The only study found that compared ethnocentrism attitudes among US and Japanese college students discovered that the Japanese prove to be more ethnocentric than the Americans. However, these two ethnicities are not significant in the present study: the Americans are mentioned twice, while there is no mention of the Japanese.

In conclusion, by covering some nationalities more than others and by framing the Spanish as more ethnocentric than other ethnicities, both American and European mass media made use of the agenda-setting and framing theories to raise public awareness of the respective issues and to influence public opinion.

Emerging Themes from Qualitative Data

The qualitative data gathered had a few very prominent themes that could be found throughout the articles from both the US and the European mass media. They are the racist comments of the Spanish football coach and the anti-English comments and attacks from the Scottish.

For the results of each of the research questions 5 to 9 several themes found were reported related to the various ethnicities mentioned. The researcher further grouped them by their positive (or ethnocentric) and negative (or tolerant) meaning.

The ethnocentric main themes were the following: the explicit racist comments of the Spanish coach Luis Aragonés, anti-Black actions of Spanish and German fans, violent attacks

and hate manifested by Germans and Scottish people, racist remarks by French politician Jean-Marie Le Pen, and intolerance verbally manifested by several ethnicities.

The tolerant and anti-discriminatory main themes revealed from the present study are the following: French player's Thierry Henry "Stand Up, Speak Out" anti-racism campaign, the support of anti-racism campaigns and tolerance from the English and the French people, the praise of France as a diverse and integrative nation, and the power of football as a team game to fight racism, unify different ethnicities, and enhance global understanding and tolerance.

The themes from both the ethnocentrism category and from the anti-ethnocentrism one can each be grouped into three larger categories: verbal comments (either racist or tolerant), attitudes (either of hate and discrimination or of tolerance), and actions (either racist attacks or anti-racism campaigns). These more general categories are newly-created, were not found in previous research, and could possibly be further studied in qualitative research regarding tolerant or discriminatory behavior portrayed in mass media.

Limitations and Future Research

The present study was an exploratory one. After a careful review of literature, most of the articles found that evaluated discriminatory issues in global competitions were set in a discourse analysis format and qualitative in nature. So, uncharted territories were explored in order to complete the study. The previous literature offered scant methodology guidelines as to how to operationalize and measure ethnocentrism. This is the reason why the methodology for the present study is composed of parts of two other studies, one of which was qualitative. So, a major weakness of the study is its exploratory nature. Future studies could find or set up other means of analyzing quantitatively social issues such as racism and ethnocentrism. Also, the

perspective of fans and their power over media coverage and framing of their nations could be another angle from which issues of racism and ethnocentrism could be further studied regarding the World Cup media coverage.

Another limitation encountered was the availability of the mass media content in the Lexis Nexis database. As previously mentioned, the database has available only articles from newspapers that have their content available online as well. Through the use of this database, the researcher could not reach articles from many countries in Europe and from various states within the US body of mass media. For instance, there was no article found in Lexis Nexis published in an Italian or German newspaper. Because Germany was the organizing country of the 2006 FIFA World Cup and that Italy was the winning nation of the World Cup, it is virtually impossible that no article was written about the World Cup in these two countries. So, the online availability was a drawback for the present study. For future reference, other studies could employ different, more inclusive databases in order to find more content and more accurate results.

Finally, the third limitation to the present study constitutes the time period coded and analyzed. The period of one month during the 2006 FIFA World Cup was chosen, and after gathering and coding all the data, the results showed that the number of ethnicities mentioned in comparison with the number of entries was unbalanced. There are hundreds of ethnicities in this world that could be represented in the mass media during an event of such magnitude, and analyzing the media coverage of just one month proved not to be enough to observe statistically significant relationships between variables. Future studies should test these issues on longer periods of time, perhaps even during the months of three or four editions of FIFA World Cup, and maybe spot the progress of racism and ethnocentrism issues in time.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Codebook

1. Record the name of the newspaper.

Initially there was a nominal list, with each newspaper coded as it occurred in the data.

