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2100 Final Paper  
04/09/19

## **The NFL and the American Dream**

Thirty years ago the American Dream—after a national survey that took the amalgam of thousands of responses—was determined to be that we “live in an open society in which everyone has equal chance.”<sup>1</sup> Now, according to the same survey the number one response is, “having freedom of choice in how to live,” with the second response being, “the ability to have a financially secure retirement.”<sup>2</sup> While, the previous definition still reigns true, the younger generation provides an interesting rift in what the American Dream truly is.

All of these definitions elicit the fact that freedom of speech and social mobility are two tenets of American culture that supposedly define American life. The United States of America would not exist if not for an innate desire to affect change, and try to make the world a little more just. Yet, in the United States there is a top down control of power; a cycle that exists, and this cycle is designed to oppress and silence, those that are not in control.

My paper will be arguing that the NFL has stolen freedom of speech, and direct access to consistent and lifelong wage to its players. Moreover, the NFL uses this financial insecurity to effectively silence its player, thus stealing their basic American privileges. Due to the racial breakdown of the NFL—minority players at the bottom, and white owners/coaches at the top—the silencing of players becomes a distinctly American issue. The NFL, thus, acts as a representation of American life as America has long been riddled with systematic oppression that leaves minorities trapped in a cycle of poverty, while whites prosper and silence the voices of those below them.

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<sup>1</sup> Roper Organization and The Wall Street Journal. 1987. The American Dream: A National Survey. Princeton, NJ: Dow Jones & Company.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

In sports, athletes receive a powerful platform; whether an athlete decides to use their platform or not should be their prerogative. Two leagues out of the four major athletic leagues of the United States stand above the rest in terms of deciding to use one's platform: the NFL and the NBA. This decision is spurred by the racial makeup of these two leagues; both leagues are majority black (See table 1 and 2). It is no secret that the majority of injustices faced in the United States society are not faced by non-white individuals; thus, in a non-white league the rate of social activism would logically be higher, as their day to day experiences require intervention. Specifically following the case of Colin Kaepernick, there will be a discussion of the impact of an NFL player deciding to use their platform. The NBA has actually supported their player's speaking out on their beliefs, while the NFL has not. Thus, the majority of the research conducted within the paper focuses on the NFL, and their actions.

To many of lower socioeconomic status the National Football League stands as a beacon of hope for success and continued success for one's family. The NFL through the lack of guaranteed money in contracts, high rates of disability in former players, and no benefits program in place for these injured players, does not allow their players long term financial security to be able to stand up for their beliefs and exercise the fundamental American right to be an activist on their platform. By nullifying the right to speech, and through the general injury rate the NFL actively prevents players from achieving true social mobility through financial achievement. The NFL ownership structure also features little turnover, and thus is majority white (see table 2). The NFL as a league stands for the idea of institutional oppression through a framework of political economy: by the silencing of beliefs, a lack of guaranteed security, and violence in the sport leading to future disability, the league represents a racial truth that permeates American society, non-minorities continuously come out on top.

Players enter the NFL, risking life and limb, in order to earn a better life for themselves and their family. In the NFL contracts work differently than every other major sports league. Due to the way the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) has been negotiated, players have been unable to make their contracts guarantees. Essentially, players can be given massive contracts that look in line with every other professional league, yet the money can be partially to totally voided after 1-3 years--depending on the contract. According to Gary R. Roberts, "Back in the old days, owners could give guarantees; it's just that they never did...They didn't have to. Nobody else (in the NFL) was doing it, so there was no leverage the players had to insist on guarantees."<sup>3</sup> The NFL established as a league that they were not going to give players guaranteed money, and because players lacked the ability to leverage against other offers, there was and still are, contracts that can be cut without having to play the player the entirety of what they were allegedly worth.

