

AN ANALYSIS OF MAJOR AND MINOR LEAGUE SPORTS: THE DUAL LABOR MARKET THEORY AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS

Mark Vermillion, Wichita State University,
Chris Messer, Oklahoma State University, and
G. Clayton Stoldt, Wichita State University

INTRODUCTION

Sport is an important institution within the United States. To say that sport constitutes a major part of the economy is an understatement. In 1998 alone, commercial sport expenditures exceeded \$17 billion and another \$21.4 was spent on recreational sports (Washington & Karen 2001). Every year more money is spent on sporting events (Washington & Karen 2001). In conjunction with sports, however, the topic of inequality, whether socioeconomic, racial, gender, or class, is equally pervasive within our society (Upthegrove, Rosicigno, & Zubrinsky 1999).

The purpose of this research is to look at the unequal coverage of minor league sport via mass media coverage of sport organizations' events. Using the Dual Labor Market Theory as a theoretical framework, this research attempts to analyze mass media coverage as it occurred in three American newspapers serving large minor league sport markets and to discuss the unequal coverage as examples of primary and secondary labor market boundaries. The research is relevant because it will address labor market dynamics, such as inequality and discrimination, as highlighted within print media coverage. Specifically, the amount and type of media coverage represents whether a sport is in the primary or secondary labor markets. As a result, inequality of coverage is a byproduct of labor market status. Before discussing the sport industry and the labor markets contained within it, however, the theoretical framework must be established.

DUAL LABOR MARKET THEORY

The research links the Dual Labor Market Theory to sport in society. In a general sense, this means that labor is broken into two sectors: the primary sector and the secondary sector. Doeringer and Piore (1970) have provided several characteristics of both sectors. The primary sector is composed of jobs that are characterized by high wages, good working conditions, career advancement opportunities, equity in administration of work

rules, and employment stability. The secondary sector is composed of jobs that are characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, little advancement opportunities, favoritism, and worker instability.

Cross and Johnson (2000) note that this theory helps to explain how class, racial, and gender stratification operate within the labor market. The primary sector is composed of privileged workers who come from dominant groups in society, such as white males. Harrison (1972) shows that there can also be more than one tier within the primary sector. For example, an upper tier could consist of managers and administrators while a lower tier could consist of sales persons and teachers.

The secondary sector is composed of workers with less skills and control over their workplace, such as women and minorities. Once again, a distinction can be made between workers in the secondary sector. Workers can be semiskilled or unskilled. Semiskilled workers can include operatives while unskilled workers can include those who are farm laborers. Gordon (1972) notes the distinction between the primary and secondary sector is historically based. Further, Wadsworth (2000) warns that this classification system is different from that of the white- and blue-collar worker system. He notes that a blue-collar worker can occupy a skilled position that could be classified in the primary sector based on job characteristics.

Dual Labor Market Theory began as an economic model to describe discrimination in labor markets within specific cities (Ferman 1967; Baron & Hymer 1968; Vietorisz & Harrison 1970; Horn 1980). Over the years, the theory has branched out to help explain other general labor markets such as education and crime. For examples, Wadsworth (2000) found a significant relationship between parents' job characteristics and delinquent behavior among adolescents. His work was an extension of studies that have shown that market stratification is related to criminal activity (Wilson 1987; Crutchfield &

Pitchford 1997). Cross and Johnson (2000) expand the Dual Labor Market Theory to examine illegal drug dealers. Rosenblum and Rosenblum (1990) also expand the theory to examine college and university teaching. They make a distinction between the external labor market, which is composed of those who teach outside of tenure or tenure-track positions, and the internal labor market.

SPORT LABOR MARKET

The relationship between sport, industry, labor markets, and business is complicated, at best. Businesses exist to generate revenue for owners and stockholders (Howard & Crompton 2004). This includes both non-profit organizations that generate revenue for their specific causes and diverse for-profit sport related organizations, such as sport organizations, leagues, and teams.

Kahn (2000) illustrates how sport can easily be linked with market structures and labor market or economic theories. In addition, Li, Hofacre, and Mahoney (2001 1) note that an industry can be defined "according to one of two criteria: similarity of products and similarity of economic activities." Shim and Siegel (1995) illustrate the first point of this definition of industry by stating that an industry is composed of a group of firms that provide a similar product. Most industries in the US are constructed in this manner (Li et al 2001). To expand on this idea, Coakley (2004) states that sport is divided into two types of orientations: heroic (more power and performance based sports, such as football or basketball) and aesthetic (sports based upon beauty and grace, such as diving and the floor routine in gymnastics). These types of sport, however, produce the same product; that is, they both focus on entertainment and enjoyment.

