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In the United States, numerous media headlines have been dedicated to high-profile cases about race and racism in sport.[1] The most notorious incidents include Al Campanis of the Dodgers, Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder of CBS, Air Force football coach Fisher DeBerry, Don Imus and the Rutgers's University women's basketball team, head coaches Lovie Smith and Tony Dungy going to Super Bowl 41, and most recently, Golf Channel anchor Kelly Tilghman's comments on Tiger Woods. While these cases dominated the headlines, they gave visibility to issues of race, power, privilege, and voice in sport.[2] Sport is inextricably linked with contemporary struggles surrounding racial identity, racism, and politics in U.S. American society,[3] so much so that sports as popular culture "are part of the everyday experience of most people."[4]

Communication scholars have focused on issues concerning race, politics, and sports.[5] For example, Michael Butterworth[6] highlighted how George W. Bush utilized sports to fuel his political agenda. Fernando Delgado mapped the political and ideological tensions present in the U.S. print media coverage of the 1998 World Cup game.[7] Other works have examined Chicano-Latino masculinities in boxing,[8] or the framings and representations of black masculinities and bodies in the National Basketball Association (NBA)[9] and the National Football League,[10] as well as the taken-for-granted nature of whiteness in sports.[11] Barry Brummett argues that, as we experience popular culture, we participate in rhetorical struggles surrounding dominant ideologies, power, privilege, and the social hierarchies in which we operate.[12] As a popular culture site, we position sport (such as NBA basketball) as a pedagogical space that is instructive of how racial hierarchies in the United States reflect larger systems of domination. Margaret Duncan and Brummett write that the presentation of sports relies on narrative strategies such as storytelling, the sharing of history, and the creation of stock characters.[13] As such, the critiques of sports and athletes "offer unique points of access to the constitutive meanings and power relations of the larger worlds we inhabit."[14] In this chapter, we turn a critical eye toward the NBA and position the league as a site of struggle over meanings of race.

Since sports are part of the everyday lives of people, NBA discourses influence the social fabric of human relations via the media. David Leonard contends

that professional basketball is a cultural site at which dialogues about race, class, American values, and national identity occur.[15] Likewise, corporate discourses also constitute popular culture and are nationally and internationally consumed by people via a global media. For example, Todd Boyd and Kenneth Shropshire recount the cultural significance of the infamous rivalry between Magic Johnson of the Lakers and Larry Bird of the Celtics: "To side with the Lakers or the Celtics was to embrace a racial position and a specific set of cultural politics. . . . The battles between Magic and Bird, L.A. and Boston, black and white, could be described as the late twentieth century's version of an acceptable race war."[16] Furthermore, Ben Carrington notes the "racial signification of sport," indicating that "Sports contests . . . act as a key signifier for wider questions about identity within racially demarcated societies in which racial narratives about self and society are read both into and from sporting contests that are imbued with racial meanings."[17]

Thus, in this chapter, we critique the "allegorical power of sport" in relation to historical and contemporary manifestations of white supremacy.[18] In doing so, we seek to show how sport as a form of popular culture reifies whiteness within and beyond the social institution of sport. In particular, we focus on NBA Commissioner David Stern. We situate his embodiment of white hegemonic masculinity as a political performance that is rife with racialized messages concerning power, privilege, and control.[19] In our examination of strategic uses of whiteness in professional basketball, we build upon previous rhetorical work. For instance, Michael Butterworth and Nick Trujillo have examined figures centrally connected to sports, whiteness, and masculinity as a way to locate and problematize commonsense meanings surrounding race, sports, and politics.[20]

Recently, the NBA has been the focus of numerous controversial media headlines, propelling issues of race and racism to the front pages of newspapers. Of specific interest in this chapter is the League's 2005 dress code policy, which followed the much discussed 2004 Detroit Piston's brawl. By examining Stern's reactions to racist accusations, we expose his whiteness, and make visible his political position and power. To do so, we highlight the contradictions embedded within Stern's claims that race is insignificant and position his rhetorical embodiment of white masculinity within U.S. histories in order to reveal white paternalistic ideologies. Stern's symbolic representation of whiteness (i.e., power, authority, control, etc.) often masks the reproduction of stereotypical notions of blackness (i.e., deviance, immaturity, danger, etc.).[21] We first contextualize sport and the historical relationships between black and white men. Then, we map and deconstruct the discursive space of whiteness in media discourses dedicated to the 2004 Detroit Piston's brawl and the 2005 dress code Stern oversaw.[22] Finally,

we discuss the social implications of Commissioner David Stern's embodiment of white, hegemonic masculinity contextually.

Sport and the Politics of Race and History

The history between blacks and whites in U.S. sports is replete with notions of white supremacy and inequality. In the realm of sport, white men have historically been situated in positions of ownership and control over black male athletic bodies that were ideologically fixed as hypersexual, violent, and suspicious.[23] Ironically, black males also became representative of desired mystique and wonderment. Subsequently, the black male body became a site for spectacular white consumption and enticement, but this only worked so long as black men could be controlled. In this context, black males were expected and forced to perform for white audiences. For example, during slavery, white masters would enter their slaves in foot-racing competitions and jockey races to compete against other plantation owners' slaves. The owners received both the public praise and financial rewards for the athletic abilities and performances of their slaves.[24] In addition to voyeuristic consumption and forced competition, arguably the most devastating and sickening consequence and display of the white custodial gaze upon black bodies was that of lynching for white pleasure. The sport was to hunt for the black man whose body at the climax of spectatorship was tormented as a form of entertainment.[25] After slavery and the illegalization of lynching, the voyeuristic white gaze and white control over black male bodies remained steadfast; hence, the exploitation and appropriation of blacks by whites for pleasure and profit continued. For instance, in spite of their success, legendary black athletes, such as Jack Johnson, Jesse Owens, and Joe Louis, were criminalized, broke, and/or discarded as useless at the end of their athletic careers.[26]

The historical relationships between black men and white men in sports are directly relevant to understanding how the industry of professional basketball represents, reflects, and reifies historical constructions of blackness and whiteness. Extending our contextual understanding of history, race, and sport into the present day, several high-profile athletes have documented the presence of race and racism in the NBA, including Bill Russell, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Dennis Rodman, and Charles Barkley.[27] While it may be tempting to dismiss their perspectives based on the common extreme financial success (albeit often short-lived) of NBA players, Harry Edwards observed that black men who are extremely financially successful in the realm of professional sport learn to conceal the oppressive nature of whiteness.[28] Similarly, Derrick Bell reminds us that, "Despite undeniable progress for many, no African Americans are insulated from

incidents of racial discrimination. Our careers, even our lives, are threatened because of our color."[29] In the section that follows, we will briefly recount the history of integration in the NBA to contextualize how the contemporary white power structure embodied by Stern continues to struggle to control black male bodies hegemonically.

