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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Christie Morgan Kleinmann entitled "The Impact of Gender Frame Sponsorship on the Frame Process in Sport." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communication and Information.

Michelle Violanti, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Lisa L. Fall, Candace White, Joy T. DeSensi

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Michelle Violanti

M. Violanti, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Candace White

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor and
Dean of Graduate Studies

THE IMPACT OF GENDER FRAME SPONSORSHIP ON THE FRAME PROCESS IN SPORT

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Christie Morgan Kleinmann

May 2005

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2005b
.K55

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DEDICATION

This dissertation to dedicated to my husband
for his unfailing love and support
and to the joys of my life, Caleb and Kinsley.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my committee for their time, expertise and guidance in the development and review of this dissertation. The members of my committee were M. Violanti (committee chair), J. DeSensi, L. Fall, R. Hardin and C. White. I want to extend a special thanks to M. Violanti for her guidance and direction in the dissertation and throughout my program of study. The time and attention devoted to me, my research and career were invaluable.

I want to thank my parents for their willing sacrifice and continual encouragement throughout my academic career. Finally, I want to thank my husband for his love and support during the past three years. The demands of work and family were often a difficult balance for everyone, but one that was achieved through prayer and sacrifice. I cannot thank my family enough for helping me achieve my goal. This dissertation is a product of each of you.

ABSTRACT

Media represent a dominant constructor of reality in today's mediated culture, and frame research has examined this construction, particularly in sport, and concluded that media influence the continuance of hegemonic ideals that devalue women (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Funkhauser, 1973; Lind & Salo, 2002). Framing's alignment with agenda setting centers on the transfer of frames from agenda to agenda through frame sponsorship and incorporates an examination of power by considering who influences the media agenda (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). A sport gender frame sponsorship analysis revealed the continuance and dominance of negative gender frames in both public relations and media texts. It also identified an additional negative gender frame in sport, the hierarchy of topics, in both public relations material and media. Analysis also confirmed the inclusion of frame sponsorship in process models; however it noted a distinction between issue frame sponsorship and attribute frame sponsorship. Frames were found to transfer issues and attributes separately, just as agenda setting research. Sport public relations personnel were successful in placing their frames in media discourse, but the centrality of power in frame sponsorship raises ideological concerns. The study found damaging gender frames were sponsored and placed successfully in media discourse, perpetuating the devaluation of women athletes and women's sport, but positive gender frames were also successfully sponsored. Thus frame sponsorship is an active component of the framing process and serves as a viable consideration in producing counter-hegemonic frames to challenge dominant ideology in sport.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The progress of communication technology has led to a cultural transformation in many aspects of life. The growth of media has changed the way people communicate and, in turn, understand the world around them. The result has been shrinkage of personal community and reliance on a mediated community to understand, interpret and evaluate the world. A mediated community is one that obtains the majority of its information from media sources, primarily print and broadcast media. Its influence is particularly dominant in the sport arena. Sport fans primarily receive sport information and sport entertainment through media-filtered frames. With the advent of satellite service providers, sport fans can view an entire season of their favorite sport from the comfort of their own living room through media broadcast. In this manner, a mediated community has increased reliance on media for interpretation of the world. In response, media frame analysis has been utilized to examine the type of interpretations and evaluations of the world the media provide and the corresponding societal implication.

Research acknowledges the media's role as a constructor of reality. Particularly, frame research examines the presence and type of media frames disseminated to the public (Goffman, 1974). Media frames are textual themes that highlight certain facets of an event or issue and advance a particular interpretation and evaluation (Entman, 2004). In sport, media frames conform to dominant ideology and devalue women athletes (Wenner, 1998); however, little frame research has extended beyond the definitional frame stage. Frame research has focused on the dissemination of media frames to the public, but omitted the implications of influential factors on media frames. In the last year, the idea of frame sponsorship has addressed this omission. Frame sponsorship is

when an organization or its members promote a particular view of reality to be place in media discourse. It is often characterized as a competition where the frame with the most power "wins" and achieves placement in news text (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Entman, 2004). This study considers frame sponsorship as the initial step in the frame process and examines public relations effectiveness in sponsoring sport media frames. The purpose of this study is to examine frame sponsorship through the correspondence of gender frames between sports information personnel and the media and contends that such a relationship may indicate sports information personnel can influence dominant gender ideology in sport.

Background

This study operationalizes frame sponsorship by examining public relations material and media coverage of the 2004 women's Final Four basketball championship. The 2004 women's basketball Final Four was held in New Orleans from April 4th to 6th. The four teams in the tournament included University of Connecticut, University of Tennessee, Louisiana State University and University of Minnesota. The University of Tennessee and Louisiana State University played in the semi-final round, as did the University of Connecticut and University of Minnesota. The University of Tennessee was the number 1 seed; University of Connecticut was the number 2 seed and defenders of the 2003 title. The 2004 women's Final Four was a first for both University of Minnesota and Louisiana State University women's programs. The championship game was reminiscent of the 2003 women's Final Four as University of Connecticut and the University of Tennessee again met in the championship game. The University of Connecticut again defeated the University of Tennessee in the 2004 championship game, capturing their

third consecutive national women's basketball title. With the win, University of Connecticut tied University of Tennessee for the most consecutive women's national basketball titles.

The women's and men's basketball Final Four have been utilized in previous studies to illustrate media frames in college sport (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999; Wenner, 1998). The high profile nature of both the men's and women's tournaments allows an equitable comparison that has resulted in documentation that media utilize negative frames to characterize female athletes in comparison to male athletes (Billings, Halone & Denham, 2002; Messner, Duncan, Wachs, 1996). Further, the women's basketball Final Four is arguably the most covered and most watched women's sport. The women's Final Four received coverage on ABC's *Good Morning America*, and the national semifinals and championship game has been shown live on the Jumbotron at Times Square in New York for four consecutive years (*NCAA,* n.d.). The women's Final Four has also enjoyed sell-out crowds for the past 12 consecutive years with approximately 28,210 in attendance for each session (*NCAA*, n.d.). Due to the high profile nature of the women's basketball Final Four, the sport public relations department is also heavily involved in providing information to local and national media outlets. News conferences, player interviews, game notes and press releases are the main public relations tools that sports information departments utilize to communicate effectively with the media. As a result, the women's basketball Final Four provides an optimal focus for the examination of frame sponsorship between public relations materials and media coverage.

Theoretical Overview

Frame research examines the selection and omission of certain facets of information and the advanced interpretation and evaluation, usually by the media, of an individual, issue or event (Entman, 2004). It is often labeled a fragmented conceptualization that lacks a cohesive focus (Entman, 1993). A number of typologies have sought to solidify the field by characterizing different frame models. Seven frame models have been identified in frame research: Models of situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility and news (Hallahan, 1999). Each model describes what is framed. The situations model examines framing of relationship encounters between individuals in everyday discourse. The attributes model examines the characteristics of people or objects that are accentuated or ignored. The choices model considers how posing alternative decisions in negative or positive terms impacts a person's choice. The actions model builds upon the choices model by considering the positive or negative frame in a persuasive context. The responsibility model considers how individuals attribute the cause of events to either internal or external factors. The issues model examines how social problems and disputes are explained differently to promote a particular interpretation and evaluation, and the news model considers how media utilize familiar themes to relay information about events. These various models have served to simultaneously clarify and confound frame research by extending the notion that research falls neatly into a single category. By acknowledging this flawed assumption, researchers can examine reality based upon appropriate elements of various frame models. This research is illustrative of this multi-model perspective by drawing on the issue model and the news model of framing.

The issue model of framing focuses on the frames of social problems by opposing groups who vie for their particular definition of a problem or solution to prevail (Hallahan, 1999). Central to issue framing is the interpretation or evaluation of a problem or situation that is advanced through framing. Issues are framed to either advance issue significance or discount issue worth, often determining how the public views an issue. Sport gender studies have shown media advance male athletes as significant and women athletes as insignificant (Billings, et. al., 2002). The ramification is the public may believe female athletes to be inferior to male athletes. This idea is closely related to agenda setting. Agenda setting with the issues frame model is the movement of group issues and the associated interpretation to the media agenda (Manheim, 1987). However, not all issues successfully transfer to the media agenda, primarily due to the effectiveness of frame sponsorship by issue groups (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). As a result, close examination of frame sponsorship is critical in the issues model of framing.

The news model of framing considers how news media frame stories in culturally familiar terms that the audience understands. In news discourse, framing is identified as a person's system of organization that determines what information will be included and simultaneously what information will be excluded (Entman, 1993; Tuchman, 1978). Media use culturally resonating themes to relay information, and sources vie for their frame to be featured in news discourse through frame sponsorship (Hallahan, 1999). Central to this idea is that media select certain aspects of reality to highlight and exclude other portions, providing a filtered construction of reality. This mediated representation of reality advances a particular interpretation and evaluation of an issue, person or organization (Entman, 2004). The news frame model and issue frame model often

converge to consider how media frame issues, people and events. Frame studies within these two models have examined many issues including portrayals of women (Lind & Salo, 2002), gender studies in sport (Bernstein, 2002; Biggs, Weiler & Martin, 2003), and AIDS (Sniderman, Brody & Tetlock, 1991).

Frame mechanisms identify the presence of media frames. Frame mechanisms commonly include words, images, sources and clusters of sentences that are thematically related (Entman, 1993). Critical scholars contend that media frame analysis is a tool of power used to characterize the struggle in defining whose view of the world will dominate (Gitlin, 1980; Hallahan, 1999). Frame analysis identifies the magnitude and cultural resonance of these frame mechanisms to determine a frame's level of power in society (Entman, 2004). Magnitude is the prominence and repetition of a frame throughout news discourse, and cultural resonance is the use of culturally salient terms that are knowable, understandable, memorable and emotionally charged (Entman, 2004). Culturally resonant frames often reflect dominant ideology and resonate at the individual and societal level as a norm of reality, an idea that corresponds to Gramsci's (1971) idea of hegemony.

This study follows traditional frame analysis by identifying frame mechanisms that have magnitude and cultural resonance to determine textual frames. The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the frame will evoke the same interpretation and evaluation in a large portion of the audience and dominate as a news frame (Entman, 2004). While the identification of textual frames is not new, this study extends traditional frame analysis through the redefinition of the framing process within the news frame model. Framing is often conceptualized as a process model of inputs and outputs.

Journalists are commonly perceived as the constructors of frames that are disseminated to a large audience. Framing is illustrated as the construction and processing of news discourse, and frame research has directed considerable attention to the construction of media frames and frame effects on audience members. This study considers frame sponsorship as part of the frame process.

Frame Sponsorship

Frame studies have categorized, identified and defined frames related to situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues and responsibility as well as considered news media construction and dissemination of frames (Bernstein, 2002; Biggs, et. al., 2003; Hallahan, 1999; Lind & Salo, 2002; Sniderman, et. al., 1991). However, the source of news frames has largely been ignored. Frame sponsors are the sources that seek to frame information for the media, and frame sponsorship is the act of promoting a certain frame (Gamson, 1984; Hallahan, 1999). As a competition, frame sponsorship is often aligned with agenda setting and considers who sets the media's agenda.

Further, frame sponsorship can be considered a public relations function within the issues and news frame models. Research suggests that public relations practitioners are instrumental in the creation of news frames (Turk, 1986). For example, public relations practitioners have been found to supply nearly half of news content (Cutlip 1962; 1989). Public relations personnel have successfully placed their frames in media discourse on a variety of topics, including health, government and environmental issues (Andsager, 2000; Andsager & Smiley, 1996; Miller, Andsager & Riechert, 1998; Riechert, 1996). Because frames are connected to power, public relations practitioners

may be instrumental in maintaining hegemony or producing counter-hegemonic stances by the type of frames they sponsor (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Gandy, 1982).

Sports information has been characterized as a public relations function, but one whose effectiveness is limited to a technical level. It typically operates through one-way communication aimed at the media to garner favorable coverage through the placement of organizational frames in news discourse (Nichols, Moynahan, Hall & Taylor, 2002). The sports information director uses a variety of public relations tools to reach the media, including interviews, press conferences and press releases.

Frame sponsorship in the sport culture is further intensified by a symbiotic relationship between sport and media. Sports information is a unique public relations function because the media rely on sport for revenue and legitimacy just as sport relies on media for legitimacy and prominence (Vivian, 1985). Thus, sport-sponsored frames may receive heightened consideration in frame sponsorship than studies outside of sport have considered.

This study builds on current sport communication research by examining sponsored sports information gender frames and their potential influence on media frames. University sports information departments routinely send out information about athletes in an attempt to influence and obtain media coverage. Research illustrates that university athletes provide the most coverage for the university, regardless of the university's academic reputation and athletic success (Goff, 2000). For example, the 1995 season leading to Northwestern University's Rose Bowl visit provided a 185 percent increase in news coverage compared to the past three-year average. Yet, even in years without special athletic success, Northwestern athletic articles accounted for 70 percent

of university coverage while research-related stories accounted for less than five percent. These results are intensified when one considers that Northwestern University is heavily oriented toward research and graduate education rather than toward athletes (Goff, 2000).

Universities frame their athletes in an attempt to control the type of frames utilized by the media. Recent research examining gender portrayal of student athletes by athletic departments found that a large number of sports information departments at American colleges and universities exhibit the same damaging gender frames as media (Hardin, 2003; Sagas, Cunningham, Wigley & Ashley, 2000). However, if sports information departments sent positive gender frames for women athletes, would this influence the frames used by media? Research seems to indicate that it would, that the information released by sports information departments does have an influence on the type of media coverage (Andsager, 2000; Miller, et. al., 1998; Riechert, 1996). The issue of power inherent in frame sponsorship further intensifies this study's implications. Frame sponsorship occurs in a contested realm where the ideas or frames compete until a single frame dominates and is placed in news discourse. A frame's ability to dominate news discourse "depends on complex factors, including its sponsor's economic and cultural resources, its sponsor's knowledge of journalistic practices and a frame's resonance with broader [societal] values" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 216). Thus, the emergence of the dominant frame is often based on the sponsor's power and the frame's power. For example, economic resources are strong determinants of sponsor power, and cultural resources are a strong determinant of frame power, so strong that the dominant frame often adheres to dominant cultural ideology. This study examines frame sponsorship and its convergence with dominant ideology through sport.

Although research suggests public relations influence in frame sponsorship, the amount of influence remains unclear. By comparing the similarities and differences of sport information frames and media frames, this research examines the extent of frame sponsorship and thus the influence of public relations frames on sport news frame construction. Sport in particular is an important stage for examination because of its unique relationship with the media.

Symbiotic Relationship

The sport community has not been omitted from the cultural conversion to a mediated society. Technology has come between the game and the experience of the game. Today, fans can "attend" games without leaving the couch. "Home viewers can get replays of key plays, and other amenities without the hassle of traffic tie-ups, cold weather, crowded restrooms or other spectator travails," (Nichols et. al, 2002, p. 8). Despite the change, sport has successfully adapted to this mediated environment. Sport organizations can make money even without fan attendance based on media advertising. Media have become the primary audience to sport organizations, replacing the fan. This idea led Wenner (1989) to describe a symbiotic relationship between media industries and sport organizations—each needs the other for survival. This symbiotic relationship is equally prevalent if not more so at the university level. Media have enjoyed financial gain from college football and college basketball. In return, universities have received direct financial gain as well as many indirect benefits, including increased university exposure, increased financial contributions and increased student applications and enrollment (Goff, 2000). This relationship has certainly hinged on economic factors, but cultural ideology is another important consideration.

A key component of sport ideology is the hero. Although the mythic persona of a hero is not a new idea, today's heroes are created and maintained by the media, particularly the sport hero (Goodman, Duke & Sutherland, 2002). For example, media have successfully characterized the sport hero as a cultural ideal. Media reporter O.B. Keelor has been credited for much of the hero legacy that accompanies golfer Bobby Jones (Hardin, 2001). The mass media have been credited for the re-emergence of the modern hero through the depiction of Mark McGwire's quest for the homerun record (Lule, 2001). Thus, the media can provide legitimacy and legacy to a sport organization and sport athletes, but they can also become a negative force. The anti-hero has arguably become a dominant force in today's society. The rise of mediated heroes led to the influx of innumerable figures receiving "heroic" media coverage and consequently the decline of the modern hero (Lule, 2001). The question becomes how a single individual can stand out as a hero. The answer has been the advent of the anti-hero. Sport figures such as Dennis Rodman and John Rocker illustrate an oppositional persona, the figure that society "loves to hate." Thus, the cultural ideology of the hero and anti-hero aptly illustrate the positive and negative power that the mass media wield. This same dichotomy is characterized in gender research, particularly in the advancement of negative gender stereotypes that reach large audiences and maintain dominant ideology.

Media Hegemony & Societal Implications

Media frames are integrally involved in ideological concerns. Media reinforce and maintain dominant gender ideology through the dissemination of gender frames that devalue women athletes (Wenner, 1998). Symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance are gender frames that sport scholars have identified as universal

gender frames in women's sport at the collegiate, national and international level (Billings, et. al., 2002; Blinde, Greendorfer & Shanker, 1991; Creedon, 1994; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Duncan & Messner, 1998; Duncan, Messner, Williams & Jensen, 1994; Eastman & Billings, 1999). Scholars contend that the power of these damaging frames actually contributes to the invisible reality of hegemony in American culture, which perpetuates the continual devaluation of women in society (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The growth of a mediated culture increases the ramification of these damaging frames. Continued examination of the information types the media receive and disseminate is important as increased numbers of people rely on the media to understand the world around them.

Based upon the undercurrents of media hegemony and sport and media's symbiotic relationship, this research represents an important step in a focused examination of frame sponsorship. The sport focus allows the study to also offer a broad societal examination. Sport sociologists acknowledge sport plays a functional role in society (Coakley, 2004). This functional perspective identifies sport as an important component in the growth and maintenance of a democratic society. Sport is a means for youth to learn traditional democratic values such as the importance of hard work, discipline and teamwork. In many aspects, sport propels the American democratic ideal of success through hard work and sacrifice by identifying modern heroes that succeed because of diligence and sacrifice (Lule, 2001). Thus, sport plays a pivotal teaching role in society. This pervasive influence is closely aligned with the amount of media coverage that sport receives. Its very prominence in media outlets, from an agenda setting perspective, indicates sport's societal importance. Great influence, however, brings great

responsibility. Just as sport can teach positive values, it can also promote negative ideals that may actually contradict its functional role in society. It is necessary, then, to examine the ideals that sport and its associated venues promote, particularly in terms of gender.

Sport has a powerful societal function that requires responsibility and adherence to positive societal values. Current gender research, however, suggests sport has been negligent in its role by promoting damaging gender stereotypes (Wenner, 1998). Frame sponsorship may prove beneficial to understanding and eventually changing negative gender frames. This study considers gender frames in a revenue-generating sport and seeks to determine if damaging gender frames remain in university public relations materials and various media venues. Sport gender researchers speculate that gender frames will be consistent, regardless of communication type, noting that the majority of sport public relations personnel "appear to be parroting traditional news values and modeling the status quo when the conditions argue for a much more strategic perspective" (Creedon, Cramer & Granitz, 1994, p. 198). Because of sport's pivotal role in society, sport public relations personnel must consider the gender frames they disseminate and the influence of these frames on media and society.

Summary

Media represent a dominant constructor of reality in today's mediated culture. Particularly in sport, fans rely on media to provide the "sport experience," often in place of actual game attendance. Frame research in both communication and sport studies has responded with the identification of news frames and a discussion of news frame impact on society. This identification has illustrated that media may provide divergent views from reality and propel damaging stereotypes of women athletes. News frames have

found to concur largely with dominant ideology and actually influence the continuance of hegemonic ideals that women are "lesser" athletes. This continuance of dominant ideology is further intensified by the symbiotic relationship between sport and media.

The cross-disciplined nature of frame research has strengthened the discussion of frame identification and effects, but frame research has largely ignored the idea of frame sponsorship. Frame sponsorship incorporates an examination of power by considering who influences the media agendas. It extends current frame process models by identifying the impact of frames and its sponsor on media frames. This research is the initial step in extending this frame process. It is an examination of power through frame sponsorship by identifying the correspondence of public relations frames and news frames in sport. The study will further define framing through the identification of boundary conditions in frame sponsorship.

Research indicates both public relations practitioners and media utilize frames that devalue women as athletes. This study identifies the presence and type of gender frames in public relations text and media text. In frame sponsorship, the study examines the similarities and differences between public relations material and media coverage. It will also examine the similarities and differences of gender frames between public relations materials and media discourse. Finally, the study considers the probable boundary conditions of media type and locale and event salience in frame sponsorship.

Research Questions

The research questions are:

RQ 1: What are the frames present in public relations text and media text for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

RQ 2: What are the positive gender frames present in the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four texts?

RQ 3: What are the negative gender frames present in the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four texts?

RQ 4: What level of frame sponsorship exists between public relations material and print media coverage for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

RQ5: What level of frame sponsorship exists between public relations materials and broadcast media for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

RQ 6: What are the similarities and differences regarding gender frames presented in public relations materials, print media and broadcast media?

Related Terminology

The frame tradition is inundated with conflicting terminology that often serves to confuse rather than clarify. In an effort toward clarity, this study offers terms and definitions that guide the research. Table 1.1 provides this information.

Table 1.1 Study Terminology

Study Term	Definition
Framing	Highlight certain facets of an event and/or issue and make connections to advance a particular interpretation, evaluation and solution (Entman 2004).
Frame sponsor	The many groups who advocate frames for journalist consideration and how the news stories articulate these frames (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Entman, 1991, 1993, 2004; Gamson, 1984, 1992; Reese, 2001).
Frame sponsorship	Frame sponsorship is characterized as a competition where the sponsor or frame with the most resources i.e. power "wins" and achieves placement of the sponsored frame within news discourse (Carragee & Roefs 2004; Entman 2004).
Frame sponsorship analysis	Analysis that determines a sponsor's success or failure by how the preferred interpretation or frame is transferred to media discourse (Gamson, 1992).
Magnitude	Corresponds to the idea of object salience in agenda setting research and refers to the prominence and repetition of a frame throughout news discourse (Entman, 2004).
Cultural resonance	Use of culturally salient words that are understandable, knowable, memorable and emotionally-charged, corresponds with Gramsci's idea of hegemony and often reflects dominant ideology (Entman, 2004).
Frame dominance	The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the frame will evoke the same interpretation and evaluation in a large portion of the audience and dominate as a news frame; indicative of a frame's power (Entman, 2004).
Frame hegemony	Degree that a sponsor moves a frame from a hegemonic to a counter-hegemonic stance.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE & CONCEPTUAL CONVERGENCE

An examination of sport frame sponsorship must be prefaced by a discussion of the theoretical foundation and a review of current research. The study is theoretically grounded in framing and its alignment with agenda setting. The discussion centers on framing's conceptualization as well as convergence and divergence with agenda setting, including a comparison of boundary conditions, attributes, frame mechanisms, power and the frame process. Frame sponsorship, a public relations function, examines current university frames sponsored by sport information personnel. This chapter then reviews current sport frame research in print and broadcast at the national and international level and identifies universal gender frames. Finally, the societal implications of sport and media's relationship are considered. This discussion leads to a theoretical reformulation of framing as a process and heightens the societal ramifications of the examination of sport frame sponsorship.

Theoretical Foundation

The growth of mediated community, particularly in sport, has captured research attention and centered it on the notion of framing. The term "frame" is common in society. As a noun, a frame serves as a border or structure to bind an area of emphasis. As a verb, framing is to shape or adapt to a particular purpose through selecting portions of a picture or of information for emphasis. It has been described as a useful balance of structure and agency in that issues, events and experience are framed, and people frame issues, events and experiences (Gamson, 1992). Frame research follows the essence of this common explanation; however, a thorough review of framing's conceptualization and its alignment with the agenda setting tradition is necessary.

Framing has evolved since its inception from an individual cognitive perspective to a societal perspective. Early frame research defined framing as a system of organizing experience where people try to determine what is going on (Goffman, 1974). This definition depicts framing as an organizing device that individuals employ to negotiate, manage and comprehend a complex social world (Watkins, 2001). Framing was extended to the news construction process as a person's system of organization that determines what information will be included and/or excluded from a message (Tuchman, 1978). Tuchman's (1978) research shifted framing's focus from an individual schema to media's role in the news process. Framing then evolved to the societal schema. Frames construct selective representations of reality through the selecting and highlighting of certain aspects of reality, which simultaneously means that other aspects are ignored (Entman, 1993). In a study on the framing of AIDS, a majority of the public supported the rights of a person with AIDS when the issue was framed as a civil liberties consideration, and a majority supported mandatory testing when the issue was framed as a public health concern (Sniderman, et. al., 1991). Thus, it is not simply the salient information included in the frame, but the excluded information that influences public perception.

The concept of framing then expanded to include both individual and societal dominant meaning. Dominant meaning is the "highest probability of being noticed, processed and accepted by the most people" (Entman, 1993, p. 56). At the individual level, frames are selective representations of reality that typically represent dominant meaning (Entman, 1993). The definition evolved to include a societal focus. Frames are characterized as organizing principles that are "socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (Reese, 2001, p. 11).

In this manner, frames are coupled with the media to discern media's role in constructing and maintaining cultural norms. Through frames, media direct attention toward certain aspects of an issue or event and away from others (Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974).