To address the second part concerning the similarity of economic activities as related to sport, we need to focus on which part of the sport industry is considered for this analysis. Meek (1997) provides a model of the sport industry that is composed of sport entertainment, sport products, and sport support organizations. While Meek's model is extremely useful for a comprehensive examination of sport economic-related activities in North America, this research focuses upon the sport entertainment sector. Specifically, the sport entertainment sector includes "pro-

fessional and amateur sports teams, sports events, sport media, and sport tourism-related businesses" (Li et al 2001 4).

SPORT AND THE DUAL LABOR MARKET THEORY

The current research applies the Dual Labor Market Theory to labor markets in the sport entertainment industry. It has been noted that the Dual Labor Market Theory aids in explaining the existence and persistence of class, racial, and gender stratification (Cross & Johnson 2000) by providing a simpler explanation for these phenomena (Hodson & Kaufman 1982). Dualists believe that the barriers of mobility between the two labor markets are strong enough that once one is labeled as being in the secondary market, the chances of breaking through the barriers to the primary are very difficult, thereby severely limiting social mobility (Hodson & Kaufman 1982). As a result, discrimination or inequality is present (Cross & Johnson 2000).

As previously noted, Doeringer and Piore (1970) have provided several characteristics of both sectors of the labor market. Within the sport entertainment industry, examples of the primary labor market include major league sports, which meet the criteria of primary labor markets. For example, workers in major league sports have better contracts that often times have guaranteed money available (i.e., signing bonuses with "up-front" money), better working conditions (such as multi-million dollar training and playing facilities), more career advancement opportunities (such as free agency after contracts have been fulfilled), and employment stability, such as longer contracts (i.e. Brett Favre's lifetime contract with the Green Bay Packers in the NFL).¹

One criterion that Li et al (2001) established for major league sports was that the best available players were involved with the teams in a major league. If one looks presently at the NBA, this premise can easily be seen. With foreign-born players now commonly playing within the league, the league has taken on a much more "global" look by accepting many of the best players available from around the world, thereby expanding the sport entertainment labor market (Howard & Crompton 2004).

The secondary sector is composed of jobs that are characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, little advancement

opportunities, favoritism, and worker instability. Within sport, this would include minor league sports. Coakley notes that

unlike male professional athletes in top revenue producing leagues, athletes in most minor leagues and low-revenue sports have few rights and control over their careers. (2004 395)

In keeping with secondary labor market characteristics, minor league sports are composed of individuals with less skills and control over their workplace.

An example within minor league baseball involving umpires illustrates the difference between primary and secondary labor markets. Specifically, Berardino (2006) notes minor league umpires (at the AAA level) make \$17,000 per year, while umpires at the lower levels (below AAA) can make between \$1,500 and \$1,800 per month, which is substantially lower when compared to major league umpires. In addition, Dimeglio (2001) identifies stark differences between major league and minor league amenities while profiling St. Louis Cardinal's first baseman Albert Pujols:

Pujols is the first to tell you that the majors is night-and-day different from the minors. In the minors, you stay at a Red Roof Inn or a Motel 6. There are agonizingly long bus rides and monthly paychecks of \$1,100. With daily meal money under \$20, there are daily visits to Taco Bell, McDonald's or Pizza Hut. The clubhouse buffet table has peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, apples and oranges.

In the majors, it's all planes and luxury hotels such as the Ritz-Carlton, the Sheraton Bal Harbor and the Westin Galleria. The rooms are so nice it's hard to leave them, which prompts many a player to order in room service and grab the remote. Meal money is \$73.50 per day. The postgame spread features chicken, ribs or steak. (Dimeglio 2001).

Further evidence in the disparity between major league and minor league baseball rests with players' salaries. A player can make \$75,000 a year playing in the minors and winter baseball, which stands in stark contrast to major league salaries (Ulmer

2006). The average salary for Major League Baseball players in 2006 was nearly \$2.7 million (Associated Press 2006).

Mobility within the minor leagues itself is common, but movement between the major and minor league is more difficult. Specifically:

Those who can't find the right deal with an affiliated baseball club may also take a season in independent baseball before returning to the farm system of another major league club. This is done because players, in the world of free agency and high-dollar salaries, often find their careers "stuck." Major league clubs will often trade for a big dollar position player rather than call someone up from the minor leagues. This can leave position players in the Triple-A and Double-A levels of the farm system with no ability to move up. They become 'spare parts' players unless they can find a new club that views their skills differently. (Wikipedia 2006)

In addition to the concept of mobility, the mass media is influential in covering certain sports. The decision to cover or not to cover a sport, either in print, television, or electronically, is crucial to generating fan enthusiasm, revenue, and excitement (Li et al 2001). The enthusiasm for a sport, resulting from media coverage, is posited to impact whether the sport is considered as a minor league or a major league sport.