The NFL is a beacon of success and wealth, and to many it is the lone option towards achieving legitimate social mobility. Gerry Macruairc conducted a study titled, "They're My Words, I'll Talk How I Like!" revealed a direct link between social class and performance in school.<sup>4</sup> Students who came from less privileged socioeconomic backgrounds typically performed worse in class due to a difference in speech patterns at home, and at school. Essentially, students from lower socioeconomic status struggled to adapt to the language of the classroom.<sup>5</sup> Thus, for these students who come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (by in large minority students, as far as Macruiac's study), hope is not forged in the classroom. School provides no outlet for these struggling students, instead these students often turn to

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<sup>3</sup> Roberts, Gary R. *Interpreting the NFL Player Contract*, Marquette University, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Macruairc, Gerry. "They'Re My Words – I'll Talk How I like! Examining Social Class and Linguistic Practice among Primary-School Children." *Language and Education*, vol. 25, no. 6, 2011, pp. 535–559.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. pp. 550-559.

extracurriculars, and according to Maxwell Scott's study, this activity--for male students--is often football.<sup>6</sup> In Scott's study he makes the claim that these students, or "dumb jocks as they're labeled" can grasp complex materials, but have trouble translating this ability to the classroom (Scott et al, 3).<sup>7</sup> Synthesizing the findings of these two studies it is clear: young men from lower socioeconomic backgrounds face an immediate disadvantage in school and turn to a known quantity such as football to fulfill themselves. Yet, due to societal constructs this devotion to sport is not fiscally responsible, especially since a lot of players who are unable to continue to play also lose interest in school.

For the minuscule and impressive few who actually manage to make the NFL often the first thing countless players do upon earning their first professional salary is indicative of the idea that the NFL is a means of economic and social mobility for a player and their family. The first thing many players do is buy their parents either a house or a car, making their lives more comfortable, and moving them up socially and economically.<sup>8</sup> If a player is wise--and this is the current trend in the NFL-- the second thing done will be to save their money. Being dubbed, "the Marshawn Lynch method" players will make purchases from their endorsement money while not touching any contractual money. Though, if the player does not practice this method of saving the result can often be catastrophic (see table 3).<sup>9</sup> From a study conducted by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the NFL was shown to have the highest bankruptcy rates of former players by any league by far.<sup>10</sup> The NFL as a league is not a definite means towards

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<sup>6</sup> Maxwell, R., et al. *It's All About Football: The Lived Academic Experiences of Undergraduate African-American Football Players*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1 Jan. 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Raanan, Jordan. "Saquon Barkley on Spending Habits: 'Follow the Marshawn Lynch Method!'" *ESPN*, ESPN Internet Ventures, 29 June 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Carlson, Kyle, et al. "Bankruptcy Rates among NFL Players with Short-Lived Income Spikes." *Bankruptcy rates among players with short-lived income spikes*, 2015, pp. 1–11.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

financial security even though, ostensibly, players are given contracts attached with labels of massive money. In the NFL no player is truly financially secure--except for the quarterback.

Players in the NFL struggled to get where they are, and it is well documented that players are willing to quit once they believe they have a certain level of financial security.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the NFL makes achieving this level of financial security an incredible challenge. Without the financial security earned through the NFL an individual is risking access to “cultural capital” that they have earned for themselves and their families.<sup>12</sup> Cultural capital is the social assets that a person possesses: such as speech, dress, and education. Every person craves cultural capital knowingly or unknowingly; cultural capital is the epitome of the basic human desire for success.<sup>13</sup> Cultural capital is essential in American society, and for those born into a lower socioeconomic status it is basically unattainable; the NFL acts as a lottery for this cultural capital that drives every person. Without cultural capital people are doomed to be trapped in a cycle of lower-wage opportunities due to their, ‘speech patterns, education, and race.’<sup>14</sup> Thus, the NFL is one of a few escapes for those attempting to break the cycle of poverty, and move up economically in American society.

None of this cultural capital or financial gain matters though, if a person ends up disabled. The reason players often retire from the NFL early--which often costs millions of dollars and potential rises in popularity--stems from the incredibly high chance of injury. In the NFL “the mean number of injuries suffered per game in the NFL is approximately 4.9 times

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<sup>11</sup> Fainaru, Steve, and Mark Fainaru-Wada. “Inside Borland’s Decision to Leave.” *ESPN*, ESPN Internet Ventures, 21 Aug. 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Grogger, Jeffrey. “Speech Patterns and Racial Wage Inequality.” *Journal of Human Resources*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2010, pp. 21–25.