Although typically coupled with dominant meaning, framing has been characterized as a "fragmented conceptualization," due in part to a number of related but separate definitions of framing (Entman, 1993). More recently, Entman (2004) articulated a guiding definition that sought to unify the field. Frames highlight certain facets of an event and/or issue and make connections among them to advance a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution. The key to this definition is the idea of advancing a particular interpretation and evaluation of an issue or event. The framing concept has evolved over time from an individual cognitive perspective to a perspective that influences society. Framing has progressed from a focus on individual schema to a consideration of media's role in constructing and maintaining cultural norms. Media's role in maintaining cultural norms led to a return of schemas on a societal level. The societal implications have led to the current frame definition that focuses on the power of frames as elements for interpretation and evaluation at the individual, media and societal level. Table 2.1 illustrates this evolution.

In response to Entman's (1993) call for a more unified conceptualization, many researchers sought to define and unify the framing field. One such researcher, Scheufele (1999), developed a typology that categorized framing research in two main categories: 1. Audience versus media frames, and 2. frames as independent versus dependent variables. Frames as a dependent variable examined the role of various factors in

Table 2.1 Frame Definition Evolution

Evolution Term	Frame Definition	Research
Individual schema	System of organizing experience	Goffman 1974
Media's role	System of organizing experience to determine what should be included or excluded	Tuchman 1978
Societal schema	Selective representation of reality	Gitlin 1980; Entman 1993
Individual dominant ideology	Selective representations of reality that typically represents dominant meaning	Entman 1993
Societal dominant ideology	Socially shared organizational structures of meaning that persist over time	Reese 2001
Power at the individual and societal level	Highlight certain facets of an event and/or issue and make connections among them to advance a particular interpretation, evaluation and solution	Entman 2004

influencing the creation or modification of frames. Research that utilized media frames as the dependent variable was guided by three questions: what factors influence the way journalists or other societal groups frame certain issues; how do these processes work; and what are the frames that journalists use (Scheufele, 1999). Research utilizing audience frames as the dependent variable seek to determine which factors influence the establishment of audience or individual frames or if they replicate media frames; and how the audience member plays an active role in constructing meaning or resisting media frames. This classification system led to the development of an input-output model, which was revised to a two-way process model based on the idea that the audience develops frames to influence the media just as the media develop frames to influence the audience (D'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 1999).

Frame research operates in multiple types of paradigms, which has also contributed to the fragmentation of the field. Specifically, two paradigms identified in frame research guides this study, the cognitive and the critical frame paradigms (D'Angelo, 2002). The cognitive framing paradigm contends that while a story may have several different frames, an individual will only process one frame based on that person's prior knowledge. The paradigm is built on the assumption that people seek the "path of least resistance" in processing information and use frames as shortcuts in the cognitive process. This paradigm is built on the idea of schemas and closely related to the idea of cognitive heuristics by Tversky and Kahnemann (1973). Research in this paradigm is interested in how frames interact with prior knowledge and come to be stored for future activation with similar frames. The cognitive frame paradigm's consideration of prior knowledge illustrates the impact of stereotypic frames. Based on this paradigm,

stereotypic frames are stored and later activated with similar frames, impacting the continuation of stereotypic views. For this study, the cognitive frame paradigm emphasizes the need to know the type of frames present in sport public relations and media discourse because these frames are stored and activated in similar encounters.

The critical paradigm contends that frames dominate and maintain the status quo by building upon the assumption of media hegemony (D'Angelo, 2002). Media maintain the status quo through the articulation of dominant frames. This paradigm considers audience in aggregate to illustrate how they are swayed en masse by frames (D'Angelo, 2002). Further, this paradigm contends that only one frame is disseminated in each news story or among several news stories, and the frame maintains the status quo. This view considers the media's role in the frame process and is illustrative of Tuchman's (1978) early view of frames in the news process. This study draws on the critical paradigm's notion of the media as an active agent in the framing process and the maintenance of dominant ideology.

A review of frame research revealed that most researchers do not operate within a single frame paradigm, but utilize a multiparadigmatic view that actually compounds the fragmentation of frame research (D'Angelo, 2002). However, some frame researchers contend that this fragmentation is actually an asset to the framing field and should be maintained (Reese, 2001). The study of communication represents a diverse field that draws on multiple disciplines to provide a full examination of the many aspects of communication. The only way to understand fully the complexity of the framing phenomenon as part of the communication field is to remain diverse in interpretations and guiding paradigms (D'Angelo, 2002; Reese, 2001). Thus, this study draws on the

cognitive and critical paradigm to examine the frame process and the type of gender frames utilized in sport.

Framing has also been conceptualized from a public relations perspective through the identification of seven public relations frame models (Hallahan, 1999). Of these, the issues and news models impact this study. The issues and news models pertain to the frame analysis of this study. The issues model examines how social problems and disputes can be explained in differing terms by divergent actors who seek for their preferred view to prevail (Hallahan, 1999). This model can be viewed as a "symbolic contest over which interpretation will prevail" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 2). The issues model leads to the news model, which says that media reports use familiar, culturally resonant themes to relay information about events (Hallahan, 1999). This model addresses how sources use frame sponsorship to demonstrate superiority of their frames.

The issues and news models converge to a single model that considers media as a source and a venue. In the converged issues and news models, media are part of the process through which individuals construct meaning. "Journalists may draw their ideas and language from any or all of the other forums, frequently paraphrasing or quoting their sources. At the same time, they contribute their own frames and invent their own clever catchphrase, drawing on popular culture that they share with the audience" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3). Simultaneously, media serve as a site for ideological struggle. They are a venue for dominant frames to define and construct social reality (Gurevitech & Levy, 1985). "General audience media are not only the forerunner for public discourse, but since they constantly make available suggested meanings and are the most accessible

in a media-saturated society such as the United States, their content can be used as the most important indicator of the general issue culture" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3). The convergence of the issues and news framing models highlights media's dual societal role. The agenda setting tradition considers the importance of media's societal role and further defines framing research.

A main controversy in framing research is its alignment with agenda setting. Agenda setting was first articulated by McCombs and Shaw (1972) and hypothesizes that media set the public's agenda by telling the public what issues are important. The media increase issue salience through the topics covered, topics' prominence on the newspaper page and topic placement in a broadcast. McCombs and Shaw examined newspaper coverage to determine if the main stories in the newspaper would correspond with the main issues perceived by the public. Results indicated that the media were fairly successful in determining what issues the public consider. The study utilized a story's amount of coverage and prominence to determine its issue salience and then asked voters what they considered the important issues in the upcoming election. The extent to which these issues correlated indicated the degree the media defined the issues for the public. Thus McCombs and Shaw (1972) hypothesized that the media are a powerful force in telling the public what to think about. Although not predictive in nature, agenda setting suggests media play an ideological function in society. Agenda setting indicates that the media can make certain issues, organizations and even people more salient with the public. A change in the amount of coverage can change the public's perceived importance of the issue, organization and person. Thus, agenda setting demonstrates

media play an important ideological role in culture by heightening awareness, which may lead to behavioral consequence (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001).

The utility of agenda setting was complicated by the problem of reverse causation in McCombs and Shaw's 1972 study. Because the element of time was not considered, the study was unable to determine if the media determined the public agenda or if the public determined the media's agenda. For example, standard journalistic operations seek to report reality, in essence to be a mirror of society. The question, then, is if agenda setting existed because media were practicing good journalism procedures or because they were actually setting the public agenda. Subsequent agenda setting studies have not always revealed the same results as the initial agenda setting study; however, researchers have been fairly consistent in demonstrating that the media are somewhat successful in determining public agenda (McLeod, Byrnes & Becker, 1974; Funkhauser, 1973).

Mass theories, such as agenda setting, are often limited in their capability to describe, explain and predict accurately unless boundary conditions are set. For example, McLeod, Byrnes and Becker (1974) found that agenda setting was more prominent among voters who utilized the newspaper as their primary source of information and who exhibited a low level of involvement or interest in the situation. Thus, media type, level of involvement and time emerged as three possible boundary conditions (McLeod, et. al., 1974; Funkhauser, 1973). The identification of boundary conditions allows agenda setting to provide a description and, to an extent, an explanation of how the media agenda and the public agenda coincide. Frame research has not examined the emergence of boundary conditions extensively, but focused on the construction of news frames. In contrast, agenda setting research has not fully considered the construction of the media

agenda, but rather examined the transfer of issue and attribute salience. Studies on journalist norms and behaviors note consistent patterns of decision making across media that suggest news content is less a reflection of reality and more a professional and economic function. "The essential argument here is that the application of professional journalistic norms to the definition and selection of news is not unconstrained. Concerns for audience size and preferences, profitability and the general financial well-being of media organizations create a bounded system in which journalists at varying levels of authority make decisions" (Manheim, 1987, p. 501). This bounded operational system notes media can be and are influenced by external factors. Thus, the media agenda may not necessarily be media-constructed, but an assimilation of varying factors and influences. The idea of framing extends agenda setting to include the construction as well as dissemination of attributes while agenda setting supplements knowledge of the transfer process.

The alignment of framing and agenda setting has hinged on the conception of attribute agenda setting. The original agenda setting study focused on the transfer of topics from the media to the public agenda, termed issue agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Attribute agenda setting, or second-level agenda setting, extends the idea that not only do the media tell us what issues to think about, but how to think about these issues (Hester & Gibson, 2003; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). The media attach attributes to issues, people and events that are then transferred to the public's attribute agenda. Although framing has been conceptualized differently, framing of issue attributes impacts public perception, which is at the heart of attribute agenda setting. Political research places framing as an influential dimension of second-level agenda setting, noting that

media frames have a strong influence on voter perception because the media serve as a major news source of learning (Golan & Wanta, 2001). A two-tiered relationship has been identified between agenda setting and framing. The first tier includes first-level or issue agenda setting, which says the media tell the public what to think about through the use of news frames. The second tier includes second-level- or attribute-agenda setting and says the media use frames to tell the public how to think about a particular issue. It expands beyond what people talk or think and examines how they think and talk. Research suggests the portrayal of issues and actors by the media influences perception of and judgments about those issues and actors by the public (Manheim, 1987). This finding has been collaborated in sport's examination of broadcast commentary and its effect on viewers. Beentjes, Van Gordt and Van Der Voort (2002) examined the effect of approval or disapproval of violence by commentators. Their research revealed that commentary type, either approval or disapproval of a soccer foul, influenced children's perception of the same soccer foul. In fact, the approval or disapproval commentary frames were more influential than the identity of the opponent or the type of foul in the study. This study indicates that frames, in both overt and subtle forms, may be quite adept at influencing public perception.

Attribute agenda setting has been aligned with framing as a "conceptual convergence" (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). In the agenda setting perspective, framing is defined as the selection of a small set of thematically related attributes to be included on the media's agenda about a particular issue or object (Hester & Gibson, 2003). This alignment suggests that frames are passed from agenda to agenda. Agenda setting provides the criterion of which frames are important or should be examined, and these

frames transfer attributes (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). Two types of attributes have been identified in the attribute agenda setting and framing tradition - cognitive attributes and affective attributes. Cognitive attributes provide connections between two people, issues and events. Thus, the media connect certain people or organizations to certain ideas or issues. Affective attributes connect evaluations to these cognitive connections. For example, media coverage of Bobby Jones fostered evaluations of greatness, and coverage of Mark McGuire instilled heroic interpretations of his capabilities (Hardin, 2001; Lule, 1999). These examples illustrate that the media provide more than cognitive connections of Bobby Jones to golf and Mark McGuire to baseball, but include positive attributes that stretch to mythic proportion. Cognitive attributes were originally perceived as the stronger connection of the two, but more recent research provides evidence that affective attributes may have strong connective power as well (Golan & Wanta, 2001; Hester & Gibson, 2003).

A key distinction of framing in the agenda setting tradition is with the selection and exclusion of certain frame mechanisms in frame analysis. Frame analysis seeks to identify presence, emphasis, and/or exclusion of a person, issue or organization in the media. Two important aspects of frame analysis are the construction of frames and the strategies employed in construction (Watkins, 2001). In frame construction, the influence of both internal and external factors is considered as well as societal implications. In a frame analysis of the Million Man March, journalists' frames set the parameters of public discourse, influencing how the public perceived the protest (Watkins, 2001). In the Million Man March, frame analysis identified the selection of Farrakhan as the personification of the march and the primary strategy of frame construction. Watkins

(2001) contends that the salience of Farrakhan resulted in the exclusion of other frames, resulting in the march being framed as an expression of racism rather than a protest against racial inequality.

Frame research has also examined the strategies of construction – defining and choosing messages. Framing analysis identifies frame mechanisms (e.g., common words, images, sources and clusters of sentences that are thematically related) as defining elements (Capella & Jamesion, 1997; D'Angelo, 2002). A disparity of frame mechanisms or devices, however, has contributed to the fragmentation of frame research (D'Angelo, 2002). They have been identified by frame devices that define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and support solutions (Entman, 1993, 2004). Frames have been identified based on words that relate to ideas, such as "human interest" and "conflict" as long as the words also state a policy or social problem (Neuman, Just, Crigler, 1992). In sport framing studies, frame terms are identified based on their adherence to gender categories, symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance (Duncan & Messner, 1998). The role of images as a frame mechanism has not been widely accepted in frame research. In the framing/agenda setting tradition, images and other "attributes of presentation" are not considered frame mechanisms (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). This perspective contends that presentational attributes cannot transfer attribute salience from agenda to agenda as the traditional frame mechanisms of words and phrases (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). Frame mechanisms have also been identified through term frequency, meaningfulness and lack of ambiguity in the computer-assisted content analysis frame studies (Andsager, 2000; Miller, et. al., 1998). The variation of frame mechanisms has led to competing frame definitions. However, frame researchers

encourage the use of diverse frame mechanisms (D'Angelo, 2002; Reese, 2001). Framing is a complex concept that requires a variety of approaches and frame mechanisms, operating at different levels, to detect frames in news discourse. Frame analysis utilizes frame mechanisms to determine the textual frame and associated interpretation and evaluation. Analysis is useful in understanding what factors influence media coverage, what principles dominate public debate and ultimately, what elements prevail that directly impact the public. Frame mechanisms hold great power in setting the context for debate, defining issues under consideration, summoning a variety of mental representations and providing the basic tools to discuss the issue at hand (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Central to frame analysis is the ideological power inherent in frames. Media frames present and reinforce the salience of issues, giving certain issues or ideologies power. They "set the context for debate, defining issues under consideration, summoning a variety of mental representations and providing the basic tools to discuss the issues at hand" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). Like attribute agenda setting, frames are particularly influential in telling the public how to think about an issue based on how the issue is framed (Ghanem, 1997). Research indicates that media frames do influence public attitude and opinion (Andsager, 2000). Reality is actually presented and reinforced through framing with the presence and absence of frames being associated with power (Andsager, 2000; Sniderman, et. al., 1991; Tuggle, Huffman, Rosengard, 2002).

A discussion of power is further complicated by the notion that different frames convey differing amounts of power. Those with the greatest power have been characterized as the "imprint of power," that represents and maintains dominant ideology

(Entman, 1993). Dominant ideology is typically reflected in media frames because these frames represent the status quo or those in power. In turn, these frames maintain power or dominant ideology through constant media repetition. Word choice and organization are powerful "in setting the context for debate, defining issues under consideration, summoning a variety of mental representations and providing the basic tools to discuss the issues at hand" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). A frame's level of power is influenced by its cultural resonance. Cultural resonance is the degree frame mechanisms are familiar, or the ideas convey familiar cultural themes. Resonance increases the appeal of a frame, making it appear natural and familiar (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Certain frames resonate with societal stories or myths with which the audience is familiar. Research suggests frames are powerful influences of perception because the public will think about an issue in a particular way based on how the issue is framed (Ghanem, 1997).

Conceptualizing framing as a process is not a new idea. Many scholars responded to Entman's call for clarification in framing research with process models that incorporated agenda setting. Scheufele (1999) developed an input-output process model of four processes: frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing and journalists-as-audience. Frame building involves the use of journalist-centered influences, organizational routines and external sources of influence to construct frames. In essence, the journalist builds frames to reflect reality based on ideological and professional norms (journalist-centered influences), type of political orientation of the medium (organizational routines) and political actors, authorities and interest groups (external variables). In this stage, journalists provide a picture of reality. The second process, frame setting, corresponds to the idea of agenda setting and is used interchangeably with

the term second-level agenda setting. Agenda setting is concerned with the transfer of object or issue salience, and second-level agenda setting or frame setting is concerned with the transfer of object or issue attributes. Individual-level effects in the framing process focuses on the degree frames impact individual outcomes. While some frame research has focused on this level of the process, the research is typically descriptive of the effects of media framing on behavioral, attitudinal or cognitive outcomes, and provides no explanation as to how and why media frames and individual-level outcomes are linked. Journalist as audience examines the link between individual-level variables and media frames. In this process, a key concern is how or if journalists become susceptible to the frames they use, resulting in a reciprocal frame process.

The idea of reciprocity is incorporated into D'Angelo's (2002) frame definition sub-process of his framing process model. The frame definition sub-process is the extent that frames become the accepted definition of an event or issue. Frame definition exhibits a continual loop to frame construction and represents the idea that current frames define future frames. The model includes two additional sub-processes, frame construction flow and frame effects flow. Frame construction flow includes Scheufele's (1999) frame building and frame setting stages and is guided by journalists reflecting reality in their stories through news frames. Frame effects flow indicates that frame outcomes are mediated by several processes, including official discourses of government officials, political candidates and social movements, audience frames and prior knowledge underlying individual decision making and interpretations.

Frame and agenda setting research have typically focused on the construction and transfer of frames, but largely ignored other aspects, including frame effects and frame

sponsorship. Certainly more research should examine the effect, if any, of framing at the audience-level and individual-level. Like many mass theories, frame research and agenda setting can be faulted for a macro approach that assumes large effects on mass audiences. Second, much study has focused on how journalist stories articulate frames and discussed the role of frames in the social construction of reality, but ignored frame sponsorship. Framing is largely considered a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse, and thus, most research has focused only on this portion of the framing process. Both process models considered here begin with journalists constructing news frames. Even the reciprocal loop of the process models considers only the impact of journalist frames on future journalist news frames to reflect reality. News media, however, do not simply report daily events, but define reality through the establishment of routine procedures and classification systems that define events (Tuchman, 1976). Thus, research and the corresponding process models of framing have focused on journalists as the constructors of story frames, but story construction is influenced by a host of factors. Frame researchers noted this disparity over 10 years ago, arguing for the investigation of news discourse "as a dependent variable" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 8). The preoccupation of research on media content points to the continuing void of research considering factors that influence media frames. If framing is to be considered a process, research must consider the factors that influence journalist frames.

Critique of the Framing/Agenda Setting Convergence

Framing and agenda setting research converge at many points. Both traditions consider the transfer of attributes from one agenda to another and utilize many of the same mechanisms in their analysis, such as prominence and repetition. These traditions

also build from the other in describing the transfer process. Agenda setting identifies frames in the transfer process, and frame research builds on agenda setting in the frame setting stage of the frame process model. However, there are a number of critics of the convergence of agenda setting and framing. One critical perspective contends the convergence is faulty because agenda setting and framing actually consider two totally different concepts (Scheufele, 1999). In this perspective, agenda setting is conceptualized as the accessibility of attitudes or the ease with which a person can retrieve an attitude and/or evaluation from existing knowledge. Prospect theory rather than agenda setting is considered the foundation for framing and indicates that a single change in a word or phrase may change the situation and interpretation of the frame. Thus, this perspective asserts that frames are based on a cognitive process not evident in agenda setting (Scheufele, 1999). Although a full examination of this argument is beyond this study's scope, the incongruency noted in the framing and agenda setting perspective may be paradigmatic differences rather than a true contradiction of ideas.

Power is a central argument against this conceptual convergence. This perspective contends that by converging framing with agenda setting, framing has been reduced to simple media effects that ignore the idea of power in frames (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). By identifying frame sponsors, however, the framing process extends beyond simple frame effects to consider who influences the media's agenda. This study suggests the addition of frame sponsorship to frame process models restores power as an ideological component in the framing process. The frame process model would then include frame definition, frame construction, frame setting and frame effects. Like D'Angelo's (2002) model, frame definition is the accepted ideology of that issue or event that would either

be utilized in frame construction or compete for acceptance in frame sponsorship. This ideological process seeks to illustrate how dominant frames, or ideologies, are developed and maintained by including the notion that some entity may influence media frames. Common organizational concerns, such as journalistic deadlines, categories and source availability, are not necessarily considered in this ideological transfer of frame sponsorship, but may seek to reinforce certain frames in the construction process. Further, the examination of frame sponsorship offers a micro-view of a macro-process. In frame sponsorship, frames are constructed and disseminated to the audience, the media. The sponsoring group can then monitor media effects by identifying their sponsored frames and repetitive use of these frames in news discourse (Andsager, 2000). The framing process is then able to include traditional frame effects as well as frame power by examining of who produces and maintains news frames through frame sponsorship.

Frame Sponsorship

A mediated community has increased the societal implications of framing. The discussion is further intensified by a media convergent society. Research suggests that the decrease in small media outlets and a concentration of media ownership narrows the range of information and produces similar news content (Bagdikian, 1990; Gamson, 1992). The decrease in media competition has led to a concern for free enterprise and the ideals of democracy. Entman (1989) however makes an important distinction between the economic marketplace and the marketplace of ideas. Media convergence is a prominent factor in the economic marketplace, but less so in the marketplace of ideas. Frame sponsorship remains an active process in preserving a free marketplace of ideas. It allows competition among diverse viewpoints in a free marketplace and protects the ideals of

democracy. "The undetermined nature of media discourse allows plenty of room for challengers, such as a social movement, to offer competing constructions of reality" (Gamson, 1992, p. 391). Yet frame sponsorship is not considered in current frame process models.

Frame sponsorship extends the frame construction process to sponsors and media engaged in constructing meaning. It shifts the focus to news discourse as a dependent variable. From an agenda setting perspective, frame sponsorship analysis seeks to determine who sets the media agenda in the free marketplace of ideas. Current frame process models illustrate journalists as the originators of frames. However, journalistic framing of issues and events are not developed independently, but shaped by frames sponsored by multiple social actors, including organizations, politicians, and social movements (Beckett, 1996; Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Frame sponsorship is characterized as a competition where the sponsor with the most power in terms of resources "wins" and achieves placement of the sponsored frame in news discourse. Frame sponsors are the many groups who advocate frames for journalist consideration (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Entman, 1991, 1993, 2004; Gamson, 1992; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, Reese, 2001). Similar to agenda setting, sponsors determine their success or failure by how their preferred interpretations or frames are transferred to media discourse. "Essentially, sponsors of different frames monitor media discourse to see how well it tells the story they want told, and they measure their success or failure accordingly" (Gamson, 1992, p. 385).

Public relations practitioners are a viable source of journalist frames and the media's agenda because they supply nearly half of all news content (Cutlip, 1962, 1989).

In government agencies, nearly half of the information provided by public relations practitioners was used in subsequently published stories, and the salient topics identified by public relations practitioners were the same topics given salience in media coverage (Turk, 1986). As a public relations function, sponsorship is more than advocacy of a preferred frame. "Their [sponsors'] jobs breed sophistication about the news needs of the media and the norms and habits of working journalists . . . These agents frequently draw on resources of an organization to prepare materials in a form that lends itself to ready use" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, pp. 6-7). For example, research on public policy examined the rhetoric of interest groups to determine their level of influence on news frames (Andsager, 2000; Andsager & Smiley, 1996; Miller, et. al., 1998; Zock & Turk, 1998). These studies have shown mixed results in interest group effectiveness. A frame analysis of the 1996 GOP presidential candidate press releases revealed that candidates were often successful in getting the news media to reflect their frames (Miller, et. al., 1998). Another study focused on the importance of a credible source in soliciting organization frames in news discourse (Zock & Turk, 1998). An analysis of pro-life versus pro-choice rhetoric in interest group press releases revealed that an interest group's own words can influence what appears in news discourse (Andsager 2000). These studies conclude that interest groups that must compete for news coverage are most successful when they utilize public relations practices that follow traditional news guidelines. Public relations practitioners are then often successful in transmitting organizational frames to news frames through typical public relations techniques, including interviews, press conferences and press releases (Andsager & Smiley, 1996). Research indicates that public relations practitioners can actually determine media

frames, and framing analysis has been utilized to evaluate the success of public relations frame placement in news discourse (Andsager & Smiley, 1996; Dozier & Ehling, 1992; Gandy, 1982; Turk, 1986).

Frame Sponsorship and Sport

Although often faulted for performing at the lower models of public relations, sports information frames may have substantial influence on media frames. An initial step, however, in this consideration is the type of frames currently sponsored by sports information personnel. To date, research has not examined the type of frames sports information personnel send to the media; however, research has analyzed the gendered messages of public relations material and found athletic institutions to perpetuate the same damaging gender frames as the media (Buysse, 1992; Cunningham & Sagas, 2001; Hardin, 2003). Media guides are one venue of examination because public relations personnel have complete control over published content. A sample of media guides from Division I universities representing 10 sports revealed sports information publications actually reinforce gender differences (Buysse, 1992). Female athletes were pictured in their uniform 84 percent of the time compared to 93 percent for male athletes, and females were more likely to be pictured sitting or standing while male athletes were pictured in action. The research findings suggest that men are portrayed as skilled athletes while women are portrayed as passive spectators in sport (Buysse, 1992).