MASS MEDIA AND NEWS VALUE DECISIONS

News editors, directors and reporters regularly make judgments regarding which organizations and events will receive news coverage and which will not. Accordingly, these mass media professionals are often referred to as "gatekeepers" (White 1964). The function is of critical importance in cultures that value the free and open exchange of information because it has been estimated that only 10 percent of the information of available news stories actually receive coverage (Black & Bryant 1995). This results in a competitive environment where individual and organizational representatives, e.g., media relations officials, vie with others for time and space in the mass media.

In their role as gatekeepers, mass media professionals attempt to maintain a standard of neutrality by applying a set of commonly

Figure 1.

$$\text{Perceptions of Sports} = \frac{\text{media} \times (\text{culture} + \text{political economy/power})}{\text{Time}}$$

(as major or minor)

held news values when making coverage decisions. These news values typically include the following (Lanson & Stephens 1994; Thompson 1996).

- **Timeliness:** The more recent the news, the more likely it is to receive coverage.
- **Proximity:** News that is closer to consumers (e.g., community, state, and nation) is more likely to receive coverage than news from more distant locales.
- **Impact:** News that has relevance in the way consumers live is more likely to receive coverage than news without such relevance.
- **Conflict/Controversy:** News regarding fighting, debates and other forms of competition is more likely to receive coverage than news without such elements.
- **Prominence:** News that involves well known organizations or individuals is more likely to receive coverage than news that does not have elements of renown.
- **Oddity:** News about unusual or strange occurrences is more likely to receive coverage than news about the common.
- **Emotion:** News that is likely to resonate with people's attitudes or feelings is more likely to receive coverage.
- **Educational value:** News with the potential to assist people to live in a more informed fashion has more value than news without such qualities.

News does need to possess all of these qualities in order to receive coverage. Depending on the circumstances, some weigh more heavily than others. But more often than not, gatekeepers will apply the values in a way that "serve the public with thoroughness and honesty" (*Society of Professional Journalists* 1996).

Newspaper coverage is utilized as source of data for this research project because the aforementioned values and news coverage decisions are easily identified and measured within newspapers. Additionally, to adequately compare and contrast major league and minor league sports, we needed a data source that regularly covered minor league sports. Traditionally, newspapers

have been sources that provide more coverage of minor league sports.

DATA AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to locate how micro-level media coverage connects with macro-level labor market discussions, a rationalization for variable selection and methodology used is provided. This connection can be made by utilizing and reworking Barak's (1995) conceptual equation for perceptions of crime. Once modified to include how the media influences the general public's view of sport status, the equation is in Figure 1. While the above "equation" is hypothetical, it is grounded in theoretical ideas. Specifically, Jerin and Fields (1995) note the media's influence upon the public's perception of many events. Additionally, the mass media is one of the most prevalent forms of social or cultural power, because the media informs consumers of what is occurring in their social worlds, and how to interpret these occurrences (McShane & Williams 1995). Moreover, Barak (1995) illustrates the dialectical relationship between the media and public consumers by noting the media can either *follow* social trends (via their coverage patterns) and dictate how those trends are viewed to their audience, or they can *create* social trends (via their coverage patterns) and influence their audiences' perceptions of these trends. The dictation of social trends, whether they are following social trends or creating social trends, is specific in time and place.

Regarding the sport-media connection explicitly, Rowe (2004) states the media is crucial for the consumption of commercialized goods, such as elite sports. Additionally, he notes the media is usually elite owned and, therefore, has the cultural power to represent dominant ideologies and values of the elite population in their coverage patterns. This is evident in the media's relationship and dependence upon corporate advertising (Coakley 2004). The media covers elite, popular, and commercialized sports, thus reinforcing their cultural dominance (and popularity) with sheer amounts of coverage; you cannot escape major, professional sporting events in sport-based media reports (i.e.

Superbowl coverage and the media blitz leading up the actual game). This media coverage, in its various form and function, reinforces the impermeability of the mobility barriers present within the Dual Labor Market theoretical model. The inequality of coverage (both frequency and space) therefore, is a byproduct of a sport being labeled as: 1) a major league or minor league sport; 2) a "more important" sport or "less important" sport; or 3) a primary labor market versus a secondary labor market. Again, once a sport is labeled by the media (via its coverage patterns) as a major league or minor league sport, it has difficulty transcending the mobility barriers and achieving a major league sport status (as compared to a minor league sport or a "niche" sport).