<sup>13</sup> Gulistan Yunlu, Dilek, and Clapp-Smith, Rachel. “Metacognition, Cultural Psychological Capital and Motivational Cultural Intelligence.” *Cross Cultural Management*, vol. 21, no. 4, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Oct. 2014, pp. 386–99.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

higher than *the sum* of those other leagues.”<sup>15</sup> More than just a simple injury from playing sport over one third of former NFL players are legally disabled twenty years after their career ends.<sup>16</sup> Legal disability is more than a tweaked back or an aching joint, it is an inability to provide for one’s self. After three years playing in the NFL there is a 33% chance that after the age of forty-five an individual will no longer be able to work, and provide for themselves or their families. Players have attempted on numerous occasions to reform the league’s lack of guaranteed contracts, but owners refuse to do so.<sup>17</sup> Players are not even guaranteed full medical care should they be irreparably injured from the sport that they are dedicating their lives to play.<sup>18</sup> Hence, on the path to meaningfully achieving “cultural capital,” through an option other than school--which is proven less viable for those of lower socioeconomic status--players have a one in three chance at ending up permanently physically or mentally disabled. A cycle is born within this way of life. For the 0.0000625 percent of people who actually make the NFL in America (my calculation given feasible sex, and age requirements) 33 percent of those lucky people will end up suffering at the hands of what they have earned.

The National Football league acts as another cog in the cycle of political economic oppression, and it all begins with the distribution of their revenue. The National Football League, as of 2011, has the highest mean valuation among all of the four major American professional

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<sup>15</sup> Deubert, Chris and Cohen, I. Glenn and Lynch, Holly Fernandez, Comparing Health-Related Policies & Practices in Sports: The NFL and Other Professional Leagues (May 15, 2017). Comparing Health-Related Policies & Practices in Sports: The NFL and Other Professional Leagues; The Football Players Health Study at Harvard University, May 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Breo, Dennis L. “The Sure Super Bowl Bet - Injured Players Are Penalized for Life. (At Large with Dennis L. Breo).” *JAMA, The Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 267, no. 5, American Medical Association, Feb. 1992, pp. 706–07.

<sup>17</sup> Moore, Mike. “NFL Players Vs Owners: A Medical Care Tug-of-War.” *The Physician and Sportsmedicine*, vol. 10, no. 7, Taylor & Francis, July 1982, pp. 162–65

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

athletic leagues by a value of over 500 million dollars (see table 4).<sup>19</sup> The mean valuation for an NFL team was 943.50 million dollars while the next closest league, the MLB, only had a mean of 425.84 million.<sup>20</sup> The lowest NFL valuation was over 200 million dollars more than the highest MLB team for a given year. In addition, they pull in more revenue than the closest next two leagues combined.<sup>21</sup> With all of this revenue the NFL still does not guarantee its players something as simple as lifetime healthcare, even for injuries received from playing. The lack of healthcare and lower guaranteed money is because the NFL has the highest percentage of revenue delivered directly to its owners.<sup>22</sup> The NFL--by not giving this revenue to its players--is using finance as a weapon. If a player wants to survive and prosper after their career they have to give into the NFL.

Going back to something mentioned earlier in regards to financial security--I said quarterbacks had a security the rest of the league did not have access to. Quarterback is the highest-earning position in the NFL, with “The average salary for all quarterbacks (being) \$5,766,000, but the median income (at) \$1,100,000. Defensive ends come in after the quarterbacks with high salary contracts. Defensive ends have an average income of \$2,625,000 and a median salary of \$847,300.”<sup>23</sup> The raw difference between the average quarterback salary and the next highest is indicative of the heinous difference in salary that exists. The salary jump makes sense to an extent because of the incredible impact quarterbacks have on their team.