Afterwards, there was assigned a number for each newspaper found:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Code</u>
Aberdeen Press and Journal	1
AFX International	2
Agence France Presse	3
Associated Press	4
Buffalo News	5
Chattanooga Times	6
Christian Science Monitor	7
Contra Costa Times	8
Copley News	9
Daily Mail	10
Daily Post	11
Daily Record	12
Daily Star	13
Dayton Daily News	14
Deutsche Presse Agentur	15
Eastern Daily Express	16
Evening Chronicle	17
Financial Times	18
Florida Times Union	19
Guardian Weekly	20
Herald Express	21
Herald News	22
Inside Bay Area	23
Intelligencer Journal	24
International Herald Tribune	25
Irish Independent	26
Irish News	27
Los Angeles Times	28
Mail on Sunday	29
New Statesman	30
New York Times	31

Category	Code
News of the World	32
News Quest	33
News Quest Regional Press	34
Pittsburg Post-Gazette	35
Press Association Newsfile	36
Sacramento Bee	37
San Diego Union Tribune	38
Scotland on Sunday	39
South Wales Echo	40
Sunday Express	41
Sunday Mail	42
Sunday Mirror	43
Sunday Telegraph	44
Sunday Times	45
The Atlanta Journal	46
The Boston Globe	47
The Boston Herald	48
The Commercial Appeal	49
The Daily Telegraph	50
The Evening Standard	51
The Express	52
The Guardian	53
The Herald	54
The Houston Chronicle	55
The Independent	56
The Irish Times	57
The Journal	58
The Mirror	59
The Observer	60
The Record	61
The Salt Lake Tribune	62
The Scotsman	63
The Sentinel	64
The Spectator	65
The Sun	66
The Sunday Independent	67
The Times	68
The Washington Post	69
The Washington Times	70
UPI	71
Western Morning News	72
Yorkshire Post	73

2. Record the date of the newspaper.

Category	Code
June 9	609
June 10	610
June 11	611
June 12	612
June 13	613
June 14	614
June 15	615
June 16	616
June 17	617
June 18	618
June 19	619
June 20	620
June 21	621
June 22	622
June 23	623
June 24	624
June 25	625
June 26	626
June 27	627
June 28	628
June 29	629
June 30	630
July 1	701
July 2	702
July 3	703
July 4	704
July 5	705
July 6	706
July 7	707
July 8	708
July 9	709

3. Record the country of the newspaper.

Initially there was a nominal list with each location coded as it occurred in the data.

Afterwards, there was assigned a number for each country found:

Category	Code
England	1
France	2
Germany	3
Ireland	4
Scotland	5
Wales	6
USA	7

4. Record the type of article.

Category	Code
Factual news-story	1
Editorial or opinion	2
Cannot tell or don't know	3

5. Record the race mentioned.

Category	Code
White	1
Black	2
Asian	3
Latino or Latina or Hispanic	4
Native American	5
Not mentioned – see “Ethnicity”	6

6. Record the ethnicity mentioned.

Category	Code
African	1
American	2
Arabian	3
Argentinean	4
Australian	5
Bangladeshi	6
Brazilian	7
British	8
Cameroonian	9
Canadian	10
Colombian	11
Czech	12
Dutch	13
Eastern European	14

Category	Code
Eastern German	15
Ecuadorian	16
English	17
European	18
French	19
German	20
Ghanaian	21
Irish	22
Israeli	23
Italian	24
Ivorian	25
Mexican	26
Muslim	27
Pakistani	28
Polish	29
Portuguese	30
Romanian	31
Scottish	32
Serbian	33
South Korean	34
Spanish	35
Swiss	36
Trinidadian	37
Ukrainian	38
Welsh	39
None	99

7. Record the word-for-word descriptor.

Write the exact descriptive phrase for each ethnicity, race, or nationality coded. For instance, from the sentence: “Henry launched his own anti-racism Stand Up, Speak Out campaign with black and white wristbands two seasons ago”, the coder will code in the word-for-word descriptor column the following: anti-racism Stand Up, Speak Out campaign.

