



# Relevant hetoric

## Roger Goodell's Image Repair on the Ray Rice Suspension



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## Introduction



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The NFL has experienced crises in recent years, including criticism of players who kneeled during the national anthem. In February 2014 Baltimore Ravens running back Ray Rice assaulted his fiancé, Janay Palmer, in an elevator in the Revel Casino Hotel in Atlantic City, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> A video taken from outside the elevator was released on February 19 which showed him dragging her out of the elevator. On July 24 the National Football League suspended Rice for

two games. On August 28 the NFL announced a harsher domestic violence policy. The controversy erupted again on September 8, when a second video from *inside* the elevator was released which showed Rice punching Palmer. Rice was terminated by the Baltimore Ravens and suspended indefinitely by the NFL. NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell attempted to repair the NFL's image. This essay investigates the image repair employed here. First, a timeline of events is presented. Then, the accusations are described. Finally, Goodell's two stage image repair (before and after release of the second video) is analyzed and evaluated.

Table 1. Bien's Timeline of events<sup>2</sup>

<b>February 15</b>	Ray Rice assaults fiancé Janay Rice in casino elevator
<b>February 19</b>	TMZ releases video from outside the elevator showing Rice dragging Palmer out of the elevator
<b>March 27</b>	Rice indicted for assault
<b>March 28</b>	Rice and Palmer marry
<b>May 1</b>	Rice applies for pretrial intervention program (accepted May 21)
<b>July 24</b>	NFL suspends Rice for two games
<b>August 1</b>	Goodell holds press conference in Canton, OH
<b>August 28</b>	NFL announces harsher domestic violence policy
<b>September 8</b>	TMZ releases video from inside the elevator showing Rice punching Palmer; Ravens terminates Rice's contract; NFL suspends Rice indefinitely
<b>September 9</b>	Goodell interviewed by Norah O'Donnell on CBS "This Morning"
<b>September 19</b>	Goodell holds press conference about NFL's domestic violence policy

## The Accusations against the NFL

Rice's suspension provoked outrage among many who argued that the NFL was not adequately responding to domestic violence. For example, Dockerman wrote in *Time* that

Considering his actions, Rice's light punishment [a two game suspension] is a joke. NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell has suspended players for longer because of DUIs, smoking pot and illegal tattoos. Fourteen

other NFL players have been suspended in 2014, all for drug use—performance-enhancing or otherwise. Cleveland Browns wide receiver Josh Gordon is currently appealing a one-year suspension for marijuana use. Indianapolis Colts outside linebacker Robert Mathis will sit out four games for taking illegal fertility drugs in hopes of getting his wife pregnant, according to Mathis. Again, Rice will sit for just two games.<sup>3</sup>

After the second video was released, and Rice was suspended indefinitely, the concerns shifted to whether the NFL had seen the second video when it issued the initial two-game suspension. The NFL's reputation was threatened by this incident so Roger Goodell, Commissioner of the NFL, developed several image repair messages to address this controversy. This essay applies Image Repair theory to the discourse on this issue.

### **Method: Image Repair Discourse**

Image Repair Theory was designed to provide a more comprehensive list of strategies for repairing an image than was available at the time. Benoit draws on several sources to develop his theory.<sup>4</sup> He argues that a person's (or a group's or an organization's) image, face, or reputation is extremely important.<sup>5</sup> Threats to image are pervasive in society so it is vital to understand messages designed to repair a tarnished image. Five general strategies of image repair discourse can be identified; three have specific variants or tactics for a total of 14 options for image repair (See Table 2). Every accusation has two components: blame and offensiveness;<sup>6</sup> these concepts correspond to Fishbein



and Ajzen's concepts of belief (blame) and value (offensiveness), the two components of an attitude.<sup>7</sup> In this case the belief (blame) is that Roger Goodell and the NFL suspended Ray Rice for two games; the value (offensiveness) is that the 'punishment' of a two-game suspension is far too light. Together, this belief and this value combine to suggest that the NFL does not really care about domestic violence.