The popularity of sport, as a major league sport, is heavily dependent upon media coverage (Li et al 2001). Rowe (2004) notes sport media coverage represents a "symbolic level" of control and illustrates how power is distributed within the sport-media complex. The amount and type of coverage an element or sport receives indicates, symbolically, its popularity, which is tied to the level or labor market the sport in question resides within. For example, Coakley (2004) notes the media has increasingly emphasized elite sport coverage throughout the 20th century. During this timeframe, professional, commercialized sports have increased in popularity. In addition, Coakley (2004) identifies the increasing interdependence of shared economics and politics in the sport-media relationship. As a result, sport sections of local newspapers, in an effort to decrease cost, may cover many more events via the Associated Press and focus in-house resources on more "local" sports news, such as highlighting individual athletes and their heroics or increasing the focus on amateur sports. These amateur sports, however, are primarily male, revenue generating sports, such as football and men's basketball (Coakley 2004).

Newspaper coverage is chosen as a source of data for several reasons: 1) there is a large literature base of how to content analyze newspaper coverage; 2) to illustrate the differences between major league and minor league sports, we needed a source of information that would provide some coverage of minor league sports; 3) it serves as a convenience sample for the researchers, i.e.,

it was more easily accessible as compared to other types of media reports; and 4) these newspaper accounts specifically represent minor league communities. The overrepresentation, or purposive sample, will provide a large enough pool of minor league sports and events, which can be analyzed. Additionally, if major league sports are overrepresented in minor league sports communities, this will provide useful information about how the media perceives minor league sports. More importantly, however, we argue that media coverage, as exemplified in newspaper coverage, is a strong contributor to the status minor league sports has in the dual labor market. That is, we argue that sports which receive less media attention through, for instance, less frequent coverage, contribute to minor league members receiving fewer benefits such as lower wages and less job satisfaction. More specifically, we argue that more media coverage, or publicity, leads to more fan support, which then results in better working conditions (in the form of salaries, job stability, contracts, etc.) for employees, or in this case, athletes.

Newspaper coverage, both frequency and space, is an important micro-level source of data that illustrates specific macro-level dynamics operating within the sport-media relationship. In an effort to develop a template for the content analysis of the newspaper coverage, every attempt was made to use a previously established categorization system as a way of ensuring the reliability of the analysis. As a result, the categories used include: 1) which sport; 2) sport level (e.g. major, minor, collegiate, etc); 3) sport settings (e.g. national, regional, local, etc.); 4) sport type (e.g. results, opinion columns, features, etc); and 5) source of the story. These categories fully describe each news element's content and provide useful information to help describe the coverage as representing coverage (or lack thereof) typical of primary or secondary sport labor markets. Additionally, the categories are based off of the previous work of Stoldt, Vermillion, Ross, and Dittmore (2004) regarding mass media coverage patterns and have shown to be useful categorization tools.

Research Questions

News values decisions within the mass media identify how sport coverage can be determined. Additionally, the labor markets

within sport have been examined utilizing the Dual Labor Market perspective, which attempts to illustrate how inequality and discrimination can be results of labor market positions. As a result, the following research questions were to be analyzed:

- 1) Which sports are the most frequently covered major league sports? Which sports are the most frequently covered minor league sports?
- 2) What is the relationship of an element's setting, source, and type of coverage to major and minor league sports?
- 3) Is there a statistically significant difference in the amount of space (in square inches) devoted to major league and minor league sports in minor league sports markets?

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research was to examine the unequal coverage of major and minor leagues sports via mass media coverage according to the Dual Labor Market Theory. This particular framework was used to illustrate the differences between primary and secondary labor markets and the resulting inequality in coverage. In order to accomplish this task, mass media coverage was analyzed by frequency and amount of space as it occurred in three American newspapers serving large, minor league markets.

The data for this research were drawn from the sports sections of three daily newspapers over separate one-week periods during the summer months. Each newspaper served a market in the central region of the US without a major league franchise (i.e., MLB, NBA, NFL, and NHL). These regions, however, did contain multiple minor league franchises and collegiate athletic programs. The elements, which included both stories and photographs appeared in each newspaper's sports section and were categorized among five previously mentioned dimensions. These categories include: 1) sport, 2) sport level, 3) sport settings, 4) sport type, and 5) source of the story.