8. Record the ability descriptor.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Code</u>
Concentration	1
Athletic skill	2
Not mentioned or other	3

The original taxonomy for the ability descriptor set up by Billings and Eastman (2002), is the following:

1. Explanations of athletic success

Concentration

Athletic Skill

Composure (= calmness, self-control)

Commitment

Courage

Experience

2. Explanations of athletic failure

Concentration

Athletic Skill

Composure

Commitment

Courage

Experience

3. Personality/physicality descriptors

Outgoing/extroverted

Modest/introverted

Emotional

Attractiveness

Size/parts of body

Factual/neutral/other

9. Record the frame of the segment.

Category	Code
Positive	1
Negative	2
Factual	3
None	4

The general ethnocentrism scale, according to which the frame category for the present study was conceptualized and coded, was developed by Neuliep and McCorskey (1997) and is the following:

1. Most other cultures are backward compared to my culture.
2. People in other cultures have a better lifestyle than we do in my culture.
3. Most people would be happier if they didn't live like people do in my culture.
4. My culture should be the role model for other cultures.
5. Lifestyles in other cultures are just as valid as those in my culture.
6. Other cultures should try to be more like my culture.
7. I'm not interested in the values and customs of other cultures.
8. It is not wise for other cultures to look up to my culture.
9. People in my culture could learn a lot from people in other cultures.
10. Most people from other cultures just don't know what's good for them.
11. People from my culture act strange and unusual when they go into other cultures.
12. I have little respect for the values and customs of other cultures.
13. Most people would be happier if they lived like people in my culture.
14. People in my culture have just about the best lifestyles of anywhere.

15. My culture is backward compared to most other cultures.
16. My culture is a poor role model for other cultures.
17. Lifestyles in other cultures are not as valid as those in my culture.
18. My culture should try to be more like other cultures.
19. I'm very interested in the values and customs of other cultures.
20. Most people in my culture just don't know what is good for them.
21. People in other cultures could learn a lot from people in my culture.
22. Other cultures are smart to look up to my culture.
23. I respect the values and customs of other cultures.
24. People from other cultures act strange and unusual when they come into my culture.

APPENDIX B

Tables of Frequency

Table 18

“Coder”

Coder	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Coder 1	247	55.1	55.1	55.1
Coder 2	201	44.9	44.9	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 19

“Newspaper Name”

Newspaper Name	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Aberdeen Press and Journal	10	2.2	2.2	2.2
AFX International	16	3.6	3.6	5.8
Agence France Presse	13	2.9	2.9	8.7
Associated Press	16	3.6	3.6	12.3
Buffalo News	4	.9	.9	13.2
Chattanooga Times	1	.2	.2	13.4
Christian Science Monitor	3	.7	.7	14.1
Contra Costa Times	2	.4	.4	14.5
Copley News	6	1.3	1.3	15.8
Daily Mail	14	3.1	3.1	19.0
Daily Post	1	.2	.2	19.2
Daily Record	9	2.0	2.0	21.2
Daily Star	3	.7	.7	21.9
Dayton Daily News	3	.7	.7	22.5
Deutsche Presse Agentur	8	1.8	1.8	24.3
Eastern Daily Express	1	.2	.2	24.6
Evening Chronicle	1	.2	.2	24.8
Financial Times	2	.4	.4	25.2
Florida Times Union	1	.2	.2	25.4
Guardian Weekly	3	.7	.7	26.1
Herald Express	1	.2	.2	26.3
Herald News	4	.9	.9	27.2
Inside Bay Area	1	.2	.2	27.5
Intelligencer Journal	1	.2	.2	27.7

