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BEYOND THE BOX OFFICE: AN ANALYSIS OF VIOLENT AND DEVIANT BEHAVIOR IN POPULAR SPORT FILMS

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INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that sport films depict a great deal of deviance and violence (Charlesworth & Glance, 2005; Finley & Finley, 2005; Jhully, 1999; Manganello, 2008). These depictions ranged from underage drinking to illicit drug use to sexual assault (Finley & Finley, 2005; Jhully, 1999). Yet only recently have sport films become a topic of academic attention (Baker, 2003; Jones, 2008; Kusz, 2008; Poulton & Roderick, 2008; Rowe, 1998; and Rowe, 2008). Drawing on the literature regarding media affects and violence in films, it can be argued that sport films depicting deviance and violence are likely to impact viewers in a number of ways, regardless of whether those individuals are sports fans (Finley & Finley, 2005; McDonald, 2007; Pearson, Curtis, Haney, & Zhang, 2003; Schehr, 2000; and, Wenner, 1989). A prime example of the impact sport films can have on some viewers occurred in 1993 when the movie *The Program* was released in theaters. The film featured a scene showing a heavily intoxicated star quarterback proving his "nerves of steel" by lying in the middle of a road at night while traffic went past (Hinds, 1993). This deviant behavior was copied by many teenagers shortly after the release of the film. One Polk, Pennsylvania teenager was killed instantly when a pickup truck ran over him as he lay in the street (Hinds, 1993). The scene has been omitted from current copies of the film but the impact it had on some young and impressionable viewers should not be forgotten.

This study is intended to help fill the gap in academic work addressing sport films that present deviance and violence. The research is a content analysis of five films featuring quasi-realistic depictions of high school and collegiate revenue-producing sports (football and basketball). Films were analyzed for the amount and type of violence and deviance presented on screen, which characters were involved, which characters instigated the acts, and the response, if any, by the athletic system.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

A growing body of literature has affirmed the impact media has on people's lives. Media both shapes and reinforces social conditions (Felson, 1996; Holtzman, 2000; Kappeler, Blumberg & Potter, 2000; Pearson et al., 2003). Media has been linked to such negative behaviors as smoking (Charlesworth & Glance, 2005), sexual assault (Jhully, 1999), school violence (Jhully, 1999), and dating violence (Manganello, 2008). At its most extreme, media can teach people that hurting or even killing others is acceptable behavior. Many have commented on the over-representation of interpersonal violence in all forms of media (Barak, 1994; Beckett & Sasson, 2000; Bok, 1998; Kappeler, Blumberg & Potter, 2000; Prince, 2000; Slocum, 2001; Surette, 1998). Colonel Dave Grossman has maintained that the same techniques used to teach soldiers to kill are now provided in media and are teaching children to use violence (Grossman, 1995). Colonel Grossman discussed how interactive video games were created after analyses of kill ratios in World War II revealed many soldiers were not actually shooting at the enemy but instead aimed to the side or at the ground. Video games helped trainees by providing a more lifelike situation.

Film violence has been defined as an "interpersonal, aggressive physical act that impacts another character, committed by a human agent in the course of a conflict" (Browne, Webb, Fisher, & Cook, 2002, p. 352). Analyses of film violence often address not just the quantity of violent acts, but also the seriousness of the violence, the severity of the violence, whether it is intentional or unintentional, and its explicitness (Browne et al., 2002; Rafter, 2000). Studies have also examined who initiates the violence and who is the intended recipient. For instance, Browne et al., (2002) studied the depiction of violence in a variety of film types, focusing on the relationship between initiators and victims in the film and the consequences of the violence. The study utilized the top 100 grossing American films of 1994. Despite there being fewer action films in the analysis than films of other genres, they found more acts of violence depicted in the action genre, with a total of 658 in 14 films. The study revealed that over ninety percent of the violence depicted was intentional. These concerns are not new. On the contrary, concerns about the impact of films on viewers began almost as soon as the first film was released (Springhall, 1998).

The problem, as Surette (1998) explained, is that the public has learned to receive the information and entertainment provided by media without considering the source of the information or entertainment, and the impact it might have on both individuals as well as the broader society. Kappeler, Blumberg, and Potter (2000) noted that the average American citizen receives as much as 96% of their information about crime and criminal justice from the media. Films focusing on crime generally draw on the attitudes about crime, victims, law, and punishment that are prevalent at the time (Rafter, 2000). "Films tell us how to feel about crime and the contexts in which it occurs…while films do not *determine* our emotions, they do provide narratives that we use to frame our emotional responses to actual criminal events" (Rafter, 2000, p. 63). With few other frames of reference concerning these topics, people can become reliant on media to inform them of the way violence should be perceived and provide them with suggestions regarding how they should respond.

THEORIES OF MEDIA AFFECTS

There are a number of theories that have been developed to explain the way media impacts viewers. One theory of media effects has been called the Direct Effect model, or the "magic bullet" model. This theory maintains that people learn how to behave from media, and that they will imitate that behavior.

There is some anecdotal evidence that crime films inspire actual crime. On opening night of *Boyz N the Hood,* two people were killed and more than thirty injured. Although surely there were numerous factors involved in these melees, the film has been said to have acted as an igniter (Rafter, 2000). John Hinckley, Jr. has said he was imitating *Taxi Driver's* Travis Bickle (played by Robert DeNiro) when he attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan (Rafter, 2000). In 2001, a 13-year-old poured gasoline on his legs and feet and lit himself on fire, emulating a stunt he had watched on the MTV show *Jackass.* Perhaps the most famous magic-bullet example occurred in 2001, when 14-year-old Lionel Tate, imitating a wrestling move from the shows he loved to watch, killed 6-year-old Tiffany Eunick (Carter & Weaver, 2006).

Social-self theory can also be used to explain media's impact. This theory posits that people's behavior is influenced by the way they think others perceive them. One source of these perceptions is the media. For instance, social-self theory might contend that young people learn how they are expected to act in relationships from media (Jhully, 1999; Manganello, 2008). Teens may believe that others will perceive them as weak if they do not act in controlling or physically aggressive ways with their partners. The documentary *Wrestling with Manhood* demonstrated some of the ways that one form of media—televised versions of World Wrestling Entertainment—might teach young men that women are to be dominated. Consumers of this type of media may then adopt behaviors or attitudes modeled in the media by aggressive

athletes or movie characters. Research has demonstrated this impact with police: As they have come to believe the public expects them to act in ways similar to those they view on *CSI* and other reality TV shows, police officers have admitted they have indeed altered their behaviors (Doyle, 1998; Perlmutter, 2000).

