

**SUPPORT FOR ATHLETE ACTIVISM: HOW FRAMES AND RACE
INFLUENCE SUPPORT OF PROTESTING, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, AND
ROLE OF THE ATHLETE**

by

Wyatt I. Dawson

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Wyatt I. Dawson

Approved:

James R. Angelini, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved:

Kami J. Silk, Ph.D.
Chair of the Department of Communication

Approved:

John A. Pelesko, Ph.D.
Interim Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Approved:

Douglas J. Doren, Ph.D.
Interim Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the influence of frames and race on public support for athlete activism. Previous research established frames as an innate process used to understand the world around us. Frames are used to conceptualize issues and affect our reasoning and behavior towards that issue. Many sources, or policy actors, can frame an issue, thus influencing the public's evaluation and beliefs about that issue. In recent years, Colin Kaepernick, former NFL quarterback, has protested to raise awareness about social issues while facing scrutiny from policy actors for his beliefs and actions. This study examined how policy actors, in particular, news media, influence the public's support for athlete activism, which is the willingness to accept or tolerate politically engaged athletes. Two hundred and sixty-four undergraduate students were exposed to one of four experimental conditions, during which participants were exposed to a news article which framed either a White or a Black college athlete positively or negatively for kneeling during the National Anthem during a college football game. Results of the subsequent survey questionnaire showed that among participants there were no differences amongst the experimental conditions which suggests other factors may be the influence for an individual's level of support for athlete activism. Moreover, racial resentment and democratic values were two factors affecting support. Additionally, the more you resent Black people and the more you value patriotism, the less likely you are

to support athlete activism. Future studies should explore how sports affinity and policy actors, other than media, influence support.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Colin Kaepernick first knelt during the National Anthem in the early part of 2016 National Football League (NFL) season (Maye, 2019). What followed was a media frenzy regarding Kaepernick's protest. Some media outlets, politicians, reporters, veterans, and citizens attacked Kaepernick, whereas others defended his actions and applauded his stance. For example, Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg referred to Kaepernick's protest as dumb and disrespectful (Bieler, 2016), others such as U.S. Army veteran Richard Allen Smith stated, "there are veterans who not only agree with Colin Kaepernick's right to do that but also agree with the substance of the action" (Walker, 2016).

Many, but not all, refer to Kaepernick's protest as the National Anthem protest; however, this line of thinking is not correct. When Kaepernick knelt during the National Anthem, he was protesting police brutality toward the Black community. For some, the original message was lost because of the frames used by some media and external sources. The way that stories are described can shape the public's thoughts, feelings, and judgments, which in turn, can influence policy. Athlete activism is important because the platform an athlete possesses can reach a large number of people. The downside is that media, political figures, and external sources such as reporters can alter the meaning

behind these messages through framing. Athlete activism, framing, and public discourse continues to add to the ongoing debate as to whether athletes should speak up or remain silent on political issues.

Athlete activism is not a new or unfamiliar concept in mainstream media, and a large body of research has supported this notion. Athletes, particularly Black athletes, have been outspoken about political issues since their integration into White American sports. Sports figures such as Paul Robeson, Jackie Robinson, Jesse Owens, and Muhammed Ali were always in the political spotlight whether they wanted to be or not (Bryant, 2018). These players did not only achieve the pinnacle of success as athletes but as Black Americans. Black athletes have faced many challenges while breaking the color barrier in sports. For many Black athletes, sports have always been about politics. We have been told that sports and politics do not mix (Boulton et al., 2014). The more thought given to this statement the more one must realize this cannot be true. Patriotism can be seen throughout sports (Boulton et al., 2014). Maye (2019), explains that sports serve as a vehicle for patriotism which in turn helps to unite citizens. Nearly every sporting event begins with the National Anthem or some other patriotic tradition (Maye, 2019). Black athletes were denied entry into sports not because they were not good enough but because Blacks were seen as lesser, which in itself is a political statement.

When explored through this lens, it is evident that sports and politics do relate to one another and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

Sarah Jackson (2014), in her book *Black Celebrity, Racial Politics, and the Press: Framing Dissent*, gives excellent insight into media's treatment of Black athlete activism. Jackson recounts how, before becoming the World Heavyweight Boxing Champion in 1964, media described Muhammad Ali as the All-American kid. Ali was characterized as the spirited underdog that was beloved by the people. This frame was continuously used for Ali until he acknowledged his membership in the Nation of Islam, which included the changing of his name from Cassius Clay to Muhammad Ali after he won the world heavyweight championship. After this, the media's presentation of Ali changed dramatically. Ali was no longer cast as an underdog; now he was characterized as racist, unpatriotic, and ungrateful. The frames used to describe Ali reinforced racist ideologies that believed Black people should be satisfied with their place in society (Jackson, 2014). Athletes once again have come to the forefront of social change, and since the days of Ali, their treatment has remained the same.

Not only do media have a polarizing relationship with Black athlete activists but so does the public at large. A recent poll conducted by the University of Delaware's Center for Political Communication asked the public's opinions on athlete activism and freedom of speech. More than 600 adult Delawareans participated in the poll. One of the

main themes of the survey was how political identification, being either a Democrat, an Independent, or a Republican, influenced how accepting a person is of athletes who express their political opinion. Figure 1.1 shows the jarring divide between these different political affiliations (Fowser, 2018).