Newspaper Name	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
International Herald Tribune	21	4.7	4.7	32.4
Irish Independent	4	.9	.9	33.3
Irish News	1	.2	.2	33.5
Los Angeles Times	29	6.5	6.5	40.0
Mail on Sunday	4	.9	.9	40.8
New Statesman	2	.4	.4	41.3
New York Times	3	.7	.7	42.0
News of the World	14	3.1	3.1	45.1
News Quest	25	5.6	5.6	50.7
News Quest Regional Press	3	.7	.7	51.3
Pittsburg Post-Gazette	1	.2	.2	51.6
Press Association News File	4	.9	.9	52.5
Sacramento Bee	3	.7	.7	53.1
San Diego Union Tribune	2	.4	.4	53.6
Scotland on Sunday	2	.4	.4	54.0
South Wales Echo	1	.2	.2	54.2
Sunday Express	12	2.7	2.7	56.9
Sunday Mail	1	.2	.2	57.1
Sunday Mirror	4	.9	.9	58.0
Sunday Telegraph	5	1.1	1.1	59.2
Sunday Times	9	2.0	2.0	61.2
The Atlanta Journal	2	.4	.4	61.6
The Boston Globe	3	.7	.7	62.3
The Boston Herald	5	1.1	1.1	63.4
The Commercial Appeal	6	1.3	1.3	64.7
The Daily Telegraph	11	2.5	2.5	67.2
The Evening Standard	6	1.3	1.3	68.5
The Express	16	3.6	3.6	72.1
The Guardian	27	6.0	6.0	78.1
The Herald	1	.2	.2	78.3
The Houston Chronicle	3	.7	.7	79.0
The Independent	8	1.8	1.8	80.8
The Irish Times	6	1.3	1.3	82.1
The Journal	4	.9	.9	83.0
The Mirror	14	3.1	3.1	86.2
The Observer	15	3.3	3.3	89.5
The Record	1	.2	.2	89.7
The Salt Lake Tribune	2	.4	.4	90.2
The Scotsman	7	1.6	1.6	91.7
The Sentinel	1	.2	.2	92.0
The Spectator	1	.2	.2	92.2
The Sun	6	1.3	1.3	93.5
The Sunday Independent	3	.7	.7	94.2
The Times	7	1.6	1.6	95.8

Newspaper Name	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Washington Post	11	2.5	2.5	98.2
The Washington Times	2	.4	.4	98.7
UPI	4	.9	.9	99.6
Western Morning News	1	.2	.2	99.8
Yorkshire Post	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 20

“Date”

Date	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
June 9	37	8.3	8.3	8.3
June 10	28	6.3	6.3	14.5
June 11	2	.4	.4	15.0
June 12	18	4.0	4.0	19.0
June 13	3	.7	.7	19.6
June 14	12	2.7	2.7	22.3
June 15	10	2.2	2.2	24.6
June 16	5	1.1	1.1	25.7
June 17	2	.4	.4	26.1
June 18	20	4.5	4.5	30.6
June 19	6	1.3	1.3	31.9
June 20	5	1.1	1.1	33.0
June 21	5	1.1	1.1	34.2
June 22	11	2.5	2.5	36.6
June 23	22	4.9	4.9	41.5
June 24	4	.9	.9	42.4
June 25	39	8.7	8.7	51.1
June 26	11	2.5	2.5	53.6
June 27	13	2.9	2.9	56.5
June 28	27	6.0	6.0	62.5
June 29	22	4.9	4.9	67.4
June 30	22	4.9	4.9	72.3
July 1	11	2.5	2.5	74.8
July 2	11	2.5	2.5	77.2
July 3	8	1.8	1.8	79.0
July 4	22	4.9	4.9	83.9
July 5	4	.9	.9	84.8
July 6	10	2.2	2.2	87.1
July 7	22	4.9	4.9	92.0
July 8	7	1.6	1.6	93.5

July 9	29	6.5	6.5	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 21

“Country”

Country	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
England	215	48.0	48.0	48.0
France	28	6.3	6.3	54.2
Germany	34	7.6	7.6	61.8
Ireland	14	3.1	3.1	65.0
Scotland	52	11.6	11.6	76.6
Wales	2	.4	.4	77.0
USA	103	23.0	23.0	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 22

“Type”

Type	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Factual news-story	307	68.5	68.5	68.5
Editorial or opinion	141	31.5	31.5	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 23