The NBA as a Racialized Space

October 31, 1950, marked the day the color barrier in the NBA fell.[30] The honor, or perhaps burden, of initially breaking the color barrier in the NBA is attributed to Chuck Cooper, Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton, and Earl "Moon Fixer" Loyd.[31] Blacks and whites alike claimed the initial integration of sports as progressive, yet integration has also been critiqued as a vehicle of white supremacist persistence.[32] According to William Rhoden, not only did integration allow whites to have control over and gain profit from black male bodies, but they did so while claiming that racism did not exist, thereby elevating themselves to being democratic humanitarians. Therefore, while blacks were slowly "allowed" into the league, they were also limited to the playing court.[33] Since 1950, the overall demographic representation of blacks in the NBA has increased slightly. Although this process was slow at first, a major demographic shift occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s, during which time the playing force became predominantly black. Nevertheless, the NBA's current "front office hiring practices do not nearly reflect the number of players of color competing."[34] Thus, whites remain the dominant ethnic majority at every level of ownership and administration. The only exception to the white majority is among the black players who, during the 2006–2007 season, represented 75 percent (330/522) of the players, in comparison to white players who represented 21 percent (91/522).[35]

While the NBA may present itself as an organization that has transcended race and racism, its history of integration, current ethnic demographics, and the discursive embrace of racist ideologies under the direction of Commissioner Stern indicate that this is not actually true.

Rhetorics of Whiteness

We examined Stern through his strategic performances of whiteness in media coverage of the 2004 Detroit brawl and the 2005 dress code.[36] Susan Birrell and Mary McDonald assert, "Reading sport critically can be used as a methodology for uncovering, foregrounding, and producing counter-narratives, that is, alternative accounts of particular events and celebrities that have been decentered, obscured, and dismissed by hegemonic forces."[37] We undertook a critical exami-

nation of Stern's discourses through the lens of strategic rhetoric to explicate how his embodiment of white hegemonic masculinity masks systems of domination. Our study follows critical rhetorical projects that are concerned not only with uncovering oppressive discourses, but also with highlighting how discourse can espouse freedom.[38] To do so, we operate from a critical perspective guided by theories of whiteness as a way to unearth the oppressive nature of Stern's rhetoric (or lack thereof) surrounding race and racism. Similarly, in his analysis of the media coverage of baseball players Sammy Sosa and Mark McGwire, Butterworth states: "Analysis of this coverage reveals the extent to which whiteness is a taken-for-granted norm in discussions about race and how sports media produce and perpetuate a discourse that privileges whiteness."[39] Inspired by Butterworth's work, we seek to make visible Stern's white privilege and the way it extends the normalization of whiteness in the NBA and beyond. We also seek to highlight players' voices, which are most often overshadowed and/or dismissed via Stern's performance of whiteness.

Thomas Nakayama and Robert Krizek note that whiteness is normalized through discourses that position it as everything and nothing simultaneously. Whiteness as a subject position is unmarked, and in its lack of recognition maintains its dominance, or normalizing position, along with being defined, and centered, contra the Other.[40] Nakayama and Krizek further argue that whiteness is constructed as natural; therefore, whiteness eludes a critique of the systems of power that determine its positioning. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva refers to the invisibility of whiteness as "colorblindness," which becomes manifest as "racism without 'racists.'"[41] Furthermore, Sarah Projansky and Kent Ono write, "in response to various social changes and social movements, the history of whiteness in the United States entails a history of modifications to renegotiate the centrality of white power and authority—this is what we call *strategic whiteness*."[42] Strategic whiteness can be tied to a new form of racism, which Patricia Hill Collins argues is "characterized by a changing political structure that disenfranchises people, even if they appear to be included."[43] Collins argues that the new racism relies on mass media more than ever to disseminate and justify racist beliefs and norms often represented as colorblind, anti-racist, and/or racially transcendent. Illuminating filmic representations that appear to be liberatory, while actually reinforcing hegemonic structures, Projansky and Ono ask, "But what kind of racial politics and politics of representation allow these films to claim an anti-racist edge while nevertheless subtly recentering whiteness in the process?"[44] A similar question can be raised with regard to Stern and the perception of the NBA as a racial equalizer. In response to the work of communication scholars who call for examinations of strategic performances of whiteness within the media,[45] we examine the NBA as a site where the new racism is articulated most keenly

through Stern's rhetoric, which, we argue, works to mask or normalize racism and hegemonic beliefs.