The image repair strategies can address one or the other element (blame, offensiveness). It is also important to note that threats to an accused's reputation arise from audience perceptions of the accused and his or her actions. The accused's defense may well

rely on information about the world and the people and events in it (commonly referred to as "facts") but what ultimately matters is the perceptions about the accusations held by the audience. Each of the 14 image repair strategies will be discussed in this section.

### *Denial*

Simple denial has three variants. Those accused of wrong-doing can deny that the offensive act occurred, deny that they are responsible for the offensive act, or deny that the act was actually harmful. Furthermore, a rhetor can attempt to shift the blame for the offensive act to another person or organization. If another person (or group, or organization) actually committed the offensive act, the accused should not be held responsible for that act. These image repair



**Table 2. Image Restoration Strategies**

<b>STRATEGY</b>	<b>Key Characteristic</b>	<b>EXAMPLE</b>
<b>Denial</b>		
Simple Denial	did not perform act	Tonya Harding denied participating in attack on Nancy Kerrigan
Shift the blame	another performed act	someone else stole your CD, not me
<b>Evasion of Responsibility</b>		
Provocation	responded to act of another	I broke your vase because you ridiculed me
Defeasibility	lack of information or ability	late to meeting: wasn't told of room change
Accident	mishap	Icy road caused me to lose control of my car
Good intentions	meant well	I meant to buy you an anniversary present, but I forgot
<b>Reducing offensiveness of event</b>		
Bolstering	stress good traits	athlete stresses charity work
Minimization	act not serious	it's no big deal I broke your cell phone; it was old and now you can get a new one
Differentiation	act less offensive than similar acts	I borrowed your laptop, I didn't steal it
Transcendence	more important values	I used up our savings to buy food for our child
Attack Accuser	reduce credibility of accuser	accused admits that he has lied before
Compensation	reimburse victim	disabled movie-goers given free passes after denied admission to movie
<b>Corrective Action</b>		
	plan to solve/prevent	offer to dry-clean shirt stained by a spilled drink
	recurrence of problem	we will train our staff to serve better
<b>Mortification</b>	apologize	Lance Armstrong admitted using banned drugs

strategies concern blame (except for the variant of denial that argues the act was in fact harmful).

### *Evade Responsibility*

This general approach to image repair can assume four forms. The accused may assert that the offensive act was a response to another offensive act committed by the alleged victim, so that the persuader's response should be considered a reasonable reaction to that provocation. Defeasibility claims that the persuader lacked the knowledge or abil-



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ity to avoid committing the offensive act. A persuader can also argue that the offense was accident. Fourth, the accused can assert that the act had been performed with good intentions. Any of these strategies, if accepted by the audience, could reduce the accused's responsibility for the offensive act.

### *Reduce Offensiveness*

Six different arguments can be used to diminish the apparent offensiveness of the act. First, a persuader can bolster his or her own image to try to strengthen the audience's positive feelings toward him or her. Here the accused hopes that favorable feelings arising from bolstering can help offset the negative strategies feelings associated with the offensive act. Minimization argues that the act in question is not really as offensive as it appears. Differenti-

ation attempts to distinguish the act in question from other actions that appear similar are really more offensive than the accused's act. Transcendence tries to justify the act by placing it in a more favorable context, arguing that the act also furthers more important values. A persuader can attack his or her accusers, hoping to reduce the credibility of the accusations (or to imply the victim deserved what happened). The tactic of compensation offers the victim money, goods, or services to help reduce the negative attitudes toward the persuader. These six strategies may reduce the apparent offensiveness of the act, helping repair the accused's image.

### *Corrective Action*

Corrective action is a proposal or proposals designed to repair the damage caused by the offensive act. This strategy can take one of two forms: The accused can promise to restore the state of affairs before the offensive act (repairing the damage) or the persuader can promise to prevent recurrence of the offensive act (preventing future offensive acts).