“Race”

Race	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Black	14	3.1	3.1	3.1
Asian	2	.4	.4	3.6
not mentioned or don't know	432	96.4	96.4	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 24

“Ethnicity”

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
African	5	1.1	1.1	1.1
American	6	1.3	1.3	2.5
Arabian	2	.4	.4	2.9
Argentinean	12	2.7	2.7	5.6
Australian	8	1.8	1.8	7.4
Bangladeshi	1	.2	.2	7.6
Brazilian	9	2.0	2.0	9.6
British	3	.7	.7	10.3
Cameroonian	2	.4	.4	10.7
Canadian	9	2.0	2.0	12.7
Colombian	1	.2	.2	12.9
Czech	1	.2	.2	13.2
Dutch	2	.4	.4	13.6
Eastern European	3	.7	.7	14.3
Eastern German	1	.2	.2	14.5
Ecuadorian	1	.2	.2	14.7
English	73	16.3	16.3	31.0
European	4	.9	.9	31.9
French	56	12.5	12.5	44.4
German	40	8.9	8.9	53.3
Ghanaian	2	.4	.4	53.8
Irish	1	.2	.2	54.0
Israeli	1	.2	.2	54.2
Italian	9	2.0	2.0	56.3
Ivorian	4	.9	.9	57.1
Mexican	1	.2	.2	57.4
Muslim	1	.2	.2	57.6
Pakistani	2	.4	.4	58.0
Polish	1	.2	.2	58.3
Portuguese	1	.2	.2	58.5
Romanian	1	.2	.2	58.7
Scottish	57	12.7	12.7	71.4
Serbian	1	.2	.2	71.7
South Korean	2	.4	.4	72.1
Spanish	46	10.3	10.3	82.4
Swiss	3	.7	.7	83.0
Trinidadian	1	.2	.2	83.3
Ukrainian	5	1.1	1.1	84.4
Welsh	1	.2	.2	84.6
None	69	15.4	15.4	100.0

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 25

“Ability”

Ability	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Concentration	4	.9	.9	.9
athletic skill	38	8.5	8.5	9.4
not mentioned or other	406	90.6	90.6	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

Table 26

“Frame”

Frame	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
positive	211	47.1	47.1	47.1
negative	162	36.2	36.2	83.3
factual	32	7.1	7.1	90.4
none	43	9.6	9.6	100.0
Total	448	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX C

Tables of Cross-Tabulation

Table 27

“Ethnicity by Ability”

		Ability			Total	
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other		
Ethnicity	African	Count	0	0	5	5
		Expected Count	.0	.4	4.5	5.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Ability	.0%	.0%	1.2%	1.1%
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	1.1%	1.1%
		Std. Residual	-.2	-.7	.2	
	American	Count	0	0	6	6
		Expected Count	.1	.5	5.4	6.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Ability	.0%	.0%	1.5%	1.3%
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	1.3%	1.3%
		Std. Residual	-.2	-.7	.2	
	Arabian	Count	0	0	2	2
		Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.5%	.4%
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
		Std. Residual	-.1	-.4	.1	
	Argentinean	Count	0	10	2	12
		Expected Count	.1	1.0	10.9	12.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within Ability	.0%	26.3%	.5%	2.7%
		% of Total	.0%	2.2%	.4%	2.7%
		Std. Residual	-.3	8.9	-2.7	
	Australian	Count	0	0	8	8
		Expected Count	.1	.7	7.3	8.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Ability	.0%	.0%	2.0%	1.8%
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	1.8%	1.8%
		Std. Residual	-.3	-.8	.3	
	Bangladeshi	Count	0	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Ability			Total
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other	
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Brazilian	Count	0	6	3	9
	Expected Count	.1	.8	8.2	9.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	15.8%	.7%	2.0%
	% of Total	.0%	1.3%	.7%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-.3	6.0	-1.8	
Cameroonian	Count	0	0	2	2
	Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.5%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.4	.1	
Canadian	Count	0	0	9	9
	Expected Count	.1	.8	8.2	9.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	2.2%	2.0%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	2.0%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-.3	-.9	.3	
Colombian	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Czech	Count	0	1	0	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	2.6%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	3.1	-1.0	
Dutch	Count	0	2	0	2
	Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	5.3%	.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-.1	4.4	-1.3	
Eastern European	Count	0	0	3	3
	Expected Count	.0	.3	2.7	3.0