Stern's performances of white privilege and hegemonic masculinity are further read against other bodies of literature that have explored the nexus of white masculinity and sports. Butterworth persuasively argues for understanding whiteness as tied to civilization and American exceptionalism in baseball discourses, especially as it relates to Otherness.[46] Trujillo's work on Nolan Ryan and hegemonic masculinity addresses physical force and control, occupational achievement, familial patriarchy, frontiersmanship, and heterosexuality. Motivated by these works, we are attentive to the relationship between whiteness and hegemonic masculinity in order to locate frames for understanding NBA Commissioner Stern's rhetoric. Specifically, we address his history in the league, mediated responses, and actions as they relate to whiteness and masculinity. Taken together, these fragments offer lenses through which to examine Stern's rhetoric, while being mindful of the performative, textual, and contextual factors surrounding him.[47]

The Arrival of David Stern

David Stern began his career with the NBA in 1978 as legal counsel. He became the league's executive vice president in 1980 and commissioner in 1984.[48] Prior to his appointment, in the NBA's so-called darkest hour, major news articles reported that three out of four NBA players were on drugs.[49] When Stern was appointed, the league was in severe turmoil.[50] League controversies in 1984 included franchise failure, a lack of corporate sponsorship, labor issues, drug use, and accusations of racism. Stern described the situation this way: "This is the first sport where it became fashionable and allowable to talk about race. Our problem was that sponsors were flocking out of the N.B.A. because it was perceived as a bunch of high-salaried, drug-sniffing black guys."[51] Hence, from the onset of his career as commissioner, Stern normalized whiteness as a nonracialized space by repeating discourse that marked the racialized "other" as criminal. He echoed white middle-class sensibilities, while maintaining the invisibility of whiteness as a normative position of structural advantage. In many ways, Stern embodied hegemonic civility (a tactic he draws upon frequently): "normalized or naturalized behavior—appropriate behavior—even as the action can be incivil or even silencing in order to uphold the hegemonic order . . . Hegemonic civility is an organized process which results in suppressing or silencing any opposition, in favor of the status quo."[52] Stern also affirmed Collins's argument that, "The combination of physicality over intellectual ability, a lack of restraint associated with incomplete socialization, and a predilection for violence has long been associated

with African American men."[53] Reading further into Stern's comments regarding the perception of the league "as a bunch of high-salaried, drug-sniffing black guys,"[54] Maharaj contends that, from Stern's perspective, an economic solution was necessary to address the NBA's issues; economic in that league profits could be improved by managing perceptions of NBA players (namely black men) in the media spotlight. In this sense, Stern's role as the white patriarch who could restore order to an out-of-control organization brimming with uncivilized players becomes visible.

As a leader in the professional sports industry, Stern is widely credited with having saved the league from bankruptcy, expanding the franchise, capitalizing on star power, marketing, engaging international initiatives, and serving the public. He has secured his reputation as the most successful commissioner in professional sports.[55] In doing so, he has been described as "a thinker," "an innovator," "brilliant," and "progressive."[56] Speaking to his financial skills, a mere ten years after his appointment as commissioner, the league had increased its annual revenues by 1,600 percent.[57]

In addition to that success, Stern has been positioned as a cultural icon through his management of meaning. To anyone remotely familiar with professional basketball, he has become symbolic of power, discipline, and rescue. More specifically, when members of the NBA (owners, teams, referees, players, etc.) become a media spectacle, it is Stern who comes to the forefront of the organization as a white patriarchal figure to soothe the public rhetorically and thereby repair any damage to the NBA's image. Yet, despite his most concerted efforts to do so and simultaneously declare the NBA a space in which race does not matter, he falls subject to suspicion. We argue that Stern has become a complex symbol of racism, paternalism and, indirectly, slavery itself. In the following section, we highlight Stern's reactions to the 2004 Pistons brawl and the 2005 dress code as a means of further understanding his performance of whiteness and its strategic reification of dominant power structures.

2004 Detroit Brawl

On November 19, 2004, during a game between the Detroit Pistons and the Indiana Pacers, a brawl ensued that included both players and fans engaging in physical altercations at the Palace of Auburn Hills in Michigan. The contact between players and fans began after a Detroit fan threw a cup of liquid on Pacer Ron Artest, who had just been engaged in an on-court conflict with Piston player, Ben Wallace. Reacting immediately, Artest climbed into the stands after the fan who had thrown the cup of liquid on him, and mayhem ensued. In a visual sense the racial composition of NBA players and fans was striking: all of the players

involved were black, while most of the fans were white.[58] Although no one was seriously injured, the incident played repeatedly on media channels for weeks. The media described the brawl as a great disaster in American sports history, and the event became a source of humiliation and embarrassment for the NBA.[59]

To understand the cultural and political impact of the brawl, we must remember that the white voyeuristic gaze is deeply rooted in U.S. American sport. The intent of the gaze is to commodify blackness so that it appeals to consumers willing to spend the most money consuming the sport, which tend to be white middle and upper-class people. According to Jack McCallum, the image of the black players fighting with mostly white fans "will not sit well with those white fans who see some African American players—lavishly paid, richly tattooed and supremely confident—as the embodiment of all that is wrong with sports."[60] In this light, the brawl takes on a new meaning as a moment in which issues of race, class, and gender became of public significance. In essence, the "innocence" of sport and the ability of it to function as a racial equalizer was brought into question.

Soon after the brawl, Stern held a public press conference, in which his task was to repair the NBA's tarnished image, apologize, and publicize the punishments being handed down. He said, "The actions of the players involved wildly exceeded the professionalism and self-control that should fairly be expected from NBA players."[61] As a result of the brawl, the following disciplinary actions were taken: Pacer Ron Artest was suspended for the remainder of the 2004–2005 season, Pacer Stephen Jackson was suspended for 30 games, Pacer Jermaine O'Neal was suspended for 25 games, Pacer Anthony Johnson was suspended for five games, Pacer Reggie Miller was suspended for one game, Piston Ben Wallace was suspended for six games, and Pistons Elden Campbell, Derrick Coleman, and Chauncey Billups were suspended for one game.[62] When asked if the heaviest penalty leveraged against Ron Artest (suspended for the remainder of the season) was a unanimous decision, Stern replied, "It was unanimous 1-0," asserting his absolute power to enforce this decision.[63] He followed by saying, "I don't mean to make light of it, it was my decision. And I decided it . . . it is my responsibility to decide on penalties for player conduct and this is the one I decided on."[64] Stern made it very clear that the boundary had been set for player behavior as a result of the brawl. Stern said: "I am less concerned in the future, because whatever doubt our players may have about the unacceptability of breaching this boundary, they now know the line is drawn and my guess is it won't happen again; certainly not by anyone who wants to be associated with our league."[65] In essence, if another player were ever to dare to enter the stands again, he would face serious and deliberate consequences.