Social learning theory asserts that individuals learn about other people or groups by internalizing information and cues. First proposed by Albert Bandura and Richard Walters in 1963, the theory suggested that viewers, in particular, children, model the behavior seen on television or in films. Movies provide models for how we are supposed to behave (Snyder, 1995). Later versions of the theory have incorporated more cognitive elements, suggesting that violent media may present scripts or schemas that shape the strategies people employ when solving problems. Berkowitz (1965) proposed that when people who are already angry view violent images, the signals in that media could trigger aggressive behavior. For example, if someone was angry at his or her partner and then viewed aggressive behavior perpetrated by an athlete in a sport film or televised sporting event, that person may be more inclined to act out in anger (Jhully, 2002).

Another influential theory of media affects is the cultivation hypothesis, which is commonly associated with the work of communications scholar George Gerbner and his colleagues. Gerbner posited that those who spend the most time viewing violent media see the world as more violent and dangerous. They are more fearful and feel more vulnerable. He has called this mean-world syndrome (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorelli, 1994). Weaver and Carter (2006) argued that even factual or quasi-factual reporting of deviant or violent events might evoke a sense of inevitability; that is, people may come to see these acts as both frequent and normal. There is some support for this notion. Gerbner, et al. (1994) showed that people who watch fifteen hours or more of television per week were more likely to believe what they saw on television than their actual observations of the world. Research with persons identified as heavy media users has found them to express less empathy for persons who have been victimized when they read vignettes about violent crime. The largest study ever of television violence, involving analyses of three years of programming on twenty-three channels, found, among other things, that prolonged exposure to media violence may lead to desensitization or callous attitudes about real life violence and actual victims (Gerdes, 2004). Huston, Watkins, and Kunkel (1989) found that both children and adults who view television violence are less likely than those who do not to seek help for victims of violence.

Considerable research has found that the context of how violence is presented in media impacts the way the material is received. Gerbner (2006) argued that one of the most common forms of violence depicted in media is “happy violence,” which he calls “cool, swift painless, and often spectacular, even thrilling, but usually sanitized” (p. 46). This is the kind of violence depicted in World Wrestling Entertainment, where characters use increasingly violent spectacles to demean opponents. Yet rarely is this violence depicted as having any kind of consequence. Instead, athletes get pounded over and over again, yet bounce back for more. Paik and Comstock (1994) found that if a program showed violence as a successful means to achieve a particular end, that is, if the violence appears to be justified or normalized, and if viewers see the violence as pertinent to their lives, actual aggression is more likely. Lichter, Lichter, and Rothman (1994) analyzed the first month of the 1992-1993 prime-time television season and found violence frequently committed by characters who were supposed to be the “good guys.” They also found violence was rarely condemned, with only 9% of the total sample presented as if it was wrong. Only 12% of gunplay or other forms of serious violence were condemned as bad, ugly, or illegal. Television violence reinforces power relations; violence reveals who holds the power and those people are generally presented as the winners.

SPORT MEDIA, FILMS, AND DEVIANCE

There are many studies about media and sport, although the bulk of them have focused on news or televised coverage (Bruce, 2004; Duncan, Messner, Williams & Jensen, 1990; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Gruneau, 1989; Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000; Messner & Sabo, 1994). Additionally, most studies have focused on gender or race-related issues, rather than on deviance and crime (Baker, 2003; Caudwell, 2008; Giroux, 2007; Harden, Lynn, & Walsdorf, 2005; Kibby, 1998; Kusz, 2006; Leonard, 2006; Messner, Dunbar & Hunt, 2000; Messner & Sabo, 1994). Little work has addressed sport films until recently, despite the fact that sport-related films have become an especially popular form of media (Jones, 2008). More than one hundred American sport films have been made since 2000 (Kusz, 2008). One of the primary reasons for what *Time* magazine has called the proliferation of sport films "new jock cinema" is related to American audiences' enjoyment of:

> 'feel good' morality tales that express 'universal' existential themes while simultaneously appearing to confirm the 'truth' of dominant American mythologies like individualism, meritocracy, hard work and personal perseverance displayed through the 'authentic' stories of heroic athletes, many of which are either 'based on' or 'inspired by' a true story (Kusz, 2008, p. 210).

Hyland (1990) explained that sport is not seen as serious enough to warrant intellectual analysis, and thus sport films are not viewed as worthy of academic attention, either. Part of the issue lies in defining what precisely is a sport film. Wallenfeldt (1989) noted that the differences between a sport film and a film that includes sports may be slight. Part of the problem is that sport films tend to be very formulaic. Plots generally center on an underdog competing against and usually defeating the allegedly invincible champion (Jones, 2008).

Regardless of these academic debates, many argue that sport films do matter. Briley (2005) commented that sport films are not just escapist entertainment; rather, they highlight important social issues. Pearson et al. (2003) suggested sport is of interest to film-makers because it serves as an arena in which people define their social identities. Coakley (1998) maintained, "When people read about, listen to, and view sports, these themes may inform their own ideas about the world" (p. 385).

Several studies have affirmed that sport media reinforces gender stereotypes and presents aggression as essential to masculinity. Many of these studies, however, have focused on televised sport. For instance, Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt (2000) found several themes in their analysis of sport programming identified as the programs most watched by boys aged 8-17. They found that the most successful males were depicted as the most aggressive, while the timid failed in sport.

This injunction for boys and men to be aggressive, not passive, is reinforced in commercials, where a common formula is to play on the insecurities of young males (e.g., that they are not strong enough, tough enough, smart enough, rich enough, attractive enough, decisive enough, etc.) (Messner et al., 2000, p. 386).

In addition,

> Announcers often took a humorous 'boys will be boys' attitude in discussing fights or near fights during contests, and they also commonly used a recent fight, altercation, or disagreement between two players as a 'teaser' to build audience excitement (Messner, et al., 2000, p. 387).