		Ability			Total
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other	
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.7%	.7%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.7%	.7%
	Std. Residual	-.2	-.5	.2	
Eastern German	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Ecuadorian	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
English	Count	2	3	71	76
	Expected Count	.7	6.4	68.9	76.0
	% within Ethnicity	2.6%	3.9%	93.4%	100.0%
	% within Ability	50.0%	7.9%	17.5%	17.0%
	% of Total	.4%	.7%	15.8%	17.0%
	Std. Residual	1.6	-1.4	.3	
European	Count	0	0	4	4
	Expected Count	.0	.3	3.6	4.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.9%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.9%	.9%
	Std. Residual	-.2	-.6	.2	
French	Count	0	3	53	56
	Expected Count	.5	4.8	50.8	56.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	5.4%	94.6%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	7.9%	13.1%	12.5%
	% of Total	.0%	.7%	11.8%	12.5%
	Std. Residual	-.7	-.8	.3	
German	Count	0	3	37	40
	Expected Count	.4	3.4	36.3	40.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	7.9%	9.1%	8.9%
	% of Total	.0%	.7%	8.3%	8.9%
	Std. Residual	-.6	-.2	.1	
Ghanaian	Count	0	0	2	2

		Ability			Total
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other	
	Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.5%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.4	.1	
Irish	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Israeli	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Italian	Count	0	1	8	9
	Expected Count	.1	.8	8.2	9.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	2.6%	2.0%	2.0%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	1.8%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-.3	.3	-.1	
Ivorian	Count	0	1	3	4
	Expected Count	.0	.3	3.6	4.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	2.6%	.7%	.9%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.7%	.9%
	Std. Residual	-.2	1.1	-.3	
Mexican	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Muslim	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
None	Count	0	0	69	69

		Ability			Total
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other	
	Expected Count	.6	5.9	62.5	69.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	17.0%	15.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	15.4%	15.4%
	Std. Residual	-.8	-2.4	.8	
Pakistani	Count	0	0	2	2
	Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.5%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.4	.1	
Polish	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Portuguese	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Romanian	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Scottish	Count	0	0	57	57
	Expected Count	.5	4.8	51.7	57.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	14.0%	12.7%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	12.7%	12.7%
	Std. Residual	-.7	-2.2	.7	
Serbian	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
South Korean	Count	0	2	0	2

		Ability			Total
		concentration	athletic skill	not mentioned/ other	
	Expected Count	.0	.2	1.8	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	5.3%	.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-.1	4.4	-1.3	
Spanish	Count	0	4	42	46
	Expected Count	.4	3.9	41.7	46.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	8.7%	91.3%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	10.5%	10.3%	10.3%
	% of Total	.0%	.9%	9.4%	10.3%
	Std. Residual	-.6	.0	.0	
Swiss	Count	2	0	1	3
	Expected Count	.0	.3	2.7	3.0
	% within Ethnicity	66.7%	.0%	33.3%	100.0%
	% within Ability	50.0%	.0%	.2%	.7%
	% of Total	.4%	.0%	.2%	.7%
	Std. Residual	12.1	-.5	-1.0	
Trinidadian	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Ukrainian	Count	0	2	3	5
	Expected Count	.0	.4	4.5	5.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	5.3%	.7%	1.1%
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.7%	1.1%
	Std. Residual	-.2	2.4	-.7	
Welsh	Count	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.0	.1	.9	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Ability	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.3	.1	
Total	Count	4	38	406	448
	Expected Count	4.0	38.0	406.0	448.0
	% within Ethnicity	.9%	8.5%	90.6%	100.0%
	% within Ability	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	.9%	8.5%	90.6%	100.0%