### *Mortification*

The final image repair strategy admits that the accused committed the offensive act. An apparently sincere apology could help restore the accused's image with the intended audience. This strategy can take various forms, including admitting guilt, asking for forgiveness, expressing regret or remorse, and apologizing. There is no accepted standard for which of these elements must be present for a defense to qualify as "an apology." Furthermore, in English the

phrase “I’m sorry” is ambiguous. An apology could be an expression of guilt (“I’m sorry I hurt you with my offensive act”) but it could also be merely an expression of sympathy (“I’m sorry for what happened to you”). Some persuaders may attempt to exploit this ambiguity, hoping that the audience will accept “I’m sorry” as an apology without actually confessing to any misdeeds. Arguably the weakest form of apology is a statement such as “I’m sorry if what I did offended you,” which does not concede that the act in question was offensive (*you* may have been offended but *I* did nothing wrong).



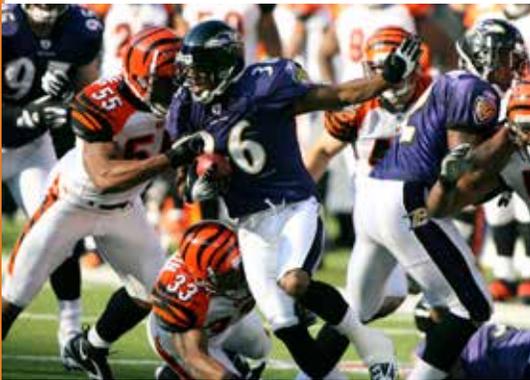
Photo Credit: AC Rachael Loftis

<http://www.nellis.af.mil/News/Photos/igphoto/2000832464/>

Several studies have investigated image repair in sports or athletics. Nelson looked at defenses of Billie Jean King after revelations that the tennis star had engaged in an affair with her former secretary.<sup>8</sup> American figure skater Tonya Harding

was accused of instigating the attack on rival Nancy Kerrigan prior to the 1994 Winter Olympics.<sup>9</sup> Brazeal investigated the image repair strategies of Terrell Owens, a football player who was criticized his team, the Philadelphia Eagles.<sup>10</sup> Bruce and Tini apply image repair theory to public relations efforts on behalf of the Australasian men’s rugby league cap scandal.<sup>11</sup> Fortunato<sup>12</sup> and Len-Rios<sup>13</sup> studied the Duke University lacrosse sexual assault scandal. Cyclist Floyd

Landis was accused of using illegal performance enhancing substances to win the Tour de France in 2006; Glantz analyzed Landis's image repair discourse.<sup>14</sup> Wen, Yu, and Benoit investigated defenses of Taiwanese major league pitcher Wang Chien-ming after he lost a game.<sup>15</sup> They contrasted Wang's defenses with those issued on his behalf by newspapers in Taiwan. Multiple Olympic medalist swimmer Michael Phelps responded to criticism that he smoked marijuana.<sup>16</sup> Benoit analyzed Tiger Woods' image repair effort after disclosure of his marital infidelity.<sup>17</sup> Blaney, Lippert, and Smith's book offers many other analyses of image repair in sports.<sup>18</sup> Benoit investigated defenses of the New Orleans Saints' football bounty program and cyclist Lance Armstrong's defense on *Oprah* against charges of doping.<sup>19</sup> This study reported here critically analyzes Roger Goodell's image repair effort on the Rice-Palmer incident.



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The NFL is an extremely popular sport. In 2015, for example, over two million fans followed the NFL on twitter, over 9 million are Facebook followers, and over 200 million people watched an NFL event on broadcast or cable TV.<sup>20</sup> Not surprisingly, Isidore reported that the NFL was about to begin “what is almost certain to be another record money-making season. The NFL raked in \$12 billion in revenue last year, up about 16% from the 2013-14 season. And that figure is expected to hit \$13 billion this year.”<sup>21</sup> So, the National Football League's reputation clearly merits scholarly attention.

## Analysis of Goodell's Defense

Goodell's image repair on the Ray Rice assault moved through two phases reflecting the events surrounding Ray Rice.

### NFL's Initial Defense

Goodell's initial stance on Ray Rice's punishment was articulated at a press conference for the 2014 NFL Hall of Fame inductions. He justified the punishment, arguing that "If it's a first offense, someone who's had a strong background of being very responsible in the community, doing the right things and not violating other policies or anything else that reflect poorly on the NFL, then we would take that into account."<sup>22</sup> This statement relies on minimization (first offense) and bolstering (community service). About a month later Goodell extended the NFL's initial response by announcing a more stringent domestic violence policy (corrective action).