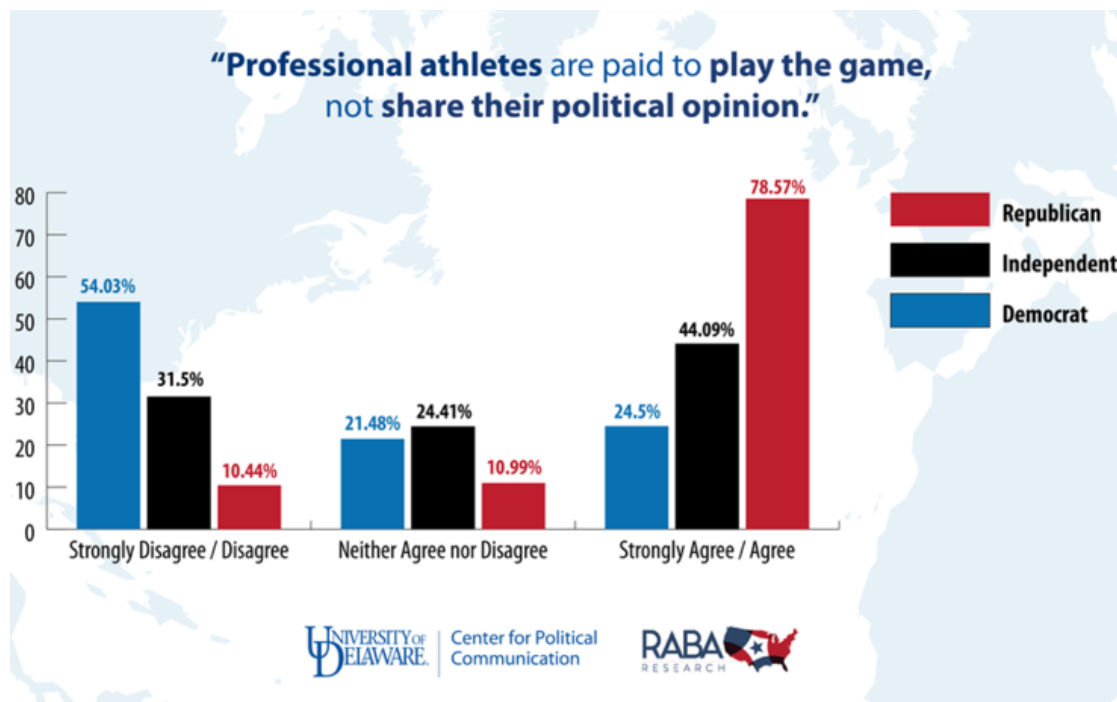


Figure 1.1 UD Center for Political Communication Athlete Activism Poll

The results of the poll are not necessarily surprising, but do bring about an interesting discussion on framing. How a person identifies politically may influence what media they consume. Different media outlets can frame or describe events quite differently from each other. The news inherently tells stories, but the programming that

we watch might highlight different aspects of events or describe certain features of a story differently. The way that news or stories are presented to the public has the power to shape the way the public thinks and feels about it. The way news stories are framed influences how the public discusses these stories among themselves. Specifically, this study analyzed whether news frames influence the public's support of Black athlete activism.

The plight of the Black athlete has a long and storied history filled with racial overtones and negative media coverage. The frames used to portray politically active Black athletes are both disheartening and damaging (Boulton et al., 2014). Prior research has demonstrated that frames can influence the public. The relationship between Black athlete activism and framing is essential to explore because it allows for us to understand how frames can potentially shape the thoughts and beliefs of the public and set boundaries for public policy debates (Entman, 2005a).

Literature Review

Framing

Framing is innate, and without frames, it would be impossible to understand the world around us. Framing is the process by which a communication source, for example, a news organization or political candidate, defines and constructs a story (Nelson,

Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). Another definition comes from Iyengar and Simon (1993) who suggests that framing is alterations in the presentation of problems. One of the most concise explanations of framing comes from D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) who describe framing as a process by which communicators, consciously or unconsciously, create a particular point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a specific manner by making some facts more salient than others. For instance, media, politicians, and journalists alter the way that specific stories, issues, and controversies are presented to the public. Case in point, a news source such as CNN may cover specific facts while leaving out others, yet another source, let us say a politician, may present different facts while leaving out points deemed important by CNN.

Before continuing, it is essential to differentiate between the concepts of framing and agenda setting. Both concepts possess similarities, but they are not identical to one another. Once again, D'Angelo & Kuypers (2010) give a clear definition of agenda setting when they suggest, "Agenda setting begins when media gatekeepers- station managers, producers, or editors- decide to push a particular story, decide how much attention to give a story, and then decide how to tell a story" (p. 299). On the other hand, framing deals with the parts of a story that are highlighted. Furthermore, these highlighted parts impact the way the story is perceived. Unlike agenda setting, framing

theory focuses on both the construction and effect of the content not just the coverage of it.

The impact of framing is exponential because the way a story is presented influences how the public thinks about the story and those featured in the story. Communication sources such as media and politicians accomplish this, knowingly or unknowingly, by emphasizing specific values, facts, selecting particular words and phrases, or other factors, endowing them with greater relevance to the issue (Nelson et al., 1997). This point was reiterated by Kahneman & Tversky (1984) who suggested that the consequence of framing is that the highlighted elements become essential in influencing people's judgments or reasoning. Different frames can highlight different facts and values leading to a difference of opinions amongst the public.

Furthermore, frames not only emphasize specific facts or values but they reduce complex issues down to one or two central aspects. An example of this can be found in media coverage of issues such as climate change and police brutality. For example, when media cover police brutality protests, the protest can be framed as dysfunctional or lawful. Neither frame encompasses the complexity of the issue, thus, restricting the number of perspectives available to the public (Tuchman & Jensen, 2002).

The interaction between frames and the human consciousness is not as simple as one would initially think. Pan & Kosicki (1993) indicated that media frames are cognitive

devices used for information encoding, interpretation, and retrieval. In other words, when producing a message, a person automatically frames how they will present the information then when others interpret the information, they will usually interpret it based on the restricted perspectives they are given. Once the information is retrieved the complexity of the issue is broken down into one or two key aspects. Frames activate and interact with an individual's prior knowledge to affect interpretations, recall of information, decision making, and evaluations (D'Angelo, 2002). Communication sources use metaphors, catchphrases, visual icons, and other contextual leads prompting audiences to retrieve beliefs, values, and evaluative considerations about a story or topic (D'Angelo, 2018).

The impact of framing on perspectives and evaluations have been supported by prior research. For example, Nelson et al. (1997) analyzed how framing would influence viewer tolerance for Ku Klux Klan (KKK) rallies. People were exposed to one of two frames; the gathering was framed as disruptive or as an exercise of free speech. By framing the rally as a free speech issue, viewers were prompted to retrieve their values concerning free speech. On the other hand, by framing the rally as a threat to public order, viewers were less tolerant. Using this frame will shape an individual's' evaluation of the story. Nelson et al. (1997) found that when formulating opinions about the rallies, people's views were guided by whichever frame they were exposed to.

Framing demonstrates the potential power of a communication text; as described by Entman (1993), "analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location—such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel—to that consciousness" (p. 51). How information is framed or communicated influences how the source thinks about said information. The effects of framing are significant because it influences opinion formation, judgment, and discourse. Ultimately, framing not only affects the public, but can also shape future policies with the support of public opinion.

Framing effects are one of the primary means by which a communication source influences public opinion (Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Schuck & de Vreese, 2006). The influence of framing is effective because of the limited cognitive capacity of citizens to attend to and process information (Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2001). Case in point, if a media outlet frames a hate-group rally as a free speech issue, then a portion of the audience may base their thoughts and evaluations of the rally on the concepts and commonly held societal beliefs about civil liberties and human rights. Ultimately, using this frame may influence the audience's support.

As stated previously, framing does affect public discourse, but it varies from person-to-person (De Vreese, 2012). The effect of a frame depends on an individual's level of exposure to, reception of, and acceptance of its content (Zaller, 1991).

Furthermore, an individual's political awareness will also impact how they process content. For instance, the more politically aware of an issue someone is, the less likely they are going to be influenced by alternative frames of that issue (Zaller, 1991). The more aware a person is, the more likely they will be able to defend their preexisting beliefs (Zaller, 1991).

Additionally, the effects of a particular frame can be limited by the values of an individual. Zaller (1991) suggests that values determine if a person accepts or rejects certain types of arguments. Values can be based on personal characteristics and the environment (Zaller, 1991). It is important to note that someone's political affiliation, such as liberal or conservative, can be considered a value. For instance, two people with different political affiliations may have completely different values.