Content analysis of the newspaper's sports section was utilized as the major form of data collection and methodology. Babbie notes that content analysis is

particularly well suited to the study of communications and the answering the classic

question of communications research: 'Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?' (2002 312)

As previously mentioned, the units of analyses to be content analyzed include both the stories/articles and photographs of elements within sports sections of the designated newspapers. The categories were developed *a priori* of the analysis and were based primarily off of the previous research of Stoldt, Vermillion, Ross, and Dittmore (2004) concerning mass media coverage patterns.

Two coders, working independently, categorized 473 elements within the sport sections. The inter-coder agreement rate for the independent coding process was 97.4 percent. Consensus coding procedures (Hawkins & Powers 1999; Stoldt, Smetana, & Miller 2000) were utilized to resolve differences that occurred in the independent coding stage. In the end, consensus coding resulted in 100 percent agreement on all coding of all elements. Each element was also measured, so the investigations could specify how much newspaper space (in square inches) was allocated by category throughout the sports sections.

ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Within the analyses, both univariate and bivariate analyses were executed. When dealing with how to measure the amount of coverage within the newspaper's sports sections, elements (including articles and photographs) were measured as the number of times- or frequency- occurring for univariate analyses; that is, coverage in this case refers explicitly to the number of elements (i.e. stories or pictures) out of the total number of sport news elements that were analyzed. The number of square inches, referred to as space, is useful for determining bivariate analyses. By developing a continuous or interval level variable (square inches) on the bivariate level more useful statistics are generated (Triola 2003) to investigate whether a significant relationship exists between minor league and major league coverage patterns. That is, square inches and the relationship between categories of source, type, and setting, are good representations of the amount of space dedicated to specific sport coverage and measure the "quality" of coverage.

Table 1: Percent (%) of Newspaper Coverage by Sport (N=473)

Variables	Frequency	Percent (%)
Total	473	100.0
Football	152	32.1
Baseball	80	16.9
Men's Basketball	39	8.2
Auto Racing	34	7.2
Men's Golf	26	5.5
Hockey	14	3.0
Men's Soccer	11	2.3
Men's Tennis	10	2.1
Women's Basketball	8	1.7
Outdoor Sports	8	1.7
Women's Tennis	6	1.3
Women's Golf	6	1.3
Women's Soccer	6	1.3
Men's Track & Field	5	1.1
Other	34	7.2
Multiple Sports	18	3.8
Boxing, Olympics, Mixed Tennis, Women's Track & Field, Mixed Track & Field	16	3.0

Regarding descriptive analyses, results indicate that four sports occurred the most frequently within the three sports sections. These sports were football (32.1% of coverage); baseball (16.9% of coverage), men's basketball (8.2% of coverage) and auto racing (7.2% of coverage) (See Table 1).

In relationship to which level of sport was the most frequently covered, the number of major-league professional sport news elements dominated the sports sections in comparison to minor leagues sports elements (51.0% vs. 6.3%). Collegiate sports were second (19.2%) followed by scholastic sports (7.6%). National-level coverage dominated the sports sections (45.2%) followed by state (20.9%), local (17.1%), regional (5.3%) and international elements (11.2%) (See Table 2).

Regarding the first research question: Which sports are represented by the most media coverage in major league and minor league sports? Results indicate football was the most frequently covered sport (28.2% of elements) of major league sports. Football was followed by baseball (19.1%), auto racing (11.6%), and men's golf (7.1%) respectively. Men's basketball accounted for 5.8 percent of the elements mentioned while hockey included 4.1 percent. There were numerous other sports within the major league category that accounted for anywhere between

Table 2: Percent (%) of Newspaper Coverage by Level Setting, Type, and Source (N=473)

Variables	Frequency	Percent (%)
Level		
Major	241	51.0
Minor	30	6.3
Collegiate	91	19.2
Scholastic	36	7.6
Amateur	49	10.4
Not Applicable	12	2.5
Multiple	14	3.0
Setting		
National	214	45.2
State	99	20.9
Local	81	17.1
Regional	25	5.3
International	53	11.2
Multiple	1	0.2
Type		
Game Advance	21	4.4
Results	161	34.0
Managerial	29	6.1
Season Preview	19	4.0
Other Hard News	62	13.1
Notes	57	12.1
Feature	71	15.0
Opinion	17	3.6
Jurisprudence	35	7.4
Reader Feedback	1	0.2
Source		
In-House	168	35.5
Wire	204	43.1
Could Not Tell	25	5.3
Both	76	16.1

0.4 percent and 3.7 percent, including women's basketball, both men's and women's tennis, track and field, soccer, and women's golf. The top five most represented sports within major league coverage, including football, baseball, auto racing, men's golf and men's basketball, account for over 70 percent of the major league elements given media coverage (Table 3).