University Web sites provide another controlled communication venue for sports information frames. An analysis of NCAA Division I Web sites revealed men's sports and male athletes received significantly more coverage on Web sites than women's sports and female athletes (Sagas, Wigley & Ashley, 2000). This under-representation reflects a

perception that athletic departments value men's sports more than women's sports, and commit more to the success of men's sports (Sagas, et. al., 2000; Stratta & Hardin, 2003). Two studies conducted by The Tucker Center for Research on Girls and Women in Sport (1990, 1997) compared men's and women's images on media guide covers and found female athletes were significantly less likely to be portrayed as active sport participants and more likely to be portrayed in passive, sexually provocative and traditional feminine poses. Thus, current research indicates sports information personnel are disseminating damaging gender frames through public relations materials. Only one study posed a divergent finding on sport gender frames. An examination of Internet content of men's and women's tennis revealed no difference in the presence of information between men's and women's sites (Cunningham, 2003). The findings did not examine content, only amount of information, but suggest revenue-generating capability as an important factor for consideration (Cunningham, 2003). An examination of content may have revealed the same negative gender frames found in similar sport research. Further, dominant ideology may be more prevalent in sport venues where the symbiotic relationship between media and sport hinges on economic impact.

Sport Gender Frame Research

Media frames of women athletes as marginal and less important set an agenda for the public to perceive women athletes in the same manner. Researchers have compared media coverage and reality and found a significant difference, especially in women's sport coverage. A growing volume of research notes a disparity of coverage between men and women athletes, regardless of the communication medium or sporting event (Billings, et. al., 2002; Blinde, et. al., 1991; Creedon, 1994; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988;

Duncan, Messner, Williams & Jensen, 1994; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Eastman & Billings, 2000). Sport gender research has focused on gender coverage of medium type and prominence of athletic event and concluded that under-representation and marginalization of women athletes and women's sports remain consistent (Halbert & Latimer, 1994; Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999; Higgs & Weiller, 1994; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Messner, Duncan & Jensen, 1993; Tuggle, et. al., 2002; Zoch & Turk, 1998). This growing wealth of research illustrates that media are not simply under-representing women but communicating the message that "men are active/powerful/important and women are inactive/subordinate/unimportant" (Shifflett & Revelle, 1994, p. 145). The following discussion reviews the notable research that has documented the amount and type of media coverage on women athletes and women's sport by first examining print and broadcast media coverage research and then turning to athletic events at the national and international level.

A two-year content analysis of sport magazines and newspapers found only 13 to 17 percent of articles in four sports magazines focused on women athletes, and only 4.4 column inches of space in two newspapers were devoted to women's sports (Messner, et. al., 1993). A study of gender representation of *NCAA News* revealed the same pattern (Shifflett & Revelle, 1994). The researchers premised that an organization such as the NCAA, which is active in the equal representation of women athletes, would be careful to portray a balanced view of male and female athletes. They found, however, a significant pattern of under-representation existed in number and placement of articles concerning women athletes compared to men athletes (Shifflett & Revelle, 1994).

Although the media portray an unrealistic view of reality, they have been quite successful in perpetuating gender stereotypes, specifically through the use of frames. "The media reflects a reality that says women's participation in sport is trivial and less important than male athletes. This reality is made possible by utilizing frames of women athletes" (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994, p. 31). For example, an analysis of the covers of *Sport Illustrated* revealed a stereotypical trend. When Chris Evert was on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* announcing her retirement, *Sports Illustrated* framed her retirement with the caption, "I'm going to be a full-time wife," rather than focusing on her brilliant tennis career (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994, p. 30). When Florence Griffith Joyner appeared on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* and *Time,* her nails were always visibly represented in the photograph, which primarily linked her to her "appropriate role" of female and not athlete (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). Thus, sport continues to frame female athletes and their respective sport as trivial (i.e., less important than male athletes and men's sports).

Research has found little difference between print and broadcast; in fact, women might actually fare worse in print media (Eastman & Billings, 2000). Male sports were found to dominate both print and broadcast with newspapers allotting only three percent of space to women's sports and only five percent of airtime in broadcast. This finding was consistent regardless of the prominence of the athletic event and the type of sport, both the major and minor sports (Eastman & Billings, 2000).

Broadcast commentary has also received notable attention in sport gender studies. An analysis of sport commentary during the 1992 tennis match between Jimmy Connors and Martina Navratilova found that even when the score was tied, Connors received 30 "praise" comments and Navratilova received only seven (Halbert & Latimer, 1994).

However, during the match, Navratilova was criticized 12 times to Connors' five. The researchers concluded that gender equality could only be achieved when sport commentators present equal analyses (Halbert & Latimer, 1994).

National sport coverage has also been examined for amount and type of gender representation. A 24-hour analysis of ESPN's *SportsCenter* and CNN's *Sports Tonight* was conducted that included the 1995 U.S. Open tennis tournament (Tuggle, 1997). The U.S. Open was included because the researcher believed this event would result in equal coverage for both men and women athletes during this period of time. However, women's sports consisted of only five percent of all coverage in both ESPN and CNN programs and this five percent was usually at the end of each program, after all men's sports had been thoroughly covered (Tuggle, 1997). This trend of disproportionate representation is found in women's team sports as well, with women's team sports often discouraged as unfeminine and considered an imitation to "real" sport (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). In an analysis of the commentary of the NCAA's women's basketball championship, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) found a lack of technical analysis and discussion of team strategy, which suggested that "the sport in which the female basketball players were participating was not a true sport, but rather a pale imitation of real (men's) basketball" (p. 19). The researchers concluded that broadcast did not identify women as talented athletes, and their sport was not framed as a skilled game.

A content analysis of the 1986 men's and women's NCAA National Basketball Championship found broadcast commentary degraded and trivialized women athletes (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). A similar study of the men's and women's NCAA National Basketball Championship from 1991 to 1995 examined production differences. The study

found fewer camera angles and fewer graphics were used in the women's telecast, resulting in a perception of inequality and unimportance (Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999). Additional research on the 1995 and 2000 men's and women's Final Four basketball tournament concluded that the men's Final Four was constructed as a "must see" event while the women's games were constructed largely as a "nonevent" (Billings, et. al., 2002; Messner, et. al., 1996). Sport gender studies have concluded that this marginalization of women has led to "the construction of gender hierarchies by marking women's sports and women athletes as "other," by infantilizing women athletes . . . and by framing the accomplishments of women athletes ambivalently" (Messner, et. al., 1996, p. 132).

The disparity of media coverage has extended to the international level as well, with Olympic coverage illustrating the same patterns of under-representation and marginalization of female athletes (Higgs, Weiller & Martin, 2003; Tuggle, et. al., 2002; Tuggle & Owens, 1999). A content analysis of NBC's coverage of the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta revealed men's team competition received significantly more coverage than did women's team events (Tuggle, et. al., 2002; Tuggle & Owens, 1999). Olympic research, in particular, has revealed another category of gender marginalization, the gendering of the athletic event. In this category, sports are assigned male and female appropriateness based on the sport's emphasis of beauty or strength. Aesthetically-pleasing or "beauty" sports, such as gymnastics and figure skating, are perceived as female appropriate and receive strong media coverage. Females that participate in traditionally male sports that focus on strength, such as basketball, do not receive the same proportion of media coverage. An analysis of the 1996 "Olympics of the Women"

revealed that women involved in traditional non-feminine sports received virtually no coverage (Tuggle & Owens, 1999; Higgs, et. al., 2003). Despite the fact that the 1996 Olympics were named "Olympics of the Women," researchers found most media focus remained on the men or female-appropriate sports. In fact, the study concluded that women athletes were actually less salient in 1996 than in 1994 and 1998 (Tuggle & Owens, 1999; Higgs, et. al., 2003). The 2000 Summer Olympics improved little in gender equality. An analysis of the coverage of the 2000 Olympic men's and women's U.S. basketball squads found that although both men's and women's teams won gold, the "Dream Team" received 98 percent of the coverage while the women's team barely showed up in prime time (Tuggle, et. al., 2002).

Universal Sport Gender Frames

From the literature, a common theme emerges that women are consistently marginalized as athletes. "Visual production techniques, language terminology and commentary applied to women's sport are selectively imposed by the media to provide a highly stereotypical feminized view—one that tends to sexualize, commodify, trivialize and devalue women's sporting accomplishments" (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994, p. 36). Specifically, several overarching gender frames emerged from the literature devaluing women as athletes: symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance (Billings, et. al., 2002; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988, Eastman & Billings, 2000; Halbert & Latimer, 1994; Messner, et. al., 1993). Olympic coverage also identified gendering of the athletic event as a universal gender frame in sport (Higgs et. al., 2003; Tuggle & Owens, 1999). Table 2.2 depicts these universal sport gender frames.

Table 2.2 Universal Gender Sport Frames

Sport Gender Frame	Definition	Research
Symbolic superiority: - type of praise	Positions males and females as opposites with men characterized as big and strong and women characterized as small and weak; illustrated through type of praise.	Duncan 1986; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Duncan & Messner 1998; Halbert & Latimer 1994; Hillard 1984; Wenner 1998
Formula of exclusion: - secret agent	The visibility and invisibility of women athletes primarily through the secret agent. The secret agent considers how media account for successes and failures in sport.	Duncan & Messner, 1998; Halbert & Latimer, 1994
Symbolic dominance: - asymmetrical gender marking - hierarchy of naming	Emphasizes the differences between men and women with men representing the standard and women representing the "other," and includes asymmetrical gender marking and hierarchy of naming. Asymmetrical gender marking involves marking women events as women but not marking men events as men. Hierarchy of naming characterizes women as childlike and men as adults.	Duncan & Messner, 1998; Halbert & Latimer, 1994
Gendering of athletic event	Sport events based on aesthetic beauty are "women's" sport and those based on competition and power are "men's" sport.	Tuggle & Owens, 1999; Higgs et. al., 2003

The Amateur Athletic Foundation (AAF) studies provide foundational support for the "symbolic annihilation" of female athletes in sport coverage (Wenner, 1998). The series of studies examined both qualitative and quantitative aspects of televised and print coverage of men's and women's sports. By examining the attributes of athletic description, the AAF studies noted an exaggerated difference and inequality of male and female athletes through symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance. Symbolic superiority positions males and females as opposites with men characterized as big and strong and women characterized as small and weak. When power descriptors are utilized to describe a female athlete, they were neutralized by being paired with a weakness descriptor, such as "she's tiny; she's small but so effective under the boards." In contrast, male characterizations exhibited symbolic suppression of weakness by minimizing attributions that might question the power of a male athlete.

The formula of exclusion is based on the idea of commentators' capability to influence audience perception of the athlete and the athletic event. Related closely to framing, the AAF studies contend that commentators make some attributes of the players "socially visible by bringing these qualities to the audience attention, simultaneously commentators make characteristics of the athletes socially invisible (Duncan & Messner, 1998, p. 178). This idea corresponds to Entman's definition of framing, which posits that frames select and highlight certain pieces of information, simultaneously excluding other pieces of information, to advance a particular interpretation and evaluation (Entman 1993, 2004). Formula of exclusion is based on the visibility and invisibility of women athletes primarily through the secret agent.

The secret agent considers how media account for successes and failures in sport. In the AAF studies, commentators of men's games neutralized errors in men's play by attributing the error to mitigating circumstances, creating the impression that the errors were unavoidable, caused by factors other than incompetence and did not reflect the athlete's true skill. For example, when male players missed a basket, commentators often stripped their language of personal pronouns, "hits high" rather than "Jordan hits high," making the error subjectless or performed by a "secret agent." Women's commentary, however, was absent of external attribution, constructing the impression that women's errors were due to their own incompetence. The secret agent also considers the source of an athlete's success. A recurring trend throughout the AAF studies was the framing of male athletes as active agents in their success and their opponent's failure. Success was attributed to men's competence, and failure to the opponent's great strength, power or talent. In contrast, women athletes were framed as passive and reactive, often failing due to their inability to take control. If a woman did succeed, it was typically attributed to some outside force such as luck or a male parent or coach. Unlike men's failure, women's failure was not attributed to an opponent's strength, but a lack of personal competence.

Finally, the AAF studies illustrated a symbolic dominance of men's sports over women's sports. Symbolic dominance emphasizes the differences between men and women with men representing the standard and women representing the "other." This area has received most notable attention in subsequent studies, particularly in the identification of asymmetrical gender marking and hierarchy of naming. Asymmetrical gender marking in the Final Four was illustrated in the Final Four titles, the "women's

Final Four" for the women's tournament and the "Final Four" for the men's tournament. Hierarchy of naming is characterized by the terms "girls" or "ladies" for women and simply "men" for men in basketball commentary, which characterizes women as childlike and men as adults. This type of symbolic domination is also characterized by the use of first name only in women's commentary and full or last name in men's commentary, which again creates a hierarchy, positioning males over females (Duncan & Messner, 1998).

At this point, sport gender studies have aptly described the unrealistic media frames present in women's sport coverage. Women are marginalized and under-represented through a variety of frames at every sport type and level of competition in both print and broadcast media. While these studies have provided only a descriptive analysis of the current situation, research suggests that these frames not only reflect present attitudes about women in society but reinforce and educate viewers on what is "reality" (Halbert & Latimer, 1994).

Media frames, both subtle and overt, have important implications to social reality that must be considered (Billings, et. al., 2002; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). Media coverage that frames women athletes as marginal and trivial sets an agenda for the public to perceive women in the same manner. This consideration is intensified by the symbiotic relationship between sport and media.

Sport and Media

Sport has successfully adapted to the mediated culture primarily because of the symbiotic relationship sport and media share. This relationship contends that each needs

the other for survival (Wenner, 1989). Their interdependent nature is expressed in four main factors: legitimacy, entertainment, economic benefits and sport ideology.

Research shows media are a legitimizing agent for organizations, people, even sporting events (Vivian, 1985). Most recently media have been credited for legitimizing the women's Final Four. Following the 2004 women's Final Four, television coverage was a strong contributing factor to the tournament's growth and success, pointing particularly to the live coverage of the entire Final Four. University of Tennessee head coach Pat Summitt said media hype provides her athletes the type of experience and acknowledgement they deserve (Pickle, 2004). Women athletes are viewed as legitimate athletes because of the amount of media coverage received. Media coverage has also been described as a "rite of passage" that determines whether a sport has "arrived" by the type and amount of media coverage a sport receives. For the women's Final Four, media coverage has been considered "the greatest upgrade in the women's game" (Pickle, 2004). Thus, the current success of the women's Final Four is attributed in large part not to the skill and performance of the athletes but the increase in media coverage.

Sport also relies on media to provide a stage for entertainment, allowing sport events to grow to mythic proportions (Wenner, 1998). The Super Bowl is a prime example of how media have transformed sport into entertainment. From the large screens flashing replays to the star-studded halftime show, the Super Bowl has become primarily an entertainment event and secondarily a sport event. Even the advertising commercials add entertainment value, and many contend viewers tune-in just for the commercials (Kanner, 2003). Whatever the reason, viewers watch. The 2004 Super Bowl was seen by

89.8 million people, making it the most-watched television event of the year (*Associated Press,* 2004, April 7). Sport also relies on media for production quality. In the *NCAA News,* ESPN spokesperson Josh Krulwitz said that ESPN's enhanced coverage of the 2004 women's Final Four created excitement and momentum. He said the ESPN approach allowed them to capitalize and expand the excitement of the game (Pickle, 2004). The heightened entertainment value is credited for the high viewer ratings the women's Final Four produced.

Just as sport relies on media, media rely on sport for entertainment value. The 2004 women's championship game pitted bitter rivals University of Connecticut and University of Tennessee against one another. The game was close, intense and showcased a first in Division I basketball – the University of Connecticut becoming the first university to win both men's and women's championship game in the same year (*Associated Press*, 2004, April 7). The women's Final Four championship game drew the highest rating since ESPN began broadcasting the event in 1996 (*Associated Press*, 2004, April 7). In the *NCAA New,* Len DeLuca, ESPN senior vice president of programming strategy, attributed the success to the game's entertainment value. "The NCAA gave us great theatre, and we are so pleased our fans responded so positively," (Pickle, 2004).

Media and sport currently enjoy a very lucrative relationship. Sport ratings have increased over the past five years while ratings for other genres have declined (McKindra, 2003). The 2004 women's Final Four enjoyed a 28 to 36 percent rating

increase from 2003, drawing nearly 4 million households, surpassing all previous women's records. In fact, the 2004 women's championship game became the highest-rated basketball telecast ever – men's or women's – for ESPN or ESPN2 (*Associated Press,* 2004, April 7; Pickle, 2004).

Media outlets are willing to pay sport organizations well for exclusive broadcast rights of sporting events. Why – because high ratings equal high advertising dollars for media outlets. A 30 second commercial in the 2004 Super Bowl averaged $2.25 million, a seven percent increase from 2003 (*Ifilm*, n.d.; Kanner, 2004). This profitable relationship has produced a ripple-effect that touches advertisers, sport-site hosts and universities. Kanner (2004) suggests advertisers not the sport teams may be the true winner of the Super Bowl. Primary Super Bowl advertiser Anheuser Bush received 300 seconds of exposure to approximately 86.8 million viewers in 2003. The economic impact is not unique to professional sports. The St. Louis Sports Commission (2001) reported that the 2001 NCAA women's Final Four in St. Louis resulted in $20.9 million, the most money generated by a local amateur sport event since St. Louis hosted the U.S. Olympic Festival in 1994. At the university level, athletic success has brought an increase in financial contributions and student applications. An examination of the Mid-American Conference – universities at the lowest level of Division I schools, revealed 79 percent of the basketball programs exceeded $1 million profit and 72 percent exceeding $2 million in annual profits (Goff, 2000). Sport also positively impacts enrollment and subsequently financial revenue for universities (Goff, 2000). Georgia Southern indicated a 500-student enrollment increase after adding football, and Georgia Tech had a 28 percent increase in

student applications due to its 1990 national football championship (Goff, 2000).

The media and sport symbiotic relationship has been illustrated through the factors of legitimacy, entertainment and economic component. The last factor, sport ideology is founded on Gramsci's notion of hegemony. Media hegemony says that those in power will seek to maintain power through the production and distribution of ideas, particularly through the media, that will maintain the status quo (Gramsci, 1971). Media are considered the dominant agent in producing and maintaining dominant ideology (Gitlin, 1980). Dominant ideology has been particularly sustaining in sport, despite the increase in participation and coverage of women's sport, because it symbolically threatens masculine hegemony (Wenner, 1998). The power of negative gender frames may also contribute to an invisible reality in American culture that devalues women athletes. Frames provide methods of understanding beyond direct experience and can develop invisible interpretations of reality (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Tuchman, 1976). Invisible interpretations of reality are hegemonic frames that are so ingrained in our mediated reality that this reality is accepted without question, even though it may contradict direct experience. Gender studies have found that media frames of women impact the representation of women in society (Lind & Salo, 2002).

Continual frames that devalue women have created an invisible reality of male supremacy that extends to reality. This hegemonic operation has been characterized as a "special genius" of the system because it makes the entire hegemonic process so natural "that the very act of social construction is invisible," (Gamson, 1992, p. 374). Frames, however, can also serve as a counter-hegemonic venue to question the invisible

interpretations of gender and bring these views into the contested realm of discourse.

Current frame research, however, does not aptly consider media frames as a counter-hegemonic agent. Rather, frame research typically examines the media and frames in an effects model rather than as a venue for change. It is necessary, then, to consider sport frames as a counter-hegemonic agent by examining the influence of frame sponsorship on media. Frame sponsorship can then examine how frames may move issues into the contested realm of discourse in media hegemony.

Summary

This chapter defined framing in the agenda setting tradition as making certain information more salient to advance a particular interpretation and evaluation (Entman, 2004). It draws from agenda setting to illustrate the process of frames transferring from agenda to agenda. The conceptual convergence of these traditions has hinged on the transfer of attributes or frames; yet, current frame process models are incomplete. The addition of frame sponsorship to current process models magnifies examination of the transfer process and incorporates power as a central ideological component. The inclusion of power in the proposed frame process model is particularly important in sport. Power's alignment with dominant ideology is illustrated with the relationship of sport and media, particularly gender frames that devalue women athletes. Sport gender frames have maintained dominant ideology, but frame sponsorship suggests counter-hegemonic frames may also impact media discourse. This study contends frame sponsorship is a viable element in frame process models. Further, frame sponsorship offers an initial examination of power in sport. This study serves as a descriptive benchmark in redefining

the framing process and its implications in society. The next section provides the methodology to facilitate an analysis of gender frames and frame sponsorship in sport.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

As noted earlier, this study examines the sponsorship of gender frames from university sport public relations personnel to media in the coverage of the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four. The presence and type of gender frames are identified in sport public relations and media material and the similarities and differences between public relations frames and media frames are assessed. This study also examines possible boundary conditions in frame sponsorship, specifically how media type and locale and event salience impact the level of frame sponsorship. This examination is facilitated by computer assisted textual analysis of the sport public relations material from the participating women's Final Four universities and selected print and broadcast media coverage of the women's Final Four. The following chapter outlines the steps in computer assisted textual analysis to discern and compare text frames. First, the chapter notes the operational definitions that guide the study analysis and provides background on frame research and the usage of textual analysis. Background of the 2004 women's Final Four is also included as a rationale for its selection for the study focus. Participating universities in the women's tournament are also identified. Then, a description of the study database is included for sport communication text, print text and broadcast text. Finally, the chapter outlines the steps for submitting data to frame analysis using the computer-assisted program CatPac.

Guiding Operational Definitions

Although frames are defined differently throughout the literature, this study defines a textual frame as a collection of keywords or phrases that represents a particular theme or idea and creates a meaningful representation of a person, organization or issue.

In this study, a frame applies specifically to the frames of a sponsor or news media. Frames are constructed by identifying frame mechanisms, key words or phrases used to represent a particular team or game in the 2004 women's Final Four. Frame sponsorship is a person or entity that advocates or "sponsors" a particular frame to be placed in news media discourse. In this study, frame sponsors are the sports information department of each university participating in the 2004 women's Final Four. The degree of sponsor success is measured by the similarities and differences of sponsor frames and news frames.

This study assesses the presence and type of gender frames in sports information materials and media by utilizing the universal negative gender frames identified in sport research (Duncan 1986; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Duncan & Messner 1998; Halbert & Latimer 1994; Hillard 1984; Wenner 1998). Frame sponsorship is also assessed by the similarities and differences of gender frames in sports information text and media text. Key to this analysis is the identification of key terms sponsors use to advocate a particular team as evidenced in distributed public relations material. Using public relations texts, frame analysis quantifies the frequency of occurrence of key terms in the texts for subsequent statistical analysis. The use of public relations materials enhances study validity because "they provide a primary means for interest groups [sponsors] to elucidate their issue stances" (Andsager, 2000, p. 581). Thus, frame sponsors supply the terms that constitute their frames rather than having frames designated by the researcher. This frame analysis method produces more accurate frames based on sponsor words or phrases and greatly reduces researcher subjectivity on identifying frames.

Content Textual Analysis

Frame analysis is founded on the methodology of content textual analysis. Textual analysis has dominated most gender and media studies that focus on the stereotypical representation of women in media. It is the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of a communication text (Berelson, 1952). The objective and systematic criteria are key components to this definition and signify that the researcher does not choose what he or she considers most appropriate, but examines the text with methodical detachment. It is a quantitative method that converts text to numbers and typically relies on frequency data to describe the text. Historically, content textual analysis has focused on manifest content, or content that is apparent, but this idea has been extended to include latent content through the identification of textual themes common in frame analysis (Neuendorf, 2002).

Despite its widespread usage, textual analysis exhibits two main weaknesses, a descriptive focus and a lack of objectivity. Its studies are prone to provide numerical descriptions of analyzed texts without examination of the corresponding why. Gender studies note content textual analyses often fail to advance gender study goals due to this descriptive nature (Steeves, 1987). However, theoretically grounded textual analysis can assist in developing scientific knowledge (Neuendorf, 2002). Content textual analysis based on the theoretical concepts of framing and agenda setting provide the opportunity to move beyond text description to consider how and why negative media gender frames persist.

A second criticism of content textual analysis is its lack of objectivity, often due to the practice of human coding. Inter-coder reliability is often utilized, with variable

success, to offset this weakness. The development of computer-assisted textual analysis has sought to satisfy the criterion of objectivity. The computer-assisted analysis allows frame terms to emerge from communication text, ensuring objectivity rather than imposing researcher frame terms on communication text. These computer programs produce a frequency list of terms from the communication text in descending order of frequency and in alphabetized order. Using this list, the researcher can identify frame terms of the text. In this manner, the objective and systematic criteria of content textual analysis are upheld (Miller, 1997).

This methodological approach accounts for the issue of power in frame analysis. Frame research contends that a frame's magnitude is one method of establishing the level of frame power (Entman, 2004). Frame magnitude is the frequency of a frame mechanism in the communication text. Frame analysis researchers employ the use of computer-assisted textual analysis programs to account for a frame's magnitude power by using term frequencies to guide frame term selection (Miller, et. al., 1998). A frame's power is also evident through its cultural resonance, or use of frame terms that are memorable, understandable and emotionally-charged (Entman, 2004). Cultural resonance has been operationalized in frame analyses by selecting frame terms that are meaningful and exhibit a lack of ambiguity (Andsager, 2000; Miller 1997, Miller, et. al., 1998). Thus, computer-assisted textual analysis, particularly in frame research, has strengthened the method's adherence to objective and systematic analyses. Further, theoretically-based textual analysis allows research to move beyond mere description and contribute to theory building.