Goodell opened the September 19 press conference with a prepared statement followed by a question and answer session. He acknowledged that "the NFL sets an example" for others; unfortunately. . . we have seen all too much of the NFL doing wrong." This statement leads directly into mortification: "I said this before, back on August 28<sup>th</sup>, and I say it again now – I got it wrong in the handling of the Ray Rice matter. I am sorry for that. I got it wrong on a number of levels –



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<https://www.flickr.com/photos/zennie62/14327509501>

from the process that I led to the decision I reached.” This is a very clear instance of mortification. Goodell admits wrong-doing; he squarely takes responsibility: “*I got it wrong,*” “from the process that *I* led to the decision *I* reached” (emphasis added). He explicitly accepts the blame for the offensive act with no attempt to shift or spread the blame to others. The Commissioner also said he was sorry. During the question and answer period, Goodell explains that “I’m not satisfied the way we’ve handled it from the get-go... I made a mistake. I’m not satisfied with the process we went through, I’m not satisfied with the con-



clusions.” “I let myself down, I let everybody else down. And for that I’m sorry,” another expression of regret. “I acknowledged my mistake. August 28<sup>th</sup>, I said, “we didn’t get this right.” In the question and answer period he reiterated that “we acknowledge

the mistake, my mistake.” This defense acknowledges that Goodell made mistakes (in the decision-making process he led and in the decision he made”), he explicitly accepts responsibility for these mistakes (“my mistakes”), and he repeatedly says he is sorry for making these mistakes. This statement contains no weaseling and does not rely on strategic ambiguity.

The second strategy Goodell employed in his defense was corrective action. He said that “we’re going to do better moving forward.” “We’re going to correct [these mistakes] and that’s what we’re going to fix.” Goodell’s defense did not stop at generalities; he detailed four steps he would take.

First, the Commissioner reported that he had instigated an investigation: “I asked former FBI Director Robert Mueller to conduct an independent investigation to answer the questions raised about our process in reviewing Ray Rice’s conduct.” Furthermore, Goodell explained that “I pledged that Director Mueller will have full cooperation and access.” Selecting a former FBI director should quell suspicions that the investigation would be a whitewash. Goodell also promised action based on this investigation: “I promise you that any shortcomings he finds. . . will lead to swift action. The same mistakes can never be repeated.” Goodell commissioned an independent investigation, promised cooperation, and promised action to fix these mistakes.

The second component of specific corrective action was that “the entire NFL would receive comprehensive information on resources and support systems for victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.” Goodell said that he had already started implementing this program: “Earlier today, each NFL club and all of our league office locations received information about advocacy and support organizations in their communities.” He assured his audience that this information program would be comprehensive: “Our teams and league staff – everyone – will participate in education sessions starting in the next month – followed by training programs.” This program should help the NFL address any problems that occur in the future.





Third, the Commissioner announced that “We have entered into a long-term partnership with two leading organizations – the National Domestic Violence Hotline and the National Sexual Violence Resource Center.” These partnerships should also help the NFL deal with problems that arise in the future.

After investigating, developing education programs, and entering into partnerships, Goodell declared that “We strongly – strongly – condemn and will punish behavior that is totally unacceptable. Domestic violence, including child abuse, sexual assault, irresponsible ownership or handling of firearms, the illegal use of alcohol or drugs – these activities must be condemned and stopped through education and discipline.” This policy should reduce the likelihood of future abuse and, if misdeeds occur, punish inappropriate behavior.

After the second video surfaced, the NFL suspended Rice indefinitely. Questions immediately arose concerning whether the NFL had seen the second video before its public release.

Goodell enacted the strategy of denial in several utterances. First, in an interview with Norah O’Donnell of CBS, he unequivocally declared that the NFL had not seen the second video when it issued the two game suspension: “No one in the NFL” saw the second video before Monday’s release of the second video.<sup>23</sup> Goodell noted that “when we make a decision we want to have all the information that’s available” and observed that “we asked for it on several occasions.”