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<sup>19</sup> Scelles, Nicolas, et al. “Determinants of Professional Sports Firm Values in the United States and Europe: A Comparison Between Sports over the Period 2004-2011.” *International Journal of Sport Finance*, vol. 8, no. 4, Fitness Information Technology, A Division of ICPE West Virginia University, Nov. 2013, pp. 280–93.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Kutz, Steven. “NFL Took in \$13 Billion in Revenue Last Season - See How It Stacks up against Other pro Sports Leagues.” *MarketWatch*, 2 July 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Scott, Frank, et al. “Free Agency, Owner Incentives, and the National Football League Players Association.” *Journal of Labor Research*, vol. 4, no. 3, Springer-Verlag, Sept. 1983, pp. 257–64

<sup>23</sup> Woodruff, Jim. “How Much Money Does an NFL Player Make a Year?” *Chron.com*, Houston Chronicle, 1 July 2018, [work.chron.com/much-money-nfl-player-make-year-2377.html](http://work.chron.com/much-money-nfl-player-make-year-2377.html)

Without a quality quarterback the offense does not function. Even with all this power, just in 2018 Kirk Cousins made history with the first--basically--fully guaranteed massive contract in history. Cousins signed a 3 year 84 million dollar deal in which 82.5 million was guaranteed. Even without Cousins' groundbreaking guarantees quarterback salaries were massive enough to survive without being a guarantee. The NFL has even effectively made its own economy, with varying levels of wealth and influence, within its own league. This economy also has non-minorities at the top of its hierarchy.

The quarterback position is indicative of racial inequality within the NFL. Of the 32 starting quarterbacks in the NFL only 6 are non-white. With only 28% of the entire NFL being white (Table 2 and interactive chart), having 81% of quarterbacks be white is an absolutely impossible anomaly.<sup>24</sup> In addition, of the 33 players in the Hall of Fame officially listed as quarterbacks, only 1 is non-white (Warren Moon)<sup>25</sup>. Quarterback is currently and historically a white position, by in large the highest paid position in the NFL. Recently, heisman winning quarterback and current NFL starter Lamar Jackson was asked by teams to try out at receiver, despite being a future first round pick at quarterback.<sup>26</sup> This rhetoric that came back with Lamar Jackson has long existed within the NFL community.<sup>27</sup> According to Mercurio et al, "Black quarterbacks were primarily described with words and phrases that emphasized their physical gifts and their lack of mental prowess. Conversely, white quarterbacks were described as less physically gifted, but more mentally prepared for the game and less likely to make mental

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<sup>24</sup> <https://theundefeated.com/features/the-nfls-racial-divide/>. Interactive chart a few paragraphs in.

<sup>25</sup> McManus, Jane, and Jason Reid. "The NFL's Racial Divide." *The Undefeated*, ESPN Internet Ventures, 26 Apr. 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Breech, John. "Ravens QB Lamar Jackson Reveals the One Team That Wanted Him to Play Receiver." *CBS Sports.com*, CBS Broadcasting INC., 24 June 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Mercurio, Eugenio, and Filak, Vincent F. "Roughing the Passer: The Framing of Black and White Quarterbacks Prior to the NFL Draft." *Howard Journal of Communications*, vol. 21, no. 1, Taylor & Francis Group, Jan. 2010, pp. 56-71.

errors.”<sup>28</sup> This exact rhetoric has been used throughout the course of American history, it is the rhetoric that births a perceived intellectual inequality between races, and a rhetoric that has completely plagued American life.

In an attempt to fight some hateful injustice in American society, Colin Kaepernick took a public stance through the NFL to address injustice in society. Kaepernick looked beyond the injustices in football and made a statement about American existence as a whole. Political activism--speaking out-- is the most fundamental right we as Americans are allowed. On September 1st 2016 Colin Kaepernick, on the advice of Green Beret Nate Boyer, decided to take a knee during the national anthem. Since that day the NFL has been rife with politics. Debates over the action have been waged, both sides fervently defending their subjective view on the matter. What is explicit though, is that Kaepernick created a movement as his knee touched the ground to protest racial injustice.<sup>29</sup> Laura McNeal describes the movement that has occurred throughout high school sports as “the Colin Kaepernick effect.”<sup>30</sup> Football players across the nation from every age have taken a knee during the national anthem to attempt to begin a dialogue regarding racial issues in society that are going pitifully unaddressed. Kaepernick sparked a very real movement that is prevalent throughout America.