Despite Stern's explanations, noticeably absent was any acknowledgment of players' perspectives. Following the incident, several players called attention to

the fans who were also responsible. For example, Quentin Richardson said, "Man there are going to be some lawsuits. You don't think some of those fans aren't going to want some NBA money?"[66] David Harrison offered, "Nobody gets paid to have stuff thrown at them unless they're circus clowns in a little booth."[67] Similarly, when asked if Artest was at fault, Alonzo Mourning responded, "Hell no, it's not Artest's fault. What has this come to, when a fan feels he has the right to throw something at a player on the court?"[68] In a similar vein, Sam Cassell said, "If the fans throw something, we've got to protect our honor."[69] According to the players, their astronomical salaries do not justify or mitigate the racialized mistreatment they experience as black professional athletes.[70] It is important to note that, officially, both players and fans violated the social contract of sport: the players by entering the stands and the fans by coming onto the court.[71] However, Stern's decisive punishments implied that the black players were largely at fault. According to Linda Tucker, "Such dismissals of the players' perspectives entirely overlook the players' experiences and knowledge of what it means to be Black men in the United States."[72]

Stern's embodiment of white patriarchal control as the commissioner is located in the hypermasculine space of sport, which embraces performances of toughness and dominance.[73] Stern's actions and discourse can be read critically as bringing order and civility to the brute force of black masculinity. Collins argues that the myth of upward social mobility through sports is governed by the rule that one must "submit to White male authority in order to learn how to become a man."[74] This mythology and rule is apparent in Stern's role as patriarch, falling under what Collins calls the father-figure thesis that "assumes that young Black men need tough coaches who will instill much-needed discipline in the lives of fatherless and therefore unruly Black boys."[75] Clearly, the brawl is emblematic of white (male) voyeuristic consumption, the fear of blackness, and the dominant need for black, male bodies to be safely contained. Thus, in the moments when the black players came off the court and went into the stands, blackness became uncontrollable, spilling into the safety of white space, and the arena became a savage space where the black bodies of the players climbing into the stands were represented as "violent beasts" going after "innocent" white fans. Having a "black" threat in "white" space was especially problematic from the League's standpoint because of the corporate bottom line. A significant proportion of league revenue is generated based on the NBA's ability to provide and guarantee a safe space for whites to consume blackness. This explains why the penalties handed down were racialized and lopsided against the black male athletes, since the league itself failed to take any major responsibility.

Despite the harsh punishments the players received, Stern did describe the fans' behavior at the Palace in particular but also at large as inappropriate. Explic-

itly, he expressed his "shock" at and "revulsion" for the incident in its entirety, rather than focusing solely on players. In addition, he said, "We patronize our athletes and our fans by accepting the fact that they should be allowed to engage in something less than civilized conduct." Stern continued:

> Over the years, at all sporting events, there's developed a combination of things. First, the professional heckler, who feels empowered to spend the entire game directing his attention to disturbing the other team at any decibel level, at any vocabulary. Then, an ongoing permissiveness that runs the gamut from college kids who don't wear shirts and paint their faces and think that liberates them to say anything, to NBA fans that use language that is not suitable to any family occasions.[76]

Despite his addressing the problematic behavior of sports fans, what Stern did not directly admit to was how the league creates franchise environments that are likely to spark racialized violence and aggression. By stating that the brawl was an isolated incident, Stern framed it as a disastrous fluke, overlooking the roles of capitalism, racism, and sexism as they work together to form the environment in which sport is consumed. More pointedly, the NBA's capitalistic desire for profit created an entertainment atmosphere that included alcohol, obnoxious noise-makers, freebees, cheerleaders, and music to hype up the crowd and keep fans coming back. While none of these decisions on behalf of the league are directly responsible for the brawl or other instances of violence in franchise arenas, they heighten tensions that reinforce hegemonic masculinity. Hence, sporting arenas are designed to appeal to white patriarchal culture in which violence, aggression, and alcohol consumption are encouraged as expressions of manhood. These sports arenas include predominantly white fans and black players, which inevitably produces cultural clashes in a society organized in part by racial hierarchies.[77]

2005 Dress Code

In the aftermath of the brawl and the collective bargaining process, the NBA adopted a new dress code for players (not applicable to the predominantly white coaches or owners), to be enforced on opening day of the 2005–2006 basketball season.[78] The dress policy restricted players from wearing shorts, T-shirts, throwback jerseys, trainers, sneakers, work boots, do-rags, chains, pendants, and medallions. The players were required to wear collared dress shirts or turtlenecks, dress slacks or dress jeans, sport coats, and presentable shoes with socks when attending league events and not in uniform.[79] According to Stern, "we decided that the reputation of our players was not as good as our players are, and we could do small things to improve that."[80] Further justifying the new policy, Stern explained:

> There are different uniforms for different occasions. There's the uniform you wear on the court, there's the uniform you wear when you are on business, there's a uniform you might wear on your casual downtime with your friends and there's the uniform you might wear when you go back home. We're just changing the definition of the uniform that you wear when you are on NBA business.[81]

Stern's executive decision to change the image of the NBA via dress elicited protest and accusations of racism.

Contesting the dress code, Stephen Jackson was quoted as saying that the "NBA's new dress code is racially motivated."[82] Jackson was also quoted as saying, "as far as the chains, I definitely feel that's a racial statement. Almost 100 percent of the guys in the league who are young and black wear big chains. So I definitely don't agree with that at all."[83] Paul Pierce of the Boston Celtics said, "When I saw the part about chains, hip-hop and throwback jerseys, I think that's part of our [black] culture. The NBA is young, black males."[84] Allan Iverson, believed to be a strong motivation for the new dress code after wearing military fatigues, a do-rag, and a baseball hat on an ESPN television broadcast, said, "They're targeting my generation—the hip hop generation."[85] Vowing to protest, Iverson also said, "I dress to make myself comfortable. I really do have a problem with this. It's just not right. It's something I'll fight for."[86] He was also quoted saying, "just because you put a guy in a tuxedo, it doesn't mean he's a good guy,"[87] and "You can put a murderer in a suit, and he's still a murderer."[88]