Moreover, if the source of the message has a different political affiliation than the recipient, the recipient could then be less likely to accept the frame of the message (Tadlock, 2014; Zaller, 1991). This effect is similar to that of competitive framing which occurs when an individual is exposed to two different frames at the same time (De Vreese, 2012). This is important because the public is exposed to a large number of frames from a variety of sources over time (Entman, 2005a).

The relationship between politics and framing cannot be understated. "In a democratic society, frames can be generated by a variety of policy actors who are 'free'

(politically speaking) to seek to change or protect the status quo by configuring issues to their advantage" (Entman, 2005a, p. 5). Policy actors include media, politicians, political parties, elected officials, interest groups, activists, and citizens (Entman, 2005a). All of these political actors can frame a narrative, but not all have the same amount of power or influence. For instance, a politician will have more resources and a larger platform than citizens. A policy actor's ability to influence others is based on their status, credibility, and resources.

Policy actors use value frames cherished by the public to convey their side of an issue (Brewer & Gross, 2005). A value frame is a frame that draws a link between a value and an issue that requires some judgment. Furthermore, it presents one position on an issue as being right and the other as being wrong by connecting the "correct" position to a specific core value (Brewer & Gross, 2005). The reason for using this tactic is because it is believed that citizens cannot process all the relevant information about public policy and using values is an easier way to get the public to connect and form their opinions about political controversies (Brewer & Gross, 2005; Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2001). Frames help the public understand politics by simplifying complex issues while also restricting other available perspectives outside of those value frames (Entman, 2005a). Policy actors use their power and resources, such as media, to convey their message.

Media do two crucial things: they act as an information hub and make sense of events while they are happening (D'Angelo, 2018). However, media do not only communicate information but opinions as well. Media outlets select frames knowingly or unknowingly. Remember, news outlets cover current events, and the only way to make sense of these events is for the news media to use frames. At times, frames are selected based on the goals and agendas of policy actors.

The relationship between politics and the media is simple. Media give policy actors, such as politicians and interest groups, a national platform where they can disseminate their views in an effort to sway the public (Entman, 2005a). Media select any frame they want out of those offered (Entman, 2005a). Entman (2005a) explains that media either promote the frame of policy actors or create a new frame. An example of this is the language used in media coverage of the debate surrounding gun control. Media coined the phrase “Culture of Violence,” which was found to be one of the most effective ways of conveying the issue to the public (Entman, 2005a). In all, media, unlike other communication sources, can select and create frames which can then be transmitted to a national audience.

Media and policy actors often use two different types of frames to convey political issues: the episodic frame and thematic frame. The episodic frame portrays issues in terms of specific occurrences, such as a terrorist attack or a case of illegal drug

usage (Gross, 2008; Iyengar, 1996). Simply put, episodic frames are illustrations of issues. The thematic frame represents political issues more broadly by placing them in some appropriate context, be it historical, geographical or societal (Brewer & Gross, 2005; Gross, 2008; Iyengar, 1996). Each framing tactic influences how the public judges and attributes responsibility.

The attribution of responsibility explains how the public makes sense of certain outcomes based on the causes of them (Jang, 2013). Determining the cause shapes the judgment of responsibility and attitudes toward policy. The cause of an outcome can be either internal or external. Internal attributions are outcomes caused by an individual while external attributions are outcomes caused by societal conditions such as a lack of resources (Niederdeppe, Shapiro, & Porticella, 2011). Internal attributions are within an individual's control while external attributions are outside of one's control. Internal and external attributions can influence who or what the public believes is responsible for the outcome (Jang, 2013; Niederdeppe et al., 2011).

For example, let us say that there is a Black Panther rally about police brutality being held in Washington D.C. that has broken down into riots across the city. The event has now gained national media attention. Media coverage of the event can be either episodic or thematic. If media coverage is episodic, it will focus on the protesters' actions, which may lead viewers to shield society and government from responsibility (Iyengar,

1996). If the thematic frame is chosen, media coverage may focus on what societal factors have caused this outrage. For instance, some media outlets could highlight the history of police brutality against this group. Thus, causing the public to attribute responsibility for such violence to socioeconomic or political conditions; in this case, the onus of responsibility would be placed on the justice system (Iyengar, 1996). Based on this example we can see how the episodic frame places responsibility on the individual whereas the thematic frame places responsibility on political or societal structures.

One thing must be made clear before continuing, media do not only frame stories, but they also frame issues. Issue frames are alternative depictions of policy problems (Nelson & Oxley, 1999). Another definition of issue framing comes from D'Angelo (2018) who explains, "issue-specific frames contextualize such topics or events against some interpretive repertoire within which they assume relevant meaning, thereby transforming them into (public) issues, toward which one can assume different stances" (p. 5). Issue framing can also be thought of as the various conceptualizations of an issue (Tadlock, 2014). Entman (2005b) suggested that politicians and media use frames to provide meaning to issues and to connect them to a broader political context.

An example of an issue frame used by Nelson (2011) was that of automobile travel. In 2016 alone it was estimated 40,200 people died in motor vehicle accidents (Boudette, 2017). Most citizens do not think of automobile safety as an urgent issue.

Media and politicians can frame automobile travel using the cost-benefit frame which portrays automobile accidents as the price we pay for the comfort of driving (Nelson, 2011). Another frame could be that automobile travel is an American freedom. This example is notable because it paints a clear picture of issue framing. Out of all the frames used in the case, none of them are untruthful, and each frame has facts that support that point of view.

There are two levels to issue frames. First, news providers can use factual claims to describe a broader interpretation of an issue. Second, issue frames can be used to show support of a specific position on a controversial topic (Nelson, 2011). Not only do media use issue frames to describe broader interpretations for particular issues but politicians and other external sources do as well (Nelson & Oxley, 1999). A recent example of this is happening with media coverage of the Colin Kaepernick controversy. Analysts, political figures, and news networks have all framed the issue differently. Kaepernick, himself, explained that he was protesting police brutality and oppression (Stites, 2018). Certain news outlets, football players, and President Trump have framed his protest as being disrespectful to the American flag. President Trump even went as far to comment, "wouldn't you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag, to say, 'Get that son of a bitch off the field right now, out, he's fired,'" (Stites, 2018).

Issue framing changes the way an issue is presented which may then influence attitude formation (Nelson & Oxley, 1999). Whatever frame a person is exposed to may shape their opinions towards the issue. Furthermore, the frame they are exposed to can come from a variety of sources and not just news media. For example, Kaepernick's protest was framed differently depending on the source. One source may frame his actions as a movement against police brutality against minorities. Whereas another source, in this case President Trump, frames his actions as being disrespectful to the flag. Ultimately, issue framing demonstrates how issues can be described differently depending on the source and each source supports their position by highlighting different facts.

Framing & Activism

A large portion of this research focuses on the framing of activism, particularly athlete activism, by media and policy actors. When framing political activists, media and policy actors incorporate numerous strategies that I have previously mentioned. Although a number of the strategies will be familiar, this section will explore why media and external sources frame activists the way they do.