In 2017 in the NESCAC (New England Small College Athletic Conference) at least four separate teams gave their own anthem protest.<sup>31</sup> Some teams came together as a whole to not come out for the anthem, or anywhere from 3-15 players kneeled as the anthem played. The NESCAC is a Division 3 collegiate league, there is almost no publicity for their actions, instead

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> McNeal, Laura Rene. “From Hoodies to Kneeling During the National Anthem: The Colin Kaepernick Effect and Its Implications for K-12 Sports.(Blurring Lines: Emerging Trends and Issues in Sports and Gaming Law).” *Louisiana Law Review*, vol. 78, no. 1, Louisiana Law Review, Sept. 2017, pp. 145–96.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Personal experience.

players simply felt as if they had to be a part of the movement. The coverage regarding the incident was so constant and unrelenting that when two teams sung the national anthem, Hamilton College and Trinity College, the moment was caught on camera and went viral in conservative communities as a football team's act of defiance against the movement (as somebody on one of those teams, it was not).<sup>32</sup> The movement that Kaepernick began is peaceful, widespread, and effective.

Yet, the year after Colin Kaepernick took the knee that sparked a nationwide movement he was completely gone from the league. At 29 and just a few years removed from leading his team to a Super Bowl appearance, Kaepernick was no longer employed. Kaepernick went from starter to gone in the matter of a year, a move that almost never happens. Phrases like Kaepernick, 'wasn't a scheme fit,' or 'he is passed his prime,' were thrown around, but as Darren Heitner posits, "What if Kaepernick was correct?"<sup>33</sup> Heitner was responding to Kaepernick's claims of collusion among league owners. Heitner conducted a study based on the exact criteria of collusion and came to the ultimate determination that it is more than likely that there is collusion occurring around the incident, even if it is not directly intentional.<sup>34</sup> At the very least, Heitner determines that in the vested interest of one's own team, the league is colluding against signing him despite his ability and statistics being highly competitive with those currently playing in the National Football League.<sup>35</sup> The league, under the current Collective Bargaining Agreement, cannot expressly collude against a player, but ultimately it is a legal gray

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<sup>32</sup><https://www.breitbart.com/sports/2017/10/10/no-national-anthem-college-football-players-sing-when-pa-system-fails/>

<sup>33</sup> Heitner, Darren A., and Postal, Jillian. "What If Kaepernick Is Correct? A Look at the Collusion Criteria in Professional Sports.(Colin Kaepernick)." *Harvard Journal of Sports and Entertainment Law*, vol. 9, no. 2, Harvard Law School, Mar. 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

area to be determined by future arbitration. Luckily, Kaepernick pursued this arbitration and the NFL agreed to settle the case under a confidentiality agreement.<sup>36</sup> Kaepernick may have lost his career, but his case against the NFL was silently won.

The NFL has claimed that it cannot support kneeling as it affects viewership and revenue. Yet, in 2017--the year Kaepernick kneeled--revenue was at an all time high.<sup>37</sup> Viewership was down 8% but ultimately with TV deals already in place, and the complete dominance of the NFL the minor downtick in viewership was largely unimportant and that is clearly reflected in revenue. The NFL is also certainly suffering from the general regard for the violence in the sport, and quite simply live TV losing viewership across all channels and programs. Thus, Kaepernick's is not the culprit of a loss of viewership, and the league is using the argument to hide their subtle systematic oppression.

Kaepernick's purpose was to prove racial injustice in society, but he could have looked no further than his own league. Studies such as one conducted by Lawrence Khan have proved a racial inequality that is, and always has been, very existent in the NFL. Khan's study proved Racial discrimination is nothing new to the NFL. Khan broke experience, skill, and position into values---quantifying the entire league, and then comparing these quantities to the amount these players were paid (see table 5). In 1989 (unfortunately the only time such a study was conducted, but also useful as it was one of the last years that league had a nearly even racial breakdown) it was discovered that white players--regardless of position, experience, or 'skill'--were paid 4% higher annually than black players.<sup>38</sup> Ignoring the fact the discrimination around certain races

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<sup>36</sup> <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/colin-kaepernick-nfl-settle-collusion-lawsuit-1187235>

<sup>37</sup> Breech, John. "What National Anthem Controversy? NFL Set Revenue Record In 2017." *News 9*, CBS Sports, 17 July 2017.