Some research has addressed the ways depictions of athletes engaged in various acts of deviance are depicted and have suggested that, "Mediated portrayals of student-athletes can provide strong role models for real world student-athletes" (Finley & Finley, 2005, p. 1). Finley and Finley studied films depicting high school athletes' use of drugs and alcohol. Although serious drug addiction was depicted negatively in the films they analyzed, casual consumption of drugs and alcohol was not shown as problematic. Underage drinking of alcohol was generally associated with people having a good time and either celebrating victory or drowning their defeat. Aggression, too, was generally acceptable, as there is often a boys-will-be-boys attitude coming from the coaches. Yet sport, in cinema, is for the most part a depoliticized world. Even when problems in sport are depicted, they are rarely addressed in ways that show viewers it is the system, not just the individuals, that needs to be corrected (Whannel, 2008). Coaches in the films are generally willing to overlook the use of alcohol and cigarettes by players, and, "Any drug that is performance enhancing, or is even perceived to be, is accepted and even promoted by the coaches" (Finley & Finley, 2005, p. 15).

Finley and Finley (2005) suggested that these depictions not only impact student-athletes, who may use them as a model for their behavior, but non-athletes as well. They commented,

> …non-athletes may feel as though all athletes drink and use drugs. This might impact their feelings about athletes and perhaps even their support for their school. It is possible that non-athletes will be concerned about the ways that drug and alcohol use is dealt with, basing their perceptions more on media depictions than on reality at their particular school (p. 10).

They also noted that media coverage of sport-related violence may impact the development of appropriate policies, programs, and punishments.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research was guided by the following questions:

1. How many incidents of deviance were presented in the films (in total and by film)?
2. What types of acts of deviance were depicted in these films?
3. Who was the instigator of the deviance?
4. What was the response to the deviance?
5. What common themes emerge in quasi-realistic film coverage of male revenue-generating sports?

METHODOLOGY

A content analysis of five sport films that depicted deviance and/or physical and emotional violence was performed. Deviance includes behavior that falls outside of the norms of society, including acts that would be considered unethical, immoral, and illegal.

Deviance has been subdivided in the existing literature into the categories of underconformity and overconformity (Coakley, 2006). According to Coakley (2006), underconformity involves ignoring or rejecting societal norms, subnormal actions, and in extreme cases can lead to anarchy. Conversely, overconformity involves the unquestioning acceptance of norms, leading to supranormal actions and in extreme cases leads to fascism. Given that both underconformity and overconformity represent departures from mainstream behavior, there are inherent dangers to each. The current research did not seek to categorize the deviance in the films into these subcategories. Rather, the researchers were interested in determining the behaviors that we agreed were immoral, unethical, illegal, perverse, and even evil, as Coakley demonstrated that these exist at both ends of a continuum of actions, sandwiching the normal range of accepted behavior (Coakley, 2006).

The researchers analyzed films depicting male high school or college-level football and basketball. Each of the selected films emphasized the treatment and behavior of the athletes on and off the field, with minimal side stories that detract from the focus of sport.

Films were selected based on a number of criteria. First, sport films that focused on the sports of football and basketball in a high school or college setting were chosen. The researchers were not interested in comedy films, as they did not intend to analyze happy violence (Gerbner et al., 1994). Second, films that depicted sports in a realistic or quasi-realistic manner and those that focused on current sport, defined for these purposes as 1990 and beyond, were selected. Third, films that had reached the general public, as opposed to more obscure documentaries, were of interest for this study. Therefore, the films selected were easily available for rental at local video stores and were ranked in the top 50 all-time grossing sport films. The researchers set a minimum box-office gross of $20 million and accessed boxofficemojo.com's database of movie financials to obtain a list of sport films that had grossed $20 million or more. A total of 34 movies in the genre of "Sport Drama" had box office totals of $20 million or more. Of those, 11 (32%) films were based on football or basketball at the high school or college level. Of those 11 films, five were not about current times (1990 and later) and were thus eliminated from this analysis (*Hoosiers*, *Glory Road*, *Remember the Titans*, *Rudy*, and *We Are Marshall*). *Coach Carter* was not used because the central focus of the film was more about overcoming the status quo and fighting against the system than about the behavior of athletes and the responses to that behavior.

This left five films for the researchers to analyze: *Friday Night Lights*, *Varsity Blues*, *Blue Chips*, *The Program*, and *He Got Game*. This research examined the amount of deviance and violence that was depicted throughout the films, which characters instigated the act(s), which characters were the victims of the offense, and the response to the deviance and violence from the community, coaches, and other members of the athletic establishment. One criticism of past media affects studies is that they have focused almost exclusively on physical violence, ignoring the dangerous psychological abuse that should be included. Mustonen and Pulkkinen (1997) maintained that threats, nonverbal behavior, and anger should be included as well. To that end, this study not only analyzed physical violence, but acts of verbal abuse as well.

Once all three researchers collaborated and created a refined master list of all violent or deviant behavior depicted in the five films, a quantitative analysis was conducted to show the raw number of violent or deviant acts depicted as well as the frequency of acts by type. Using a process similar to analytic induction (Merriam, 1998), each researcher independently identified the main themes related to deviance and violence depicted in each of the films. These themes were then shared, and the researchers refined them until a collaborative list was developed (as described by Merriam, 1998). Additionally, each researcher developed a matrix of all examples of deviance from each film. These were also shared, and the researchers came to consensus on how to categorize each example.

FILM DESCRIPTIONS

He Got Game is the story of Jake and Jesus Shuttlesworth. Jake (Denzel Washington) is incarcerated in Attica for accidentally killing his wife. His son Jesus (NBA star Ray Allen) is the most sought after high school basketball player in the nation and is raising his younger sister, Mary, virtually alone in Coney Island, New York. The story takes place over one week, when the Governor of New York, a big basketball fan, has released Jake so that he can convince Jesus to attend his alma mater, Big State University. The prison warden says the governor is willing to offer Jake early parole if he is successful. Jesus struggles with the decision as to which college to attend or whether to announce his eligibility for the NBA draft. He receives unwanted advice

and pressure from a variety of sources, including family, friends, his coach, local street criminals, his girlfriend, and an agent.
Varsity Blues depicts a fictional football team from West Canaan, Texas, a town where high school football is a way of life. When star quarterback Lance Harbor gets hurt, second-string quarterback and intellectual John Moxon (James Vanderbeek) must step in to maintain the Coyote's dynasty and the record of Coach Bud Kilmer (Jon Voight). Kilmer is a cruel dictator with a win-at-all-cost mentality. Eventually the players, led by Moxon, rebel against Kilmer, expel him from the big game, and coach themselves to victory.