He explained that they did not have the second video because “the criminal justice system and law enforcement were following the laws and doing what they needed to do to make sure they followed the criminal activity. This is an ongoing criminal investigation.” He explained that when issuing the two game suspension, “we certainly didn’t know what was on the tape.” The NFL lacked the information necessary to make the right decision.

### Evaluation

After an initial misstep where he attempted to justify the NFL’s initial two-game suspension Goodell produced a well-crafted defense. He clearly admitted making mistakes. He made no attempt to squirm out of the cross-hairs. He expressed his remorse. Then he implemented and announced well-designed corrective action initiating an investigation of NFL procedures, a program to inform players and staff about support systems, a partnership with two national organizations, and a strong policy of punishment for offenders. He also employed denial, arguing that the NFL had not seen the second video when it announced the initial suspension. This was an appropriate response to the accusations against the NFL and Goodell.



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Corrective action has played a role in several image repair efforts. Some who were defending against charges of wrong-doing employed this strategy ineffectually. For example, in 1984 a gas leak at a Union Carbide facility in

Bhopal, India, thousands died and hundreds of thousands were injured. The company's corrective action (aid to victims) was ineffective in large part because it failed to offer any plans to prevent similar tragedies.<sup>24</sup> Sears' auto repair was accused of fraud. Again, corrective action was too little too late.<sup>25</sup> The same can be said of image repair by Dow Corning after charges of health risks from breast implants.<sup>26</sup> Newt Gingrich was accused of improper acceptance of a multi-million dollar book deal. His corrective action (returning the advance) only postponed when he received the money and did not respond to accusations of improprieties.<sup>27</sup> USAir attempted to clean its reputation after one of its jets crashed in 1994, killing 132 people. Benoit and Czerwinski characterized its proposals as pseudo-corrective action: They changes were not designed to actually improve air safety but to persuade the public that USAir's aircraft were already safe (despite the crash).<sup>28</sup> President George W. Bush gave a speech on the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina; he was accused of being responsible for a slow and ineffectual response from FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency). The corrective action he recounted was too little too late.<sup>29</sup> Grunenthal is the company which manufactured thalidomide, responsible for birth defects in the children of mothers who took this drug. The company apologized only after almost 50 years and the corrective action it reported was too vague to repair its image.<sup>30</sup>

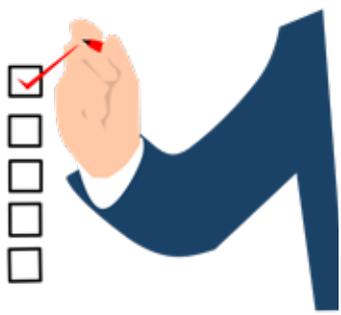


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Other instances of corrective action were more effective. For example, after Tylenol capsules were poisoned in 1982 the company introduced tamper-resistant packaging, an effective response to this crisis.<sup>31</sup> President Ronald Reagan's image repair effort in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal only began to restore his reputation after he apologized and implemented corrective action.<sup>32</sup> In 1991 AT&T's long distance service was interrupted. After accepting responsibility, it promised large investments in equipment to prevent another occurrence, an effective defense.<sup>33</sup> The introduction of HealthCare.gov experienced numerous problems. President Barack Obama apologized and explained corrective action. Considering the highly partisan atmosphere, his defense was generally effective.<sup>34</sup> British Petroleum employed corrective action following the Gulf oil spill. An interesting component of its defense was reports of successes in its clean-up.<sup>35</sup> It is clear that corrective action can be an effective image repair effort but it is also obvious that the success of this strategy is not guaranteed.

### Conclusion

After NFL running back Ray Rice assaulted Janay Palmer, the NFL suspended him for two games. This punishment was deemed as inadequate and outrage erupted. NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell initially (August 1, 2014) tried to justify this punishment as appropriate with minimization and bolstering. On Septem-



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ber 8, the second video showing Rice punching Palmer came out and the NFL suspended the running back indefinitely. Goodell denied that the NFL had had access to the video prior to its public release. However, on September 19, 2014, he held a press conference where he admitted mistakes and expressed remorse (mortification) and announced a comprehensive plan of corrective action, part of which had already begun. This image repair effort was well-designed and appropriate.