<sup>38</sup> Kahn, Lawrence. "The Effects of Race on Professional Football Players' Compensation." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 45, no. 2, Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations., Jan. 1992, p. 295

playing certain positions, white players were simply paid more by the NFL for the same work as their non-white counterparts. The NFL as an institution has long been discriminating against its own players.

Kaepernick may have been expelled from the league, but at least his action carried weight. Many players do not even have the chance to make such an impact on the nation. The NFL's discrimination runs in parallel to an unfortunate truth in American society tied around a concept labeled 'institutional oppression.' Institutional oppression is the systematic mistreatment of people who belong to a certain identity group, this oppression continues because those at the head of an institution do not turn over, and continue the cycle of oppressing a specific identity. The NFL's ownership structure, and lack of coaching diversity is institutional oppression, especially given the recent lack of ability of certain identity groups of players to speak out for their beliefs. Owners are majority white, old-money families. Coaches are also majority white despite (only 2 out of 32 coaches are non-white) the "Rooney rule" (which states that every time must interview a minority coach before making their hire). With majority white voices in place, and most players simply fighting for a guaranteed wage for which to earn necessary cultural capital, players are silenced long before they can make a statement like Kaepernick.

The NFL is directly indicative of the greater American political economy in which we all live. Wage inequality exists in both America and the NFL in complete unison.<sup>39</sup> There are the non-minority institutions in place (the owners in the NFL), that consistently prevent those beneath them from using their platform as Americans, and speaking out for their beliefs. None of the NFL's actions were about their economy, in fact the NFL used the economy to continuously

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<sup>39</sup> Grogger, Jeffrey. "Speech Patterns and Racial Wage inequality.(Report)." *Journal of Human Resources*.

silence its players with lack of long term financial security, and the subtle impending threat of complete future disability without any fallback plan.

Race and class in America are heavily intertwined. The top will always attempt to silence the bottom, and in America that means whites will silence minorities. Just like the NFL, in America minorities are repressed, with financial security being used as the silencer. Right now, the second most answered definition of the American dream is retiring comfortably, and for non-whites that is far less guaranteed. Through studies like that on speech patterns among students it is evident that Americans that begin in a lower socioeconomic status will likely stay there, and not be able to achieve true mobility. America—like the NFL—is a system that keeps the top at the top, and since the founding the top has been non-minorities. This encompassing financial inequality goes beyond racism or hatred in America, it is an inherent cycle of oppression. A cycle of oppression that every single person of color must face on their path to attempting to achieve their aspirations.

The NFL helps to prove a sad American truth: even if racism or hatred is not outwardly present, a person of color in America is not privy to the ability to their, “equal chance” at success.<sup>40</sup> The cycle of oppression is far too ingrained, and equal opportunity will never be present for those of a lower-socioeconomic background, or even those that are just simply non-white. The American Dream is not a truth, but instead just a dream for those who are not white.

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<sup>40</sup> Roper Organization and The Wall Street Journal. 1987. The American Dream: A National Survey.

Table 1:

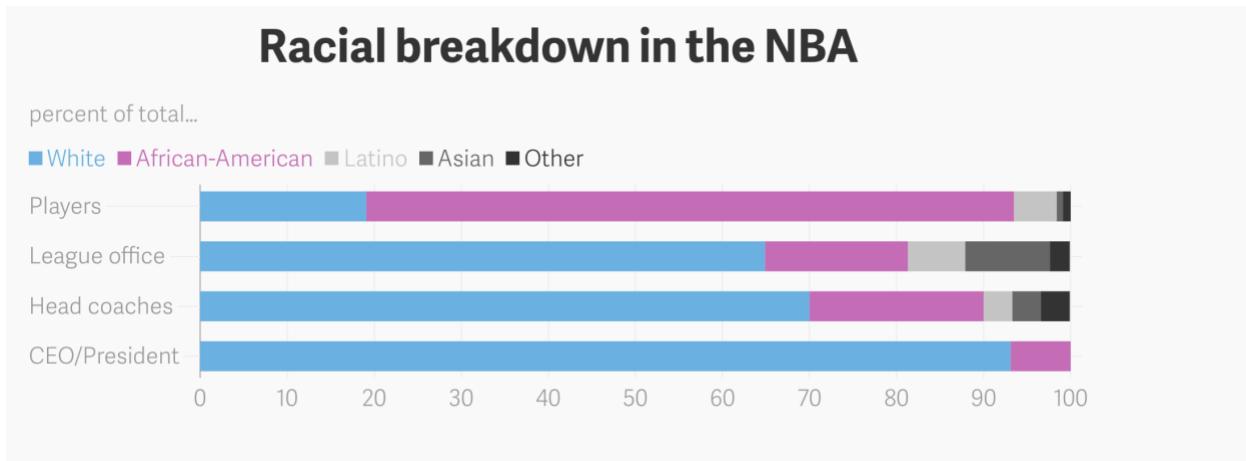


Table 2:

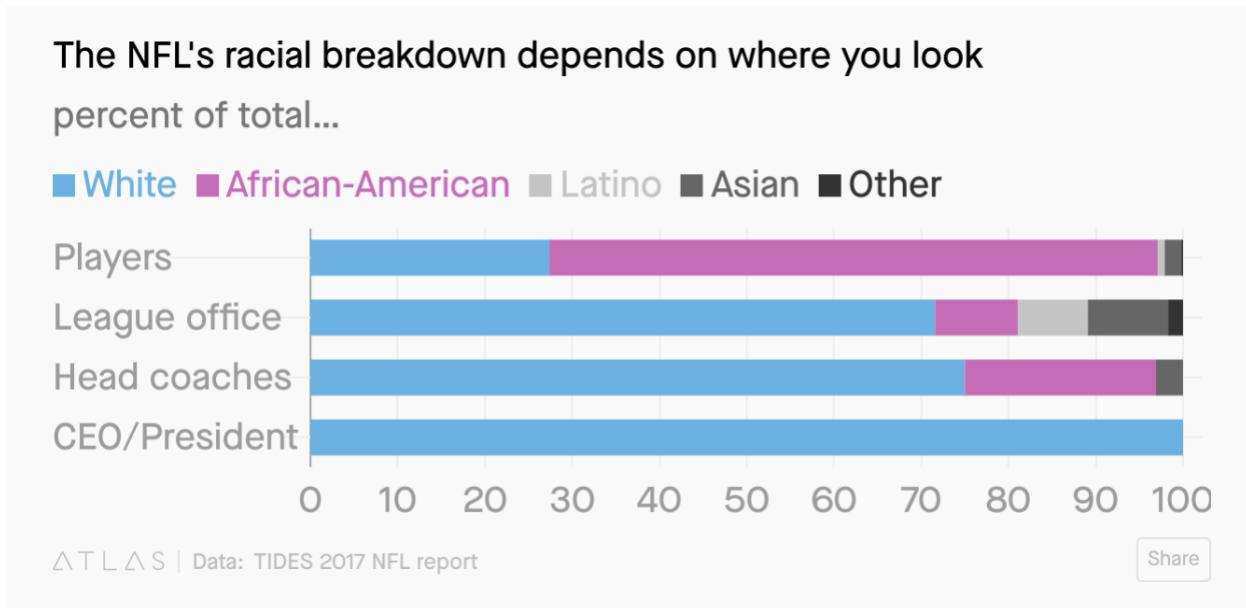


Table 3:

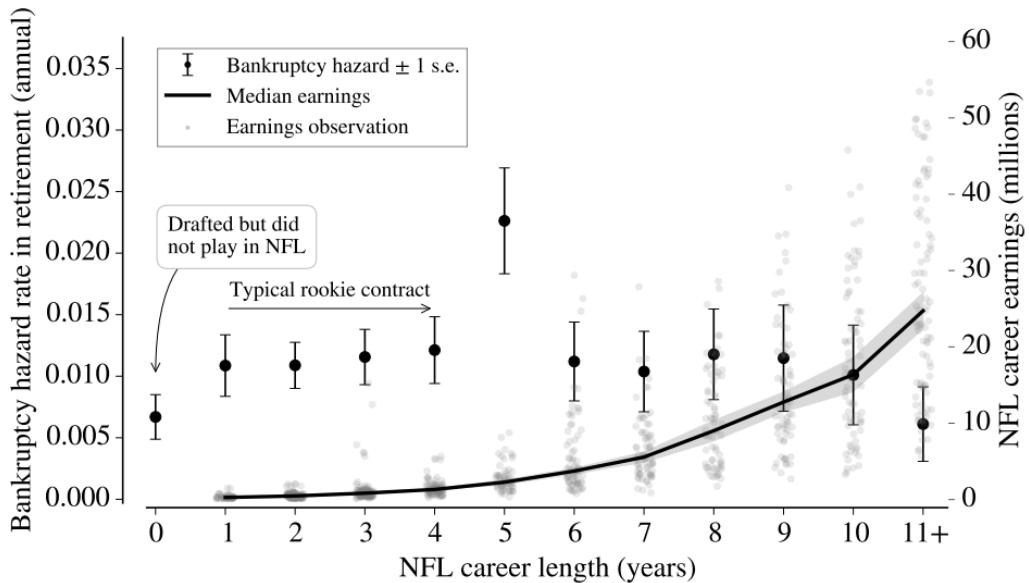


Table 4:

Table 2: Summary Statistics

Variable	MLB		NBA		NFL		NHL		European soccer	
	Mean	SD <sup>1</sup>	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Value (\$mil)	425.84	220.23	358.13	101.42	943.50	207.08	207.14	80.53	514.34	381.84
Income (\$)	43,838	6,657	42,411	6,514	42,904	6,995	43,176	6,295	29,468	7,066
Population (mil)	7.30	5.51	6.50	5.83	5.53	4.96	6.97	6.52	5.76	3.88
Competition	3.27	1.80	2.68	2.12	2.74	1.92	2.89	2.30	0.96	1.07
Facility age	22.76	25.05	13.91	9.97	20.34	18.52	15.33	10.94	70.41	41.63
Private ownership	0.34	0.47	0.47	0.50	0.13	0.33	0.50	0.50	0.68	0.47
Attendance	30,945	8,674	17,340	2,139	67,478	8,036	17,052	2,220	50,872	14,417
SP <sup>2</sup> t	1.77	1.56	1.80	1.55	1.78	1.39	1.96	1.40	1.61	1.73
SP t-1	1.80	1.55	1.80	1.54	1.79	1.38	1.95	1.40	1.61	1.70
Historical SP	2.86%	4.78%	2.69%	5.66%	2.66%	3.33%	3.05%	5.50%	3.23%	4.53%
Number of observations	239		238		256		210		185	

<sup>1</sup> SD = Standard Deviation.

<sup>2</sup> SP = Sports Performance.

Table 5:

<i>Position</i>	<i>Number of Players</i>	<i>Percent White</i>	<i>Average White Salary</i>	<i>Average Nonwhite Salary</i>	<i>White/ Nonwhite Salary Ratio</i>	<i>T-test for Difference in Means</i>
Defensive Back	227	0.0837	\$254,947	\$270,716	0.9418	-0.61
Defensive Line	183	0.3825	336,186	324,717	1.0353	0.32
Linebacker	211	0.3602	294,224	325,000	0.9053	-1.05
Kicker	28	0.8571	248,500	258,250	0.9622	-0.17
Punter	28	0.8929	178,040	157,333	1.1316	0.61
Quarterback	81	0.9383	605,447	1,178,200	0.5139	-1.15
Offensive Line	241	0.7552	295,434	277,339	1.0655	0.82
Running Back	145	0.0897	237,462	345,599	0.6871	-2.40**
Tight End	74	0.527	253,795	256,571	0.9892	-0.08
Wide Receiver	145	0.1379	225,200	343,312	0.656	-1.88*
Total	1,363	0.3991	327,987	315,200	1.0406	0.87

Source: see Table 1