Blue Chips focuses on controversial and passionate Coach Pete Bell (Nick Nolte), who is under fire for having his first losing basketball season with a group of hardworking, but mediocre, players. Under pressure from athletic boosters, he allows payments to be made to three big-time recruits: Ricky Roe, Butch McRae (NBA star Penny Hardaway), and Neon Beaudeaux (NBA star Shaquille O'Neal). Although the team wins with the influx of these new players, Bell is racked with guilt over his actions. His guilt is exacerbated when he learns that his star player took money to shave points several years ago from the same booster who is paying his current players. Coach Bell sees the errors of his ways and comes clean at a press conference and quits college coaching.

Friday Night Lights is based on the book by the same name, written by H.G. Bissinger. It chronicles the 1988 football season at Permian High School in Odessa, Texas, examining the personalities of the major players and coaches as well as the ups and downs of the team in a town where high school football is everything. The pressure is on for Coach Gary Gaines (Billy Bob Thorton), who is the love of the town for his potentially state-championship winning team. That is, until star running back Boobie Miles is out for the season due to a knee injury. The team rallies after several losses and makes it into the state finals due to the exceptional hard work and the integrity of every player. They lose to a bigger, faster, and dirtier team, but the season is a catalyst for several players to leave the small town and for the reparation of a father-son relationship.

The Program depicts a college football program led by Heisman Trophy candidate Joe Kane (Craig Sheffer) and Coach Winters (James Cann), who is feeling the pressure to achieve after missing a bowl game for the second year in a row. The pressure is passed on to athletes and new recruits, who do whatever it takes, including using performance enhancing substances in order to help win more games. Coach Winters, the alumni, and others in the athletic system look the other way, and even pull strings for athletes who are failing classes and getting into trouble. Nothing will get in the way of the football team as they reestablish themselves as a winning program.

RESULTS
The researchers found 244 total incidents of violent or deviant behavior in the five films (as illustrated in Table 1). *Varsity Blues* had the highest number of violent or deviant incidents with 59 (24% of the total). *He Got Game* was the lowest, with 36 incidents of violent or deviant behavior throughout the film.

The researchers next identified 23 different categories or types of deviance or violent behavior depicted in the films. Table 2 shows the eight most frequently cited categories of violent or deviant behavior displayed in the films and examples for each category. Table 3 illustrates the total number of incidents accounted for by these eight categories and the percentages for each category. These eight represented 172 (70.5%) of the total number of incidents depicted in the films. Physical and emotional abuse was the category of violence or deviance depicted most frequently, with 56 incidents (accounting for almost 23% of all violent or deviant behavior

portrayed in the films). The second highest category of deviance was related to academic misconduct, with over 10% of all incidents in the study.

Based on an analysis of the scenes in which the incidents of violent or deviant behavior occurred, the researchers then went about identifying the instigators, the victims, and the response by the coach, authority figure, or system in order to recognize and label common themes throughout all the films. Table 4 outlines the eleven transcending themes the researchers found and specific examples of each theme. The category of violence or deviance that was the most pervasive in each film is presented in Table 5.

1. Coach as an all-powerful figure controlling athletes' lives and anyone else he can

These films depicted two broad types of coaches; the caring and the non-caring. While the caring coaches behaved with what seemed to be empathy and general concern for their players, both types of coaches were depicted as controlling their player's lives. The caring coaches generally did things that can be viewed as helpful but overly paternalistic. For instance, Pete Bell in *Blue Chips* was portrayed as a coach who honestly cared for his players, particularly one of his older players, Tony. When Tony was failing a class, Bell arranged for him to be tutored. He announced he would "not let Tony fail." When Tony expressed concern about his girlfriend getting pregnant, Bell had an assistant buy him condoms. Such gestures highlighted the degree to which Bell had or tried to get control over his players' personal lives.

In *He Got Game,* the coach was not a prominent figure. Yet we still learn he arranged for the apartment Jesus and Mary are living in, and he provided them with some form of monetary payment. In *The Program,* Coach Winters took Kane's motorcycle keys in a benevolent but overly paternalistic gesture. The message portrayed was that if the coach is generally a kind person, the audience should excuse any violent or deviant behavior committed because the coach is just doing what he thinks is in the best interest of his team. Deviance of this sort is justified, it seems, when the coach cares for his athletes.

A very different portrayal of an all-powerful coach was that of Coach Kilmer in *Varsity Blues.* Kilmer was the ultimate dictator type of coach, controlling everything and everyone. For example he knew Mox cared about academics more than football, and threatened to derail his academic scholarship to Brown University if Mox didn't cooperate and do everything his way. He knew every weakness of each player, and exploited them to get what he wanted. Players were just cogs in his football program machinery and as soon as they are no longer useful, they were replaced.

2. The coach, authority figure, or system fails to respond to acts of violence or deviant behavior

In each film, the coaches, others involved in the athletic system, and even local community members and parents were aware of an array of deviant acts committed by the athletes. Many times, they elected to ignore these problems. In *Blue Chips,* Coach Bell essentially told the Athletic Director he intended to bribe new recruits. The only response the A.D. gave was that he "doesn't want to know anything about it." In *Friday Night Lights,* Don Billingsley's abusive dad verbally and physically attacked him during the first practice of the season just for fumbling the football. The team, the local media, a number of community members, and the coaching staff all observed this act yet no authority figures intervened; allowing the assault to escalate until the high school players had to separate the two.

Coach Winters overlooked and minimized the evidence that Lattimer was using steroids until he assaults a young lady in *The Program.* Later, when Lattimer was supposedly clean and the

team wins the final game, it was clear from the look on Winters' face that he suspected his player was still abusing steroids. Yet he said and did nothing about it, reinforcing his priorities of on-field success over dealing with deviant behavior. In *Varsity Blues,* it was not just Coach Kilmer but the entire town that knew about, and did nothing to stop, the team's carousing and illegal behaviors. Not only were there few if any consequences depicted for the athletes' various acts of deviance or violence, but in many cases these acts receive absolutely no acknowledgement. The message to viewers is that these incidents are normal or at least acceptable, and thus not worthy of comment or action. This theme has the potential to have a broader social impact than the first theme because while the first theme revolved around the coaches exerting their sphere of influence and controlling their athletes on the field, when they decide to let the deviant behavior of athletes off the field go unchecked it impacts the entire community.