In contrast to coverage patterns within major league sports, minor league sports coverage is dominated by only three sports, including baseball (66.7% of the elements), which garners most of the attention, football (13.3%), and hockey (10%). These three sports account for 90 percent of the elements categorized as minor league sports (Table 4).

The second research question investigated the relationship of the setting, source, and type of coverage of both major league and minor league sports. Specifically, to measure this relationship, cross-tabular

Table 3: Top Five Sports and Percent (%) Covered Within Major League Sports (N=241)

Sports	Frequency	Percent (%)	Cumulative %
Football	68	28.2	28.2
Baseball	46	19.1	47.3
Auto Racing	28	11.6	58.9
Men's Golf	17	7.1	66.0
Men's Basketball	14	5.8	71.8

Table 4: Top Sports and Percent (%) Covered Within Minor League Sports (N=30)

Sports	Frequency	Percent (%)	Cumulative %
Baseball	20	66.7	66.7
Football	4	13.3	80.0
Hockey	3	10.0	90.0

analyses were performed in conjunction with Chi-Square statistics as an effective way to analyze nominal data (Triola 2003). Regarding the relationship between major leagues and sport coverage, results indicate 73.8 percent of national sports elements were categorized as major league sports ($X^2=326.149$, $df=30$, $p<.001$). In sharp contrast, minor league sports were only 1.9 percent of the elements covered, which was significant, $p<.001$, with the local level providing the most coverage to minor league sports (32.1% of elements covered).

In relationship to the amount of sport coverage to source, results indicate that a great disparity exists between elements categorized as "Associated Press" (wire). Specifically, minor league sports only receive about 2.5 percent of the wire coverage published as compared to 70.1 percent of coverage to major leagues. A vast majority of minor league coverage, about 70 percent, comes from in-house writers that write regularly for local newspapers. The majority of in-house coverage, however, is devoted to major league sports (29.2% vs. 12.5%), not minor leagues ($X^2=114.036$, $df=18$, $p<.001$).

The relationship of the amount of sport elements with the type of coverage has also yielded expected results. Specifically, results indicate that over half (57%) of the coverage of minor league sports were simply labeled as "results" that provide the reader with basic coverage of the sports event, such as final scores and player statistics. Only 9.5 percent of minor league coverage is going towards elements noted as "game advance" (previews an upcoming sporting event), and only 5.6 percent of the elements being considered as "features" (detailed articles on teams, players, relationships, or recent

events). These results illustrate a low quality of sport coverage, that is, there are not a large percentage of stories in sport sections about minor league sports.

Major leagues, however, received 66.7 percent of the total "game advance" news and 54.9 percent of "features". Other categories that major league sport coverage dominated minor league coverage includes: "results" (55.3% vs. 10.6%), "managerial" elements, which detail discussion concerning sport strategies or possible plans of action (65.5% vs. 6.9%), "notes", which provided other interesting facts of games or events (63.2% vs. 3.5%), and "opinion" elements, which are opinion columns usually provided by editors or opinion writers (58.8% vs. 0%) ($X^2=301.533$, $df=54$, $p<.001$). These results, however, illustrate a greater quality of coverage for major league sports and help to influence the general public's perceptions regarding major league and minor league sports.

The final research question focused on space. Specifically, this question focused on whether a statistically significant difference existed between the number of square inches devoted to sports coverage of major league and minor league sports, which is in contrast to previous research questions that focus on the percentage of elements that are associated with specific categories. To analyze the difference of mean averages of square inches in news space, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted with the interval level variable of square inches among the categories of level of sport. The "level" of sport variable has possible values of: 1) major league sports; 2) minor league sports; 3) collegiate sports; 4) scholastic sports; 5) amateur sports; or 6) multiple

Table 5: Means of Newspaper Coverage in Square Inches Between Levels of Sport

Level of Sport	Mean	N	SD
Total	56.97	473	52.25
Major League	52.93	241	43.39
Minor League	54.29	30	47.40
Collegiate	62.13	91	59.42
Scholastic	88.52	36	80.26
Amateur	45.97	49	47.39
Multiple	47.47	14	50.04
NA	66.90	12	58.03

sports.