In a dismissive response to the players' protest and public accusations of racism, Stern responded, "If the dress code affects black players more than others it is more because of circumstance than design."[89] Furthermore, regardless of the resistance from Black players who felt racially targeted by the new dress policy, Stern indicated with certainty that the dress code would be complied with since, from his perspective, the new dress code is in the best interest of the NBA image.[90] The possible consequences for violating the new policy included fines, game suspensions, and being fired. In response to players' opposition to the policy, Stern took an authoritative stance: "If players are really going to have a problem, they will have to make a decision about how they want to spend their adult life in terms of playing in the NBA or not."[91] Stern's veiled threat of unemployment for the players reinforced the weight of his comments. Allan Iverson, who initially strongly opposed the dress code, was later quoted as saying, "I don't have a problem with it. I'll do it for the rest of the season."[92]

Although Stern's justification of the new policy rendered the hip-hop style of dress closely associated with professional basketball a "raceless" uniform, it is vital to recognize that hip-hop is far more than a mere uniform; rather, it is a cultural performance that represents a generation, a lifestyle, and a personae.[93] From a position always already mindful of whiteness, one can see how the dress

code—by banning throwback jerseys, work boots, do-rags, chains, pendants, and medallions—also limits expressions of blackness that are associated with hip-hop style. Reflecting upon the stance of the NBA against hip-hop styles of dress, Jeffrey Lane asserts that the league made a defiant decision to redefine its relationship to hip-hop.[94] Taking further note of the NBA's interests espoused via Stern, the dress code is a clear indication of the leagues' move to separate distinctly from hip-hop culture, regardless of some player's identification with the hip-hop generation. Even more indicative of the labor of whiteness in the NBA is the explicit ban of jerseys and sneakers, two items associated with hip-hop that also contributed significantly to the league's $3 billion in league merchandise sales in 2004.[95] Therefore, the implementation of the policy denotes a desire to control "blackness" for profit. In essence, cultural artifacts of hip-hop ("blackness") are acceptable for sales, but not for image. To replace the banned items, the code called for collared dress shirts or turtlenecks, dress slacks or dress jeans, sport coats, and presentable shoes with socks—all of which are aligned with a white, upper-class style of fashion. The dress code policy positioned Stern as superior, which affirms the historical ideology of white paternalism rooted in chattel slavery. Therefore, the dress code in and of itself becomes symbolic of the desire to control and dilute the expression of blackness according to white norms.

Implications

Since 1989, the Center for the Study of Sport and Society and the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport have released a Racial and Gender Report Card, grading the NBA on racial and gender representation. For the 2006–2007 season, the NBA remained an industry leader, earning an "A" for racial diversity, which supports the image of the NBA as a progressive organization. In addition, David Stern is one of the most highly acclaimed commissioners in sports history. The NBA's reputation as progressive league and cultural symbol, as well as Stern as symbolic representation of what a business leader should be, coupled with imagery of "good" and "bad" black men in the NBA, is important. Given U.S. American history, the cultural significance of Stern positioned as a white man overseeing a predominantly black playing workforce becomes exceptionally problematic. Our study suggests that Stern utilized his white male identity to assert power, maintain control, and reinforce the status quo of whites as the brain trust of the organization, while blacks were confined to their bodies and positioned at the mercy of whites. Therefore, while Stern embodies a strategic position to protect organizational profit, the players are situated in tactical positions always in reaction to the [white] powers that be.[96] We are not arguing that white men cannot be positioned as superior to black men in organizational hierarchies,

but rather we are offering a framework to critique the cultural implications of Stern's performance. We illuminate one facet of the representation of the new racism, which is defined by the idea that race is insignificant and is no longer as prominent as it used to be. Our inquiry also offers a means for scholars to continue the close examination of the strategic performance of whiteness in sport at the intersections of multiple identities, such as race, sexual orientation, nationality, and gender.

Randy Martin and Toby Miller comment, "If we are to think the world of sport, but also to imagine the world through sport, we begin to see that sport has more to teach us than can be learned from any single game."[97] We build on this perspective by asking scholars to consider what else we might find if we examine the performance of marginalized and/or privileged identities in the context of sport? We ask what additional lessons are being taught to multiple audiences through the NBA and in particular Stern? Commenting on the implications of race, Stern said, "That's both fact of life and a cop-out, I deal with that as a marketing problem, as a challenge. It was our conviction that if everything else went right, race would not be an abiding issue to the N.B.A. fans, at least not as long as we handled it correctly."[98] Stern articulated and normalized the dominant belief that race is insignificant, while privileging a white supremacist capitalist patriarchal viewpoint.[99] In fairness, it is also important to recognize that, like Stern, many black players are in pursuit of capitalistic profit and often publicly comply with (or at least do not publicly resist) dominant ideologies of whiteness. While their complicity in the context of history is both frightening and problematic, it is different from Stern's efforts to appease, strengthen, and reproduce whiteness. Thus, although both are likely driven by desire for profit, black male athletes are functioning on a "field of power" in which the rules, interests, and desires of whites are rooted at the foundation.[100] The predominantly white owners, managers, coaches, advertising executives, media outlets, and consumers define the parameters in which black male professional athletes operate. While complicit, black athletes are packaged, sold, disciplined, and dehumanized under the gaze of whiteness as objects for voyeuristic consumption. They are situated as "inferior" regardless of the price tag. Perhaps this reflects the mind-set of the fan who felt justified to throw a cup at Artest which sparked the 2004 Detroit brawl.