Table 28

“Ethnicity by Frame”

		Frame				Total	
		positive	negative	factual	none		
Ethnicity	African	Count	0	5	0	0	5
		Expected Count	2.4	1.8	.4	.5	5.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	3.1%	.0%	.0%	1.1%
		% of Total	.0%	1.1%	.0%	.0%	1.1%
		Std. Residual	-1.5	2.4	-.6	-.7	
	American	Count	2	3	1	0	6
		Expected Count	2.8	2.2	.4	.6	6.0
		% within Ethnicity	33.3%	50.0%	16.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.9%	1.9%	3.1%	.0%	1.3%
		% of Total	.4%	.7%	.2%	.0%	1.3%
		Std. Residual	-.5	.6	.9	-.8	
	Arabian	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	1.2%	.0%	.0%	.4%
		% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.4%
		Std. Residual	-1.0	1.5	-.4	-.4	
	Argentinean	Count	0	1	1	10	12
		Expected Count	5.7	4.3	.9	1.2	12.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	8.3%	8.3%	83.3%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	.6%	3.1%	23.3%	2.7%
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.2%	2.2%	2.7%
		Std. Residual	-2.4	-1.6	.2	8.2	
	Australian	Count	0	6	2	0	8
		Expected Count	3.8	2.9	.6	.8	8.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	3.7%	6.3%	.0%	1.8%
		% of Total	.0%	1.3%	.4%	.0%	1.8%
		Std. Residual	-1.9	1.8	1.9	-.9	
	Bangladeshi	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
		Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
	Brazilian	Count	0	2	1	6	9
		Expected Count	4.2	3.3	.6	.9	9.0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Frame	.0%	1.2%	3.1%	14.0%	2.0%

		Frame				Total
		positive	negative	factual	none	
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.2%	1.3%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-2.1	-.7	.4	5.5	
Cameroonian	Count	2	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	Std. Residual	1.1	-.9	-.4	-.4	
Canadian	Count	0	9	0	0	9
	Expected Count	4.2	3.3	.6	.9	9.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	5.6%	.0%	.0%	2.0%
	% of Total	.0%	2.0%	.0%	.0%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-2.1	3.2	-.8	-.9	
Colombian	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
Czech	Count	0	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.3%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	-.6	-.3	2.9	
Dutch	Count	0	0	0	2	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.7%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-1.0	-.9	-.4	4.1	
Eastern European	Count	3	0	0	0	3
	Expected Count	1.4	1.1	.2	.3	3.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	1.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%
	% of Total	.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%
	Std. Residual	1.3	-1.0	-.5	-.5	
Eastern German	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0

		Frame				Total
		positive	negative	factual	none	
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
Ecuadorian	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
English	Count	30	36	5	5	76
	Expected Count	35.8	27.5	5.4	7.3	76.0
	% within Ethnicity	39.5%	47.4%	6.6%	6.6%	100.0%
	% within Frame	14.2%	22.2%	15.6%	11.6%	17.0%
	% of Total	6.7%	8.0%	1.1%	1.1%	17.0%
	Std. Residual	-1.0	1.6	-.2	-.8	
European	Count	3	1	0	0	4
	Expected Count	1.9	1.4	.3	.4	4.0
	% within Ethnicity	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	1.4%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.9%
	% of Total	.7%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.9%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.4	-.5	-.6	
French	Count	22	26	5	3	56
	Expected Count	26.4	20.3	4.0	5.4	56.0
	% within Ethnicity	39.3%	46.4%	8.9%	5.4%	100.0%
	% within Frame	10.4%	16.0%	15.6%	7.0%	12.5%
	% of Total	4.9%	5.8%	1.1%	.7%	12.5%
	Std. Residual	-.9	1.3	.5	-1.0	
German	Count	20	15	2	3	40
	Expected Count	18.8	14.5	2.9	3.8	40.0
	% within Ethnicity	50.0%	37.5%	5.0%	7.5%	100.0%
	% within Frame	9.5%	9.3%	6.3%	7.0%	8.9%
	% of Total	4.5%	3.3%	.4%	.7%	8.9%
	Std. Residual	.3	.1	-.5	-.4	
Ghanaian	Count	0	2	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	1.2%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-1.0	1.5	-.4	-.4	
Irish	Count	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%