### Notes

<sup>1</sup>See Louis Bien, "A complete timeline of the Ray Rice assault case." *Sbnation.com*, November 28, 2014, Accessed November 29, 2016, <http://www.sbnation.com/nfl/2014/5/23/5744964/ray-rice-arrest-asault-statement-apology-ravens>; and Don Van Natta, Jr. & Kevin Van Valkenburg, "Rice case: purposeful misdirection by team, scant investigation by NFL." *ESPN*, September 19, 2014; accessed June 2, 2016, [http://espn.go.com/espn/otl/story/\\_/id/11551518/how-ray-rice-scandal-unfolded-baltimore-ravens-roger-goodell-nfl](http://espn.go.com/espn/otl/story/_/id/11551518/how-ray-rice-scandal-unfolded-baltimore-ravens-roger-goodell-nfl).

<sup>2</sup>Bien, "A complete timeline of the Ray Rice assault case."

<sup>3</sup>Eliana Dockterman, "The NFL needs to take domestic violence seriously." *Time*. July 25, 2014. Accessed June 2, 2016, <http://time.com/3032588/ray-rice-nfl-domestic-violence-suspended/>

<sup>4</sup>Kenneth Burke, *The rhetoric of religion*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of literary form*. 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Marvin B. Scott & Stanford M. Lyman, "Accounts." *American Sociological Review*, 33, (1968):46-62; and B. L. Ware, & Wil A. Linkugel, "They spoke in defense of themselves: On the generic criticism of *apologia*." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59, (1973):273-282.

<sup>5</sup>William L. Benoit, *Accounts, excuses, apologies: A theory of image restoration discourse*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995a); Willilam L. Benoit, W. L. *Accounts, excuses, apologies: Image Repair Theory and Research: A theory of image restoration strategies*, 2nd ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015); W. Timothy Coombs, *Ongoing crisis communication: Planning, managing, and responding*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2012); and Keith Michael Hearit, *Crisis management by apology: Corporate response to allegations of wrong-doing*. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006).

<sup>6</sup>Anita Pomerantz, "Attributions of responsibility: Blamings." *Sociology* 12 (1978): 115-121.

<sup>7</sup>Martin Fishbein, M., and Icek Ajzen, *Predicting and changing behavior: The reasoned action approach*. (New York: Psychology Press, 2010).

<sup>8</sup>Jeffrey Nelson, J. "The defense of Billie Jean King." *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 48, (1984): 92-102.

<sup>9</sup>William L. Benoit and Robert Hanczor, "The Tonya Harding controversy: An analysis of image repair strategies." *Communication Quarterly*, 42, (1994): 416-433.

<sup>10</sup>LeeAnn M. Brazeal. "The image repair strategies of Terrell Owens." *Public Relations Review*, 34, (2008): 145-150.

<sup>11</sup>Toni Bruce & Tahlia Tini. "Unique crisis response strategies in sports public relations: Rugby league and the case for diversion." *Public Relations Review*, 34, (2008):108-115.

<sup>12</sup>John A. Fortunato. "Restoring a reputation: The Duke University lacrosse scandal." *Public Relations Review*, 34, (2008):116-123.

<sup>13</sup>Maria E. Len-Rios. "Image repair strategies, local news portrayals and crisis state: A case study of Duke University's lacrosse team crisis." *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 4, (2010):267-287.

<sup>14</sup>Mark Glantz. "The Floyd Landis doping scandal: Implications for image repair discourse." *Public Relations Review*, 30, (2009):157-163.

<sup>15</sup>Wei-chun Wen, Tzu-hsiang Yu, & William L. Benoit. "Our hero can't be wrong: A case study of collectivist image repair in Taiwan." *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 2, (2009):174-192.





<sup>16</sup>Joseph Walsh & Sheila M. McAllister-Spooner. "Analysis of the image repair discourse in the Michael Phelps controversy." *Public Relations Review*, 37, (2011):157-162.