Based on this rationale, this study utilizes computer-assisted textual analysis in the theoretical concepts of framing and agenda setting. This method fulfills the systematic and objective criteria of textual analysis as well as advance gender research. An analysis of frame sponsorship provides a determination of unique gender frames of sport public relations personnel and media based on the rhetorical terms present in communication text. Correspondence of gender frames between university public relations materials and media communication text is determined through computer-assisted textual analysis. The analysis focuses on word choice in the selected communication text to determine how the two entities, university sports information departments and media, define the athletic event through the type and extent of gender frame usage. Gender frames are operationalized by identifying frame mechanisms, such as keywords or clusters of keywords (Andsager 2000; Entman 2004; Miller, et. al., 1998). Frame sponsorship is operationalized through frame similarities and differences between the two texts (Andsager 2000). In this manner, frames emerge from the date rather than imposing researcher frames on communication text.

2004 Women's Final Four

The women's Final Four is the final tournament in a series of tournaments for NCAA Division I universities and culminates with the crowning of the national champion of NCAA Division 1 women's basketball. The 2004 women's Final Four was held at the New Orleans Arena in Louisiana from April 4-6 and included four Division I universities: Louisiana State University (LSU), University of Connecticut (UConn), University of Minnesota (Minnesota) and the University of Tennessee (UT). The 2004 women's Final Four marked LSU's first Final Four appearance in 40 years and the

University of Minnesota's first trip to the Final Four. Tennessee made its third straight appearance in the women's Final Four, and UConn made its fifth straight appearance. In semifinal rounds, Tennessee defeated LSU, and Connecticut defeated Minnesota. The championship game was a rematch of the 2003 championship game with Connecticut again defeating Tennessee. Connecticut's national championship tied it with Tennessee for three-straight national championships.

College basketball, the women's Final Four in particular, was chosen for its high brand equity and more equitable coverage of women athletes in both print and broadcast media. The women's Final Four captured local and national coverage and is arguably one of the most prominent women's sporting events. For example, credential media for the tournament included 423 media and 204 ESPN personnel. Three of the four teams in the Final Four are among the top eight in attendance in the country: No. 1-Tennessee; No. 2-Connecticut; No. 8-Minnesota. The 2004 attendance marked the 12th consecutive sellout in women's Final Four history. More notably, the women's Final Four tournament was the most viewed in eight years, and the women's championship game drew the highest media ratings since ESPN began broadcasting the event in 1996. The semifinal games were the most viewed college basketball games, men's and women's, in ESPN history, and the women's Final Four championship game was the most viewed college basketball game, collegiate or pro, in the network's 25-year history. Thus, the 2004 women's Final Four represents a prominent athletic event. The immense media coverage and number of people who viewed the game signify the impact the tournament and corresponding media coverage have on society. For these reasons, the 2004 women's Final Four is an excellent venue to examine gender frames and frame sponsorship in sport. Further, because of its

prominence, public relations techniques are heavily utilized to provide media information on the tournament, teams, players and coaches. Each university and the NCAA devote a portion of their athletic web site to media information on the women's Final Four. University sport information personnel of participating universities develop and disseminate press releases that are posted to each web site. Also included on each web site are player and coach interview and press conference transcripts coordinated by sports information personnel throughout the tournament. Thus, the women's Final Four offers a unique opportunity in women's sport to examine the relationship between sports information gender frames and media gender frames.

Study Timeframe

The 2004 women's Final Four was held April 4-6. The two semifinal games, Tennessee versus LSU and Connecticut versus Minnesota, were held Sunday, April 4. The championship game between Connecticut and Tennessee was held Tuesday, April 6. Monday, April 5 was an off-day for the athletes, but included media interviews with the championship game teams. The public relations and print study timeframe is March 29-April 7. This timeframe allows for the dissemination of public relations material and production of print media from the end of the Elite Eight tournament to the day following the championship game. By beginning the timeframe after the Elite Eight, the study examines all public relations materials and print articles immediately following the finalization of the 2004 Final Four tournament teams. For broadcast, the study examines the broadcast commentary of the three games in the 2004 women's Final Four. Thus, the broadcast timeframe is the ESPN coverage of the semifinal games on Sunday, April 4 and the championship game on Tuesday, April 6.

Sports Information Communication Text

Sports information is a public relations function that primarily creates and disseminates press releases and coordinates press conferences and interviews. In frame research, these techniques have been effective in securing organizational frames in news discourse (Andsager 2000; Miller, et. al., 1998; Zock & Turk, 1998). Thus, sports information communication texts will include the interview transcripts, the press conference transcripts and the press releases related to the women's Final Four and disseminated by participating university sports information personnel during the study public relations timeframe, March 29-April 7. An analysis of public relations materials provided by sports information personnel to media outlets determines the sponsored sport information frames.

Public relations material was gathered from each participating university in the 2004 women's Final Four tournament from the media portion of the athletic web site of each university. All public relations material from each university web site was in the public relations study timeframe and included the phrase "women's Final Four." Public relations material on the participating women's Final Four universities was also obtained from the media center of the 2004 women's Final Four web site of the NCAA. This web site included complete audio and written transcripts of press conferences and public relations sponsored interviews. All public relations material gathered from the NCAA women's Final Four web site was in the public relations timeframe and included the phrase "women's Final Four." The compilation of sports information materials from university and NCAA web site media centers are important because the material obtained was disseminated directly from participating universities to media. These data ensure that

the frame analysis will be of the sponsors' own words and phrases. As a result, all newspaper articles, such as those distributed by the *Associated Press* and included on the NCAA web site, were excluded because the author was not a sports information person from a participating university. Also excluded were the team previews for the participating teams in the Final Four because the authors were various newspaper reporters rather than sports information personnel. All public relations material from university and NCAA web sites were reviewed for duplication of text and application to the study. In this manner, a complete assembly of press releases, interview and press conference transcripts were compiled for each university without duplication of text for subsequent analysis.

The sports information communication text resulted in a total of 55 public relations items that consisted of 72,740 words. Of this, LSU contributed 18 public relations items consisting of 12,936 words; Connecticut contributed 12 public relations items consisting of 24,677 words; Minnesota contributed 10 public relations items consisting of 9,433 words; and Tennessee contributed 15 public relations items consisting of 25,694. Table 3.1 provides a complete breakdown of sports information communication text. These data follow the success of teams in the Final Four tournament. For example, the word count for LSU and Minnesota are fairly similar due to the fact that both LSU and Minnesota lost in the semifinal game of the Final Four. In comparison, both Connecticut and Tennessee word counts are much higher than LSU and Minnesota; however, only 1,077 words separates the amount of public relations material between UConn and UT. Again, this similarity is due to the fact that Connecticut and Tennessee both won the semifinal game and played the championship game. The 2004

Table 3.1 Sports Information Communication Text

University	Public Relations Materials	Word Count	Page Count	Line Count
Louisiana State University	18	12,936	17	879
University of Connecticut	12	24,677	33	1,643
University of Minnesota	10	9.433	13	634
University of Tennessee	15	25,694	32	1,621
TOTAL	55	72,740	90	4,502

championship game was an identical rematch of the 2003 championship game, which may have also impacted the amount of public relations material disseminated by the two universities.

Print Media Communication Text

Sport gender studies contend women athletes and women's sports are under-represented and marginalized in both print and broadcast media; however, women athletes may actually fare worse in print (Eastman & Billings, 2000). Further, agenda setting research indicates that the agenda setting function of the media may actually be stronger in print media (Funkhauser, 1973). Thus, print media is a viable consideration for this study. The unit of analysis is a word or phrase in the published article. Both national and local print coverage were considered in the analysis. Collectively, the newspapers serve as a comparison for sports information frames, and separately, local and national, the newspapers provide an examination of potential boundary conditions in frame sponsorship. The study examined a total of 10 newspapers and newspaper services, four local newspapers, five national newspapers and one newspaper service. The complete print media communication text included 383 newspaper articles consisting of 269,105 words. A breakdown of local and national print communication text follows.

Local Newspapers

A total of four newspapers comprise the local print dataset; one newspaper representing each university. A local newspaper for each university was identified through the media outlet list in the media guide of each university. In this manner, the research could assume the selected print media outlet received public relations material from the university. Further, selection was based on availability through the University of

Tennessee's online newspaper database. The newspapers were accessed through Academic Lexis-Nexis and Factiva newspaper databases through UTK Online (https://www.lib.utk.edu). The following represent the local print newspapers utilized in this study: *The Advocate* for LSU; *The Connecticut Post* for Connecticut, *The Star Tribune* for University of Minnesota and *The Knoxville News Sentinel* for Tennessee. Newspaper articles were located in the two databases with the search string "women's Final Four," and during the print study timeframe, March 29-April 7. This method excluded articles regarding the women's NBA and the men's Final Four, which occurred during the same time period. Articles from each newspaper were cross-referenced between the two databases, Academic Lexis-Nexis and Factiva, to ensure data completeness and avoid data duplication. The local print communication text included 203 articles consisting of 142,547 words. Table 3.2 provides a complete description of the local print dataset.

National Newspapers

This study included national newspaper coverage of the 2004 women's Final Four as a comparison benchmark with local newspapers. This comparison is useful for examining local versus national differences in frame sponsorship. Newspapers representing national coverage were defined as those not representing the locale of a participating university in the 2004 women's Final Four. University media guides, particularly those produced for the Final Four tournament, included a few of the chosen national newspapers in their media list. However, these media outlets provided broad coverage of the tournament and the participating teams rather than a single focus on the "home team." For example, *Times Picayune* is a national newspaper selected for

Table 3.2 Local Print Communication Text

Newspaper	Article Count	Word Count	Page Count	Line Count
Advocate	41	29,253	71	3,971
Connecticut Post	28	15,614	31	1,701
Knoxville News Sentinel	28	17,965	43	2,430
Minnesota Star Tribune	106	79,615	211	11,900
TOTAL	203	142,547	356	20,001

included in the university tournament media guides. As the main New Orleans newspaper, the addition of this newspaper to a university's media list is expected; yet, this newspaper was not tied to a specific university. Rather, *Times Picayune* covered the tournament and the participating teams as a whole. Similarly, the *Associated Press* was selected as a national newspaper source and is also included on the media list of every participating university. Yet, *Associated Press* provides broad coverage of the women's Final Four tournament and its participating teams in comparison to the *Knoxville News Sentinel*, which predominately focused on the local university team, Tennessee.

National newspaper selection was also based on newspaper size and availability. Unlike business and political news, at present, *USA Today* is the only newspaper that includes national sport coverage, and *USA Today* does not have a weekend edition. However, many of the larger circulation newspapers did include the women's Final Four due to the prominence of the athletic event. The selected national newspapers represent the top newspapers of the Audit Bureau of Circulation's list of newspapers with the highest circulation in 2004 and represent a section of the United States that correspond with at least one participating university in the 2004 women's Final Four. The selected national newspapers include *Atlanta Journal Constitution, Chicago Sun Times, New York Times, Times Picayune,* and *USA Today.* The *Atlanta Journal Constitution* is in Southeast United States and represents the University of Tennessee and LSU. The *Chicago Sun Times* is in the Midwest United States and represents the University of Minnesota, and the *New York Times* is in the Northeast United States and represents the University of Connecticut. The newspaper *Times Picayune* was included because it is the New Orleans newspaper where the 2004 women's Final Four was held. The *Associated Press* was also

included in the national newspaper coverage dataset due to the large number of unique articles on the 2004 women's Final Four and because the majority of major newspapers relied on the service to provide 2004 women's Final Four coverage. The inclusion of *Associated Press* and *Times Picayune* further strengthened the study's examination of frame sponsorship and national media. Because both of these entities were included in media guide outlets, the study can assume that both of these entities received public relations materials from the participating universities.

Newspaper articles for the national newspapers were selected from Academic Lexis-Nexis and Factiva accessed through UTK Online (http://www.lib.utk.edu). Articles were selected based on the search string "women's Final Four" and in the print study timeframe, March 29-April 7. These criteria allowed articles on the men's Final Four, women's NBA and other irrelevant articles during the study timeframe to be excluded from the dataset. Articles from each newspaper were cross-referenced between the two databases, Academic Lexis-Nexis and Factiva, to ensure data completion and avoid article duplication. All *Associated Press* articles that appeared in the five national newspapers were also excluded from the national newspaper file to ensure *Associated Press* articles were only included in the *Associated Press* file. The national print dataset included 180 articles consisting of 126,558 words. Table 3.3 provides a complete description of the national newspaper data for this study.

Broadcast Communication Text

The literature review notes the influential power of commentary and its corresponding frames on viewers, particularly in men's and women's sports (Beentjes, et.

Table 3.3 National Print Communication Text

Newspaper	Article Count	Word Count	Page Count	Line Count
Associated Press	80	45,476	94	5,101
Atlanta Journal Constitution	18	9,486	20	1,065
Chicago Sun Times	4	3,298	10	307
New York Times	14	12,188	22	1,202
Times Picayune	41	38,886	84	4.722
USA Today	23	17,224	41	2,281
TOTAL	180	126,558	271	14,678

al., 2002; Bruce, 1998; Duncan & Brummett, 1987; Morse & Nydahl, 1985; Whannel, 1982). Further, research indicates that commentators have contributed to the belief that women are weaker, less aggressive and less skilled than men by ignoring or downplaying women's physical abilities and use of strategy (Blinde et. al., 1991; Bruce, 1998; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). It is important then to examine the gender frames of sport commentary. This study will examine game commentary of the three games that comprise the 2004 women's Final Four.

The 2004 NCAA women's Final Four basketball tournament was broadcast on ESPN. The two semifinal games were broadcast on Sunday, April 2, and the championship game was broadcast on Tuesday, April 4. Each game was videotaped from pre-game commentary to post-game commentary, and word-for-word transcripts of broadcast commentary were produced for communication text analysis. Transcription of broadcast commentary is defined as discourse employed among game commentators. A word or phrase of broadcast commentary served as the unit of analysis and was operationalized as "the narrative account employed by the broadcast commentator, whether in a single sentence or in a series of sentences, to evaluate the athletic performance of a collegiate athlete in an athletic event," (Billing, et. al., 2002). Following Eastman and Billings (2000) and Billings, Halone and Denham (2002), broadcast commentary was analyzed from the beginning of the game, starting tip-off, to the end of the game, where the second-half clock strikes 00:00. This method ensured the greatest amount of public relations influence on broadcast communication text. For example, commentators traditionally utilize game notes and press releases from sports information personnel for game commentary; however, public relations personnel have substantially

less influence over the impromptu sideline post-game interviews. The ESPN broadcast commentary was the only communication text in this portion of the frame analysis to allow a more equitable comparison among sports information frames, print media frames and broadcast media frames. Further, exclusion of visual elements follows McComb's distinction between presentation frames and attribute frames. Attribute frames exhibit the agenda setting function that this study seeks to examine (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001).

Eight individuals occupied the commentator role in the 2004 women's Final Four tournament. Broadcasters included Mike Patrick, play-by-play action, Fran Meyers, color commentary, Doris Burke and Mark Jones, floor reporting and Reece Davis, Al Fortner, Stacie Del Shoeman and Nell Forter, halftime commentary. The broadcast commentary transcript for the entire 2004 women's Final Four tournament resulted in 100 pages and 39,799 words suitable for analysis. This amount of text was appropriate because it exceeded the 500-word minimum recommendation of previous frame analysis studies to obtain accurate text frames (Andsager, 2000; Miller, et. al., 1998; Neuendorf, 2002; Riechert, 1996). Table 3.4 provides a full description of broadcast commentary utilized in the study.

Computer-Assisted Textual Analysis

This study utilizes computer-assisted textual analysis to determine the similarity of gender frames in sport information and media. Sport information frames are determined by the public relations material disseminated to the media by the sports information personnel at the participating universities in the 2004 women's Final Four, LSU, Connecticut, Minnesota, and Tennessee. Media frames are comprised of two

Table 3.4 Broadcast Communication Text

Broadcast Game	Game Type	Word Count	Page Count	Line Count
UConn and Minnesota	Semifinal	13,119	32	936
UT and LSU	Semifinal	12,523	30	838
UConn and UT	Championship	14,157	38	1,041
TOTAL		39,799	100	2,815

datasets, print and broadcast. Print frames are determined by news articles from 10 newspapers and newspaper services representing local and national print media coverage tournament and participating universities of the 2004 women's Final Four. University media outlet lists verify that all local newspapers and two national newspapers received public relations material from a participating university in the 2004 women's Final Four. Broadcast frames are determined by broadcast commentary of the two semifinal games and the championship game in the 2004 women's Final Four. As mentioned earlier, the use of public relations texts allows frames to emerge from a group's own words or phrases. The comparison of public relations and media data follows Miller, Andsager & Riechert's (1998) political frame analysis of the 1996 GOP presidential primaries and Andsager's (2000) issue frame analysis of the 1995-1996 late-term abortion debate. This study also follows Miller, Andsager & Riechert (1998) and Andsager (2000) in the use of computer-assisted textual analysis to objectively define public relations frames and media frames. The current study builds on these previous frame analyses through a closer comparison of public relations frames and media frames by establishing direct dissemination of public relations material to the majority of media outlets included in this study.

This study utilizes CatPac as the computer-assisted textual analysis program. CatPac was developed by Joseph K. Woelfel and distributed by the Galileo Company. It identifies the most important words in text based on content through a self-organizing artificial neural network patterned after the connection of neurons in the human brain which naturally connect when reading text. The pattern of connections among neurons forms a representation in CatPac that is transferred into associations among words in text.

The accompanying software ThoughtView provides perceptual mapping of these associative clusters in visual form. CatPac allows for the objective examination of large sets of data to determine major representing themes in text. To do this, the program sorts text files into a frequency list and an alphabetized list. A frequency list is based on the total number of times a word appears in a file. This word list is then analyzed through hierarchical cluster analysis to determine the frames of text. These procedures follow the frame analysis steps outlined in previous frame analysis studies using the computer-assisted textual analysis program VBPro (Andsager, 2000; Miller, et. al, 1998). For example, in the late-term abortion debate, Andsager (2000) submitted text into a computer-assisted content analysis program to obtain a list of words appearing in the text in descending order of frequency. Selected terms were then submitted to a hierarchical cluster analysis to determine frames for each set of text. Much like previous frame analyses, CatPac allows for the inclusion and exclusion of words in the hierarchical cluster analysis. Articles such as "a, the, and" that contribute little to the rhetorical themes of the text but have a high word frequency can be excluded from the analysis. The inclusion of words allows for the inclusion of words with low word frequency but substantial meaning in the study. For example, the term "girl" may have low word frequency in the text; however, sport gender literature notes "girl" to have high rhetorical meaning in the identification of gender frames. The term "girl" can then be included in the hierarchical cluster analysis to determine appropriate word associations or textual themes.

Preparing the Data

Sports information text was placed into a single file and saved as a text document. This file was analyzed for completeness and for duplications. For example, the NCAA women's Final Four media web site included locker room interview transcripts of the championship game that neither Connecticut nor Tennessee included on their own media center web site. However, both Connecticut and Tennessee provided post-game transcripts of the championship game as did the NCAA web site. It was necessary then to review the data to ensure no duplication of public relations materials. The data were also spell-checked in order for word frequency to be counted correctly. This step included spelling verification of player names since gender sport literature points to a lack of last name usage in sport coverage.

All media data were also placed into a single file and saved as a text document. This file was later separated into distinct media types, print and broadcast, and then further divided into a local print file and a national print file. As mentioned earlier, newspaper articles were gathered from two separate databases and then cross-referenced for completion. Cross-reference of the databases was necessary to avoid duplication. Headlines and photo captions were included in the text analysis, but newspaper names, copyright information and web tags were removed from analysis. All print files were spell-checked to ensure accurate word frequency lists. Broadcast communication text that was part of the media text file was later extracted and placed into a separate broadcast text file. The file underwent spell-check, particularly the spelling of player and coach names to ensure accuracy with the frequency word list.

Identification of Frame Terms

Frame analysis of the identification and correspondence of public relations frames and media frames was guided by three major steps: identification of frame terms, hierarchical cluster analysis and identification of power through frame dominance. The first step involves constructing frames for public relations and media based on the rhetorical terms found in the public relations material of participating universities and media coverage of the 2004 women's Final Four (Andsager, 2000). The text files of the two datasets, both sport communication text and media communication text, were submitted separately to CatPac, which placed all words appearing in text in order of descending frequency. Terms unique to each entity was selected to comprise the frame terms. Frame terms are then said to emerge from the data through the counting and sorting of words in text (Andsager, 2000). Frame literature noted that frames and the corresponding frame terms had different levels of power based on magnitude and cultural resonance (Entman, 2004). This study utilized a term's magnitude and cultural resonance in text to identify appropriate textual frame terms. Magnitude was operationalized as the frequency of usage and the lack of ambiguity in the text. Cultural resonance was operationalized as the meaningfulness of the term or word phrase in the context of the women's Final Four. Previous frame analyses have utilized a similar identification method, also choosing frame terms based on frequency, lack of ambiguity and meaningfulness in context (Andsager, 2000; Miller, 1997; Miller, et. al., 1998; Neuendorf, 2002; Riechert, 1996). A separate list of frame terms is identified for each dataset; one list for sport communication text and another for media communication text. Frame research and statistical analysis suggest 80 to 100 frame terms are necessary for

frames to emerge from the data and also adheres to the statistical requirements of hierarchical cluster analysis (Andsager, 2000; Miller, 1997; Miller, et. al., 1996; Neuendorf, 2002; Riechert, 1996). This method to determine frame terms allowed for a more precise investigation and comparison of sports information frames and media frames. These terms are then submitted to hierarchical cluster analysis.

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Hierarchical cluster analysis represents the second step in frame analysis. The frame terms for the sports information and media communication dataset provide the basis. The hierarchical cluster analysis is utilized to determine the relationship among sets of frame terms. It does so through the frequency mean data to obtain a distance measure for sports information communication text and media text of the women's 2004 Final Four. An agglomeration schedule then identifies which terms or clusters combine and displays the distance measure at each step. Hierarchical cluster analysis is useful because once two objects or clusters are joined, they remain together until the final step. Dendrograms are then generated to provide a visual representation of the relationship among terms (Andsager, 2000). A dendrogram is a tree-like plot showing the connections between words and groups of words. Dendrograms generated through cluster analysis provide the researcher with an interpretable visualization of whether, and the degree to which, objects of interest relate in similarity and dissimilarity to one another (Riechert, 1996). Terms that tend to cluster appear close together in a single body of text while those that do not, appear farther apart. According to frame research, the clusters in the dendrograms represent the frames of analyzed text (Andsager, 2000; Miller, et. al., 1998; Neuendorf, 2002; Riechert, 1996).

The dendrograms visually illustrate the amount of distance between terms in text, both terms close together and those farther apart. Thus, this study considers terms joined at the first cluster level. This first-level cluster defines the frame(s) of text in this study because these terms represent the terms that cluster tightly together (Riechert, 1996). This method may identify several frames for a single body of text, but it is important to determine a frame's power for more equitable frame analysis comparison.

Frame Dominance

Calculation of frame dominance is the final step in frame analysis. Frame dominance is the identification of the frame that has the greatest power, magnitude and cultural resonance, in a text. To determine frame dominance, the standardized mean occurrences of frame terms in each cluster are obtained. Based on Andsager (2000) and Miller and Riechert (2001), the standardized mean occurrence is useful in obtaining frame dominance to compare frames between texts (Andsager, 2000). The standardized mean occurrence is the sum of the mean frequency of occurrence of each term in a single frame. The higher the standardized mean score in each cluster, the higher the probability that the terms in the cluster or the frame dominated the text. In this manner, clusters or frames in a text are rank-ordered in degrees of power or frame dominance. In the examination of frame sponsorship, the top three dominant frames are identified for sport communication text and media text. Each of the top three dominant frames is given a frame identifier based on a rhetorical theme apparent in the frame terms that comprise the cluster. The top three dominant frames for each dataset serve as the foundation for frame sponsorship analysis in the study.

Gender Frame Analysis

Gender frame analysis follows the steps outlined above for frame analysis and then examines identified frames for the presence of gender frames. The first step of the gender frame analysis is to determine the positive, negative, and neutral gender frames present in public relations and media frames. Negative gender frames have been identified in sport gender literature to include: symbolic superiority through the type of praise, formula of exclusion through the secret agent, symbolic dominance through women as other, asymmetrical gender marking and hierarchy of naming and gendering of an athletic event (Duncan 1986; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Duncan & Messner 1998; Halbert & Latimer 1994; Hillard 1984; Wenner 1998).

No corresponding positive gender frame definition was found in the reviewed literature. Thus, this study defines positive gender frames as symbolic attribution, formula of inclusion through the active agent, and symmetrical identification through a lack of male comparison, omission of first-name reference and focus on women as athletes. Symbolic attribution is the opposite of symbolic superiority and is characterized as positive praise indicators where praise is not weakened or linked with a negative term. Formula of inclusion represents the opposite of formula of exclusion through the active agent identifier. The active agent illustrates that women have control or take part in their own future rather than being acted upon by external factors. As an active agent, a player's success is attributed to internal rather than external factors. For example, a player's good athletic play would be attributed to the athlete's own hard work and talent rather her coach's coaching ability or parental support. Symmetrical identification represents the opposite of symbolic dominance by allowing women's athletics and women athletes to

stand alone without a comparison to men's athletics or male athletes. Omission of first-name reference represents the absence of a hierarchy of naming, and focuses on women as athletes (i.e., it notes the absence of gendering of the athletic event and the athletes). Table 3.5 lists the positive and negative gender term indicators used in the gender frame analysis of this study. Public relations and media gender frames are identified by the presence of at least one positive and/or negative gender indicator in a text frame. Neutral gender frames are those frames found irrelevant to gender and include such frames as game mechanics, tournament location and general information.