Shome reminds us that whiteness is maintained not necessarily by overt displays of whiteness, but rather by its everyday "unquestioned racialized social relations that have acquired a seeming normativity and through that normativity function to make invisible the ways in which whites participate in, and derive protection from, a system whose rules and organizational relations work to their advantage."[101] Given this, it is vital that we continue to unpack Stern's discourse to reveal its insidious contributions to the normalization of whiteness. When Stern

situates himself, or is situated, as white, he inhabits a cultural "position that is secured, maintained, and enjoyed through a structural deprivation of advantages, opportunities, and benefits to people of color."[102] Given Stern's implicit loyalty to corporate interests, there are political, social, and economic implications for the NBA's success as an organization that has "transcended" issues of race and racism, including but not limited to the negative representations of black masculinity, affirmation of whiteness as superior, and the often forgotten yet appalling circumstances that surround most black males in contemporary U.S. American society. In this chapter, we have sought to address how a white man in a position of extreme power, managing the black face of the NBA, begs our attention as critical scholars to be mindful of the importance of seemingly liberating "post-race" projects. In essence, we believe that there is a larger set of discursive principles being embedded in our beliefs and practices through sport that lends itself to the perpetuation of white superiority and black inferiority. In this vein, our analysis of Stern necessitates ongoing dialogue that critically reflects upon not only the workings of whiteness in sports but also the ways in which critical understandings of race and racism in sport can aid in positive social transformation. Thus, without critical and ongoing critiques of whiteness, people of all ethnic backgrounds will continue to ingest messages of indifference, dismissal, and disregard, which will subsequently stymie the movement for racial equality.

NOTES

This chapter is derived from a larger dissertation project entitled *White Eyes on Black Bodies: History, Performance, and Resistance in the NBA* that was written by Rachel Griffin and advised by Bernadette Calafell. Both authors would like to thank the editors and the anonymous reviewers for their challenging questions and thoughtful remarks. Without their patient support, carving this chapter out of the larger project would have been far more difficult.

1. Given the lack of agreement within the literature relied upon, the terms race and ethnicity will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

2. From a critical standpoint, all of these events have rendered issues of race and racism in sport highly visible. In 1987, when asked if racial prejudice might explain the lack of blacks in Major League Baseball in managerial and ownership positions, Campanis responded, "No, I don't believe it's prejudice. I truly believe that they may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager, or perhaps a general manager. So it just might be— why are black men, or black people not good swimmers? They just don't have the buoyancy." In 1988, Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder was fired by CBS Sports after commenting on air that blacks were "bred" to be athletes. In 2005, Air Force Coach Fisher DeBerry was reprimanded for insinuating that his black players were faster than his white players. In 2007, Don Imus was suspended and then fired after referring to the women on Rutger's basketball team as "nappy-headed hos" on his radio show. Also in 2007, NFL coaches Lovie Smith and Tony Dungy were celebrated as the first two African American coaches to compete at the Super Bowl. Lastly, Kelly Tilghman was suspended for two weeks after suggesting that those who want to challenge Tiger Woods should "lynch him in a back

alley." For reported accounts see Associated Press, "Golf Channel Anchor Suspended for Tiger Woods 'Lynch' Comment," http://www.foxnews.com; John Clayton, "Smith, Dungy Will Make This a Classy Super Bowl," http://sports.espn.go.com/espn; Michael Goodwin, "CBS Dismisses Snyder," *New York Times*, in Penrose Library Nexus Lexus, http://0-www/lexisnexis.combianca.penlib.du.edu (accessed 17 February 2008); News Services, "Campanis Apologizes for His Racial Remarks," *Washington Post*, 1987 pp. B2; James Poniewozik, "Who Can Say What?" *Time Magazine*, 23 April 2007, pp. 32–38; Michael Wilbon, "Misplaced Fury Over Racism," *Washington Post*, 29 October 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/Inacademic/delivery (accessed 10 March 2008).

3. Michael Butterworth, "Race in 'the Race': Mark McGuirre, Sammy Sosa, and the Heroic Construction of Whiteness," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24 (2007): 228–44; Butterworth, "The Politics of the Pitch: Claiming and Contesting Democracy through the Iraqi National Soccer Team," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4 (2007): 184–203.

4. Barry Brummett, *Rhetoric in Popular Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 21.

5. For examples, see Timothy J. Brown, "Allan Iverson as America's Most Wanted: Black Masculinity as a Cultural Site of Struggle," *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 34 (2005): 65–87; Butterworth "Race in 'the Race'"; Butterworth "The Politics of the Pitch"; Michael L. Butterworth, "Ritual in the 'Church of Baseball': Suppressing the Discourse of Democracy After 9/11," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 2 (2005): 107–29; Fernando Pedro Delgado, "Major League Soccer: The Return of the Foreign Sport," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 21 (1997): 287–99; Delgado, "The Fusing of Sport and Politics: Media Constructions of U.S. Versus Iran at France 98," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 27 (2003): 293–307; Delgado, "Golden But Not Brown: Oscar De La Hoya and the Complications of Culture, Manhood, and Boxing," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (2005): 194–210; Margaret Carlisle Duncan and Barry Brummett,"The Mediation of Spectator Sport," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 58 (1987): 168–77; Duncan and Brummett, "Types and Sources of Spectating Pleasure in Televised Sports," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 6 (1989): 195–211; Duncan and Brummett, "Liberal and Radical Sources of Female Empowerment in Sport Media," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 10 (1993): 57–72; Thomas P. Oates, "The Erotic Gaze in the NFL Draft," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4 (2007): 74–90; Nick Trujillo, "Hegemonic Masculinity at the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8 (1991): 290–308; Nick Trujillo and Leah Vande Berg, "Sportswriting and American Cultural Values: The 1984 Chicago Cubs," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (1985): 262–82.

6. Butterworth, "The Politics of the Pitch."

7. Delgado, "The Fusing of Sport and Politics."

8. Delgado, "Golden Not Brown."

9. Brown, "Allen Iverson."

10. Oates, "The Erotic Gaze."

11. Butterworth, "The Race in 'the Race"; Caroline Fusco, "Cultural Landscapes of Purification: Sports Spaces and Discourses of Whiteness," *Sociology of Sports Journal* 22 (2005): 283–310; Daniel A. Grano, "Ritual Disorder and the Contractual Morality of Sports: A Case Study in Race, Class, and Agreement," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 10, 3 (2007): 445–74; Richard C. King, "Cautionary Notes on Whiteness and Sports Studies," *Sociology of Sports Journal* 22 (2005): 397–408; Mary G. McDonald, "Mapping Whiteness and Sport: An Introduction." *Sociology of Sports Journal* 22 (2005): 245–55.