Capturing media attention is one of the main goals of public protest events. Nevertheless, media and external sources often portray protesters in a negative light, and this can upstage the movement's message (Taylor & Gunby, 2016). This notion falls in

line with previous research which has found that media tend to focus on characteristics of the activists at events rather than the political issues themselves which motivate those events (Sobieraj, 2010; Taylor & Gunby, 2016). Boykoff (2006) suggests that protesters are occasionally able to frame issues in a manner acceptable to them, but they are often disappointed by what they consider insufficient and insulting media coverage. Media coverage repeatedly fails to target the issues and central messages of social movements and actually disapproves of the participants, thus, undermining the movement's efforts (Boykoff, 2006).

Typically, media undermine protests and protesters by framing them as violent or disruptive and external sources can do this as well. Evidence of this was seen with President Trump's reaction to Colin Kaepernick's protest against police brutality during the National Anthem. President Trump framed Kaepernick's protest as disrespectful and disorderly. Boykoff (2006) noted in his study of the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle and the World Bank protests in Washington D.C. that violent protesters, or even the potential for violent protests, made up the predominant frame through which news stories were told. Yet when protesters did not act violently, the frame did not change as journalists commented on the shortage of destruction, the lack of violence, or the potential likelihood for violence still to occur. The second most popular frame used was the disruption frame. In short, the disruption frame is used to describe protests as

movements that infringe on the everyday lives of the public by disrupting their day with violence and disorderly conduct.

Media's portrayal of protesters being negative is not surprising as these findings fall in line with the protest paradigm. Boyle, McCluskey, McLeod, & Stein (2005) theorized that the protest paradigm stems from the notion that media outlets act as agents of social control, especially when the protest group is against the status quo by attempting to change current policies, conditions, and norms. Furthermore, the more a group diverges from the status quo regarding its goals, tactics, and appearance, the more likely media will act to disenfranchise and disapprove of the group (Boyle et al., 2005). Be that as it may, protests and protesters receive more positive portrayals when their messages and strategies align with the rules and laws of the socio-political system within which they operate (Boykoff & Laschever, 2011; McLeod & Detenber, 1999).

The research on the portrayal of protestors is critical because it highlights media bias. When protestors do not fall in line, they are marginalized and mistreated. Dardis (2006) explains that some news stories aim to make protesters appear more deviant and counter societal while avoiding the group's primary goals and messages. Additionally, protest groups can be alienated when media coverage focuses on their appearance or mental capabilities (Boykoff, 2006; Dardis, 2006). Describing protestors' appearances as

fringe or proposing that activists are conspiracy theorists are all versions of the freak frame (Taylor & Gunby, 2016).

Prior research has found that media coverage has frequently presented activists and protestors as freaks or ignorant (Boykoff 2006; Boykoff & Laschever 2011). The freak and ignorant frame are some of the most popular descriptions of protestors alongside the violent frame. As previously discussed, the freak frame focuses on activist appearances, values, and beliefs that deviate from societal norms (Boykoff 2006; Dardis 2006; McLeod & Hertog 1999). The ignorance frame portrays protestors as too dense to understand the real issues or that the protestors themselves fundamentally misunderstand their complaints and wishes (Boykoff 2006; Dardis 2006; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; Taylor & Gunby, 2016). Both frames used by media and policy actors contribute to the negative stigma around protests and activist groups. Framing activists as violent, ignorant, disruptive, or counter societal negatively impacts how these events and groups, along with their core messages, are perceived and judged by the general public.

The world of sports is often thought of as a battleground where the strongest achieve success and glory at the expense of their bodies (Boulton et al., 2014). Yet, when athletes attempt to use their achieved fame to advocate for political issues, they often face a backlash. There has always been a general sense that sports and politics do not mix; however, politics is littered throughout sports (Boulton et al., 2014). Just think, sporting

events begin with a rendition of the National Anthem, military veterans are honored in pregame ceremonies, and the event itself is often described with language evoking a military battle. Still, media, policy actors, and even some sports figures believe that athletes should remain silent on political issues because they are just athletes, not role models who could potentially advocate for societal or political changes (Boulton et al., 2014; Chow, 2014).

Even though some believe that athletes should be apolitical, many athletes have fought against this narrative and have not limited themselves to just being an athlete. Nevertheless, the frames used for politically engaged athletes have not changed. Colin Kaepernick's protest against police brutality is a prime example of this. Kaepernick's protest was not violent or destructive, but many media outlets and policy actors framed the protest as an aggressive act toward the United States and toward the NFL itself.

Specifically, Todd Starnes, a FOX News columnist, commented, "it's pretty clear to most of the country that Mr. Kaepernick and his minions were dishonoring the flag, the anthem and the military" (Starnes, 2017). Boomer Esiason, a former NFL quarterback, and a current CBS sports analyst remarked, "I cannot say it in the strongest, most direct way, that it's an embarrassment and it's about as disrespectful as any athlete has ever been." Esiason continued by voicing, "and I don't care what the cause is. The NFL

football field is not a place for somebody to further their political ambitions" (Wilson, 2016).

Starnes's and Esiason's comments about Kaepernick were not entirely true. At the beginning of his protest, Kaepernick decided to sit during the National Anthem to protest police brutality. Kaepernick sat until Nate Boyer, a former Green Beret, advised him to kneel during the National Anthem rather than sit. Boyer explained to Kaepernick that kneeling would be more respectful to those who have served (Schilken, 2016). Policy actors and media have the potential to distort or alter the intended message of an issue which is illustrated in this example.

Media's response to Kaepernick and his actions hint at a broader belief that athletes should remain athletes and battle for their respective teams and remain silent about political issues or policies. Lindholm (2017) explained that the symbolic action of sitting down or dropping to one knee during the National Anthem for the purpose of attracting attention to a political issue constitutes political expression covered by the legal right of freedom of expression as outlined in the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, a widely accepted human right within this country. However, the response by some media outlets and policy actors would have you believe that Kaepernick was committing crimes against the nation. This narrative has caused some fans to despise Kaepernick as an individual as well as the overall intention and meaning behind the

protest itself. The result of which has pushed the NFL to consider implementing new rules for their players about kneeling during the National Anthem at any NFL event (Finck, 2018). Boulton et al. (2014) describe the media's and the policy actors' behavior towards athletes who speak out for political causes as bullying, and if athletes follow suit with this notion, then nothing will change.

Framing, Activism & Race

One thing is clear, the treatment of athletes by media and policy actors for voicing their opinion on political issues is harsh and unfair. Specifically, Black athletes have frequently been portrayed negatively by the news media. Media coverage of Black people continually exemplifies the tenets of modern racism and damages public perception and attitudes towards them (Entman, 1990). Modern racism, which is primarily used by news media, is a subtle form of prejudice which degrades a specific group of people (Entman, 1990). Modern racism can be broken down into three components.