Summary

Gender research illustrates that negative frames develop and perpetuate damaging gender stereotypes (Berstein, 2002; Biggs, et. al., 2003; Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999; Lind & Salo, 2002). Hardin (2001), however, illustrates that positive frames can also have substantial impact on shaping public perception. This study builds on previous research by establishing the presence and type of gender frames in sport communication text and media text and the similarities and differences between the two. The study's methodology is also an important contribution to sport framing research because computer-assisted textual analysis allows terms to emerge from the data rather than imposing researcher terms to communication text. The identification of dominant frames in media and university sport information includes the considerations of power through an objective comparison of textual frames and gender frames. Finally, the study theoretically builds frame and gender research in sport by examining the idea of frame sponsorship as part of the frame process model and identifying theoretical boundary conditions that impact the agenda setting function of frame sponsorship in the

Table 3.5 Positive and Negative Gender Frame Indicators

Positive Gender Frames		Negative Gender Frames	
Frame	**Indicator(s)**	**Frame**	**Indicator(s)**
Symbolic attribution	Positive-positive praise indicator - where praise is not weakened or linked with a negative term.	Symbolic superiority	The type of praise, including positive neutralization and the ratio of praise to criticism,
Formula of inclusion	Active agent identifier -illustrates that women have control or take part in their own future rather than being acted upon by external factors. As an active agent, a player's success is attributed to internal rather than external factors.	Formula of exclusion	Missing in action through underepresentation and the secret or reactive agent, noting a loss of control over one's life events, success determined by external factors, typically male
Symmetrical identification	Allows women's athletics and women athletes to stand-alone without a comparison to men's athletics or male athletes and omission of first-name represents the absence of hierarchy of naming	Symbolic dominance	Asymmetrical gender marking or women as other through a comparison with men and hierarchy of naming
Focus on women as athletes	The absence of gendering of the athletic event and the athletes	Gendering of athletic event	Foremost identification of event as female

framing and agenda setting tradition. The next section provides the analysis and discussion of frame sponsorship in sport.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study examines the frame sponsorship of public relations practitioners to media outlets in sport. Of specific interest to the study is the transfer of gender frames from sport public relations personnel to varying media outlets, including both print and broadcast. The 2004 women's basketball Final Four tournament served as the focal point of the study, and the study database included the public relations materials of participating women's Final Four universities, a local print media outlet from each university locale for a total of four local print outlets, six national print outlets representing national women's Final Four coverage, and ESPN broadcast transcripts of the women's Final Four semifinal and championship games. Based on these data, the study examined four major areas—gender frames, frame sponsorship, boundary conditions and gender frame sponsorship.

Research Question One

Frame analysis represents the initial step in a thorough examination of gender frames and frame sponsorship. Research question one identifies textual frames through the frame analysis of public relations and media text related to the 2004 women's Final Four tournament. Media text was also divided into print text and broadcast text to facilitate further examination.

RQ 1: What are the frames present in public relations text and media text for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

For frame analysis, each text was submitted separately to CatPac for frame analysis. Rhetorical terms from each text were placed in descending frequency order and alphabetical order. From this list, neutral terms were chosen and later excluded from

frame analysis. Neutral terms were identified as articles and speech modifiers that have high frequency but do not contain substantial meaning, such as "a," "the," and "of." Other neutral terms identified basketball game mechanics such as "shot," "pass," and "basket," and tournament location, such as "arena" and "New Orleans." These neutral terms did not contain substantial meaning for the research questions of this study. A separate list of frame terms was identified for each text set, 100 frame terms for public relations text, 98 frame terms for the entire media text, 79 frame terms for print text and 88 frame terms for broadcast text.

Based on frame literature, frame terms were identified through magnitude and cultural resonance (Entman, 2004). As noted earlier, magnitude was operationalized as a term's high frequency of usage in text, and cultural resonance was identified as a term's substantive meaning in a particular context. For example, in the context of gender frame identification, many player names had low frequency or magnitude but potentially substantive meaning or high resonance due to the fact that sport gender research notes the devaluation of women athletes through a first name reference (Wenner, 1989). Each set of frame terms was submitted separately using the include option of CatPac for Ward's method of hierarchical cluster analysis. The include command allowed only the identified frame terms to be considered in the cluster analysis. The Ward's method was utilized in the cluster analysis to obtain tightly clustered term sets that represent textual frames. This method provides small-shaped clusters that are ideal to find small conceptual groupings in text. CatPac then generated a separate dendrogram for each text to serve as a visual representation of textual frames. Frame terms that cluster together in the dendrogram represent the frames of that particular text.

Public Relations Frames

Based on the public relations hierarchical cluster analysis, seven frame clusters emerged from public relations text. The seven public relations frames included a Players frame, Connecticut Coaching frame, a Connecticut Program frame, a Minnesota frame, a Player Opportunities frame, a Geno Auriemma frame and a National Championship Game frame. The Players frame included frame terms that identified five players and two coaches that were new to the 2004 women's Final Four tournament. This frame focused on the inexperience and excitement of tournament play for the newcomers. The Connecticut coaching frame identified the Connecticut coach and team with the frame term "coach" and included attributes of coaching basketball. The Connecticut program frame emphasized the winning history of the Connecticut program. The Minnesota frame focused on Minnesota's appearance in the tournament and their star player Lindsay Whalen. The Player Opportunities frame identified the potential wins-losses and career records that the tournament represented to the players. The sixth frame, a Geno Auriemma frame, included only two frame terms, "Geno" and "Auriemma," referring to the Connecticut head basketball coach. The final public relations frame included frame terms "national," point," "Pat," and "UConn," and was identified as the National Championship Game frame. Table 4.1 lists the public relations frames and corresponding frame terms.

Media Frames

A cluster analysis of media text revealed seven clusters of terms or frames. One cluster included a single frame term, "Butts," and did not join any cluster throughout the

Table 4.1 Public Relations Frames

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms
Players	*Award, Pokey, Jessica, Ann, Borton, assists, Pam, scoring, Sue, Shanna, LaToya, Butts, pretty, title, lady, excited, questions*
Connecticut Coaching	*Plays, run, can't, coaching, consecutive, guess, Johnson, confidence*
Connecticut Program	*History, Huskies, winning*
Minnesota	*Game, we, season, team, win, they, women's, Minnesota, Lindsay, Whalen, lost*
Player Opportunities	*Kids, wanted, wins, career, sure, tough, lead, Ashley, beat, shots, loss, record, chance, try*
National Championship Game	*National, won, big, points, good, Pat, UConn*
Geno Auriemma	*Geno, Auriemma*

analysis. This singular word did not provide thematic clarity and was discarded as a media frame. The remaining six frames were a Player frame, an Ashley Robinson frame, a Connecticut and Minnesota frame, a Tennessee frame, a Connecticut frame and a Tennessee and LSU frame. The Player frame included coach and player names from each of the losing teams in the tournament as well as a reference to men. The frame Ashley Robinson included only three frame terms, but had substantial meaning for the Final Four gender frame analysis. In the tournament, Ashley Robinson struggled with hitting free throws, and the Ashley Robinson frame illustrated this theme in media text. The Connecticut and Minnesota frame included the star player of each team and the match-up between the two teams in the tournament. The Tennessee frame focused on the Tennessee coach and players and the program's success in the Final Four tournament. The Connecticut frame included both the men's and women's Connecticut teams linked with the frame term "star," indicating a focus on Connecticut star players. The final frame, the Tennessee and LSU frame, focused on the semifinal game between the two teams. Table 4.2 lists media frames and the corresponding frame terms.

Print Frames

A print hierarchical cluster analysis revealed three frames in print text: a Tournament Participants frame, a Making History frame and an Auriemma frame. The Tournament Participant frame focused on the participants in the 2004 Women's Final Four tournament. It identified each team with the frame terms "Minnesota," "LSU," "UConn," and "Tennessee," and players and coaches in the tournament with the frame terms, "Taurasi," "Butts," "Augustus," "Gunter," "Whalen," "Summitt" and

Table 4.2 Media Frames

Frame Identifier	***Frame Terms***
Player	*Always, Shanna, tickets, athletic, LaToya, titles, Pokey, Summitt, Sue, Jessica, Ann, Tigers, different, called hard, men, chance, beat, lost*
Ashley Robinson	*Ashley, Robinson*
Connecticut/Minnesota	*Coach, Connecticut, little, Minnesota, UConn, Taurasi, Whalen, we, play, tournament, played, player, national, Auriemma, basketball, big, season, championships, teams, Lindsay, women's people, watch, record, never, title, far, won*
Tennessee	*Tasha, can't, hit, Pat, pass*
Connecticut	*Guard, Huskies, women, men, star, fans*
Tennessee/LSU	*Tennessee, she, LSU, right, team, great*

"McCarville," The Making History frame focused on the historical implication of the 2004 Women's Final Four. The final print frame, an Auriemma frame, focused on the Connecticut team, but this frame was dominated by the frame term "Auriemma." The frame also included frame terms "Pam," "Borton," and "UT," which illustrated a print media focus on Minnesota and Tennessee as Connecticut opponents in the women's Final Four tournament. Table 4.3 lists the frames and corresponding frame terms for print media text.

Broadcast Frames

Four broadcast frames emerged from the broadcast hierarchical cluster analysis; however, one cluster included only two frame terms that did not provide substantive meaning and was discarded from subsequent analyses. The remaining three clusters were identified as the Tournament Participants frame, the Outside Factor frame and the Connecticut frame. The Tournament Participants frame exhibited a strong focus on the teams, coaches and players in the women's Final Four tournament. Frame terms "Tennessee," "Connecticut," "Minnesota," and "LSU" identified the teams in the tournament, and frame terms "Augustus," "Davis," "Tasha Butts," "Pat," "Ely," "Robinson," and "Whalen" identified the main players from each participating team except Connecticut. The Outside factor frame was identified as "outside factor" due to the large number of frame terms in the frame that were irrelevant to women's basketball. Irrelevant frame terms dominated the frame and included "lucky," "relationship," "mother," and "father." The final broadcast text frame, a Connecticut frame, focused on the star of the Connecticut team Diana Taurasi and Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma. The dominant frame term was "Taurasi," which noted a strong focus on Taurasi in

Table 4.3 Print Frames

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms
Tournament participants	*Coach, LSU, all, Minnesota, Tennessee, UConn, best, Taurasi, team, Lady, women's, player, big, Vols, Butts, Augustus, title, star, Gunter, Chatman, Whalen, Huskies, Summitt, McCarville, great*
Making history	*Ashley, Jessica, tray, history, hit, Shyra, relationship, Ely, LaToya, Davis, missed, athletes, men, different, kids*
Auriemma	*Women, Auriemma, better, hand, Borton, Pam, Geno, work, fans, body, tickets, UT, American*

broadcast commentary. Table 4.4 lists the broadcast frames and corresponding frame terms in broadcast media text.

Research Question One Summary

The frame analysis of public relations and media text as well as the separate print and broadcast texts served as the basis for this study's subsequent examination of gender frames and frame sponsorship in the 2004 women's Final Four.

Research Question Two

Research questions two and three identify the positive and negative gender frames in public relations and media text. Research questions two and three examine the presence and type of gender frames in public relations and media text. Research question two assesses the presence of positive gender frames in public relations and media discourse, and research question three assesses the presence of negative gender frames in public relations and media discourse.

RQ 2: What are the positive gender frames present in the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

Symmetrical identification was one of only two positive gender frames identified in public relations and media text. In public relations text, only the Minnesota frame included a positive gender frame, symmetrical identification. For example, the linkage of frame terms "Lindsay" and "Whalen" in the public relations Minnesota frame noted the presence of the first and last name reference of Minnesota player Lindsay Whalen. The omission of a first-name reference exhibited a positive gender indicator. The frame term "women's" also emerged from text. Although this term has been identified as a negative

Table 4.4 Broadcast Frames

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms
Tournament participants	*Able, again, Augustus, Tennessee, they, team, knocked, best, LSU, Davis, Butts, great, good, trying, championship, pretty, Pat, LaToya, gets, try, players, UConn, Connecticut, Tasha, Ely, little, Robinson, coach, Vols, Minnesota, Whalen, Lindsay, win, chance, hit, Lady, throw, missed, nice*
Outside factor	*Big, girls, lucky, Sue, McCarville, relationship, Summitt, mother, Crockett, Jessica, Maria, gives, Pokey, women, Jackson, Lindsay, tough, father, Tigers*
Connecticut	*Moore, Huskies, battle, Geno, Diana, Taurasi, Conlon, Strother, McCarville, Turner*

gender indicator in sport communication text (Wenner, 1998). The terms "men's and "women's" may serve as clarifying terms rather than negative gender indicators (Bernstein, 2002). Minnesota public relations text concentrated on the Minnesota and Connecticut game, which overlapped with the men's Final Four timeframe and included the men's Connecticut team. Thus, the frame term "women's" served as symmetrical identification to clarify the men's and women's Final Four tournaments and the men's and women's Connecticut basketball teams.

The second identified positive gender frame was symbolic attribution through positive praise. Media text exhibited two positive gender frames, the Ashley Robinson frame and the Tennessee/LSU frame through symmetrical identification and symbolic attribution. The Tennessee/LSU media frame exhibited symbolic attribution with the linkage of frame terms "right," "great" and "team." All of these frame terms are positive athletic descriptors, and a weak descriptor was not linked to these positive attributes to neutralize the praise. As a result, symbolic attribution through positive praise was identified.

Research Question Two Summary

Study findings identified only two positive gender frames in public relations and media text, symmetrical identification and symbolic attribution. Symmetrical identification was illustrated by a lack of first name reference to players, but this finding may be due to adherence to *Associated Press* style guidelines rather than gender frame awareness. Further, the small number of examples of positive gender frames in both public relations and media text suggests a minimal presence of positive gender frames in sport.

Research Question Three

Research question three follows the gender frame analysis of research question two and identifies the negative gender frames in print and media text.

RQ 3: What are the negative gender frames present in the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four texts?

Public relations and media text exhibited three of the four universal negative gender frames: symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance. The following outlines the presence of each negative gender frame in public relations text.

Symbolic Superiority

The negative gender frame symbolic superiority was illustrated in public relations and media text primarily through the negative gender indicator positive neutralization of praise. Positive neutralized praise links a positive and a negative term. This linkage neutralizes the positive nature of the praise so that praise for women athletes and women's sport is rendered ineffective. For example, the linkage of frame terms "award," "pretty," and "excited" in public relations text exhibited positive neutralization. The frame term "award" noted athletic success on the individual and team level; however, the frame term "pretty" was found in public relations context to resonate a devaluing nature. "Pretty" was never used to describe physical beauty, but rather as an adjective that lessened positive praise. Phrases such as "pretty intense," pretty remarkable," "pretty big," and "pretty strong" indicate positive praise weakened by the feminine adjective "pretty." The term "pretty" lessened the strength of these praise terms, neutralizing the effect.

Formula of Exclusion

Formula of exclusion was evident in public relations text through the secret agent negative indicator. In this indicator, women's success is often attributed to external factors, or a "secret agent," portraying women in a reactive role who exhibit a loss of control. Pat Summitt's response in a public relations press conference illustrated this point. Summitt said, "I'm a screamer . . . but regardless I have to maintain my focus and my composure and just try and help the players as opposed to getting caught in the emotion of the game." Research notes the identification of "screamer" as a devaluing term that indicates a loss of control (Bruce, 1998). This idea in public relations text was emphasized by the contextual phrase "trying to maintain focus and not get caught in the emotion." From this example, women players and women coaches are characterized by a lack of control that excludes them as active agents in the unfolding events of the athletic game, perpetuating the formula of exclusion.

A comparison of Summitt and Auriemma revealed media text portrayed Auriemma as controller of the situation. For example, media text reported, "UConn coach Geno Auriemma, who has lots of experience on which to draw, said he thinks the Gophers could go one of two ways: They could be overwhelmed, or play better than ever because of everything they have overcome this season," and "Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma was hunkered down in his team's huddle. Outside the circle of players, a couple of Auriemma's assistants were looking at their shoes and rubbing their temples." In contrast, Pat Summitt was framed as a reactive agent in media text. "It seems as though Pat Summitt thinks she isn't getting a fair shake," and "The Vols figure coach Pat Summitt has them covered when it comes to lucky charms. If she sees a heads-up penny,

she'll go to the end of the earth to get it." These examples illustrate Auriemma as in control of the situation while Summitt is portrayed as reactive and relying on external forces for success. Further, the reactive agent of Summitt's coverage served to exclude her from the reputable position of game strategy and success that Auriemma enjoyed. As a result, the male and female comparison of the Tennessee and Connecticut coach revealed that media text, despite the coaching success of both, demonstrated negative gender frames that served to devalue women coaches in women's basketball.

Symbolic Dominance

Symbolic dominance was the most prevalent negative gender frame in public relations and media text, including the negative gender indicators hierarchy of naming and asymmetrical gender marking. The hierarchical cluster analysis revealed that players were referred to predominately on a first name basis, a hierarchy of naming indicator. For example, in public relations sponsored interviews, a number of first name references were found, including, "Pokey, a lot is made . . . " "Jessica, can you talk about . . . " and "Shanna you just came out on fire." The use of a first name reference during an interview is rarely considered a sign of devaluation, and the same could be said for these instances. First name player reference in an interview could be due to familiarity rather than devaluation. However, the use of a first name reference was only universal in public relations sponsored interviews for women participants. For example, Tennessee was represented by the frame term "Pat" in public relations text, but the last name "Summitt" did not emerge as a frame term in the cluster analysis, indicating a strong hierarchy of naming of the female Tennessee coach. This finding was intensified by the comparison with the Geno Auriemma frame, indicating the use of a first and last name reference for

the only male coach in the women's Final Four tournament. For example, Pat Summitt was predominately called "Pat" in public relations text, but Geno Auriemma was called "coach" or "coach Auriemma." Further, Geno Auriemma was the only male coach in the tournament. The fact that he was framed by his first and last name, but the leading women's coach, Pat Summitt, was framed with a first name only, is significant. This symbolic dominance through the hierarchy of naming suggests negative gender frames may extend only to women in women's sport.

Asymmetrical gender marking was identified in both texts. For example, in media text, both Geno Auriemma and Pat Summitt were described as the premiere coaches in women's basketball with phrases such as, "coaching luminaries as Connecticut's Geno Auriemma and Tennessee's Pat Summitt," but media text sought to depict another side of Summitt that was omitted from their portrayal of Auriemma. Media text reported, "Pat's a Southern country girl who doesn't know how to respond to Geno," and

> There's another side to Summitt that people don't see. The side that gives a tremendous amount of time to charities and to her fellow coaches. It's the side of a family, a woman, a wife and a soccer mom. A woman, her friends and colleagues say, who has a sense of humor and loves to have a good time. "It's interesting to listen to her sorority sisters tell stories about her when she was younger," said assistant Nikki Caldwell, who played for Summitt 10 years ago. "Sometimes it's hard to imagine that being Pat that they're talking about, but she's like everybody else. This is a woman who talks to her mom every day. Every day." And then there are those Kodak moments when Summitt's 13-year-old son, Ross Tyler, appears. "Sometimes they'll be sitting courtside, and she'll have her arm around

him, and they'll be having a mother-son talk. She just lights up when they're together," Caldwell said.

Media text did not provide a comparable focus on Auriemma.

Research Question Three Summary

In summary, both public relations and media text exhibited damaging gender frames of women athletes. Both text sets illustrated a preponderance of damaging gender indicators. The universal negative gender frames symbolic superiority, formula of exclusion and symbolic dominance were all found in both public relations text and media text. This finding corresponded to gender literature that damaging gender frames are apparent in university sport materials and media text (Malec, 1994; Sagas, et. al., 2000). This research also revealed that a consistent devaluing gender frame extended to female coaches in women's basketball but not to male coaches in women's basketball. This finding was consistent in both public relations text and media text and suggests that damaging gender frames remain specific to women even in women's sport.

Research Question Four

Frame sponsorship between public relations personnel and media is a key examination in this study. Research question four considers this focus through a comparative analysis of public relations textual frames and print textual frames.

RQ 4: What similarities and differences exist between public relations material and print media coverage for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

Each university public relations text and local print text followed the frame analysis steps described in the methodology chapter and utilized frame dominance to assess frame similarities and differences. The more similar the dominant frames, the

higher the level of frame sponsorship between public relations text and local print text (Andsager, 2000). Table 4.6 lists the dominant public relations and local print frames and corresponding frame terms used in this analysis by university.

Connecticut Public Relations and Connecticut Post Comparison

A comparative frame analysis revealed a similar Connecticut championship focus in both Connecticut public relations text and *Connecticut Post* text. The dominant print media frame was Tournament champions, but its corresponding frame terms were similar to all three Connecticut public relations frames. For example, public relations text and print text exhibited a strong similarity on Connecticut coverage of team unity and winning the national championship. Public relations text included a team focus as the reason for the success of the Connecticut women's program. For example, when the seniors were asked about winning their third straight national championship, one senior responded, "It's more like us going out with a victory for ourselves, for the team and for the program. I think that's what this is all about." In Connecticut print text, the linkage of frame terms "team" and "great" also indicated a team-focus. Connecticut senior guard Maria Conlon was quoted in print text, "There's not a person on this team that really worries about their own shots, worries about the personal things, the individual statistics. Everybody wants everybody to have a good time out there. We don't play the game on a personal level. We play it as a team and that's why we have so much success."

Despite the team focus, both public relations and print text did include a strong focus on Connecticut star player Diana Taurasi. In Connecticut public relations text, Taurasi emerged as a dominant frame that linked her capabilities and the Connecticut team's success. For example, in public relations text, Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma

Table 4.6 Public Relations and Local Print Frames by University

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms	Level of Dominance
University of Connecticut Frames		
Taurasi	*Award, national, women's, Taurasi, Diana, Connecticut, UConn, Huskies, career*	.229 standard mean occurrence
National championship	*Wins, best, victory, championship*	.041 standard mean occurrence
Tennessee	*Always, Ashley, athletic, Butts, Tasha, Robinson, star, success, chance, unbelievable, can't, questions, pretty, kids, job, tough, sure, better, relationship, Pat, Summitt*	.038 standard mean occurrence
***Connecticut Post* Frames**		
Tournament champion	*Nation, UConn, team, Huskies, lost, championship, Auriemma, women's, Taurasi, Minnesota, players, Moore, play, great, Tennessee, won, different, coach, win, best, strong, men, victory, Diana*	.688 standard mean occurrence
Tennessee	*Lady, Vols, respect, defeated*	.044 standard mean occurrence
Tournament opponents	*Easy, coaches, question, unbelievable, appearance, relationship, kids, tough, Ashley, Robinson, Lindsay, Whalen*	.036 standard mean occurrence
University of Tennessee Frames		
Tennessee	*Big, great, LSU, play, team, coach, championship, Tennessee, Pat, Summitt, hard, good, Tasha, excited,*	.431 standard mean occurrence
Parity	*Diana, Taurasi, parity, respect, Moore, can't, leaders*	.037 standard mean occurrence
Connecticut	*Victory, Conlon, Whalen, Auriemma, champion, large, men's Huskies, Strother, Jessica, relationship, Geno*	.011 standard mean occurrence

Table 4.6 Continued

***Knoxville News Sentinel* Frames**		
Tennessee	*UT, women's, coach, championship, Butts*	.184 standard mean occurrence
Connecticut making history	*Connecticut, men's, UConn, chance, history*	.077 standard mean occurrence
Coach comparison	*Auriemma, better, Summitt*	.050 standard mean occurrence
LSU Frames		
LSU team	*Augustus, Johnson, team, women's, coaches*	.173 standard mean occurrence
Confidence	*Lost, best, Saban, try, good, Minnesota, compete, UConn, confidence, Connecticut, appearance*	.071 standard mean occurrence
***The Advocate* Frames**		
LSU team	*Appearance, Augustus, play, Johnson, LSU, Lady, Tigers, lost, team, good, great, women's, career, best, coach, win, national, men's Connecticut, championship, coaches*	.654 standard mean occurrence
Chance for success	*Question, makes, Butts, Diana, Ely, Saban, chance, success*	.038 standard mean occurrence
Chatman	*Chatman, earned, pretty*	.034 standard mean occurrence
University of Minnesota Frames		
Minnesota team	*Big, great, Lindsay, team, Whalen, Minnesota, win, play, Janel, coach, McCarville, Gophers, good, coaches, women's, never*	.572 standard mean occurrence
Minnesota versus Connecticut	*Hit, Tennessee, Connecticut, lost, Huskies, victory, little, Pam, history, championship, Diana*	.143 standard mean occurrence
Season end	*Career, defeated, disappointed, obviously, earned, proud*	.034 standard mean occurrence

Table 4.6 Continued

***Star Tribune* Frames**		
Minnesota team	*Big, Gophers, Pam, McCarville, women's, Whalen, Minnesota, men, star, proud, victory, right*	.404 standard mean occurrence
Lindsay/Connecticut	*Always, coach, Lindsay, fun, Connecticut, Janel, Huskies, history, good practice, men's, champion*	.193 standard mean occurrence
Final Four appearance	*Try, appearance, leaders, question, Strother, award*	.015 standard mean occurrence

described Taurasi as "the best in the game," and public relations text included Taurasi's numerous awards and records at the university and national level. Connecticut print text also focused on Taurasi as an important component to the success of the Connecticut women's basketball program and included a similar list of Taurasi's accomplishments as public relations text. The *Connecticut Post* reported,

> Taurasi will likely go down in Connecticut lore as the greatest ever to play the game. She led the Huskies to a four-year-won-loss mark of 139-8, four straight Final Four berths, and three consecutive NCAA titles. She finished her remarkable career as the school's all-time No. 3 scorer, with 2,156 points and is the only player in UConn women's history to score more than 2,000 points, grab 600 (628) rebounds and hand out more than 600 assists (646).