Results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$, $F = 3.188$, $df = 6$) between the square inches, or space, between the categories of major, minor, collegiate, scholastic, amateur, and multiple within the "level" variable. In order to locate where these differences specifically occur, a Scheffe post hoc test was conducted. The results of the Scheffe test, which compensates for smaller categorical sizes by utilizing the harmonic mean (SPSS 11.0 Syntax Reference Guide, Volume II, 2002 230), indicate that significant differences in square inches were not located between major league and minor league. Although the ANOVA revealed significant differences, the post hoc statistical test did not significantly locate those differences exclusively between major league and minor league sports ($p < .15$). Moreover, the average amount of square inches devoted to major league sports was 52.93 inches as compared to 54.29 inches for minor league sports (see Table 5). We discuss this unexpected finding below.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The sport elements from the newspapers were analyzed to present both descriptive (univariate) and bivariate findings. To answer the first two research questions, elements were presented in percentages, which expressed the number of elements, out of the total number of elements categorized, that were to be located within each descriptive category. The third research question attempts to focus more on the "quality" of coverage by focusing on various dimensions of sport coverage and the amount of space, in square inches, given to each news element. The "quality" of coverage, such as news elements as diverse as opinion columns, special features, managerial strategies, and/or game advance items, identifies ways that major league sports are favored over minor

league sports. This inequality in coverage patterns are important, because they advantage major league sports by informing potential sport consumers, which generates increased fan enthusiasm for these sports as compared to minor league sports and sporting events. Minor league coverage, while similar in square inches is not represented well in the variety of "quality" coverage (e.g. game advance items, opinion columns or discussions of managerial strategies) and appears mostly as "results" that provide simple statistics and minimal analysis. Other important interpretations of statistical results are further provided.

After analyzing the statistical results some interesting findings were discovered. Specifically, Table 1 indicates that almost 1/3 of all newspaper coverage was devoted to football. The research was done, however, during the summer months. Football, excluding minor league football such as the Arena Football League (AFL) or NFL Europe, does not take place during the summertime, yet it dominated the number of news elements. The first research question dealt with which sports garnered the most attention within both major league and minor league sports. Within major league sports, football was the most frequently covered sport (see Table 3) and garnered more news elements than baseball (28.2% vs. 19.1%), which plays the majority of its season during the summer months.

Within minor league sports, as expected, minor league baseball received most of the coverage with 66.7 percent of the categorized elements (see Table 4). What is surprising, however, is that football received 13.3 percent of the coverage as compared to only 10 percent of the coverage for minor league hockey. While hockey has a well-developed minor league system, minor league football, such as the AFL or other semi-professional leagues, received slightly more news ele-

ments devoted to their sport. This result helps to lend credence to the popular notion that football is the most popular sport in the US. Additionally, in keeping with previous ideas and scholarships, major league sports, especially football, dominated the coverage in these sources of data by representing a large percentage of the elements categorized.

The second research question focused on the differences between major league and minor league sports in reference to the setting of the sport, the type of sport, and source of coverage. Since results indicated that an overwhelming majority of national coverage (73.8% vs. 1.9%) was given to major league sports over minor league sports, we are able to see some of the major differences between primary and secondary labor markets within sports. Mass media coverage generates profitable enthusiasm, such as psychic income² (Li et al 2001), and increases attendance levels, which in turn can greatly affect players' salaries and profits to sport organizations. The inequality of newspaper coverage has the ability to illustrate possible disparities between sports, thereby reflecting their classification as in the primary or secondary sector. Howard and Crompton (2004) note the importance of the media in helping fledgling sports, such as the XGames, develop, expand, and ultimately prosper. The results illustrate some divisions between primary and secondary sectors. Media coverage, it was surmised, is a characteristic of sports in the primary sector.

The same trend is echoed in the number of elements from the "Associated Press" (wire) elements. Specifically, 70.1 percent (as compared to 2.5%) of wire coverage was devoted to the major league sports. What we are able to see is the power of the large, nationally based news organizations on local newspapers and the emphasis on major league sports over other sports. Even within the local newspapers in the minor league cities, more coverage was given to major league sports (29.2% vs. 12.5%) over local minor league sports. When coverage was given to minor league sports, most of the coverage tended to be in the form of game results and individual player statistics- a low quality of coverage. Additionally, with newspapers wanting to keep production costs to a minimum, more "Associated Press" stories are probably used. The "Associated

Press" elements are almost exclusively devoted to major league elements. Thus, coverage content is an important contributor.

Another telling example of how secondary labor market characteristics permeate minor league sports can be seen in opinion columns. Major league sports received 58.8 percent of the opinion elements, while minor league sports received zero percent. Not a single opinion or editorial column was devoted to minor league sports, illustrating how the media helps to not only promote minor league sports as secondary, but also in maintaining the dual labor market structure. Once a sport is labeled as a secondary sector sport, either implicitly or explicitly, the mass media will cover the sport accordingly; that is, minor league sports receive less coverage. Less coverage means, theoretically, less support from the general public, which manifests itself in more modest training and playing facilities because of a lack of local support (and the tax revenue that the local public generates).