The first component of modern racism is the belief that nothing is holding back Black people from success and that Blacks do not deserve special treatment or handouts (Entman, 1990). Hostility towards Blacks is demonstrated by the types of news stories that they are featured in. Research has uncovered that most of the local television news stories about Black people were about crime and politics (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1990).

The second component of modern racism is a resistance to the political demands of Blacks. Media often bolsters this by quoting political leaders' and experts' attacks on affirmative action, the war on poverty, assertive black politicians, and other pro-Black actors and policies (Entman, 1990). Media often goes as far as painting Black political leaders as overly emotional and self-serving. Furthermore, media and policy actors often reinforce the public perception that Blacks are threatening, demanding, and undeserving.

The third component of modern racism is the belief that racism does not exist and does not impede on the success of Black people. Belittling the struggles of Blacks and hinting that they are ungrateful are common frames utilized in news media. An example of this ideology can be seen in the controversy surrounding a 2018 Nike advertising campaign. To put it briefly, Nike released a series of 'Just Do It' advertisements featuring inspirational athletes such as basketball player LeBron James and skateboarder Lacey Baker. The campaign also featured Colin Kaepernick, who was shown in a close up black and white photo, with the words, "believe in something, even if it means sacrificing everything" (Popken & Atkinson, 2018).

Media coverage of the controversy showed citizens burning Nike products in response to the inclusion of Kaepernick in the advertising campaign. The belief amongst some of the public was that Kaepernick is not a hero and should be happy that he made millions of dollars while playing in the NFL (Popken & Atkinson, 2018). This belief is

not only held by the members of the public but also policy actors and media outlets. News media often exacerbate all of the components of modern racism because of the types of coverage and language that they devote to Black people and issues.

An essential concept that must also be considered is political tolerance. Classic definitions of tolerance have viewed it as the desire to offer liberties and security to disliked or even hated groups (Barnum & Sullivan, 1989; Nelson et al., 1997). Recent studies, however, have worked towards updating this definition. Tolerance is now considered to be the willingness of individuals to support the extension of political rights to all members of the society, even to alienated groups (Erisen & Kentmen-Cin, 2017). Unfortunately, there have been many examples which indicate that media, policy actors, and the public do not tolerate all political opinions and therefore do not show a necessary level of political tolerance.

Political Tolerance

One key predictor of political tolerance is threat perception (Erisen & Kentmen-Cin, 2017; Sullivan & Transue, 1999); though it must be kept in mind that threat perception may differ among individuals. Tolerance levels can also be influenced by the frames used to describe a particular group. For example, if a group has been framed as violent or noncompliant, then people are less likely to tolerate that group (Nelson et al., 1997). On the other hand, if the group has been framed as respectful and orderly, then

people may tolerate that group more. Frames and predispositions influence the tolerance levels afforded toward groups an individual opposes.

Kaepernick's protest against police brutality is a demonstration of the relationship between frames and political tolerance. A poll conducted by CNN about the protest highlighted the public's intolerance towards athletes protesting. Nearly half of the survey respondents said that sitting or kneeling during the anthem was the wrong way for athletes to express their political opinion (Intravia, Piquero & Piquero, 2018). The survey responses are interesting because they show how frames can influence an individual's level of tolerance. The title of the poll frames the protest as a protest against the National Anthem which in itself is a frame which activates a different set of beliefs among the public. If the poll framed the protest as freedom of expression or a fight against police brutality, respondents might have had a different reaction. While athletes may be willing to speak up about political issues, alternative frames can influence the public's tolerance towards them.

Moving Forward

Media and policy actors use frames to shape the public's thoughts and discourse about political issues. Activists, protesters, and athletes face a significant struggle when attempting to challenge the status quo. Policy actors use media outlets to alter the

messages of activists which ultimately can harm their goals. Moreover, athletes must overcome the idea that sports and politics do not mix. Recently, Black athletes have attempted to advocate against police brutality but have struggled to overcome the intolerance of policy actors and media. Ultimately, frames can alter the public's judgments, thus, disrupting the political goals of these athletes. This study's ultimate goal was to analyze how media frames can influence support for athlete activism.

Moreover, one's general belief in democratic values are essential to understanding one's political tolerance. Democratic values measure the amount of importance a person places on civil liberties such as free speech (Nelson et al., 1997). For example, a participant may be asked if freedom of speech is a right for all Americans and then rate its importance. Assessing democratic beliefs allows us to understand how values influence the effects of frames.

Next, observing how racial resentment influences the public's support of athlete activism is a crucial factor in understanding values impact on framing. As previously mentioned, media coverage of Black people is often negative. These negative frames combined with components of modern racism alter the public's view of Blacks. To understand this relationship racial resentment must be assessed. Racial resentment shares similarities with the elements of modern racism. Racial resentment is the belief that Blacks lack the moral values of individualism, hard work, discipline, and self-sacrifice

(Carmines, Sniderman, & Easter, 2011; Wilson & Davis, 2011). Moreover, racial resentment suggests that Black people do not deserve special treatment and do not try hard enough to overcome their hardships.

Finally, for this study, the focus was shifted toward collegiate athletes. The reason for this change was because college athletes are lesser known than professional athletes among the general public. Choosing collegiate athletes limits potential biases influencing the results. Although a majority of this research has focused on professional athletes, this issue is still relevant to athletes of any level. Kaepernick's protest against police brutality has not only inspired pro athletes but athletes at all levels of competition (Maye, 2017). Maye (2017) explains that protests are becoming common at colleges and universities, but many of these higher education institutions have remained silent on the issue. The difference between the NFL and some universities is simple; the NFL is a private entity which gives it the ability to restrict the behavior of its employees (Maye, 2017). Public universities are required to protect student expression; however, universities do not always follow this ideal. In the future, college athletes will likely follow in the footsteps of Kaepernick, and we will begin to see more reactions from coaches, teammates, faculty, administrators, and fellow students (Maye, 2017).

Based on these concepts of framing, tolerance, racial resentment, and democratic values, this study explored the relationship between race, frames, and support for athlete activism through the proposed hypotheses.

H₁: In general, respondents will be less supportive of Black athletes who express their political views than White athletes who express their political views.

H_{2a}: When the issue is framed negatively, respondents will be less supportive of the issue of protesting during the National Anthem.

H_{2b}: When the issue is framed positively, respondents will be more supportive of the issue of protesting during the National Anthem.

H₃: Those with high racial resentment will be less supportive than those with low racial resentment.

H₄: Those who place greater importance on democratic values will be more supportive than those who place lesser importance on democratic values.

Chapter 2

METHODS

This study analyzed how frames and race influence the public's support toward civil liberties, specifically, their support toward protesting, freedom of expression, and Black athlete activism. A between subjects, 2x2 factorial experimental design was used to determine if how a news story frames the issue impacts public perceptions of the issue dependent on the race of the athlete featured in the story. This study assessed its research hypotheses by conducting an online experiment, administered via the web-based research program Qualtrics. Participants completed the study from their personal computer. During the experiment, participants read one of four news articles. Afterward, participants completed a closed-ended survey evaluating their beliefs about their support for athlete activism, democratic values, and level of racial resentment.