Thus, despite the similarity of a team focus in both public relations and print text, a Taurasi focus also emerged in both texts. While Taurasi emerged as a more dominant frame in public relations text, Connecticut print followed public relations in highlighting

Taurasi's accomplishments. This finding suggests that while print text may follow public relations frames, frame salience may not transfer within the frame, making a weak public relations frame a dominant frame in print text. Further, the transfer of the relationship frame indicates that weak salient frames can transfer as successfully as a dominant frame.

The issue of respect exhibited one difference between Connecticut public relations and print text. Despite the similarities on the subject of respect, a subtle connotative difference was present. Frame analysis notes the importance of examining frame terms that do not emerge as well as emerge as part of dominant text frames. The most notable frame term absence in Connecticut public relations is the absence of frame term "Auriemma" in a dominant frame. Rather, "Auriemma" emerged in a weak public relations frame (.039 standard mean occurrence). Interestingly, the cluster analysis linked frame terms "Pat" and "Summitt" with the most dominant frame, the Tennessee frame, in Connecticut public relations text, but omits the Connecticut coach. A contextual analysis of public relations text illustrated this focus by devoting little space to coach Auriemma's accomplishments, and his accolades were always linked to Pat Summitt and Tennessee. For example, "His [Auriemma] .828 NCAA Tournament winning percentage is second all-time behind Pat Summitt," and "UConn captured its third straight national championship and four in five years. Tennessee also won three in a row from 1996 through 1998." In contrast, Connecticut print text illustrated respect for Tennessee as proof of Connecticut's dominance in women's basketball and also included a focus on Tennessee's response to criticism of its appearance in the Final Four tournament and the championship game. For example, Diana Taurasi commented on the win against Tennessee in the championship game. "UConn domination. Bottom line. Tennessee is a

great team. They were able to make their runs, but we showed a lot of composure. It is just the absolute best feeling in the world." *The Connecticut Post* also framed respect as a conflict between the Tennessee and Connecticut programs in its coverage of Tennessee's response to criticism. The *Connecticut Post* reported,

> It seems as though Pat Summitt thinks she isn't getting a fair shake. All the talk around the Final Four this week has been about the overwhelming success of Connecticut, which went after its third straight NCAA title Tuesday night, while the Lady Vols [it seems in Summitt's mind] are being slighted, not only by the Huskies, but by the women's basketball world. "Well, I don't know if there's resentment for what we've done," she said. "I certainly recognize what Connecticut has done. I have tremendous respect for the success they have enjoyed, not only in regular-season play but more importantly in post season play. I respect what their coaching staff has done, I respect the players . . . I don't know if they respect us, I don't know what the resentment is . . . We're not going to go away. We are here. And a lot of people didn't think we would be here. We planned on being back again. And I would hope that you would respect the consistency in our program and you can look over the last 27 years in particular. We've been pretty consistent. So, if people don't respect it, then maybe they resent it. So be it."

Overall, Connecticut public relations text exhibited strong frame sponsorship to Connecticut print text. Often public relations material was reiterated verbatim in print text. However, the comparative frame analysis revealed that sponsorship is not necessary dictated by frame dominance. Weak public relations frames were found to transfer as

successfully as dominant frames to print text. Further, frame transfer did not include the transfer of frame salience from public relations text to print text. This finding suggests that public relations practitioners must not simply focus on their dominant sponsored frames in public relations text, but consider the impact all public relations frames may have on print discourse.

Tennessee Public Relations and Knoxville News Sentinel Comparison

A comparative analysis of dominant Tennessee public relations and *Knoxville News Sentinel* frames revealed strong frame sponsorship of game-related frames. This connection was evidenced by the dominance of the Tennessee frame for both public relations and print text. Public relations text focused on Tennessee's play in the women's tournament and their appearance in the championship game against Connecticut. The cluster analysis linked frame terms "hard," "LSU," and "team," which was illustrated in the public relations text on the Tennessee/LSU game.

> We played one of the ugliest games that we played all year and we still managed to win. I think that says a lot about our team. It really doesn't matter how ugly things are going because we will never stop playing hard. We still try to do whatever it takes to get the ball in the basket. That is what I love about this team.

Public relations text also focused on Tennessee's play in the championship game. This focus was illustrated in public relations text when coach Summitt talked about her team and the loss to Connecticut in the championship game. "I think the first thing I want to address is obviously the great season that we have had. The great run. And just give this team all credit for putting themselves into a national championship game again. And also for being or staying with a competitive, never give up attitude." Local print text's focus

on Tennessee's tournament play was also a dominant print frame. For example, print text described the Tennessee players as "comprising one of the gutsiest, most determined, most ambitious team."

Tennessee public relations and print text also corresponded with a negative tone of Tennessee's tournament play. For example, print text included a partial quote from coach Summitt on Tennessee's play, "Well I probably should talk about my lack of ability to coach the first 20 minutes. But we struggled tonight offensively." This quote was a direct partial quote from Tennessee public relations text,

> Well I probably should talk about my lack of ability to coach the first 20 minutes. But we struggled tonight offensively. I thought that their defensive pressure really bothered us and unfortunately we didn't have a great inside game going for us. We quick shot the ball. I just thought that we were very impatient. We got frustrated and then started fouling. So now we're down. At half time we talked about the fact that we have got to outscore them by 7 in the second half. And we said we're fortunate. We could be down 15. But our defense on Seimone I thought and on Johnson was pretty solid. And on Hodges. They were the big three that we thought we had to affect offensively. At second half I thought our switch to the zone broke their rhythm. Once they started to find the soft spot, which was in the high post, and as well as the baseline, we had to go back. We had to go back to our man. And I just thought that we made enough defensive plays and then we got on the offensive glass. That to me is pretty much what happened. And obviously we made a few shots along the way. Zolman made a big one for us.

A key difference in these frames is the omission of the longer narrative. Although in public relations text the quote began negatively, the tone actually shifted to a more positive focus. The omission of the larger narrative then illustrated an attribute difference between public relations text and local print text.

Finally, the issue of parity was found in both Tennessee public relations and print text but with different attributes. Coach Pat Summitt was the primary spokesperson on parity in Tennessee public relations text, saying,

> I think what we saw throughout the tournament was an example of the parity in the women's game. Certainly we were a team that managed to pull out close games and in our last three games we have won by a total of six points. So obviously I think there's parity in the women's game. But to have Tennessee and Connecticut in a championship game, I don't think that's a bad thing for women's basketball because both programs are very high profile. And hopefully it's going to bring a lot of national attention and newcomers even for those people that have watched this tournament and obviously witnessed the parity they still are very familiar with Tennessee and Connecticut. So it's like a great heavyweight fight. I think a lot of people want to see it.

The issue of parity in Tennessee public relations text was extended from players to new coaches in the NCAA Women's Final Four. In public relations text, coach Pat Summitt focused on the importance of new coaches to parity in women's basketball. "It's exciting to have great young minds in this game that are impacting the parity that we're now seeing, not only in recruiting, but in their ability to teach and teach the game and manage the game as well." In contrast, parity did not emerge as a dominant frame in Tennessee

print text. However, contextual analysis revealed the subject in a single *Knoxville News Sentinel* article. The article stated, "Throughout the NCAA tournament parity had been a popular theme. But after all the upsets and a Final Four field which included only one No. 1 seed, women's college basketball is left with a traditional championship game. It's Tennessee vs. Connecticut. Again." This comparative analysis revealed that although the issue of parity did transfer to a weak print text focus, the positive attribute associated with parity in public relations text did not transfer.

Overall, the Tennessee comparative frame analysis revealed similarities between game-related public relations frames and media frames. This connection was evidenced by the dominance of the Tennessee frame and the correspondence of athletic respect between the texts. However, in this comparison, a low-level of frame sponsorship was apparent for topics outside of a game-related focus. For example, the non-game related subject of the Auriemma-Summitt relationship did not emerge in print text. Thus, dominant public relations frames were sponsored in local print text; however, when the frame expanded beyond game-related topics, frame sponsorship was severely diminished. Further, the analysis revealed a distinction between issue and attribute transfer in the frame process.

LSU Public Relations and The Advocate Comparison

A comparative analysis of LSU public relations text and *The Advocate* local media text revealed strong frame similarities, particularly between the dominant LSU team frame of both texts. LSU print text often echoed public relations text by publishing the awards of LSU star player Augustus and the accomplishment of the LSU women's team. For example, *The Advocate* devoted coverage to LSU star Seimone Augustus,

reporting Augustus' season honors multiple times. "After leading the LSU women's basketball team on a run that ended with its first trip to the Final Four, sophomore Seimone Augustus has been named the Louisiana Sports Writers Association Player of the Year," and "Selected to the Kodak/Women's Basketball Coaches Association All-America team on Saturday, Augustus averaged a team-high 19.4 points per game in leading LSU to a 27-8 record and a second-place finish in the SEC." Both texts also focused on the season's accomplishments despite the loss to Tennessee in the semifinals. LSU public relations text included, "We're still really excited. The coaches told us to keep our heads up because we did real good, and we'll do better next year." Print text echoed this idea in an article reporting LSU's loss to Tennessee. "Gone in six seconds. That's the minuscule difference between the LSU women's basketball team playing for its first national championship and the conclusion of its most successful season."

Despite the strong level of frame sponsorship between LSU public relations and print texts, a major difference was an expanded print frame focus. LSU public relations text retained a tight LSU team focus. For example, LSU sophomore guard Seimone Augustus, after being named Kodak Women's Basketball Coaches Association All-American, said, "It's all about my teammates . . . This is a great honor for me. But, this also goes to my teammates. I could not do anything on the court without them. I owe this honor to my team." In contrast, print text broadened LSU coverage to include considerable focus on the LSU coaching change. For example, *The Advocate* reported on coach Gunter's accomplishments following her resignation.

> Forty-two years and 700-plus college coaching victories to her credit, Gunter will have her team in the Final Four. She will likely tell you it's the kids who should

> get the credit, but without someone like Gunter putting them in place it would never have happened. The growth of women's basketball has been painfully slow over the years, its popularity even more slowly. Gunter has helped contribute to women's college basketball's wave of popularity as well as to the growth of the sport. Like so few others still in the game, she not only has heard about how rough it was at the start, she knows the pitfalls of the sport. Her rewards have been many, national honors as well as SEC laurels. This Final Four, however, could mark the second of two of her biggest moments that she didn't fully realize, however. In 1980, Gunter was the head coach of the U.S. basketball team for the Olympics in Moscow. It was boycotted. Now, her illness will prevent her from being at that spot on the bench where she would love so much to be.

Public relations text did not devote a similar dominant focus on coach Gunter.

Overall, the comparative analysis revealed the presence of frame sponsorship between LSU public relations and local print text. This sponsorship was most apparent for traditional news subjects, such as LSU's first appearance in the Final Four. The analysis also revealed that print often enlarges the focus of sponsored frames. Thus, public relations frames serve as igniter frames for broader media coverage.

Minnesota Public Relations and Star Tribune Comparison

A comparative analysis of Minnesota public relations text and the *Star Tribune* local print text revealed strong similarities. The dominant frames of each text focused on the same aspects of Minnesota and the Final Four. The Minnesota team frame was a dominant frame for both texts and included an overwhelming focus on Lindsay Whalen. In both texts, Whalen superseded a team focus and was reported as responsible for

Minnesota's success. For example, Lindsay Whalen was often the primary focus, making the Minnesota team secondary. When Minnesota public relations text released the information that Minnesota would be heading to the Final Four, it focused on Lindsay Whalen first and the Minnesota team second. "Lindsay Whalen and Minnesota ended Duke's dream season and became the lowest seed to reach the Final Four in six years." In public relations text, a play-by-play description of the Duke-Minnesota game again maintained focus on Whalen. "As the minutes ticked off the clock the Gophers made sure the ball was in the hands of Whalen. She wasn't about to let a trip to the Final Four slip out of her grasp. Whalen was dazzling in shredding the Duke defense." Print text reflected a similar focus on Whalen. Headlines included, "Whalen mania is strong as ever," and "Whalen to carry the team." Whalen's play was almost immortalized in media text. The *Star Tribune* described Whalen's play in the Minnesota/Connecticut game, "Whalen went into traffic on one of her relentless drives," and Whalen was credited for "resurrecting the Minnesota program."

Both Minnesota public relations and print text also indicated a similar pride frame in the team's accomplishments despite its loss to Connecticut in the semifinals. Public relations text focused on the disappointment, but the frame term "proud" indicated a sense of success as well. For example, one Minnesota player was quoted in public relations text saying, "It's sad to see it come to an end, but I think we should be proud of what we accomplished." Minnesota player Lindsay Whalen echoed this sentiment in public relations text,

> This has been a great journey, a great ride. We're disappointed that we've come so close. We were not the more aggressive team tonight, but you have to be pleased

> with the whole season. As our coach said to us after the game, 'Don't hang your heads.' We may not realize it now, but when we get our perspective and see the big picture, we'll start to realize how special this season was.

Print text expressed pride by focusing on the historical implications of Minnesota's appearance in the Final Four. For example, the *Star Tribune* reported, "The Gophers are only the second team in tournament history to defeat the top three seeds in the region in advancing to the Final Four."

The comparative analysis did note some differences between Minnesota public relations text and print texts. Whalen's immense popularity was extended to a role model status in both public relations and print text. The idea of Lindsay Whalen as a role model was echoed several times in public relations text. For example, one teammate said, "She is a great player and a great person, and people notice that. She's one of a kind. She's a great role model." Print text echoed this role model focus with headlines such as "Homegrown team wins many hearts; In addition to being winners, Gophers are great role models." However, print media expanded this focus beyond women's basketball to societal leadership for young girls.

> "At a time when unnaturally thin models predominate and bottle-blonde teen idols are valued for looks, Gophers stars such as 235-pound center Janel McCarville, who is nicknamed Shaq, and muscular guard Lindsay Whalen are a much-needed boost," said Kari Nonn, a University of Minnesota junior who works with Twin Cities school kids and is majoring in elementary education. "It's really good for the girls to see that you don't have to be the skinny, Britney Spears-esque girl," Nonn said. "The Gophers show them that you can be anything you want to be."

This expanded focus was not evident in public relations text.

Another sponsorship difference was the change in frame dominance from public relations to print text. For example, a public relations focus on coach Pam Borton did not transfer to the same degree of dominance in print text. Public relations text included a focus on coach Pam Borton as the latest coach in a series of Minnesota coaches. In public relations text, coach Borton said,

> Well I think when I first took the position because they had experienced another third coach in three years they had had to rerecruit the players on the team. Just for them to get to know me as a person, to build trust with them, and I inherited a group of kids that had been abandoned after she had left after nine months and I just felt like it was my job for them to get to know me as a person, let them know that I care about them and I was going to be around.

In contrast, Borton did not emerge as part of a dominant frame in Minnesota print text. Rather local print retained a consistent Whalen focus.

Overall, strong frame sponsorship was noted between Minnesota public relations text and *Star Tribune* print text. Of the corresponding issues between the texts, print media typically expanded the focus to greater issues such as societal leadership. However, the expansion of topics did not include the expansion of star-status in media text. Lindsay Whalen remained the singular star in Minnesota print text despite the coach Borton focus in public relations text. This lack of several sport stars in frame sponsorship corresponds with sport research that suggests media seek and select a singular star for a sport team (Lule, 2001).

Local and National Print Comparison

The secondary examination in the frame sponsorship analysis of print examined the similarities and differences between local and national print coverage. This secondary analysis considers the boundary condition of media locale, local versus national print, and frame sponsorship. Three dominant national print frames were identified and utilized for this comparative analysis and are listed in Table 4.7.

The comparative analysis revealed some frame similarities between local and national print texts. Both texts included coverage of LSU's coach Saban and the Auriemma-Summitt relationship. For example, local print text focused on coach Chatman seeking advice from the LSU head football coach Saban in an article entitled, "Seeking Saban," and included an entire dialogue on the Auriemma-Summitt relationship. Like local print, the Auriemma-Summitt relationship focus emerged as a dominant frame in national print text and followed public relations text. Traditional journalistic practices may explain the inclusion of Saban and Auriemma-Summitt in both local and national print text as each of these topics includes prominent college sport figures.

The local and national print comparative analysis displayed strong attribute differences on subjects related more closely to the Final Four tournament. Attribute differences between local and national print texts centered on Tennessee coverage, growth of the women's game and the historical landmark of the championship game with local print text presenting more positive coverage than national print. In Tennessee coverage, local print framed Tennessee positively, describing them as a "gutsy, determined and ambitious team" and focusing on respect for the Tennessee program. Local print text included coach Auriemma saying, "a team that I have so much respect for

Table 4.7 National Print Frames

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms
Connecticut	*Coach, athletic, men's, little, Diana, victory, Lady, Gunter, Vols, Chatman, Seimone, Pokey, Augustus, can't, championship, Sue, Moore, Pat, women, men, Summitt, Butts, Tasha, missed, Tigers, Johnson, Davis, Ely, Ashley, LaToya, Shyra, hit, history, fans, tickets, Auriemma*
Taurasi	*Best, Taurasi, big*
Relationship	*Better, body, Janel, Tameeka, UT, Jessica, relationship, work*

and a program that's been as good as Tennessee has been." In contrast, national print's coverage of Tennessee was typically negative. For example, "Tennessee can do without being America's sweethearts. The Volunteers would much rather be America's champions. Maybe a lot of people are getting tired of Tennessee, tired of the high profile coach, tired of the orange."

A focus on the growth of the women's game was evident in both texts; however, the focus was more dominant in local print due to its presence as an independent frame. Specifically, the growth of women's basketball was illustrated in the discussion of parity, and again an attribute difference in local and national print text was evident. Print media framed parity more negatively than public relations text, but local print included a defense of parity in women's basketball. Local print text included headlines, "Parity took a beating Sunday night," and "Forget parity," and included coverage such as "The newcomers to this year's Final Four, Minnesota and LSU, were trying to establish a sense of parity in the women's game." However, local print text also included Summitt's advancement of parity in women's basketball.

> I think what we saw throughout the tournament was an example of the parity in the women's game. Certainly we were a team that managed to pull out close games. So obviously I think there's parity in the women's game. But to have Tennessee and Connecticut in a championship game, I don't think that's a bad thing for women's basketball because both programs are very high profile.

In contrast, parity was not defended in national print, but was defined differently in national print text as a lack of growth in women's basketball. "It made a lot of sense, what with LSU and Minnesota both making the women's Final Four for the first time. But

the championship game features an awfully familiar match-up - Summitt's Lady Vols and Connecticut . . . As for those who were looking for something a little different on this final night, well, they'll have to wait a year."

The final example of attribute differences was the focus on the historical implications of the championship game. A historical focus emerged as a dominant frame in local print text and closely followed public relations text. Local print reported,

> One game is all that remains for the Huskies and another piece of history. A victory over Tennessee would be the perfect way to end what has been one of the most trying seasons in program history . . . It's an opportunity for Connecticut, the game's current dominant program, to win its third consecutive championship (and fifth overall, the first coming in 1995 at Target Center) and tie the record for successful title defenses held by a Tennessee program that won three in a row from 1996 to '98.

In contrast, national print focused on the television ratings and the making of media history. "Connecticut's Final Four victory over Minnesota was the most-viewed and highest-rated women's national semifinal game in ESPN history. In addition, Sunday's telecast was the fourth most-viewed college basketball game, men's or women's, in ESPN history." Like local print, national print considered the historical implications of the dual Connecticut championship titles.

> There are reasons, of course, that history doesn't get made too often. The biggest is that it's awfully hard to do. Consider, if you will, the odds of two basketball teams from the same university winning national titles two nights in a row. Long shots are one thing, but the chances of two teams both surviving NCAA

tournaments together are so infinitesimal that even the most die-hard Las Vegas oddsmakers wouldn't leave the craps table long enough to post them.

However, this focus exhibited a strong link to a vandalism storyline in national print media coverage. National print coverage reported, "They cheered just as loudly as they did for the men, even if they didn't have enough energy left for too much gratuitous vandalism. Besides, they had to save something for Wednesday, when they would welcome the women home with yet another pep rally," and "They celebrated in Connecticut just as if the men had won another national championship. Well, almost. They weren't turning over cars and setting fires at the same rate they did the night before near the University of Connecticut campus."

Different attributes were only one difference between local and national print. National print also redirected public relations and local print dominant team focus to an individual focus. For example, local print focused on the match-up of basketball programs rather than a match-up of individuals. This difference does not suggest an omission of individual players from local print but success was typically diverted to a greater team focus. For example, a local print comparison of Diana Taurasi and Lindsay Whalen illustrates the underlying team focus. "They both like to make the big play, and they're not afraid to take the big shot. They're also both very team-oriented and very driven, to the point where you can see it in their eyes. The only real difference is D is 6 feet tall and Lindsay's a bit smaller. That's it." However, national print text perpetuated an individual player to virtual heroic status. For example, both Lindsay Whalen and Diana Taurasi were reported as the reason for their team's success. "Fearless and focused, Lindsay Whalen led Minnesota to new heights this year. She broke school records along

the way and closed out her stellar career by leading the Golden Gophers to the Final Four for the first time." Frame terms "big" and "best" indicate the type of national print coverage linked with Taurasi. "Taurasi, who has tormented Tennessee with big games against the Lady Vols throughout her career, led the Huskies with 17 points in her final college game and was named the Final Four's outstanding player for the second year in a row," and "Connecticut is the epitome of confidence and swagger, and rightly so. The Huskies have All-American Diana Taurasi to bail them out of tight situations," and

> So now it's on to the WNBA for Taurasi, expected to be the first pick in this month's draft. The title capped a brilliant career for the California kid, who left family and home far behind to help UConn make history. If it wasn't for the way she is, the way she plays, the way she comes to practice and the kind of teammate she is, Auriemma said, there's no way the rest of her teammates would have been able to do what they did.

As a result, national print focused positive attributes of individual players to the exclusion of a team focus while local print focused on positive attributes of a team or program. The heroic theme in national print coverage coincides with traditional sport tactics of identifying heroes in sport (Lule, 2001).

Overall, the secondary analysis builds on the print frame sponsorship examination to indicate stronger similarities between public relations and local print than national. print The local and national print comparison indicated that frame sponsorship was apparent at both the local and national level; however, frame similarities centered on topics typically external to the Final Four tournament. Only national print's coverage of the external tournament focus on Saban and the Auriemma-Summitt relationship

followed public relations text and local print. This national print text correspondence to public relations and local print texts may be attributed to an adherence to more traditional journalistic sport guidelines. The local and national print comparison also revealed that differing attributes were often attached to the same issue. Local print typically followed public relations text and exhibited more positive issue attributes than national print.

Research Question Four Summary

The comparative frame analysis between public relations and local print indicated the successful transfer of public relations frames to local print text. The transfer was particularly successful for items traditionally considered newsworthy for a particular locale. As a result, a strong team focus was evident for each of the universities and their corresponding print outlets. The comparative analysis also revealed certain areas of weak frame sponsorship. For example, frame sponsorship was weakened when more than one star was promoted for a single team. This finding suggests that media will choose a single star for a team rather than competing stars on the same team. Transferred public relations frames often served as the initial media report and then expanded beyond the original public relations focus. Finally, this comparative frame sponsorship analysis suggests frame salience between and within frames may not transfer in frame sponsorship. For example, Connecticut public relations text sponsored the Taurasi frame as its dominant frame, and this focus was successfully sponsored to print text. However, the dominant Connecticut print frame was not a Taurasi frame, but a Tournament Champion frame. As a result, frame sponsorship is apparent between public relations text and local print media text; however, corresponding frame salience may not guide the sponsorship.

The independent examination of frame sponsorship by university revealed frame sponsorship differences as well. Among the four teams considered in this frame sponsorship examination, two teams were veteran Final Four participants, and two were newcomers to the Final Four tournament. The comparative analysis of frame sponsorship among these teams noted a difference in the type of frame sponsorship between veteran and newcomer teams. Frame sponsorship of veteran teams was far more successful when it retained a team and game focus. Even subjects such as parity in women's basketball did not illustrate a strong frame sponsorship connection. In contrast, newcomer public relations text had frame sponsorship success on topics related to the Final Four tournament, women's basketball in general, and topics unrelated to a team and game focus. Both newcomers focused on the growth of women's basketball in general rather than retaining a strict team focus. Further, print frame expansion was unique to the newcomers of the Final Four tournament, perhaps due to the sponsored frames extending beyond a team focus. As a result, this analysis suggests frame sponsorship is apparent between public relations and local print text, but may be impacted by past events. The secondary local and national print comparison revealed greater frame sponsorship at the local level. It also indicated that issue sponsorship is more successful than attribute sponsorship at the national print level.

Research Question Five

Research question five examines the level of frame sponsorship between sport public relations and broadcast by semifinal game and championship game in the 2004 women's Final Four tournament.

RQ5: What similarities and differences exist between public relations materials and broadcast media for the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four?

For public relations to broadcast frame sponsorship analysis, both texts were divided by semifinal and final tournament games. Semifinal tournament text included the timeframe from March 30, 2004 to April 5, 2004 for public relations and print media text. Any material released or published in that timeframe represented the semifinal tournament game text. Final tournament game text included April 5th to April 7th materials. April 5th represents an overlap in the timeframes due to this date immediately following the semifinal games and immediately preceding the final tournament game. Texts released or published on this date were examined separately from other text for content relating specifically to either the semifinal games or the final tournament game. Broadcast text was divided with the two semifinal games broadcast on April 4 representing the semifinal text and the final tournament game broadcast on April 6 representing the final game text. Each text followed the steps for frame analysis outlined in research question one. For comparative analysis, each text's dominant frames were compared to determine the similarities and differences of text. The greateer the similarities between text, the greater the occurrence of frame sponsorship (Andsager, 2000). Table 4.8 lists the dominant frames of public relations and broadcast text by semifinal and final games utilized in this analysis.