The final research question focused on whether a statistically significant difference exists between the number of square inches of space devoted to major league and minor league sports. Interestingly enough, minor league sports actually had a larger mean average of area space covered (54.29 square inches vs. 52.39 square inches) as compared to major league sports (see Table 5). This finding, however, illustrates two things: 1) this statistic should be taken with caution because of the larger disparity in number of elements covered (241 major league elements vs. 30 minor league elements); and 2) that once local coverage was given, a good amount of space was devoted to the news element. The inability of the Scheffe test (post hoc ANOVA test) to significantly identify the differences between major league and minor league coverage (in square inches) helps to illustrate that while inequality exists between the number of elements in newspaper sports section devoted to minor league sports, the relative size and space (square inches) of the elements do not seem to be statistically different. The size and space of the news elements, however, are not the only way to measure "quality" coverage, as previously stated.

This finding also speaks to the dynamics of news value application. Since very little space was devoted to minor league sports

coverage from the national level, it was minor league sports at the local or regional level that drew coverage. More specifically, minor league organizations with the status of hometown teams received significant coverage. However, they do not necessarily have the prominence necessary to receive coverage in markets outside their local community. It is the organizations in primary markets, i.e., major league organizations, which enjoy enough prominence to warrant coverage, proximity notwithstanding.

Using the Dual Labor Market Theory as a framework, these findings help to flesh out possible explanations. While minor league sports do not receive as much coverage as others (because of their lower status in the secondary sector) these sports do provide an opportunity for individuals to acquire extra skills necessary for them to be successful in major league sports. Other characteristics of minor league sports indicate their place within secondary labor markets. Ron Young (2005), who writes for *Minor League News*, identifies the problem of getting Latin players the proper visas and work permits. Specifically, in a post 9-11 country increased restrictions upon workers entering the US have led to many minor league baseball teams (especially in the Rookie/Pony Leagues and A or AA baseball) having trouble fielding teams (Young 2005). This example illustrates the idea that workers within secondary labor markets may not possess the necessary characteristics (i.e. proper working status) necessary for advancement to the primary sector.

Limitations

While the authors believe that the Dual Labor Market Theory helps to both inform discussions regarding major and minor league sports coverage and aids in furthering this theory as a suitable labor market framework, there are some issues that future researchers in this area should be aware of. Specifically, the definition of what constitutes a "minor" league sport is crucial. This particular project adheres more to the definition provided by Li et al (2001) that provides two criteria: 1) minor league sports decide not to compete economically against other larger and more established leagues, and 2) the league operates in a limited geographical region, and

it becomes inherently noncompetitive in both the sporting and economic senses to the league playing at the major level. (Li et al 2001 10)

Coakley (2004), however, posits the idea that major league sports are not "major" in the professional sense, but that the "major" appears to refer to cultural power and acceptance mechanisms. Specifically, Coakley states that

unlike male professional athletes in top revenue producing leagues, athletes in most minor leagues and low-revenue sports have few rights and control over their careers. (2004 395)

This concept of a "major" league sport seems based on access to power structures, and incorporates non-revenue generating sports, women's sports, and other alternative sports into the moniker of "minor" league sports.

The finding that major league sports are dominated by male, revenue generating sports is in keeping with the previous literature (i.e. Sperber 2000). Also, results of the analyses indicate that Coakley's (2004) idea of what constitutes a "major" league sport might be the best way of conceptualizing the difference between "major" league and "minor" league sports. In particular, if this definition of a "minor" league sport was used, then there would have been more "minor" league sports, which would have altered the statistics and could impact future findings.

Overall findings indicate major league sports garner a vast majority of sports coverage, even in minor league sports cities. While there is not a significant difference in space (based upon square inches) between major league and minor league sports, there are significant differences between major and minor league sports in reference to the setting, type, and source of the coverage; major league sports dominate news media coverage in most categories, thus representing that the quality of media coverage appears more important as compared to the space, measured in square inches. The difference in media coverage between major league and minor league sports illustrates the inequality in sport media coverage. The coverage is skewed toward major league sports in all aspects, such as the frequency of coverage and the amount of space used to cover

the sport. These inequalities highlight and reaffirm differences between the primary and secondary labor markets within the sport entertainment industry.

END NOTES

- ¹ Employment stability could, however, be called into question especially in the NFL where many contracts have very little money guaranteed, relatively speaking, and the life of the contract can be terminated by the team at any moment.
- ² Psychic income can be thought of as the money that is generated by a sport organization as a result of the local community's emotional or psychological attachment to the organization.

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