The sample consisted of 264 undergraduate students (43.1% male, 56.9% female) at a Mid-Atlantic university recruited from undergraduate communication courses. The racial breakdown of the sample is as follows: 77.5% White, 5.9% Hispanic or Latino, 4.3% Black or African American, and 12.3% Asian or Pacific Islander. Recruited participants were offered extra credit in their course in exchange for their participation in this experiment. Participants were exposed to one of four articles and afterward were required to take a self-administered survey.

In this experiment, participants read an article describing a college athlete who knelt during the National Anthem and who was, subsequently, removed from their team. Participants were exposed to two types of frames: a positive portrayal of the protest or a negative portrayal of the protest. The frame used in the article was considered positive or negative based on one quote from a teammate. The negatively framed article utilized a quote which describes their teammate's actions as selfish while the positively framed article used a quote which describes their teammate's actions as being within their rights. See the articles in Appendix A.

The positive and negative frames were created using articles from *the Washington Post* and *Ephrata Review*. The verbiage in each article was changed to ensure the article was at a high school reading level. Also, all personal identifiers were removed from the articles. An expert journalist formatted the articles to ensure that they resembled an actual news article.

To manipulate the other independent variable, the race of the athlete, participants were shown a picture of a White or Black college football athlete. An image is being used because it is a strong cue for race. Both athletes are pictured in a similar pose and are making nearly identical gestures. Photos were taken from the Fairleigh Dickinson University's online roster page to ensure that the pictures used in the article would appear legitimate to the reader and because it would be unlikely that these athletes would be

known to any of the study's participants. Pictures can be seen with the articles in Appendix A.

Support for athlete activism is based on concepts used in political tolerance research. Tolerance is the desire to offer liberties and security to disliked or even hated groups (Nelson et al., 1997), including accepting those individuals who have differing beliefs and practices than you (Noll, Poppe, & Verkuyten, 2010). Or tolerance can be defined as the willingness of individuals to support the extension of political rights to all members of the society, even to alienated groups (Erisen & Kentmen-Cin, 2017). This study defines support for athlete activism as the willingness to accept or tolerate politically engaged athletes ($SD = 1.592$, $\sigma^2 = 2.535$). Support for athlete activism was assessed using a series of questions regarding their beliefs about protesting in general, freedom of expression, and kneeling during National Anthem.

The original scale was comprised of six items ($\alpha = .87$). The scale can be broken down into three parts: support of kneeling, support of freedom of expression, and support of protesting. Support of kneeling is composed of two items and assesses attitudes toward a particular protest. Participants were asked to state their level of agreement on the following statements: "kneeling during the national anthem is an appropriate form of protest" and "kneeling during the National Anthem demonstrates the freedoms the anthem represents." Support of freedom of expression is comprised of two items and

assesses attitudes toward athletes being punished for protesting. Finally, support for protesting was made up of two items and assessed attitudes toward athletes protesting in general. Additionally, it assesses how the public wants athletes to function; should athletes be politically involved or should they remain silent and "do their job"? See Appendix B for the Support for Athlete Activism scale.

Democratic values assessed the amount of importance people place on civil liberties such as free speech (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995). The more importance people place on these values, the more democratic that individual is considered to be. Gibson, Duch, & Tedin (1992) explain that a democratic citizen is one who believes in individual liberty and who is politically tolerant. (Gibson et al., 1992). A democratic citizen is trustful of their peers who are asserting their rights against the state. Finally, a democratic citizen supports basic democratic processes. A democratic citizen is one who supports the freedom of expression of their fellow compatriots.

The combined 12 item scale was not found to be reliable ($\alpha = .51$). Items were then broken down into its four subscales. Three of the four subscales were also found not to be reliable: democratic values pertaining to free speech ($\alpha = .28$), discipline ($\alpha = .36$), and level of importance for civil liberties ($\alpha = .41$). However, the fourth subscale, democratic values pertaining to patriotism ($\alpha = .77$) was found to be reliable. See Appendix C for the Democratic Values Scale used in this experiment.

The final control variable is racial resentment. Racial resentment is the belief that Blacks lack the moral values of individualism, hard work, discipline, and self-sacrifice (Carmines et al. 2011; Wilson & Davis, 2011). The reasoning behind racial resentment is to distinguish between those who are generally sympathetic toward Blacks and those who are unsympathetic (Wilson & Davis, 2011). Racial resentment was measured using a reconceptualized scale by Wilson and Davis (2011).

Old measures of racial resentment were ineffective because they assumed that believing in racial stereotypes equates to racial resentment; however, this may not be true. Also, older measures were unclear in how they were worded. The new scale differs from older measures because there is now a clear connection between the source of the resentful feelings and the targeted racial group (Wilson & Davis, 2011). Wilson & Davis (2011) measured the reliability of the measure throughout four separate studies. The measure was proven reliable ($\alpha = .90$) and the current study yielded similar results ($\alpha = .88$). See Appendix D for the Racial Resentment Scale used in this experiment.

Participants completed all procedures on their computing device, accessing all content through Qualtrics. First participants completed the informed consent process. Once completed participants were asked to read one of the four news stories based upon which of the four experimental conditions they have been randomly assigned to (positive

frame/Black athlete, positive frame/White athlete, negative frame/Black athlete, negative frame/White athlete).

After reading their assigned article participants were directed to a survey in which they were asked a series of questions related to the article and assessing the study's dependent variables. Upon concluding the questionnaire participants were asked to provide their demographic information, including their age, their race/ethnicity, their sex, their overall political affiliation, and their political party. See Appendix E for these demographic questions.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1 predicted less support for Black athletes than White athletes who share their political views. To test the relationship between support for athlete activism ($SD = 1.592$, $\sigma^2 = 2.535$) and race of athlete, an independent samples t-test was used. While the overall mean scores in support for athlete activism did show a difference between the White athlete ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.6$) and the Black athlete ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.5$) in the direction predicted by hypothesis 1, the results of an independent samples t-test showed that the difference between the athletes was not significant ($t(262) = .777$, $p = .438$). For this reason, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

The next set of hypotheses predicted relationships between the type of frame used in the news story about the protest during the National Anthem and the level of athlete activism among study participants. Hypothesis 2a predicted less support for athlete activism when the issue is framed negatively while hypothesis 2b predicted more support for athlete activism when the issue is framed positively. The results show that there was virtually no difference between support for the athlete featured in the article with the positive frame ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.61$) or in the article with the negative frame ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.58$). Further analysis also showed that the nature of the frame had no significant

effect on support [$F(1, 262) = .051, p = .82$]. Thus, Hypotheses 2a & 2b were not supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicted those with high racial resentment ($SD = 1.526, \sigma^2 = 2.330$) would be less supportive of athlete activism than those with lower racial resentment and hypothesis 4 predicted those who place greater importance on democratic values would be more supportive than those who place lower importance on democratic values. Democratic values were originally a 12-item scale, but it was found to not be reliable among participants. The scale was then converted into a single subscale that measured values toward patriotism ($SD = 1.519, \sigma^2 = 2.308$).