3. The coach, authority figure, or system as the instigator of the violent or deviant behavior

In many cases, it was the coach or someone involved specifically with the athletic system that actually instigated the act of violence or deviance. In *Blue Chips,* it was Bell's desire to win that made him turn to Happy (a team booster) to arrange payoffs to new recruits. In *He Got Game,* the collusion runs deeper, with the warden offering to pull strings to let Jake out of prison if he could coerce his son Jesus to go to Big State University. In *The Program,* we saw several incidents including Coach Winters pulling strings to get Bobby Collins re-admitted after he was expelled for having a young lady (Coach Winter's daughter who was also expelled and not re-admitted) take a test for him. After his first game, Darnell was given $50 from an alumnus. He was told by a teammate that he should expect even bigger payments from boosters and alumni once he becomes a bigger star. Coach Kilmer arranged to have trainers inject Lance Harbor with cortisone, and tried to do the same with Wendell Brown when they suffer knee injuries in *Varsity Blues*. Coach Kilmer also instigated numerous physical attacks on some of his players.

4. Successful coaches are in your face: Verbal abuse is standard operating procedure

These films created the perception that the only way to motivate a team or individual player is to verbally berate them. For instance, the opening scene of *Blue Chips* showed Coach Bell ranting at his team in what can be described as a tantrum in which he accurately emulated the actual model for the character, the infamous Coach Bobby Knight. Toward the end of the film, Coach Bobby Knight (playing himself in the film) was actually shown verbally abusing referees, and as in real life, they failed to show any legitimate consequences. Coach Kilmer from *Varsity Blues* seemed to have no other means of communicating besides verbal assaults, as he was depicted regularly yelling at or insulting players. Even Coach Winters (*The Program)* and Coach Gaines (*Friday Night Lights*) verbally insulted their players during practices, although they generally did it without yelling and throwing tantrums. Gaines yelled at Chris Comer in one of the earliest scenes of the film, asserting he did not try hard enough and could not follow simple plays. Later, he yelled at Mike, taunting him by saying, "Do you want people to think you're the village idiot?" and "you are playing like a fool." Mike was clearly upset, and was shown fighting off tears when he and the coach met after the game. Although Winters and Gaines were less likely to yell and scream at their players, this behavior was not absent in the films. Rather, both allowed assistant coaches to verbally abuse their athletes with an in-your-face approach. Both Coach Winters and Coach Bell were shown verbally antagonizing members of the media as well. Most of the coaches in these films were portrayed as highly successful and, as with the themes mentioned above, audience member that want to emulate the success of these coaches would take cues from these coaches

5. Sport is the best, maybe only, ticket out of a bad environment

In *Blue Chips,* a major part of Coach Bell's recruiting strategy involved the athletes getting out of their current environments, especially for Butch McRae, who was living in apparent poverty in Chicago, and Neon, who appeared to live in poverty as well in rural Louisiana. *He Got Game* featured a montage of scenes designed to show how Jesus' success could prevent him from going the "way of the neighborhood"—to a life of drugs and violence. Virtually every character "wanted a piece of Jesus" as a means of personal advancement in a neighborhood where such advancement was difficult. Even his uncle and his girlfriend were looking to better their lives through opportunities offered to Jesus. Both claimed they "deserved" to live better. Mike Winchell's goal in *Friday Night Lights* was to get out of Odessa, although he tempers this with concern over leaving his sick mother. Football was seen as his vehicle to do so. In another scene, a young lady named Melissa threw herself at Mike, commenting that because he played football he was going to get out of that small town. Mike and Don talked a lot about getting out of Odessa as well, in particular during a scene in which several of the players were in a field shooting guns. In *Varsity Blues,* a main topic of conversation between Mox and his girlfriend Jules was getting out of West Canaan. Similarly, after Lance was injured and no longer looked like her ticket out of West Canaan, Darcy threw herself at Mox, who she saw as the next way out. When Mox told her she should stop hitting on him because she loves Lance, she made a comment suggesting that her relationship with him was never about love but about how his notoriety could help her get out of town.

6. Stereotypical portrayal of athletes

These films reinforced a number of existing stereotypes about athletes. Racial stereotypes were seen or used in *Friday Night Lights,* where Boobie is a stereotypical egocentric Black performer/athlete who was portrayed as borderline illiterate who needed help reading his recruitment letters from various universities. He mentioned repeatedly how little he needed to practice because of his natural talent, and he talked about himself in the third person. Darnell also demonstrated the hyper-ego of a future star in *The Program. Blue Chips* portrayed Neon as huge and powerful, who was big on talk and game but short on academic talent. Both he and Butch were conniving as well, and in it just for the notoriety and the cash. Neon seemed to need money to motivate him to do anything, as depicted in the scenes where Jenny Bell was tutoring him and he would not try to correctly answer a question until she bribes him. He later demanded to collect the money she offered when he gets a passing SAT score. White recruit Ricky Roe was portrayed as the simple small town farm boy, who was also motivated by money, which is clear when he approached the coaches very calmly and asked for $30,000.

The streetwise Black athlete from the hood was represented through Jesus in *He Got Game* and Darnell in *The Program. He Got Game* featured several scenes in which Jesus was advised by others, including his father, that if he made the wrong decision on where to play next year, he will end up "just another nigger on the block." The "angry Black man" was another racial stereotype that appeared in these films. In *The Program,* we saw Alvin using racial epithets and angry taunts to get fired up on the field. In *Varsity Blues,* Wendell expressed to Mox that he was being used by Kilmer as just another slave. Yet another stereotype of athletes was the big dumb jock, perhaps represented best by the maple-syrup swigging fat man Billy Bob in *Friday Night Lights.* Billy Bob also represented the homophobic football player, as he commented early in the film "I will fear no faggots." In at least one case, Ray in *The Program* was offered as the stereotypical smart athlete. He was also depicted as a jerk and an "Uncle Tom." This tendency to depict black athletes as unintelligent has been well-documented (Andrews, 1996; Finley & Finley, 2006; Jhully, 1989; Sailes, 2000; Wenner, 1995; Wilson & Sparks, 2001). The issue received a great deal of attention in 2003, when conservative radio shock jock Rush Limbaugh claimed Eagles' quarterback Donovan McNabb was overrated. Underlying Limbaugh's

comments was the notion that black athletes are not as proficient at positions in which quick thinking is required (Kennedy & Bechtel, 2003).

In many occurrences in these films, secondary characters would refer to Black athletes using racial epithets. For instance, at a dinner party in *Friday Night Lights,* all the guests gave Coach Gaines unsolicited advice on the team. One woman commented that he should play Boobie on the defense as well as on offense, saying, "That big nigger is not going to break."