Public Relations and Broadcast Semifinal Game Comparison

A comparative frame analysis of public relations and broadcast semifinal game texts illustrated frame sponsorship for topics closely related to the tournament.

Table 4.8 Public Relations and Broadcast Frames by Event Salience

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms	Level of Dominance
Semifinal Public Relations Frames		
Minnesota/Connecticut	*We, team, always, basketball, right, big, coach, Minnesota, great, people, teams, good, win, play, UConn, season, Gophers*	.305 standard mean occurrence
LSU/Tennessee	*Feel, players, shots, little, defense, ball, better, championship, tournament, double, Tennessee, run, played, won, hard, lost Diana, LSU, hand, points, national*	.176 standard mean occurrence
Excellence	*Connecticut, women's, scored, Taurasi, Huskies, consecutive, close, history, foul, shot, basket, tigers, Lady, Pat, Davis, Geno, Robinson, Auriemma, Summitt, thought, Zolman*	.085 standard mean occurrence
Semifinal Broadcast Frames		
Connecticut/Minnesota	*Ann, Conlin, Connecticut, Minnesota, Whalen, UConn, McCarville, Strother, Taurasi, Turner, Geno, battle, win, Barbara, Maria, Huskies, Jessica, Auriemma, Crockett, try, Jones, best, mother, relationship, lucky, girls, Sue, women, Summitt, Pokey, father, Shyra, Lindsay*	.412 standard mean occurrence
LSU/Tennessee	*Augustus, Seimone, Butts, Johnson, LSU, Pat, LaToya, Tasha, Vols, Robinson, Hodges, Fluker, Jackson, Tigers, Chatman, Ely, Davis, Tameeka, Lady*	.217 standard mean occurrence
Game	*Good, team, mean, great*	.094 standard mean occurrence

Table 4.8 Continued

Final Public Relations Frames		
Connecticut national champions	*Big, Auriemma, Connecticut, tournament, team, Taurasi, season, player, won, shot, last, Tennessee, players, Huskies, record, points, wins, best, championship, UConn, national, consecutive, play, lost, women's, teams, coach, title, history, Geno, good, never, hard, people, right, basketball*	.444 standard mean occurrence
Tennessee	*Pat, little, Diana, Summitt, great, chance, thought, ball, beat, plays, shots, close, Robinson, run, trying, Butts, Davis, scored, Lady, Zolman, Vols*	.106 standard mean occurrence
Growth of women's basketball	*Always, athletic, basket, body, foul, Whalen, women, Lindsay, hand, called, star, Gunter, Chatman, watch, hit, men, work rebounds, can't, fans, better, LSU, men's, lead, victory, feel*	.048 standard mean occurrence
Semifinal teams	*Knocked, Minnesota, try, battle, Tasha, LaToya, Fluker, LSU, coach*	.053 standard mean occurrence
Final Broadcast Frames		
Tennessee/Connecticut rivalry	*Championship, Diana, they, UConn, great, Taurasi, Connecticut, players, good, Geno, Tennessee, Pat, pretty, Turner, Huskies, best, Moore, Barbara, little, Vols, trying, Davis, hit, Lindsay*	.602 standard mean occurrence
Semifinal teams	*Knocked, Minnesota, try, battle, Tasha, LaToya, Fluker, LSU, coach*	.053 standard mean occurrence

For example, both texts exhibited a strong Whalen-Taurasi comparison. In public relations text, Minnesota coach Borton commented on the similarities between Minnesota player Lindsay Whalen and Connecticut player Diana Taurasi and the overall team dimension. "I think the biggest similarity out of Diana and Lindsay is they're great passers. Diana makes everybody on her team better. She gets everybody great shots. She makes big plays offensively and defensively and I think that's what Lindsay brings. She makes everybody on our team better. She gets everybody high percentage shots. And I think that's why both of our teams are here, it's not just the two of them, they both make their teams a lot better. Broadcast text closely followed this comparison, noting that Whalen and Taurasi were "the same kind of player," exemplifying the same kind of play. Broadcast commentary, however, did not include word-for-word phrases from public relations material.

Notable differences were apparent between texts, particularly broadcast's expansion of public relations frames. While public relations focused on the Auriemma-Summitt relationship, broadcast expanded this focus to relationships between players and coaches and players and parents. Broadcast text illustrated this focus with an interview with Bonnie McCarville, Minnesota player Janel McCarville's mother.

> "Bonnie McCarville currently undergoing treatment for colon cancer. What does your daughter's play and performance mean to your recovery?"
>
> "It means 100 percent recovery, that's the best therapy anybody could ask for, is following the girls and being involved in 'em and just hoping the best for them. They are playing a beautiful game."

"Now you are scheduling your treatments, your cancer treatments around their games, correct?"

"Yes, as much as the doctor will allow it."

"You had one on Friday before you came down here right?"

"Thursday and Friday."

"Now, your daughter had a rocky relationship with the head coach before this year. How did they work it out?"

"They were both bull-headed, but they just kind of got together and talked things out and here we are today."

The relationship between Connecticut player Diana Taurasi, her parents and coach Geno Auriemma was also a focal point in broadcast text.

Diana Taurasi is the daughter of immigrant parents, Lilly and Mario Taurasi, reside in Chino, California, and when Geno Auriemma was recruiting Diana Taurasi, Lilly was the toughest sell. She wanted no part of her daughter going 3,000 miles away, leaving sunny California for remote Storrs. When Geno Auriemma was recruiting on the visit, they took her to the Orient House for dinner, and Lilly said, I don't like Connecticut, it's too dark here. Geno's response, it's 9 'o clock at night Lilly, it's dark everywhere. He also told her two things, he said, your daughter will go down as one of the all-time greatest players in college basketball. She deserves to be seen by as many people as possible, and with all of Connecticut's games, either on local cable or national television, she has certainly been fun to watch . . . One of the things that helped was that he was able to speak Italian to her.

Another key focus in this frame was the connection to Minnesota coach Borton, particularly with player McCarville. "Well I tell you, this is a great story, this Minnesota team during the last four years that they've had three different coaches, and Pam Borden came in and McCarville and her did not see eye to eye, and she didn't really give in until they got to the NCAA tournament." The expanded focus on relationships was not evident in public relations text.

Public Relations and Broadcast Final Game Comparison

A comparative analysis of public relations and broadcast text of the final championship game revealed slight frame similarities, but overall, a very different thematic picture emerged between the two texts. The historical significance of the championship game was a central focus for both public relations and broadcast texts. In public relations text, Connecticut player Diana Taurasi spoke on the historical significance of the championship game. "It's history. I think being from the University of Connecticut, we always think of ourselves as a basketball school and this year I think we made a definite impact on just nationwide of how prominent our programs are and the school." Another Connecticut player equated history with domination, as noted in the cluster analysis with the linkage of terms "Huskies," "Connecticut," "history," and "great." "There is no way we are going to miss the opportunity to make history. I think Diana [Taurasi] said it best, 'Domination!' If you want to play basketball, come to the state of Connecticut. With the standard we have set here, Connecticut is the place to be - men or women. When you come to the University of Connecticut, you are molded into a winner." In broadcast text, the viewer was continuously reminded by broadcast commentary of the historical significance of the championship game. Broadcast examples

included, "You know Auriemma's trying to pick up another piece of history tonight with three in a row," "Men and women in the Final Four, the teams that have done this before without any success at all; however, Connecticut trying to change all that; the men win last night, the women could make it a first-time moment in Division I basketball, if they can win tonight," "The UConn men and women trying to be the first Division I program ever to win national championships together," and "Trying to pull the ultimate double, men's and women's champions in the same season, it's never been done in Division I."

The comparative analysis indicated that the strongest frame sponsorship between public relations and broadcast text often centered on issues irrelevant to the game of basketball. For example, public relations text included a story about Tennessee coach Pat Summitt and her team waiting for a trophy at an international tournament they had attended only to realize that the tournament directors had engraved the name of the wrong team, the one the directors thought would win. This same story was reiterated in broadcast text. "I love the story about the tournament. They won it and were waiting on getting the trophy, and they found out that it had already been inscribed in the name of the team who was expected to win. Pat was just sitting there waiting for . . . well, where's our trophy. She got a bottle of wine." This example exhibited the strongest frame sponsorship between the two texts; unfortunately, the focus of the topic was external to the women's Final Four tournament. Issue salience may have less frame sponsorship in broadcast text than print, resulting in sponsorship of weak public relations frames.

The corresponding issues between public relations and broadcast final game texts were minimal compared to the previous frame sponsorship analysis of print text. As a result of the different medium style, broadcast frames retained a strong focus on the

ongoing game and its associated play. All other frames were secondary to the description of game play in the broadcast championship game.

The public relations and broadcast comparative frame analysis revealed far more differences than similarities in the championship game texts. Specifically, the texts differed in a team versus individual focus, a comparison versus rivalry focus and a respect versus luck focus. Public relations text exhibited a consistent team focus. For example, Taurasi illustrated this team focus in public relations text. "What we learned from this year is in situations like that we have to rely on each other. And I tell you, I think our character came out the most when they cut it to two. They were making their runs and every time we needed a big play from someone, you know, we got it." Coach Summitt also illustrated this team focus by describing her team as doing things "by committee." She said,

> I think it's brought accountability to each member of our team. Certainly with the leadership we have had from our seniors, I think they have held their teammates accountable for stepping up and making plays, whether it's a defensive play or getting a board or they're the type of team that they call each other out and they address what needs to be addressed, whether it's in practice or in games. I think as a team they have been very receptive to each other. And they understand that how much they need each other . . . The first thing I want to address is obviously the great season that we have had. The great run. And just give this team all credit for putting themselves into a national championship game again. And also for being or staying with a competitive, never give up attitude . . . I'm proud of this team. I

> told them, I hope that they will remember the great season and the great team and the great run.

Broadcast text did not follow a team focus but an individual one of both players and coaches. For example, at the end of the championship game, broadcast text included, "And you saw a picture of Pat Summitt; she arguably did one of the best coaching jobs of her career, and it comes up short here in New Orleans." The majority individual focus in broadcast text centered on Connecticut player Diana Taurasi. Broadcast even termed Connecticut "Taurasi's team," and included numerous accolades of Taurasi's ability and athletic success.

> If Diana Taurasi is on the winning side, she would have three national championships to her credit. She's already the two-time national player of the year, leads Connecticut all time in assists, third all time in points, she's sixth all time in blocks, she's the only collegiate player invited to try-out for the national team. You could go on and on about Diana Taurasi and you'd still have plenty left you haven't said . . . I tell you if the USA is smart, they better put her on the [Olympic] team . . . What's really significant to me is the fact that you've got the best player, perhaps in all of college history in the women's game. And her teammates adore her, they love her, they respect her and they play for her.

Taurasi was often credited for the success of the Connecticut team. "For four years, Geno Auriemma has said the difference between UConn and everybody else is that we have Diana and you don't and he's been right for four years."

Finally, a respect versus luck focus was revealed between public relations and broadcast texts. For example in public relations text, Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma

spoke on trying to win three consecutive championships against the only team who had won three in a row.

> I feel real good that three out of the four we have beat the team that everybody associates with the best team. The best program over the last 20 some years. So it's only fitting that if you want to win, that's who you got to beat. And if they want to win, they got to beat us . . . For us to put ourselves in this position and to do this against a team that I have so much respect for and a program that's been as good as Tennessee has been, it's just the most gratifying thing in the world.

The idea of respect was extended to the consistency of the Connecticut and Tennessee programs. Tennessee coach Pat Summitt said,

> I think it's really been unique for us to be able to make three consecutive Final Fours and obviously for Connecticut to be here what, five times now in a row and these seniors play in four Final Fours, and what, three national championship games. So it speaks to the level of consistency in both programs. Also the level of talent, the players that have gotten the job done year in and year out, and typically when you're in that situation you're a top dog and everyone's trying to knock you off. So I think obviously both programs have maintained their position with great consistency because of great players.

Connecticut Geno Auriemma also spoke on "consecutive" and "great" programs as well as the expectations associated with maintaining such a program.

> Playing at Connecticut is really, really demanding. There's a lot of interest in the program. There's a lot of people that support us and want to win. And there's a tremendous amount of, I think, responsibility, I think, that the kids carry around.

> And I think it got to them this year a little bit. I think the Duke game stunned them a little bit, you know, and I don't know that we recovered very nicely from that, but once the season ended and all we had to do was focus on three weekends in March, that became, like, a real easy thing to do, because the journey leading up to that was very, very, very difficult. Very difficult. Because when you're the defending national champions, that's a lot different than if you're a bunch of kids trying to prove that you're really good. They had to defend it every night. And it's hard to do that. Especially now, you know, when teams are better. But the last three weeks, they made believers out of everybody. Anybody who doubted them, anybody, you know, Connecticut's vulnerable, of course we're vulnerable, everybody is. It's just remarkable that they were able to do what they did under the circumstances that they did it in. To be 18, 19 years old and to be able to do that, you know, in front of all those people and national television audience and all that, that's pretty remarkable that these kids can do that.

In contrast, broadcast commentary focused on luck, terming Tennessee a "team of destiny." "If you believe in destiny, it may be Tennessee's year. All throughout the tournament against Baylor in the regional semi-finals, Tasha Butts put in the winning bucket against LSU. LaToya Davis forced the steal and then made the winning basket. Maybe this year, destiny wears orange and plays Rocky Top."

Several frames sponsored from public relations to print text did not transfer to broadcast text. For example, neither the issue of parity nor the Auriemma-Summitt relationship appeared in broadcast text. Often the successful sponsored frames in broadcast were very weak sub-frames in public relations text with minimal connection to

the Final Four tournament. This finding suggests frame salience may have less frame sponsorship in broadcast than print. The difference in frame sponsorship points to the receiving medium's needs as a critical component in frame sponsorship. The differing textual frames were often based on broadcast needs, such as real-time play action and traditional news story structures, such as the sport hero focus, that did not correspond to public relations text.

Secondary Analysis of Event Salience

The frame sponsorship analysis of broadcast text by semifinal and final games suggested differences of frame sponsorship by event salience. A secondary analysis examined the possible boundary condition of event salience in frame sponsorship through a comparative analysis of public relations, print and broadcast text by semifinal and final games. Table 4.9 lists the dominant print frames by semifinal and final games that were utilized in this analysis.

A comparison of semifinal and final public relations, print and broadcast suggests that event salience impacts frame sponsorship. Frame sponsorship was apparent in print and broadcast texts for both the semifinal and final games. Findings revealed that sponsorship was strongest for print text regardless of event prominence. The comparative analysis also found that frame salience did not necessarily determine frame sponsorship for both the print and broadcast texts of the semifinal and final games. Often the strongest frame sponsorship for both texts was not a dominant public relations frame. This finding suggests that neither frame salience nor event salience facilitate frame sponsorship, rather, both weak and strong public relations frames have equal opportunity to dominate print and broadcast text. This finding also suggests that media do not simply consider the

Table 4.9 Local Print Frames by Event Salience

Frame Identifier	Frame Terms	Level of Dominance
Semifinal Local Print Frames		
Connecticut and opponents	*America, Lady, Vols, big, Janel, McCarville, can't, championship, better, team, UConn, women's, Huskies, good, Minnesota, Taurasi, men's player, Tennessee, little, title, Auriemma, coach, victory, missed, best, great*	.513 standard mean occurrence
Tournament newcomers	*Gophers, athletic, body, Borton, hit, LSU, star, Lindsay, Whalen, Pam, tickets, Chatman*	.184 standard mean occurrence
Tennessee/LSU	*Augustus, Johnson, Gunter, fans, consecutive, Pokey, UT, Summitt, Butts*	.084 standard mean occurrence
Final Local Print Frames		
Women's game	*Tennessee, women's, team, Gophers, Minnesota, UConn, Whalen, coach, great, star, fans, Lindsay, big, Geno, consecutive, title*	.451 standard mean occurrence
Tennessee	*Can't, Summitt, good, women, Pam, kids, Lady, victory, Taurasi, best, different, work, hard, Vols, Huskies, missed*	.226 standard mean occurrence
Connecticut	*Auriemma, player, body, championship, final*	.152 standard mean occurrence

magnitude of a frame's salience in frame sponsorship. Rather, cultural resonance was found to have substantial impact on frame sponsorship in both the semifinal and final games. For example, the print frames of Chatman and Saban illustrated a strong level of cultural resonance in LSU local newspaper coverage due to the high profile of Saban and LSU football. Arguably, Saban had strong cultural resonance in Louisiana that increased the frame's power. Similarly, in broadcast, the focus on luck and routine by one of the players was based on a visual routine that viewers would watch. This visual routine complied with the visual nature of broadcast, making "luck" have more cultural resonance for that particular medium and thus increased its level of frame sponsorship.

Event salience did impact the level of frame sponsorship in both print and broadcast texts. Although frame sponsorship was apparent in both semifinal and final games, the level of frame sponsorship diminished with increased event salience, particularly in broadcast. Cultural resonance rather than frame salience emerged as the primary facilitator of frame sponsorship to broadcast text. Successful broadcast frame sponsorship was primarily dictated by broadcast needs rather than the dominance of public relations frames. Due to the unique needs of broadcast, the strongest frame sponsorship in the final game was an obscure public relations, human-interest story that could be paired easily with play-by-play commentary. Event salience also affected frame sponsorship in print text. Frame sponsorship in semifinal game print text was particularly strong with a team-centered focus, but this focus was exchanged for a hero focus in print national text.

Research Question Five Summary

A frame sponsorship comparative analysis of public relations and broadcast texts revealed the occurrence of frame sponsorship between the texts. However, this sponsorship was guided more by medium needs rather than frame salience in public relations text. A secondary analysis indicated that event salience also impacts frame sponsorship, particularly broadcast. The level of frame sponsorship with broadcast decreased as event salience increased.

Research Question Six

The final research question of this study draws the gender frame focus and frame sponsorship focus of this research into a single analysis by examining gender frame differences between public relations, print media and broadcast media.

RQ 6: What are the similarities and differences regarding gender frames presented in public relations materials, print media and broadcast media?

This research question draws from the positive gender frames identified in public relations and media text in research question two and the negative gender frames identified in research question three. A high level of frame sponsorship is exemplified by a large number of gender frame similarities between public relations and media text (Andsager, 2000).

Gender Frame Similarities

A comparative analysis of public relations, print and broadcast texts revealed the presence of only one positive gender frame, symbolic attribution. For example, symbolic attribution was evident with positively linked frame terms such as "big plays," "big game," and "athletic ability." This type of praise was not linked to or weakened by a

negative term. There were also accolades for the many accomplishments of each coach, particularly Tennessee coach Summitt and Connecticut coach Auriemma. In a comparison of these two coaches, neither received greater coverage for their accomplishments, indicating a positive gender frame of equality between a male and female coach. Print media text reported women athletes "making the big plays," and "playing well in the big game." Print media text also focused on the "stars" of the tournament, particularly Diana Taurasi, Tasha Butts and Lindsay Whalen. For example, Taurasi is repeatedly referred to as the "Connecticut star," and Tennessee, a team described as "devoid of star power," is identified with Butts, whom print media described as "as close to a star as Tennessee has." Lindsay Whalen and the frame term "star" received the strongest linkage in print media text as Whalen was reported as a "star of immense magnitude." Symbolic attribution was also exhibited in broadcast text's focus on Taurasi's athletic ability. For example, it provided numerous examples of Taurasi's chance to make history in the championship game. "Tonight, Diana Taurasi, trying to lead the women's team to an improbable double. Championships for both men and women in the same year, never done in Division I." Despite the correspondence, the presence of negative gender frames overpowered the positive ones.

Negative gender frames appeared in the forms of symbolic dominance and formula of exclusion. All three texts exhibited hierarchy of naming in symbolic dominance, especially with respect to a comparison of head coaches Pat Summitt and Geno Auriemma in broadcast text. The term "Pat" was dominant compared to the virtual absence of "Geno"; "Pat" was the major reference for the University of Tennessee coach, but coach Auriemma or Geno Auriemma was the major reference for the Connecticut

coach. The frame term "Pat" was found 61 times in broadcast text compared to a single reference to "Summitt." In comparison, frame terms "Geno" and "Auriemma" were almost even in text references with "Geno" found only 9 more times than Auriemma versus the 60 time difference between "Pat" and "Summitt. As a result, the negative gender indicator hierarchy of naming was found exclusively for the most prominent woman head coach. This hierarchy of naming served to symbolically dominate men, particularly Geno Auriemma, over Summitt in broadcast text. The usage of first name in comparison to last name and subservient terms illustrates a hierarchy of naming that maintains symbolic dominance by placing women in a secondary position and thus "lesser than" their male counterparts.

Further, all three texts used subservient terms for women athletes with "kids" utilized in public relations and print material, "ladies" utilized in public relations materials, and "girls" utilized in broadcast text to identify female athletes. For example, "What's really nice to see is that most of our players are home-grown Minnesota kids some of the toughest kids in America," and "They seem to play with the joyful urgency of kids shooting baskets behind the barn - kids who know they can't waste a moment of fun because soon dad will get off the tractor and give them heck for not finishing their chores." The symbolic dominance of the frame terms "kids" and "girls" devalues women's athletic status and places them in a subservient position to other athletes.

Another area in which all three texts portrayed negative gender frames was through the formula of exclusion. The secret agent represented the strongest negative gender frames with the coaches and players not being responsible for their own successes. For example, LSU coach Chatman was asked if she would "seek some advice

from LSU football coach Nick Saban about playing championship ball in New Orleans," to which she responded, "I would like to. Nick, are you here? We try to model his approach, to attack the game within the game. We would love to speak with coach Saban." This example excluded women from the traditional male discourse of sport strategy and implied a female coach must rely on the male's expertise to excel and help prepare her and her team for the upcoming tournament game against Tennessee.

Additionally, the formula of exclusion's focus on external factors was identified in all three texts. Sport irrelevant frame terms dominated broadcast text and included "lucky," "relationship," "mother," and "father." These terms indicated a subtle frame in broadcast text on the necessity of external factors for women's athletic success. For example, the relationship between coach Auriemma and ultimately Taurasi's parents were responsible for her success. Similarly, Tennessee player Shanna Zolman's shooting success was attributed to the routine her father had taught her. In both of these cases, parents and coaches, rather than the players themselves, are responsible for successes. As a result, women become secret agents in their success, having to rely on external factors rather than individual ability. This gender frame, then, excludes women as active agents in their own future.

Gender Frame Differences

While there were some distinct similarities among the three types of texts studied, the majority of gender frames actually created differences that allowed for a study of the boundary conditions created by the medium. These differences appeared most distinctly in the following positive gender frames: symmetrical identification and omission of the first name. Similar disparities were found in the negative gender frames: symbolic

dominance (women as other and asymmetrical gender marking), symbolic superiority, and sponsorship (issue and attribute).

First, a comparison of gender frames in print and broadcast noted a correspondence of positive gender frames. Both print and broadcast illustrated the positive gender frames symmetrical identification and omission of first name reference that were not present in the public relations materials. Both print and broadcast utilized symmetrical identification to clarify the men's and women's Final Four tournaments. Frame terms "women's" and "men's" both emerged, but this linkage served as symmetrical marking rather than a negative gender indicator. The distinction was particularly necessary for the 2004 Final Four because the two tournaments overlapped and included both the men's and women's Connecticut teams.

Second, both print and broadcast utilized a dominant last name reference for tournament players, illustrating the positive gender indicator omission of first name reference that was not present in public relations materials. For example, the print cluster analysis revealed the identification of individual players and coaches in the tournament with frame terms, "Taurasi," "Butts," "Augustus," "Gunter," "Whalen," "Summitt" and "McCarville." The use of last name reference frame terms noted the presence of a positive gender indicator omission of first name reference through the dominant usage of player and coach last names versus first names. Broadcast frame terms of player names "Augustus," "Davis," "Butts," "Ely," "Robinson," and "Whalen," illustrated a dominant last name reference for players in broadcast text. This omission of a first name reference is a positive gender indicator. Broadcast text also included a dominant last name

reference for Taurasi in broadcast text with the frame term "Taurasi" mentioned 174 times and "Diana" mentioned only 64 times.

Third, in symbolic dominance, the concept of women as other was most prevalent in public relations and print materials, but virtually absent from broadcast materials. In the women as other symbolic dominance gender frame, both public relations and print texts included a strong focus on the men's game as the standard of basketball. In public relations material, the growth of women's basketball was measured by a comparison with men's basketball, particularly in the issue of coaching. For example, in public relations text Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma commented on his coaching friends in the men's game not seeing the women's game as competitive and lacking respect for those associated with the programs.

> I have a lot of friends in men's basketball. And I talk to them a lot. And they don't have a lot of respect for the women's game. There's a reason for that. They don't feel that it's competitive. It's not that they don't think like Diana or Alana Beard or those guys are really good players. Don't get me wrong. They just think the games, the tournament, the overall atmosphere of the games are not competitive.

The print media followed this negative gender frame. "Women's basketball has evolved over the years, from a 6-on-6 game that restricted the movement of players to one end of the court or the other to a game that more closely resembles men's basketball." For example, print text reported "playing basketball with boys" made one female athlete a better basketball player, and Taurasi's description of "plays like a guy" was reported as the "best compliment that the average basketball fan can pay somebody." Thus, the play of women athletes was overshadowed in print and public relations text by a comparison

with men, where men represented the standard. This comparison was not evident in broadcast text.