To test these relationships, multiple linear regression was used. In this case, does racial resentment and democratic values predict support for athlete activism? Multiple linear regression was performed to predict support based on racial resentment and democratic values. Political party and ideology were included in the model. A significant regression equation was found [$F(6, 257) = 66.661, p < .001$], with an R^2 of .600, finding that the higher the racial resentment, the less supportive for athlete activism the participant was. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

It was also determined that participants who valued patriotism more were less supportive of the protests. As shown in the multiple linear regression this difference was

significant ($p < .001$) but was in the opposite direction than was supported. For this reason, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. See the results in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Regression Testing Main Effects on Support for Athlete Activism as a Function of Racial Resentment and Democratic Values

Variables	B	Standard Error	Beta
(Constant)	8.037	.219	
Racial Resentment	-.650*	.052	-.344
Democratic Values	-.645*	.050	-.350
Conservative	-.445*	.249	-.383
Moderate	-.157*	.180	-.250
Republican	-.538*	.212	-.770
Independent	-.006	.182	-.247

Adjusted R-Squared = .600, * $p < .01$

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

This study came about due to the recent events surrounding Colin Kaepernick and the debate on whether athletes should be politically involved. The protest was started to combat police brutality against Black people, specifically young Black men. However, framing by policy actors and media have distorted the original message of the protest and shifted the debate away from its original intent and towards beliefs about kneeling during the National Anthem.

Specifically, this study aimed to understand framing and its impact on the public's support for athlete activism. Positive and negative frames have the potential to influence the public's perception of kneeling during the National Anthem. Additional factors were examined that could impact this relationship including the race of the athlete, a participant's level of racial resentment, and a participant's beliefs in democratic values. Understanding these relationships help determine factors influencing attitudes toward protesting, kneeling, athlete activism, and public policy. This study established support for athlete activism, the willingness to accept or tolerate politically engaged athletes, as a dependent variable influenced by framing, race, and racial resentment. This chapter will explore the results of the statistical analysis performed, the limitations of the research, and the directions for future research.

Based on the results, neither news frames nor the race of the athlete impacted support for athlete activism. Several implications are stemming from this result. One possible explanation stems from the stimuli used in the experiment. The selected news article may not have provided a strong enough manipulation. If the manipulation was not strong enough, it might have been hard for participants to recognize the negative and positive features of the articles. An alternative explanation is that frames used in media play a limited role in shaping attitudes toward support for athlete activism. It is possible that individual differences, such as racial resentment and democratic values, play a more significant role in shaping attitudes toward support.

Another possible explanation is that the selected articles did not use narratives when describing the protest. The selected articles were straightforward and intentionally lacked overly opinionated language. Narratives may elicit stronger attitudes toward support. Television news stories, for example, often use narrative and storytelling elements to describe an issue which was lacking in the news articles utilized in the experiment.

Next, the race of the athlete may not have played a significant role because the selected athletes were unknown to study participants. Using an unknown athlete could affect how much investment a reader had in the story, the issue, and the athlete. Using a

better-known athlete, for instance, Colin Kaepernick whose name is now synonymous with this issue could evoke stronger racial attitudes among participants.

One important note to be made about participants' support for athlete activism is, despite the condition they were assigned to, participants were relatively on the fence about support. The mean for all groups was quite similar suggesting that people are not extremely supportive of this issue nor are they particularly unsupportive. Even if the frame of the story was positive, respondents appeared to be stuck in the middle on the issue with no definitive opinion. Kneeling during the National Anthem is a controversial topic that many are still unsure of and may not fully know what their feelings or attitudes are about it.

Furthermore, individual differences, such as racial resentment and democratic values toward patriotism, did negatively impact support for those kneeling during the National Anthem. For racial resentment, the results suggest that the public associate Black people with this particular protest. What this means is once a person sees someone kneeling during the National Anthem, they associate the action with Black political issues. This can be compared to the perceived societal association between a raised fist and Black solidarity. Kneeling may now have become a symbol of Black people coming together to battle against injustice. Additionally, this finding appears to support the literature stating the public believes Black people are ungrateful and complain too much

(Carmines et al. 2011; Entman, 1990; Wilson & Davis, 2011). Kneeling now appears to be a symbol of Black solidarity and, based on these results, attitudes toward Black people has led to resentment of these protests.

In contrast, the result concerning values toward patriotism appears to be simple to explain. People who value traditional symbols of patriotism, such as the Pledge of Allegiance and the National Anthem, view the protests as a threat to patriotism. An important note about these individual differences is their impact on frames. It did not matter if the issue was framed positively or negatively if the participant had high racial resentment or greatly valued patriotism, then they were less supportive. This hints to the idea that individual differences can negate framing effects.

Limitations of the Current Study

While this study provides evidence for factors influencing support for athlete activism, some limitations should be noted. First, this study had some methodological limitations with the democratic values scale. Democratic values were intended to assess the amount of importance people place on civil liberties such as free speech (Marcus et al., 1995). The 12-item scale turned out to not be as reliable as initially thought. Inconsistencies in survey design may have caused the unreliableness of the scale. Results showed that 9 of the 12 items were not a good fit for the study which in turn impacted the exploratory nature of the study. Concepts such as values toward free speech and freedom

of expression could not be observed within the collected data. Not conducting a pilot study hindered the use of this scale and the variable as a whole. Furthermore, since a pilot study was not done, we could not assess the level of manipulation for each article. Including a pilot study would have allowed for alterations to be made so that each article could elicit stronger attitudes among participants.

Another limitation was the decision to not include sports affinity as a variable. Sports affinity can be defined as a person's level of investment in sports. I suspect that the more someone cares about sports, the more likely they are invested in the protests against police brutality, simply because of how often they are exposed to the protest. Moreover, the study did not assess whether participants were National Football League (NFL) fans which could be an essential component to investment. If a person is an NFL fan, they may have greater exposure to the protest. Furthermore, an NFL fan may view their team as an extension of themselves which increases their investment and willingness to state their opinion (Maye, 2019).

The next limitation of this study was with the participant sample itself. First, the majority of the sample were female college students. Female college students are not representative of the entire population. Thus, it is hard to draw generalizable conclusions about the general population's support for athlete activism based on the sample used for this experiment. Finally, another significant limitation with this sample was the lack of

ethnic diversity among participants. A lack of ethnic diversity restricted the scope of the data collected; the study's results were not able to explore the differences between ethnic groups and their support for athlete activism.

The final limitation of the study also has to do with the sample. The study was comprised of undergraduate students at the University of Delaware. The University of Delaware not known for its college football program. Football may not be salient in the minds of the participants because football is not a large part of the campus culture. Participants may not care about issues pertaining to collegiate football because football is not important in their college lives. These factors may have contributed to weaker attitudes about athlete activism and protesting.