		Frame				Total
		positive	negative	factual	none	
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
Israeli	Count	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
Italian	Count	4	2	2	1	9
	Expected Count	4.2	3.3	.6	.9	9.0
	% within Ethnicity	44.4%	22.2%	22.2%	11.1%	100.0%
	% within Frame	1.9%	1.2%	6.3%	2.3%	2.0%
	% of Total	.9%	.4%	.4%	.2%	2.0%
	Std. Residual	-.1	-.7	1.7	.1	
Ivorian	Count	0	3	0	1	4
	Expected Count	1.9	1.4	.3	.4	4.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	75.0%	.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	1.9%	.0%	2.3%	.9%
	% of Total	.0%	.7%	.0%	.2%	.9%
	Std. Residual	-1.4	1.3	-.5	1.0	
Mexican	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
Muslim	Count	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
None	Count	31	30	8	0	69
	Expected Count	32.5	25.0	4.9	6.6	69.0
	% within Ethnicity	44.9%	43.5%	11.6%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	14.7%	18.5%	25.0%	.0%	15.4%
	% of Total	6.9%	6.7%	1.8%	.0%	15.4%
	Std. Residual	-.3	1.0	1.4	-2.6	
Pakistani	Count	0	2	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	1.2%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-1.0	1.5	-.4	-.4	

		Frame				Total
		positive	negative	factual	none	
Polish	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
Portuguese	Count	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
Romanian	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	.8	-.6	-.3	-.3	
Scottish	Count	43	11	3	0	57
	Expected Count	26.8	20.6	4.1	5.5	57.0
	% within Ethnicity	75.4%	19.3%	5.3%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	20.4%	6.8%	9.4%	.0%	12.7%
	% of Total	9.6%	2.5%	.7%	.0%	12.7%
	Std. Residual	3.1	-2.1	-.5	-2.3	
Serbian	Count	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	1.1	-.3	-.3	
South Korean	Count	0	0	0	2	2
	Expected Count	.9	.7	.1	.2	2.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.7%	.4%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.4%
	Std. Residual	-1.0	-.9	-.4	4.1	
Spanish	Count	42	0	0	4	46
	Expected Count	21.7	16.6	3.3	4.4	46.0
	% within Ethnicity	91.3%	.0%	.0%	8.7%	100.0%
	% within Frame	19.9%	.0%	.0%	9.3%	10.3%
	% of Total	9.4%	.0%	.0%	.9%	10.3%
	Std. Residual	4.4	-4.1	-1.8	-.2	
Swiss	Count	0	0	0	3	3

		Frame				Total
		positive	negative	factual	none	
	Expected Count	1.4	1.1	.2	.3	3.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.0%	.7%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%	.7%
	Std. Residual	-1.2	-1.0	-.5	5.1	
Trinidadian	Count	0	0	1	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	3.1%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	-.6	3.5	-.3	
Ukrainian	Count	3	0	0	2	5
	Expected Count	2.4	1.8	.4	.5	5.0
	% within Ethnicity	60.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	1.4%	.0%	.0%	4.7%	1.1%
	% of Total	.7%	.0%	.0%	.4%	1.1%
	Std. Residual	.4	-1.3	-.6	2.2	
Welsh	Count	0	0	1	0	1
	Expected Count	.5	.4	.1	.1	1.0
	% within Ethnicity	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Frame	.0%	.0%	3.1%	.0%	.2%
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.2%
	Std. Residual	-.7	-.6	3.5	-.3	
Total	Count	211	162	32	43	448
	Expected Count	211.0	162.0	32.0	43.0	448.0
	% within Ethnicity	47.1%	36.2%	7.1%	9.6%	100.0%
	% within Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	47.1%	36.2%	7.1%	9.6%	100.0%

VITA

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