This was intended to illustrate the small-town racism of Odessa. Another problem identified was when Black characters used this language themselves. For example, in *He Got Game* players regularly used the "n word" to describe themselves and others. The depictions of racial and general athletic stereotypes in these films can foster these views in the minds of the audience.

7. Sexism and the portrayal of the female body

In these films, women were depicted as just another tool to be used by the players, coaches, and the system. Both *He Got Game* and *The Program* featured females being used to recruit top athletes. In *The Program,* Autumn was a "tutor" and a campus "escort," although it was clear from the conversations she had with Darnell that he believes her to be much more. It seems likely this impression was fostered by his teammates and coaches, or at least it was never corrected. The sexism in *He Got Game* is even more overt, with Jesus being told by Chick when he visited that the girls are there for his enjoyment. A later scene showed him engaging in sexual activity with two of the young ladies who were virtually throwing themselves at him. Although it was not as overt, the notion that girls are an enticement to enroll at a particular school was used in *Blue Chips* as well. Ricky expressed to Coach Bell that he really only wanted to go to college to meet girls, and Bell emphasizes, both at the Roe's home as well as on campus, that there was no shortage of girls at the school. Many of the scenes in which the booster Happy was depicted showed him with multiple girls hanging on his arm.

Girls also threw themselves at the athletes in *Varsity Blues* and *Friday Night Lights.* In *Varsity Blues,* we saw Darcy first latch on to Lance Harbor, who was the current star. When he was hurt, she flirted with Mox (the new star), inviting him to her house and then displaying her body in what is the now well-known whipped cream bikini scene. In another scene, Tweeter coerced some underage girls into getting naked and riding along with him in a stolen police car. Yet other examples of sexism in *Varsity Blues* were the multiple scenes involving the health education teacher who was also a stripper. The boys were thrilled to run into their teacher at the strip club, and after an initial period of shock, she was happy to sit down with them, share a drink, and remind them they now have a "little secret." In *Friday Night Lights,* Melissa saw Mike as her vehicle out of Odessa, and taunts him for being gay until he agreed to have sex with her. Don was interrupted by his father when he was about to have sex with a young lady (Maria), whose name he doesn't even know.

Women in these films would do anything to help an athlete, ranging from the overt sexual acts described above to the young lady who took a test for Bobby Collins in *The Program.* Perhaps the most disturbing example of sexism, however, was in *The Program,* when Lattimer would not take "no" for an answer in a moment of apparent steroid rage and was poised to rape a young lady. He physically assaulted the woman before teammates finally intervened. Although the coach punished him by making him miss three games, the conversation between him and the assistant coaches suggested Winters was more happy that the young lady's family decided not to press charges (her dad is a big supporter of the team) than he was concerned that his player tried to rape a woman. Additionally, the coaches covered up the suspension, making up a story that it was the result of an injury. Tweeter's attitude in *Varsity Blues* toward women—that they

are simply there to provide men sexual pleasure—was grounds for serious concern. At one point, he entered a party singing, "she broke my heart, so I broke her jaw."

8. Academics: Not a priority, but just another hurdle in the pursuit of top athletic performance

It was clear from each of these films that these boys and men were athletes first and foremost and only considered students as an afterthought. Coach Bell recruited Neon, for instance, despite a discussion of his unacceptable SAT score. He then went on to arrange tutoring that would be just enough for Neon to obtain an acceptable entrance score. In a later scene in a classroom, Neon made a spectacle of himself, and Ricky was shown in class caring only about the attractiveness of his female classmates. There were repeated conversations between athletes in *The Program* about how if you're on the team they'll never let you fail. "You might never get a degree," Alvin tells Darnell, "but you'll stay eligible." Later, comments were made indicating that Alvin was nearly illiterate. Athletes were shown selling test answers to others as well. When Collins was caught having the coach's daughter take a test for him, Coach Winters was angry, yet his anger seemed more directed at how obvious he was in his cheating and that Collins used his daughter than at the fact that he cheated. And, later in the film, Winters appealed before an academic board to get Collins reinstated, since the team needed him with Joe Kane lost to rehab (another curious situation where an athlete leaves school for several weeks with no discussion about missing academics, only about his triumphant return to the team). During that appeals hearing, we heard the "stuffy" professors explaining that Collins did not deserve to be reinstated since he was getting poor grades in easy, non-degree track courses. But another professor, a friend of the team, sympathized with the difficulty of being a student-athlete, and this coupled with Winters' appeal made the effort successful.

At the high school level, we saw the athletes in *Friday Night lights* wishing to leave the dead-end town of Odessa, but generally not viewing academics as their vehicle to do so. Don and Mike told Chavo that he was the lucky one, since he did have the grades to leave, but this did not seem to prompt them to study harder to do the same. The opening scene of the film showed Mike's mom drilling him on football plays, not school work. Boobie Miles commented in the film, "I get straight As." When the reporter asked, "in what?" Boobie responded, "There is only one subject, it's football. There is [sic] no other subjects." Later, Boobie needed help reading his recruitment letters. Additionally, a radio caller commented on why the team was floundering, stating: "they do too much learning in the school." In *Varsity Blues,* Mox was considered the intellectual member of the team, and he was derided for it by Coach Kilmer and even his own father. Kilmer repeatedly told him he was the "dumbest smart kid he knows," and that despite being so smart he cannot follow simple football plays. On the day he received notification that he had been accepted on a full scholarship to Brown University, his dad barely congratulated him, instead saying they "needed to talk about that night's game." Joe Harbor, Lance's dad, was heard commenting that he was holding his younger son back a year in school so he would be bigger for freshman football. The absence of any discussion about academics in *He Got Game* also sends the message to viewers that it is only Jesus' basketball skills, not his intelligence, that matter.

9. Cheating as commonplace and necessary to compete

Cheating occurred in a variety of ways in these films, and was generally depicted as a normal and accepted means to achieve a given end. As noted earlier, this included cheating by coaches and cheating instigated by athletic boosters. It took many forms, from recruiting violations to point shaving. *Varsity Blues* even began with Mox narrating that, "while in this country there are rules we all have to follow, in West Canaan, football has its own rules."

Athletes cheated regularly. They took money to throw games or ensure the team did not cover the spread (Tony from *Blue Chips*), they took illegal performance-enhancing substances (Lattimer in *The Program)*, and they were shown as more than willing to receive illegal payments (the new recruits in *Blue Chips* and players in *The Program*). If they could not pass a class, they would cheat to do so (Collins in *The Program*). In conversations with Happy (the booster) in *Blue Chips,* it became obvious that cheating was endemic at the school, since Happy referred to football recruits being given money and other items to entice them to the school as well. He repeatedly assured Coach Bell that no one would ever know about it and that the money was "completely clean."