12. Brummett, *Rhetoric in Popular Culture*.

13. Duncan and Brummett, "The Mediation."

14. Susan Birrell and Mary G. McDonald, *Reading Sport: Critical Essays on Power and Representation* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 3.

15. David J. Leonard, "The Real Color of Money: Controlling Black Bodies in the NBA," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 30, 2 (2006): 158.

16. Todd Boyd and Kenneth L. Shropshire, "Basketball Jones: A New World Order?" in *America Above the Rim: Basketball Jones*, ed. Todd Boyd and K. L. Shropshire (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 7.

17. Ben Carrington, "Sport, Masculinity, and Black Cultural Resistance," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 22 (1998): 280.

18. Randy Martin and Toby Miller, *Sportcult* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 6.

19. For the purpose of this chapter, we focus on Stern's body being read as white and male. We are aware that Stern identifies as Jewish as well (Joseph Siegman, *Jewish Sports Legends: The International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997), and has been honored by the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. However, in the media he is very rarely identified or explicitly read as Jewish. Although not addressed within the foci of this chapter, the historical relationships between black and Jewish groups offer rich potential for the continued analysis of Stern's embodied performance as the NBA commissioner. For discussion of black and Jewish histories, see, for example, Cornel West, "On Black-Jewish Relations," in *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice: An Anthology on Racism, Antisemitism, Sexism, Heterosexism, Ableism, and Classism*, ed. Maurianne Adams, Warren J. Blumenfield, Rosie Castaneda, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 177–81.

20. Butterworth, "The Politics of the Pitch"; Butterworth, "Race in 'the Race.'"

21. As critical scholars, it is important for us to acknowledge that Stern has sparingly been identified as Jewish. Although we do not aim to dismiss this aspect of his ethnic and/or religious identity, it is not a focus of our analysis based upon the lack of media coverage that positions him as Jewish. In essence, Stern is largely visible and positioned in the media as a white male rather than as a white, Jewish male. Despite our focus on his white male identity, we are greatly supportive of future research projects that incorporate his Jewish identity at the intersections as well.

22. These particular NBA events and policies were selected based upon the extensive media coverage they received via magazines, newspapers, television, etc.

23. Ronald L. Jackson and Celnisha Dangerfield, "Defining Black Masculinity as Cultural Property: Toward an Identity Negotiation Paradigm," in *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, 10th ed., ed. Larry Samovar and Richard Porter (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002), 120–30; Gitaniali Maharaj, "Talking Trash: Late Capitalism, Black (Re)Productivity, and Professional Basketball," in *Sportcult*, ed. Randy Martin and Toby Miller (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 227–40.

24. William C. Rhoden, *Forty Million Dollar Slaves: The Rise, Fall, and Redemption of the Black Athlete* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006).

25. It is also important to recognize that black women and whites were lynched as well. However, the majority of those lynched were black men (Robert Gibson, "The Negro Holocaust: Lynching and Race Riots in the United States, 1880–1950," Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute. http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/curriculum/units/1979/2/79.02.04.x.html).

26. Ernest Cashmore, *Black Sportsmen* (London: Routledge, 1982); Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: Free Press, 1969); Douglass Hartmann, "The Politics of Race and Sport: Resistance and Domination in the 1968 African American Olympic Protest

Movement," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, 3 (1996): 548–66; Mike Marqusee, "Sport and Stereo-type: From Role Model to Muhammad Ali," *Race & Class* 36, 4 (1995): 1–29.

27. See, for example, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Peter Knobler, *The Autobiography of Kareem Abdul-Jabbar* (New York: Bantam, 1983); Charles Barkley and Michael Wilbon, *I May be Wrong: But I Doubt It* (New York: Random House, 2003); Bill Russell and William McSweeny, *Go Up for Glory* (New York: Coward McCann, 1996).

28. Edwards, *Revolt of the Black Athlete*.

29. Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

30. Richard Lapchick, *Smashing Barriers: Race and Sport in the New Millennium* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 2001).

31. Cooper (1926–1984) was the first black player to be drafted into the NBA by the Boston Celtics on April 25, 1950 (Arthur Ashe, *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of African American Athletes since 1946* [New York: Warner Books, 1988]). Clifton (1922–1990) was the first black player to sign an NBA contract: he signed with New York Knicks on May 3, 1950 (Ashe, *Hard Road to Glory*; Ron Thomas, *They Cleared the Lane: The NBA's Black Pioneers* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002]). Lloyd (1928–) became the first black player to play in a regular season game for the Washington Capitols on October 31, 1950 (Marc J. Spears, "First Black Player Recalls NBA Days," *Boston Globe*, January 24, 2008).

32. See Edwards, *Revolt of the Black Athlete*; Richard C. King, David J. Leonard, and Kyle W. Kusz, "White Power and Sport: An Introduction," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31, 1 (2007): 3–10; Rhoden, *Forty Million Dollar Slaves*.

33. Beyond the integration of African Americans into professional basketball as players, Bill Russell was hired as the first black coach in 1966 by the Boston Celtics (Thomas, *They Cleared the Lane*). Next, Ken Hudson was the first black referee in the NBA in 1968 (Roscoe Nance, "Hudson Helped Pave the Way for Other Referees," *USA Today*, February 18, 2003). In 1972, Wayne Embry was named the first black general manager in the league appointed by the Baltimore Bullets (Wayne Embry and Mary S. Boyer, *The Inside Game: Race, Power, and Politics in the NBA* [Akron: University of Akron Press, 2004]). Most recently, Robert Johnson became the first African American majority team owner of the Charlotte Bobcats during the 2000–2001 season (Brett Pulley, "He's Got Game," *Forbes Magazine* 171, no. 4, 46).

34. Lapchick, *Smashing Barriers*.

35. For a numeric breakdown of ethnic representation in the league, see "The 2006–2007 Season Racial and Gender Report Card: National Basketball Association" (Lapchick, Bustamante, and Ruiz).