Directions for Future Research

Future research should expand on the concepts presented in the study. The first area research should explore sports affinity and its impact on support for athlete activism. It is suspected that sports affinity may influence support because a sports fan may have greater exposure to the protests against police brutality than non-sports fans. Also, as a result of their level of sports affinity, sports fans may be exposed to different policy actors and frames that deal with this issue. There may be more policy actors, such as sports analysts and former players, influencing fans' overall support. All of these potential factors and policy actors provide different outlets for future research to explore.

Another area for research to explore is the impact of teammates and coaches on athlete activism. Both teammates and coaches play an integral role in the life of an athlete and serve as a source for the fans. The role of the coach is interesting to explore because they hold a significant amount of power over their players (Druckman, Howat & Rothschild, 2019). I believe coaches could have a substantial impact on how the public supports players' protesting.

Additionally, future studies should further differentiate between professional and collegiate athletes. Collegiate athletes, similar to professional athletes, are under a microscope but collegiate athletes are subscribed to a different set of rules than professionals. College players may be influenced by several policy actors such as teammates, alumni, other students, professors, administrators, and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) (Druckman, Howat & Rothschild, 2019; Maye, 2019). Professional athletes do interact with different types of policy actors, but they may have more freedom than collegiate athletes. All of these policy actors may have a different impact on how the public's attitudes toward support for athlete activism.

Future research should also elaborate on democratic values and their effect on support. This study only analyzed values toward patriotism. It would be interesting to determine if one democratic value could compete and even override another when it comes to a participant's support. In other words, could democratic values toward free

speech potentially conflict with values toward patriotism? Furthermore, exploration of these competing values could determine if they potentially influence a participant's overall level of support for kneeling during the National Anthem.

Additionally, future research should explore if public or private entities influence democratic values and support for athlete activism. Since the National Football League (NFL) is a private entity, it has the right to prohibit or restrict protests (Maye, 2019). A democratic person will understand that the NFL can do whatever it chooses, whether it be restricting or prohibiting protests. This is significant because democratic citizens may be less likely to support athlete activism. However, public entities must protect citizens' expression because they function as part of the state (Maye, 2019). It is crucial to explore if a democratic citizen is more likely to support athletes that are a part of a public entity.

Future research should also explore the potential for other media to exert an influence on support. The medium used during this study was print, and the results were not as strong as expected. Other media such as television, which have the freedom to featuring multimedia presentations or have more freedom to present the narratives surrounding the protests against police brutality, may produce more of a reaction among audience members. These television programs may frame the protest more provocatively, thus, potentially eliciting stronger attitudes.

Finally, future research should explore the effect peers have on an individual's support for athlete activism. In other words, does our social network influence our attitudes toward support and, if so, how strong is this influence? It would be interesting to compare the impact of policy actors and peers on an individual's attitudes. Essentially, how do social norms influence support for athlete activism? Another area to focus on would be how the public engages in support online. Do online platforms boost how individuals engage in supportive or unsupportive behaviors, including if they do so with or without the support of their peers? Exploring this relationship could further expand the understanding of those concepts that can lead to (or detract from) an individual's support for athlete activism.

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Appendix A

STIMULUS ARTICLES AND ATHLETE IMAGES

Student Kneels at The Start of Football Game

Sep 25, 2017

NEW YORK — A Division III college football player who knelt during the national anthem has been dismissed from the squad.

Chris Smith, a sophomore backup quarterback at a local university, took a knee before the game Saturday, making a decision that ran counter to his teammates' decision to kneel for the coin toss and stand for the anthem.

"At some point in life, there's going to be a time when you've got to take a stand," Smith said, "For me, it just happened to be on Saturday afternoon. I was just taught you fight for what you believe in, and you don't bow to anyone. So, I believe heavily in this. So, I decided to fight for it."

At the recommendation of the team's 24-player leadership council, the team had made the decision to kneel and then stand, agreeing to uphold the council decision and understanding that there could be consequences for not supporting the decision, the school said in a statement. The football coach dismissed Smith, in accordance with the leadership council's standard.



Former quarterback Chris Smith

Freshman defensive end Simon Powell said, "Our constitution clearly states we are allowed freedom of speech, religion and the right to organize peaceful protest. If you haven't broken any laws, why kick them off for something that isn't wrong?"

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Appendix B

SUPPORT FOR ATHLETE ACTIVISM SCALE

Kneeling during the national anthem is an appropriate form of protest.

Disagree ____ Agree

Kneeling during the National Anthem demonstrates the freedoms the anthem represents.

Disagree ____ Agree

Public universities should require their student-athletes to stand for the National Anthem.

Disagree ____ Agree

College players should be dropped from their team if they refuse to stand for the National Anthem.

Disagree ____ Agree

In general, Professional athletes are paid to play the game, not share their political opinions.

Disagree ____ Agree

In general, student-athletes are given scholarships to play the game, not share their political opinions.

Disagree ____ Agree

Appendix C

DEMOCRATIC VALUES SCALE

*The National Anthem is a symbol of Americans' rights and freedoms.

Disagree ____ Agree

*The National Anthem is a symbol of our military's sacrifice.

Disagree ____ Agree

*It is important for children to recite the Pledge of Allegiance at the start of each school day.

Disagree ____ Agree

If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, they should not be entitled to be released on bail.

Disagree ____ Agree

Society shouldn't have to put up with those who have political ideas that are extremely different from the views of the majority.

Disagree ____ Agree

When the country is in great danger, we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

Free speech ought to be allowed for all political groups even if some things these groups believe in are highly insulting and threatening to particular segments of society.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

No matter what a person's political beliefs are, they are entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

How important is the freedom of religion?

Not at all important ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Very important

How important is Free speech?

Not at all important ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Very important

How important is the right to bear arms?

Not at all important ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Very important

How important is the right to vote?

Not at all important ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Very important

Appendix D

RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE

I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive; other Americans like me have problems too.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism as an excuse.

Disagree ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Agree

Appendix E

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

What is your age? Please specify in years _____

Identify your sex?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ Choose Not to Answer

Please specify your ethnicity?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Hispanic or Latino
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ Native American or American Indian
- ☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____

What is your political affiliation?

- ☐ Republican
- ☐ Democrat
- ☐ Independent
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____
- ☐ None

What is your political ideology?

- ☐ Very Conservative
- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Moderate
- ☐ Liberal
- ☐ Very Liberal

Appendix F

MAIN STUDY IRB APPROVAL



RESEARCH OFFICE

210 HULLIHEN HALL
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE 19716-1551
Ph: 302/831-2136
Fax: 302/831-2828

DATE: January 8, 2019

TO: Wyatt Dawson
FROM: University of Delaware IRB

STUDY TITLE: [1355827-1] Support for athlete activism

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE: January 8, 2019

REVIEW CATEGORY: Exemption category # (2)

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this research study. The University of Delaware IRB has determined this project is EXEMPT FROM IRB REVIEW according to federal regulations.

We will put a copy of this correspondence on file in our office. Please remember to notify us if you make any substantial changes to the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Renee Stewart at (302) 831-2137 or stewartr@udel.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.