10. The team as the community foundation

In most of the communities depicted in the films, the team was everything. Average citizens seemed to tie their very identity to the success of the team in *Friday Night Lights* and *Varsity Blues.* Community members showed up regularly to watch and critique practices, and radio callers clearly were emotionally tied to every moment of the games and every decision by the coaches. Local restaurants provided the athletes free food, store clerks gave them alcohol, and the police looked the other way or trivialized what in other cases would be considered serious violations of the law (i.e., stealing a police car, assault). Boosters regularly showed up to tell Coach Gaines what to do and how critical it was that he wins. When the team did not, irate callers called for his firing and townspersons placed "for sale" signs in his yard. When Lance went down with the knee injury in *Varsity Blues*, his father's comment "Lord, don't do this to me" suggested he was more concerned with the notoriety in the community than with his son's long-term health. Sam Moxon, on the other hand, was thrilled that the injury to Lance would give his son the chance to play, clearly displaying some degree of pleasure that the misfortune for another would be to his personal benefit. The importance to the community was also true in *He Got Game,* although it was displayed somewhat differently. Here conversations between Jesus and his friends, as well as Jesus and his greedy uncle, showed that these people were living vicariously through his basketball success.

The opening scene in *The Program* showed the university president telling Coach Winters that the team's losses were an embarrassment to the program, the school, and the community, and if he didn't start winning he would be fired. Immediately thereafter, Coach Winters saw and commented on the effigies of him that community members hung after the team's loss.

11. No pain, no gain: Short term success without regard for the long term cost to the athletes

The coaches and their supporters seemed to care very little about the long-term opportunities for the athletes in these films. Rather, they were very concerned about short-term success (i.e., winning games). Coaches in many cases did things that jeopardized the health of their athletes. For example, In *Varsity Blues*, Coach Kilmer injected Lance Harbor with cortisone and let him play with a serious knee injury that ruined his chance to play football collegiately. When a doctor commented that the injury was due to playing on an already damaged knee, as evidenced by the buildup of scar tissue, Kilmer played dumb. Similarly, Kilmer was poised to do the same to Wendell, had Mox and the other players not intervened. Early in the film, Kilmer ignored Wendell's complaint that he was tired and his knee hurt, responding, "Never show weakness." Wendell also expressed that Kilmer did nothing to help him with recruiters, instead just using him on the field for immediate gratification, making him his "Black work horse." Despite obvious evidence Billy Bob was suffering from an apparent concussion, Kilmer taunted and coerced him into playing, which could have seriously injured or even killed him. Although he was a more sympathetic character, Coach Gaines in *Friday Night Lights* allowed Boobie to play even though it was fairly clear that he and his uncle were not being truthful about the doctor's recommendations regarding his knee. When Don Billingsley's shoulder was

injured during the final game, Coach Gaines and the trainers simply popped it back in and let him play on.

In *Blue Chips,* it was not the athletes' health that was of concern so much as it was their chance for success outside of the sport. Coach Bell did little to create a climate of academic success or even hard work. In fact, he commented that the first losing team shown in the film worked hard and it got them nowhere. He did, however, refer regularly to his athletes as "animals" and "thoroughbreds," suggesting they were more like horses to be driven to exhaustion than they were young athletes to be nurtured for the future. Similarly, in *The Program,* Coach Winters was actually careful with Joe Kane's health, taking his motorcycle keys so he didn't jeopardize his Heisman chances, but he took great liberties with his players' opportunities academically. Although Alvin could barely read, for instance, he was drilled on and performed well at memorizing football plays.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of this study provided support for the notion that gamesmanship has become more important than sportsmanship in today's world of sport. Today's athletes are taught that sport is a zero-sum game that they must win at all costs (Eitzen, 2003). The effect is that cheating, violence, and other forms of deviance come to be viewed as simply what must be done to win. It becomes increasingly easy for coaches, athletes, and administrators to justify deviant behavior, arguing that everyone is doing it (Finley & Finley, 2006; Sage, 2000).

These films clearly reinforced what Coakley (2006) has called the sport ethic. The sport ethic "is a set of norms that many people in power and performance sports have accepted as the dominant criteria for defining what it means to be an athlete and to successfully claim an identity as an athlete" (p. 168). Coakley (2006) explained that the sport ethic is promoted by coaches, supporters, fans, and media, and then is internalized by athletes. Whannel (2008) noted that a significant theme in sport films is that of winning respect and forging identity. In the case of these films, respect is earned through winning, not through hard work, balanced success in both athletics and academics, or by being a good human being. This is true of most athletes, coaches, parents, and the communities portrayed in these films.

Another concern is that these films normalized deviance and violence to viewers. Viewers who themselves might be athletes may see these films as models for the way they are expected to act and be treated, following Social Self Theory. Modeling the behavior seen in these films would further justify the physical and verbal abuses of young athletes by dominating and controlling coaches. Further, drawing on the work of Paik and Comstock (1994), coaches and athletes may learn that their deviant behavior does not and should not have any significant negative consequences.

If young athletes model the same type of behavior as the players in these films with the expectation that the coaches, parents, community, and athletic system will tolerate the deviant behavior but this does not happen, the athletes could be surprised to find out they may face severe consequences. This could include suspensions or expulsions from the team and/or school, and in some cases jail time with a criminal record that could follow them for the rest of their lives.

Following the cultivation hypothesis, coaches and those involved in managing sport viewing these films may over-estimate the number of teams that are cheating or promoting some form of deviant behavior. They may believe such behavior is inevitable, making it more likely they will take an "everyone's doing it" approach. Fans, too, may feel that these behaviors are not necessarily acceptable, but are what must be done to be successful in sport today.

The depictions of how to manage acts of violence or deviance are important as well. Several scholars have noted that films generally promote a conservative approach to the control of crime or deviance (Lenz, 2005; Rafter, 2000). This is true in these films as well. That is, when a response of any sort is shown, it involves some type of punishment to the individual athlete, rather than addressing the systemic issues. It is nearly impossible to fix problem behavior without addressing the root causes of it. Systems and structures that encourage or fail to respond to deviance are part of the problem. They must be analyzed and adjusted for deviance and violence to be eliminated.