<sup>17</sup>William L. Benoit. "Tiger Woods' image repair: Could he hit one out of the rough?" In *Repairing the athlete's image: Studies in sports image restoration*, ed. J. R. Blaney, L. R. Lippert, & J. S. Smith. (Lanham, MD: Lexington-Books: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 89-96.

<sup>18</sup>*Repairing the athlete's image: Studies in sports image restoration*, ed. J. R. Blaney, L. R. Lippert, & J. S. Smith. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013).

<sup>19</sup>William L. Benoit. *Accounts, excuses, apologies: Image Repair Theory and Research: A theory of image restoration strategies*, 2nd ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015).

<sup>20</sup>Statista. "National Football League (NFL) - Statistics & Facts, 2015." Accessed June 3, 2016.<http://www.statista.com/topics/963/national-football-league/>.

<sup>21</sup>Chris Isidore. "NFL revenue: Here comes another record season." *CNN*, September 10, 2015. Accessed November 28, 2016, <http://money.cnn.com/2015/09/10/news/companies/nfl-revenue-profits/>.

<sup>22</sup>CBS/AP. "Goodell defends NFL's 2-game suspension of Rice for domestic violence." August 1, 2014. Accessed 6/2/16: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/roger-goodell-defends-nfls-2-game-suspension-of-ray-rice-for-domestic-violence/>

<sup>23</sup>Randy Miller. "Ray Rice video: Read the transcript of NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell's interview with CBS." *NJ.com*. September 9, 2014. Accessed September 10, 2014, [http://www.nj.com/rutgersfootball/index.ssf/2014/09/ray\\_rice\\_vieo\\_read\\_the\\_transcript\\_of\\_nfl\\_commissioner\\_roger\\_goodells\\_interview\\_with\\_cbs.html](http://www.nj.com/rutgersfootball/index.ssf/2014/09/ray_rice_vieo_read_the_transcript_of_nfl_commissioner_roger_goodells_interview_with_cbs.html)

<sup>24</sup>William L. Benoit. *Accounts, excuses, apologies: A theory of image restoration discourse*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

<sup>25</sup>William L. Benoit. "Sears' repair of its auto service image: Image restoration discourse in the corporate sector." *Communication Studies*, 46, (1995):89-105.

<sup>26</sup>Susan L. Brinson & William L. Benoit. "Dow Corning's image repair strategies in the breast implant crisis." *Communication Quarterly*, 44, (1996):29-41.

<sup>27</sup>Kimberly A. Kennedy & William L. Benoit. "The Newt Gingrich book deal controversy: A case study in self-defense rhetoric." *Southern Communication Journal*, 63, (1997):197-216.

<sup>28</sup>William L. Benoit & Anne Czerwinski. "A critical analysis of USAir's image repair discourse." *Business Communication Quarterly*, 60, (1997):38-57.

<sup>29</sup>William L. Benoit & Jayne R. Henson. "President Bush's image repair discourse on Hurricane Katrina." *Public Relations Review*, 35, (2009):40-46.

<sup>30</sup>William L. Benoit. *Accounts, excuses, apologies: Image Repair Theory and Research: A theory of image restoration strategies*, 2nd ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015).

<sup>31</sup>William L. Benoit & James J. Lindsey. "Argument strategies: Antidote to Tylenol's poisoned image." *Journal of the American Forensic Association*, 23, (1987):136-146.

<sup>32</sup>William L. Benoit, Paul Gullifor, & Daniel Panici. "President Reagan's defensive discourse on the Iran-Contra affair." *Communication Studies*, 42, (1991):272-294.



<sup>33</sup>William L. Benoit & Susan Brinson. "AT&T: Apologies are not enough." *Communication Quarterly*, 42, (1994):75-88.

<sup>34</sup>William L. Benoit, W. L. "President Barack Obama's image repair on HealthCare.gov." *Public Relations Review*, 40, (2014):733-738. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.07.003>.

<sup>35</sup>William L. Benoit. *Accounts, excuses, apologies: Image Repair Theory and Research: A theory of image restoration strategies*, 2nd ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015).