36. The media coverage utilized as data for this chapter was drawn from a larger dissertation project that utilized critical race theory as a theoretical and methodological means to situate the National Basketball Association as a professional sports league in which both race and racism matter. As such, the 2004 brawl and 2005 dress code were selected based on the extensive media coverage that each received, and comments made by both Stern and black players in reaction to these events are positioned as focal points to map, interrogate, and reveal the oppressive workings of whiteness.

37. Birrell and McDonald, *Reading Sport*, 11.

38. Raymie McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," Communication Monographs 56 (1989): 91–111; Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, "Commitment to Telos— A Sustained Critical Rhetoric," *Communication Monographs* 59 (1992): 48–60.

39. Butterworth, "Race in 'the Race,'" 229.

40. Thomas K. Nakayama, "Show/Down Time: 'Race,' Gender, Sexuality, and Popular Culture," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11 (1994): 162–79; Nakayama and Krizek, "Whiteness."

41. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 1.

42. Projansky and Ono, "Strategic Whiteness," 152.

43. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 34.

44. Projansky and Ono, "Strategic Whiteness," 151.

45. Ibid.; Moon and Nakayama.

46. Butterworth, "Race in the 'the Race.'"

47. Dwight Conquergood, "Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research," *Drama Review* 46 (2002): 145–56; Michael Calvin McGee, "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54 (1990): 274–89.

48. NBA Media Ventures, "David J. Stern," 7 November 2007. http://www.nba.com/nba101/david_j_stern_bio.html.

49. David DuPree, "NBA Drug Use: High-Risk Recreation," *Washington Post*, 21 March 1982, M1; E. M. Swift, "From Corned Beef to Caviar; NBA Commissioner David Stern," *Sports Illustrated* 74, 21 (1991): 74–87; Jim Walker, "NBA Drug Use Up, Says Study," *The Chicago Tribune*, 20 August 1980, D3.

50. Maharaj, "Talking Trash."

51. Jane Gross, "N.B.A.'s Rebuilding Program Is Showing Results," *New York Times*, 23 December 1984, 3.

52. Tracey Owens Patton, "In the Guise of Civility: The Complicitous Maintenance of Inferential Forms of Sexism and Racism in Higher Education," *Women's Studies in Communication* 27 (2004): 65.

53. Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 152.

54. Gross, "N.B.A.'s Rebuilding Program."

55. NBA Media Ventures; Swift, "From Corned Beef to Caviar."

56. Swift, "From Corned Beef to Caviar."

57. Maharaj, "Talking Trash."

58. Bill Saporito, "Why Fans and Players Playing So Rough: The Worst Brawl in NBA History Highlights the Combustible Mix of Rabid Spectators and Strutting Athletes. Is the Game Itself Losing Out?" 6 December 2004, *Time Magazine*. Accessed 22 February 2008 from http://o-find.galegroup.com.bianca.penlib.du.edu.

59. Grano, "Ritual Disorder."

60. Jack McCallum, "The Ugliest Game: An NBA Brawl Exposes the Worst Player and Fan Behavior and Serves as a Frightening Wake-Up Call," *Sports Illustrated*, 29 November 2004. Accessed 3 March 2005 from http://o-find.galegroup.com.bianca.penlib.du.edu.

61. NBA Press Conference, "David Stern NBA Press Conference," 22 November 2004. Accessed 21 December 2007 from http://www.insidehoops.com/conferene-transcript.shtml.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. L. Lage, "Indiana 97, Detroit 82," *Associated Press*, 2004, November 20. Accessed February 13, 2008 from http://sports.yahoo.com/nba/recap

67. McCallum, "The Ugliest Game."

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. We differentiate between the overt racism that past players endured, arguing that current players endure more covert forms of racism that speak to Collins's articulation of the new racism. For example, following integration, it was not uncommon for black players to be refused services on the road (hotel, restaurants, etc.) based on their skin color; and, while such explicitly racist practices would not likely occur in contemporary society, it is not uncommon for black players to be represented and/or perceived as animalistic, biologically superior, and unfit for managerial and ownership positions. See Rhoden, *Forty Million Dollar Slaves*, for further discussion.

71. Grano, "Ritual Disorder."

72. Linda Tucker, "Blackballed: Basketball and Representations of the Black Male Athlete," *American Behavioral Scientist* 47 (2003): 317.

73. R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1987); Toby Miller, *Sportsex* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

74. Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 154.

75. Ibid., 157.

76. Saporito, "Why Fans."

77. Mark Starr, "Starr Gazing: NBA Brawl Shouldn't Surprise Anyone," *Newsweek* (Web Exclusive), November 26, 2004.

78. Charles Gardner, "NBA's Dress Code; Clothes Call; Dress Code Doesn't Suit All Players," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 19 October 2005. Accessed 11 February 2007 from http: www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4196.

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81. Darren Rovell, "Stern Sure Players Will Comply with New Dress Code," 18 October 2005. Accessed 21 December 2007 from http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/print

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87. Rovell, "Stern Sure Players Will Comply."

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89. Michael Cunningham, "NBA's New Rules on Apparel Are a Good Fit for Most Players," *Collegian Online*, 14 November 2005. Accessed 11 February 2007 from http://blue.utb.edu/collegian/2005/fall.

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91. Richard Carter, "NBA's New Dress Code: Racist or Just Smart Business?" *New York Amsterdam News*, 17–23 November 2005: 41.

92. Cunningham, "NBA's New Rules."

93. For discussions on how appearance (i.e., styles of dress, hairstyle, etc.) can serve as articulations of identity that demonstrate resistance and/or complicity, see Murray Forman and Mark A. Neal, eds., *That's the Joint: The Hip Hop Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979); Noliwe M. Rooks, *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

94. Jeffrey Lane, *Under the Boards: The Cultural Revolution in Basketball* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

95. Ian Thomsen, "Why Fans Are Tuning Out the NBA" *Sports Illustrated*, February 2005, 70.

96. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

97. Martin and Miller, *Sportcult*, 13.

98. Gross, "N.B.A.'s Rebuilding Program," 3.

99. bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

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