The use of stereotypes and sexism to entertain and inform about high school and college sports is problematic as well. Again, these films show the entire athletic system and the surrounding communities looking the other way and even encouraging degenerate behavior with women. While certainly this depiction of females as mere vehicles for the males' sexual pleasure may have a negative impact on male viewers, female audience members may also be negatively impacted by viewing this type of depiction. These films generally portray the women as happy and willing to service men, and female viewers may feel this is how they are to behave.

Academically it would be difficult for student athletes to watch these films and feel as though their hard work in the classroom would pay off. Rather, the message is that it is acceptable to be a dumb jock; in fact, it is what is normal and expected. There is no need to worry, as sports are the ticket to a better life. Phillips (2000) discussed the concept of allegiance, or who viewers are supposed to feel strongly about or identify with in a film. In these films, it can certainly be argued that viewers are supposed to identify with the non-academic, charismatic player who loves to have fun and stir up trouble, rather than the studious and serious athlete.

Future research should explore whether the same themes emerge in other quasi-realistic films featuring sport. Research could address whether these themes appear to be indicative of a more recent approach to sport films, or whether the same concepts are utilized in films depicting earlier decades. Additionally, research could analyze films depicting other sports, other levels of sport, and sport films focused on female participants to see if the same affirmation of the sport ethic emerges.

In the interim, it is recommended that sport administration programs address popular culture representations of sport. Programs should engage student in discussions about these depictions, addressing how they are both realistic and unrealistic, and the implications. Doing so would help students see both the problems and potential of sport, and the challenges and successes of sport administrators. Sport films can be used as a vehicle to discuss deviance and cheating in sport, the management of it, and the effectiveness of programs and policies. Sport films can prompt discussion of when and how deviance and violence have become normalized, and how this normalization threatens the very essence of sport.

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Table 1

Summary Breakdown of Incidents of Violent or Deviant Behavior Displayed in Each Film

Movie Title	Total Incidents of violent or deviant behavior	Percentage
Varsity Blues	59	24.18%
Friday Night Lights	53	21.72%
The Program	51	20.90%
Blue Chips	45	18.44%
He Got Game	36	14.75%
Grand Total	**244**	**100%**

Table 2

Examples of Violent or Deviant Behavior Displayed in the Films

Category	Examples
Physical & Emotional Abuse	**Friday Night Lights** – Father berates son after losing a football game. **Varsity Blues** – Coach tries to choke a player.
Academic Misconduct	**The Program** – Star college linebacker can't read and brags about buying test. **Friday Night Lights** – Running back talking about school "I get straight A's. There is only one subject, its football. There is no other subjects."
Alcohol Related Misconduct	**Varsity Blues** – After underage player gets drunk at a party he steals a police car and drives around town drunk. **He Got Game** – Uncle offering alcohol to his underage nephew in an effort to make peace.
Bribery	**Blue Chips** – Players requesting and getting money, cars, houses, etc… to come play basketball for the University. **He got Game** – High school coach offers star player money for information on which college he is interested in.
Violent or Negative Speech	**Varsity Blues** – player preparing for game "I will fear no faggots." **Varsity Blues** – player singing at party "she broke my heart so I broke her jaw."
Female Body (Negative Portrayal)	**He Got Game** – Women used in the recruiting process to insure the recruits have a pleasurable experience. **Varsity Blues** – Whipped cream bikini scene (the only way a young woman can get out of the town and get a better life is to use her body to seduce a star athlete).
Sport Above All Else	**Varsity Blues** – Coach talks player into playing after suffering a possible concussion because the team would suffer if he did not play. **The Program** – Coach helps his player get reinstated after the player and the coaches own daughter get expelled because she took a test for the player.
Sexual Misconduct	**Varsity Blues** – Players exposing themselves to the women's auxiliary club. **Varsity Blues** – Star QB and cheerleader caught having sex in public.

Table 3

Category Breakdown of Incidents of Violent or Deviant Behavior Displayed in the Films

Category	Count	Percentage
Physical & Emotional Abuse	56	22.95%
Academic Misconduct	25	10.25%
Alcohol Related Misconduct	21	8.61%
Bribery	20	8.20%
Violent or Negative Speech	16	6.56%
Female Body (Negative Portrayal)	12	4.92%
Sport Above All Else	12	4.92%
Sexual Misconduct	10	4.10%

Table 4

Transcending Themes of Violent or Deviant Behavior

Theme	Examples
Coach as an all-powerful figure controlling athletes lives and anyone else he can	**Varsity Blues** – Coach Kilmer threatening Mox's college scholarship if he does not obey him.
The coach, authority figures, or system failing to respond to acts of violence or deviant behavior	**The Program** – Coach Winters covering up the assault and attempted rape of a young woman by his star defensive lineman.
The coach, authority figure, or system as the instigator of the violent or deviant behavior	**Varsity Blues** – Coach Kilmer grabbing and yanking players around by their helmets.
Successful coaches are "in your face:" Verbal abuse is standard operating procedure	**Blue Chips** – Opening scene when Coach Bell goes on a halftime tirade yelling at all his players.
Sport is the best, maybe only, ticket out of a bad environment	**Friday Night Lights** – Conversations between the players talking about how football is there only way out of Odessa.
Stereotypical portrayal of athletes	**Blue Chips** – The "Dumb Jock" aspect of the players both in and out of the classroom.
Sexism and the portrayal of the female body	**He Got Game** – During his recruiting trip Jesus is given two women to have sex with.
Academics: Not a priority just another hurdle in the pursuit of top athletic performance	**The Program** – Albert's response about how the Program will keep them eligible, "you might not get a degree but they will keep you eligible to play"
Cheating as commonplace and needed to compete	**The Program** – The steroid abuse and the different methods used to cover it up.
The team as the community foundation	**Friday Night Lights** – The amount of media coverage including preseason interviews and nonstop radio coverage of the teams every move.
No pain, no gain: Short term success without regard for the long term cost to the athletes	**Varsity Blues** – Coach Kilmer convincing players to use short term treatments without explaining the long term ramifications.

Table 5

Highest Category of Violent and Deviant Behavior Displayed in Each Film

Movie Title	Top Incident/Behavior	Count
Varsity Blues	Physical & Emotional Abuse	15 (25.42%)
Friday Night Lights	Physical & Emotional Abuse	18 (33.96%)
The Program	Physical & Emotional Abuse	10 (19.61%)
Blue Chips	Bribery	15 (33.33%)
He Got Game	Physical & Emotional Abuse	9 (25.00%)