Fourth, in symbolic dominance asymmetrical gender markings were prevalent in public relations and print texts but not in broadcast texts. Both public relations and print texts devoted considerable space to the relationship between Tennessee coach Pat Summitt and Connecticut coach Geno Auriemma, "one of the game's most compelling story lines." The print media dialogue on the relationship was a verbatim extract from public relations material. In both texts, coach Auriemma was portrayed as seeing the discussion as "irrelevant" and was able to discuss game strategy. In contrast, coach Summitt was quoted about the relationship and her attempts in both public relations material and print media to discuss game strategy were ignored. The resulting implication in both public relations and print text was a hierarchy of topics—male coaches are appropriate for sport-related subjects and female coaches are appropriate for relationship-related subjects. Similarly, print text also linked the frame terms "body" and "women." For example, print media devoted space to the issue of body image in connection with the Minnesota women's basketball success. "So often, we're told that our appearance is the only thing that matter. But these women are getting attention because of their leadership skills, athleticism and the power of their bodies." Another key topic in the linkage of frame terms "women" and "body" was the issue of dress for the players. For example,

> The talk about McCarville in her hometown before the Gophers' playoff run centered on another big occasion coming up. She is the maid of honor for the wedding of Amber Lenze, a former Panthers teammate, on Aug. 21 McCarville

> will make a rare appearance in a dress. She [McCarville] was a free spirit who usually wore basketball shorts or sweat pants in high school.

The focus on dress was irrelevant to women's basketball and served to gender mark women players and the tournament with an external focus and thus perpetuate the notion of symbolic dominance.

Fifth, symbolic superiority of positive neutralization was present in broadcast, but not in print or public relations materials. The frame term "pretty" best illustrated this symbolic superiority of positive neutralization. Although pretty was not in reference to physical features in either text, this feminine word served to weaken otherwise positive phrases in both text sets and the positive effects on the audience were neutralized. Broadcast text included numerous examples of these positive neutralizers including, "pretty good," "pretty physical team," "pretty good job," and "pretty amazing record." The frame term "pretty" was also used in its more traditional definition (i.e. pleasing to the eye) several times in broadcast text, including "That give and go that they run is incredible, I mean it is so pretty to watch," "Whalen! Ah, isn't that pretty!" and "That's pretty!" While this gender frame may not be as negative as the others noted, positive neutralization maintains symbolic superiority of men's play over women's play through the weakened description of women's play.

Finally, the three sets of texts displayed differences in sponsorship (both attribute and issue). Although a high level of frame sponsorship was apparent, negative public relations gender frames did not always transfer to print text. For example, the negative gender indicator hierarchy of naming was actually found more prevalent in public relations text than print media text due to the dominant first name reference of players

and coaches throughout public relations material. This finding was true for all players and coaches except the only male coach in the Final Four, Geno Auriemma, who was commonly called "coach" or "coach Auriemma" in public relations text. Successful public relations sponsored gender frames often served as the initial point for a broader media focus. The positive symbolic attribution gender frame in public relations text that focused on athletic success was enlarged in print media to include greater societal implications. For example, print media enlarged Lindsay Whalen from a capable basketball player to a role model for countless young girls to follow. Print media reported, "It's about giving little girls, thousands of them, a wider notion of possibility. It's about giving men and boys, thousands of them, a notion of respect for what women can do. It's not loopy to suggest that this young woman, this team, has used its inner ingredient to make Minnesota a better place." Along this line, external factors such as body image were included in the Final Four media discourse. Print media, particularly the local Minnesota media, reported the growth of women's basketball in Minnesota had led to a more positive body image for girls throughout the state.

Sponsored negative gender frames also served as igniter frames for an enlarged media focus. The negative gender indicator hierarchy of topics was expanded to include a topical hierarchy for athletes as well as coaches. Print text included a large focus on stereotypical female topics rather than sport topics related more closely with the Final Four tournament. For example, print portrayed women athletes as shoppers or the "girlee-girl" of the team.

> The self-described "girlie-girl" of the team - said she was looking forward to dressing up for the event. "(Wednesday) we all went to the mall to get some

clothes - gowns, shoes. It relieves a little pressure before the game," Lady Tiger Temeka Johnson said, "If, you like to shop till you drop like Hoston. She could stay in the mall forever," Johnson said. "I'm used to just going in there, picking out a shirt and some jeans and getting out." Johnson has something to wear tonight a little fancier than that. "I have a dress," she said. "But I might not wear it because it might be too revealing."

The gender frame sponsorship comparison revealed a distinction between issue and attribute sponsorship and the independent transfer of each. For example, the issue of parity in women's basketball was a successful issue sponsorship from public relations to print text; however, the positive attribute of parity did not transfer to print text. Another example of attribute differences between public relations text and print stemmed from print's selection and omission of public relations text. For example, both public relations text and print text focused on Tasha Butts assuming a new position during the season. Print text reported this information as, "If you would have told me Tasha Butts was going to be my point guard this year and we were going to be in the national championship game, I would of said, what's wrong with you? I thought you knew a little bit more about basketball." In print media, the quote stops at that point; however, coach Summitt continued with a very positive gender frame on Tasha Butts' athletic skills.

But Tasha knew more than I would probably have thought at that time about what you have to do to be a great point guard. You have to be a great leader. You have to step out and take some risk. You have to manage your team and manage game situations and just stay consistent and commit to the system as well as to your

teammates and your coaching staff. She has done that and more. She's made big plays.

Study findings indicate strong gender frame sponsorship between public relations frames and broadcast frames with similar positive and negative gender frames in both texts. A gender frame comparison of public relations and broadcast text revealed the presence of the positive gender frame symbolic attribution. Both focused on the athletic capabilities of players and coaches, and broadcast text, in particular, delivered high praise to both basketball coaches throughout the game, describing them as "the premiere coaches" of women's basketball." This finding indicates that positive gender frames are sponsored from public relations to broadcast text; however, the comparative analysis also revealed strong gender frame sponsorship of negative gender frames, including symbolic dominance through the hierarchy of naming, symbolic superiority and formula of exclusion.

Like print, the presence of negative public relations frames did not automatically transfer to broadcast text. For example, the Summitt-Auriemma relationship focus was not apparent in broadcast text. In contrast, broadcast text exhibited symmetrical identification not apparent in public relations text. For example, broadcast text contained a positive frame for women's physical play that ran counter to sport gender research that noted women's physical play was discouraged in broadcast commentary (Bruce, 1998; Whannel, 1982). For example, broadcast commentary included a strong positive tone of game physicality with phrases such as "Tennessee right now really needs to be a little more physical with their defensive presence." This positive gender frame of symmetrical identification identifies women and the women's game as an independent sport. The

absence of traditional symbolic dominance allows for the manifestation of symmetrical identification to begin the construction of an independent women's sport identity. Positive media gender frames may form independently from public relations text.

Research Question Six Summary

The gender frame comparison of public relations, print and broadcast text revealed the successful transfer of positive and negative gender frames from public relations text to both print and broadcast. However, findings suggest negative gender frames represent the majority of sponsored frame for both print and broadcast. This finding is compounded by the fact that sponsored frames often served as igniters for a larger media focus that may increase the prominence of a negative gender frame in media text. The gender frame comparison also revealed that negative gender frames were not always transferred to media text. Rather, negative gender frames formed independently of public relations material. For example, both print and broadcast utilized familiar gender narratives to describe Connecticut attaining three consecutive championship titles. In print media one Connecticut player said, "I was comparing it to Miss America. After she is done reigning, she passes the crown down to someone else. It's like if we win it (Tuesday) night, then they will be passing the crown down to us." In broadcast, the gender-related theme utilized a Cinderella reference. "Connecticut 42 seconds away from the 3-feat. Here's the shoe, if they win it, they get it . . . Ah, that, I love that. Tennessee trying to prevent them from slipping it on." In contrast, public relations text did not utilize either of these familiar gender narratives in its discussion of Connecticut's victory. These examples illustrate that gender frames do not necessarily come from public relations material; rather media may rely on more traditional cultural narratives to

describe a current news event. Study findings also indicated a distinction between issue sponsorship and attribute sponsorship in gender frames. As a result, an issue may transfer but the corresponding attribute may not.

A secondary print and broadcast gender frame comparison examined the gender frame sponsorship boundary condition media type. Overall, this comparison suggests improvements in the presence of positive gender frames in media text; however, positive gender frames were overshadowed by the dominant presence of negative gender frames. For example, despite the omission of first name reference, the negative hierarchy of naming was present, and the positive symbolic attribution frame was countered by positive neutralization of praise. Finally, study findings indicated print text exhibited more negative gender frames than broadcast and illustrated greater gender frame similarities with public relations text than broadcast. Frame sponsorship was shown to be an active but not an inclusive process in the distribution of gender frames between public relations personnel and media, particularly print media.

Summary

This analysis and discussion examined the transfer of sport frames in the 2004 NCAA women's Final Four tournament. Specifically, positive and negative gender frames were identified in public relations materials and media text, revealing a dominance of negative gender frames in both. Evidence of frame sponsorship was found in both print and broadcast coverage with print locale and event salience identified as impacting the sponsorship process. Further, frame sponsorship was found strongest for local print for both sport frames and gender frames. The analysis also identified gender frame sponsorship to both print and broadcast with print again exhibiting a higher level of

frame sponsorship than broadcast. Finally, negative gender frames represented the dominant sponsored frames in the analysis. The following chapter provides a closing discussion on the theoretical and societal implications of the study's findings.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Frame sponsorship is a relatively new concept. Although first articulated 14 years ago, frame sponsorship has only captured research interest recently. This examination provides an exploratory basis for the examination of frame sponsorship from public relations personnel to media in sport. On a theoretical level, the study contends that framing should be conceptualized as a process model, and the model should be extended to include the notion of frame sponsorship. To facilitate this examination, the 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four served as the focal point of the study. The study sought to identify the presence of frame sponsorship through a frame comparison of public relations material and media. The societal implications of the study were heightened through a frame focus on gender in sport. The study built on previous gender research to identify the presence and type of gender frames in public relations material and media and to assess if gendered frame sponsorship occurred. Study findings suggest that frame sponsorship represents one step in the framing process and this sponsorship identification magnifies the societal implications of gender frames in sport.

Gender Frame Findings and Implications

Study findings revealed that both positive and negative gender frames are present in public relations material and media coverage of the 2004 women's Final Four tournament. Positive gender frames were present, but negative gender frames were more prevalent in both public relations and media text. This finding supports previous research that women athletes are marginalized in sport (Wenner, 1998). Dominant ideology historically has devalued women at multiple societal levels, particularly in sport, and the dominance of negative gender frames in this study reflects this hegemony. The symbiotic

relationship of media and sport maintains this dominance through their mutual reflection of dominant ideology. The preponderance of negative gender frames versus positive is compounded by public relations' participation in this ideological symbiotic relationship. Because each reflects the other, the historical domination of negative gender frames is maintained until positive gender frames dominate at least one component in this relationship. The negative gender frames identified in this study follow the universal gender frames outlined by sport gender research (Duncan, 1986; Duncan & Hasbrook, 1998; Duncan & Messner, 1998; Halbert & Latimer, 1994; Wenner, 1998). Public relations and media texts exhibited the strongest presence of symbolic dominance through women as other and formula of exclusion through women as a reactive agent, two negative gender frames. This finding supports previous sport gender research that media portray women as inactive/subordinate and unimportant (Shifflett & Revelle, 1994).

The continued prevalence of negative gender frames was accented by the identification of the negative gender frame hierarchy of topics. Both texts included this hierarchy of topics as a topical order where men were experts on sport and women were excluded from sport topics. In sport, this hierarchy of topics creates symbolic domination over women by excluding them from sport-related subjects. This identification notes that despite the recent strides of gender representation in sport (Bernstein, 2002), negative gender ideology continues to be perpetuated in society. Public relations practitioners and media personnel need to be vigilant about presenting women athletes in a positive light to counter hegemonic ideals.

The identification and usage of positive gender frames in public relations and media is complicated by the lack of a positive gender typology. Sport communication literature has aptly defined and identified negative gender frames in sport, but not positive gender frames. The typology of positive gender indicators developed in this research provides an important resource for public relations and media personnel to construct positive gender frames. Further, the presence of positive gender frames served as an additional coverage frame rather than a substitute for negative gender frames, often through a subtle mixed message frame. These mixed messages compounded positive gender frame advances by actually neutralizing the positive gender frames and reinforcing negative gender sport stereotypes. Although more subtle than the negative gender frames identified in the literature, the mixed messages of gender frames may actually be more harmful. Mixed messages do not reject but rather promote portions of dominant ideology; however, counter-hegemonic ideals require a replacement of dominant ideology (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). As a result, the mixed messages identified in public relations and media text may reinforce dominant ideology in sport.

This study extended the examination of gender frames by considering the difference of gender frames in print media and broadcast media. Both texts exhibited positive and negative gender frames, but print media exhibited more negative gender frames than broadcast. This finding was consistent with sport gender research that notes women fare worse in print than broadcast (Eastman & Billings, 2000). In print, the symbolic dominance of women as other primarily linked women to their "appropriate role" of female rather than athlete as earlier research noted (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994).

In contrast, broadcast media did not exhibit the same damaging gender comparison as print, but a strong positive gender frame of praise for women athletes and their coaches. This finding contradicts previous sport research that found broadcast commentary represents women's basketball as an imitation of men's basketball (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). Previous sport gender research found that broadcast commentary typically based their commentary on cultural expectations of female behavior that emphasized women should not take part in physically aggressive sport activities, and if they do, the physical behavior is labeled negatively (Bruce, 1998; Whannel, 1982). These study findings indicate that broadcast may actually challenge negative gender stereotypes and suggests that broadcast media, in particular, have taken great strides in advancing more positive gender frames of women athletes in sport.

Although not as prevalent, negative gender frames were apparent in broadcast text. Broadcast negative gender frames were more confounding than print negative gender frames due to their presence as subtly mixed messages. In broadcast, positive gender frames were typically coupled with negative gender frames, revealing a far more damaging mixed message gender frame. These mixed messages act as a subtle negative gender frame almost invisible in nature. The invisible hegemony that results makes the damaging stereotype virtually imperceptible to ordinary conversation and is subtly transferred in societal discourse (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Public relations and media personnel must be aware of not only the individual text frames, but the interdependence of these frames. Individual organizational frames may support or contradict each other. Public relations practitioners must constantly monitor frames to ensure a unified

organizational frame message; otherwise, positively-centered frames may be rendered ineffective.

A secondary gender frame analysis revealed that negative gender frames remain specific to women even within women's sport. Previous sport research has compared men's and women's sport rather than individuals in a single women's sport (Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999; Hillard, 1984; Messner, et. al., 1996). This study extends current research to assert that male and female coaches in women's sport are treated differently in public relations text, print text and broadcast text. This finding suggests that the same negative gender frames remain at the micro-level in women's sport. Public relations and media personnel must monitor gender frames even in women's sport to avoid the presence of negative gender stereotypes.

Frame Sponsorship Findings and Implications

Frame research has conceptualized framing as a process where frames are defined, constructed and disseminated primarily by the media (D'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 1999). This study extends the framing process model by considering the media as a dependent variable in the process, requiring the notion of frame sponsorship in the process model (Andsager, 2000; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Study findings confirm that frame sponsorship is evident between public relations and media (Andsager, 2000; Gamson, et. al., 1992). Dominant public relations frames were found in media discourse, both print and broadcast. However, the frame sponsorship process was qualified by differences in issue or frame salience between sponsored frames. Dominant public relations frames did not necessarily become dominant media frames. Some dominant public relations frames did not transfer as a media frame, while some public relations

frames with considerably low frame power did transfer successfully into media discourse. Study findings suggest frame power has little impact on successful frame sponsorship. Frame salience is not maintained in the frame sponsorship process, regardless of the amount of power a frame holds. The current conceptualization of frame power is inadequate to predict successful frame sponsorship. Power must be conceptualized from a receiver-based position to better predict successful frame sponsorship. As a result, public relations practitioners must first monitor the sponsorship of all public relations frames, regardless of power, and second, consider frames from a receiver-based position to facilitate frame sponsorship.

The examination of frame sponsorship also revealed sponsored frames often serve as ignition for broader media discourse. In particular, media, both print and broadcast, utilized the public relations individual player emphasis as an ignition for a greater heroic sport frame. Media sport heroes of this study retained their connection with the university, but the university team became a secondary focus. The primary media focus was the hero's immense talent; team accomplishments were identified as individual heroic accomplishments. Thus, the ignition frame was primarily a cognitive transfer connecting a player and a school and was then expanded to include affective attributes closely tied to a modern-day hero. This finding was consistent with sport communication literature that a sport hero is often identified and described in mythic proportion in media discourse (Hardin, 2001; Lule, 2001).

Frame sponsorship findings also suggest a qualification in frame sponsorship transfer, the distinction between issue frame sponsorship and attribute frame sponsorship. This study exhibited strong frame sponsorship between public relations and media on

issues. However, the associated attribute with the issue often was not transferred. The issue and attribute distinction corresponds to agenda setting research and its distinction between issues and attributes in the transfer of the media's agenda to readers (Hester & Gibson, 2003; McCombs & Ghanem, 2003). Frame research has not made such a distinction. Based on agenda setting research, study findings suggest that frame sponsorship operates on multiple levels, an issue level and an attribute level. While often framed together, the two transfer independently.

Study findings suggest that the associated attributes may also be altered in media discourse. For example, a comparison of the championship teams was a focus in public relations text, print text and broadcast text. This frame was identified as a comparison in both public relations and print, but identified as a rivalry in broadcast. The issue frame, the comparison, and the attribute frame, successful and respect, were sponsored from public relations text to both print and broadcast. However, broadcast altered the affective attribute to a rivalry rather than comparison attribute. The alteration provided a more visual depiction of the two teams, necessary particularly for a visual medium like broadcast. This finding highlights that a medium's unique needs guide frame sponsorship and transform sponsored frames.

Finally, event salience emerged as a qualifier in the frame sponsorship process for both print and broadcast. The increase of event salience corresponded with a decrease in frame sponsorship, particularly in broadcast text. This finding indicates either less of media's reliance of public relations material or a greater media adherence to traditional journalistic standards.

Print Frame Sponsorship

Print media exhibited stronger frame sponsorship than broadcast. Stronger print frame sponsorship may be due to the differing foci of the mediums. Broadcast retains traditional reporting on game action and outcome, while print has evolved to in-depth reporting of game strategy, explanation and analysis. In-depth reporting practices increase reliance on public relations materials and activities to obtain the necessary information in comparison to broadcast. Further, all dominant public relations frames were successfully sponsored to print frames, although frame salience differed. Public relations frames with low power were often sponsored successfully to print frames because they followed traditional news values. Weak public relations frames that focused on prominent figures were transferred to dominant print frames at the local and national newspaper levels. Thus, a frame's adherence to the receiver's needs, traditional news values, provided more frame power to otherwise weak frames and promoted successful sponsorship.

Print frame sponsorship was also qualified at the local versus national print level. A public relations frame that exhibited traditional news qualities, regardless of its power, was transferred successfully at the national level. Further, the distinction between issue frame sponsorship and attribute frame sponsorship was more apparent at the national level, with national print frame attributes often in direct contrast to public relation frame attributes. In comparison, frame sponsorship at the local level was much stronger with the transfer of both issue and attribute frames from public relations material to local print text. This finding corresponds to the public relations practice of building relationships with media. Public relations personnel have a more developed relationship with local

print media than national print due to their daily interaction. This relationship dimension was emphasized in the Excellence study finding that relationship management improves the effectiveness of public relations and thus the sponsorship of public relations frames (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995). Defining and maintaining relationships is integral to effective public relations (Dozier, et. al., 1995), and foundational to the successful frame sponsorship as well.

Broadcast Frame Sponsorship

Frame sponsorship was found in broadcast text, but to a lesser degree than print. Broadcast text was dominated by real-time, play-by-play action that diminished reliance on public relations material. Color commentary, however, did exhibit frame sponsorship although the sponsored frames typically differed in frame dominance between the texts. Frame sponsorship was guided more by the receiver's needs than the traditional conceptualization of frame power. For example, broadcast text exhibited strong frame sponsorship with public relations frames that focused on issues external to women's basketball. These sponsored frames were utilized in broadcast as color commentary to supplement traditional play-by-play action. This finding suggests a frame's power is determined by the cultural resonance of the receiver rather than the frame originator. A frame that has low power in public relations context may have strong power in broadcast context due to the medium's identification of cultural resonance. As a result, frame salience is not integrated within a frame but negotiated by the receiver. Public relations practitioners must be familiar with the receiver to facilitate successful frame sponsorship.

Gender Frame Sponsorship Findings and Implications

The final area of this study's examination was the level of gender frame sponsorship among public relations, print and broadcast. As with the earlier examination of frame sponsorship, gender frame sponsorship was apparent from public relations text, but the dominant sponsored gender frame was negative. The greater transfer of negative versus positive gender frames centers on the discussion of frame power, cultural resonance and magnitude, to facilitate sponsorship. Negative gender frames retained high levels of cultural resonance with both public relations and media because these frames reflect dominant gender ideology. Negative gender frames also exhibited high magnitude due to their dominance in public relations text. Thus, the dominance of negative sponsored gender frames corresponds with the high levels of cultural resonance and magnitude to facilitate a high level of frame sponsorship. The high power of negative gender frames poses problems for public relations practitioners striving to sponsor positive gender frames. Public relations practitioners then must emphasize other sponsorship factors, such as building relationships and knowing the receiver's needs, to facilitate the transfer of less powerful frames. Gender frame sponsorship again distinguished between a specific issue sponsorship and a broader gender attribute sponsorship. In the issue sponsorship, specific issues were transferred from public relations text to print text at both the local and national level and broadcast. Often these gender-specific issues in public relations material did not represent a dominant frame; rather part of a weak frame or one of numerous foci in a frame. This finding reiterates the need for a heightened sense of responsibility in public relations, an awareness of all gender-related issues in public relations materials. Further, it suggests that a frame may

actually gain power through the sponsorship process until it becomes a prominent focus in media discourse. The evolution of power becomes a significant force when the frame contains gender implications.

The independent transfer of a broader attribute frame reiterates the dual-level transfer of issues and attributes that extends to ideological frame sponsorship. Study findings suggest that frame sponsorship occurs at the issue level and the attribute level. Gender frame sponsorship was not always tied to a specific instance; rather positive or negative gender attributes were transferred separately from public relations frames to media frames. This finding extends previous frame sponsorship research on topics (Andsager, 2000) to include frame sponsorship of ideology. Public relations practitioners and media personnel must be aware of the ideological frames they transfer and the societal implications of this transfer.

Gender frame sponsorship was stronger in print than broadcast. This difference is attributed to the difference in broadcast needs, which inhibited the sponsorship of many public relations frames. The broadcast need for continual play-by-play commentary due to the real-time nature of the medium reduced its reliance on public relations material in comparison to print. Both positive and negative gender frames were transferred from public relations material to broadcast. However, both positive and negative gender frames in media text emerged independently from public relations material. Frames sponsored independent from public relations practitioners may impact media discourse, and media may independently construct frames. Thus, public relations practitioners alone are unable to sponsor dominant ideological change. It requires a cooperative effort by the many sponsors and constructors of frames in society.

This study suggests that public relations gender frames impact media, particularly print, and serve as an active agent in perpetuating negative gender frames. These findings also suggest public relations material has the capability to successfully sponsor positive gender frames to both print and broadcast. Thus, in sport, public relations personnel hold an important societal role in either maintaining or changing dominant ideology. Their position is confounded by the distinction between issue and attribute frame sponsorship. Most negative gender frame sponsorship occurred at the attribute level. Public relations personnel must carefully monitor both issue and attribute frames to prevent the sponsorship of universal negative gender indicators.

Contributions to Current Research

The 2004 NCAA Women's Final Four study suggests framing should be considered a process where frames are sponsored and transferred from public relations personnel to media. This sponsorship process includes frames related to a specific subject, such as the Final Four, and greater societal issues, such as gender stereotypes. The identification of public relations personnel as a frame sponsor redistributes societal power and responsibility to both public relations personnel and media.

This study extends current frame conceptualization of power to include the frame receiver. Study findings indicate that a frame's power is insufficient in determining sponsorship capability to media discourse in its current conceptualization. Rather, a frame's power, particularly its cultural resonance, must be conceptualized from the receiver's point of view. This re-conceptualization allows a single frame to exhibit varying levels of frame power based on the frame's receiver. A receiver-based definition

of power improves a frame power's capability as an indicator for frame sponsorship at the issue level and thus extends understanding of the frame process.

The redistribution of power heightens the need for awareness of presence and type of gender frames in public relations material. The identification of negative gender frames in public relations material illustrates university members are complicit in perpetuating the same damaging stereotypes as media. The presence of negative gender frames was prolific in both public relations and media communication. The identification of a new negative gender frame indicator, hierarchy of topics, extends current gender research. The hierarchy of topics indicates a male-versus-female subject appropriateness that relegates "female-topics" as unimportant and suggests the perpetuation of damaging stereotypes. The hierarchy of topics' emergence in the women's Final Four implies that devaluing gender frames remain specific to women even within women's sport. Despite growing awareness, public relations and media actively construct and maintain dominant ideology in our culture.

Gender research asserts that gender stereotypes are so ingrained into our culture that they are often unnoticed or "invisible" to society (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The identification of an additional negative gender frame suggests that previous "invisible" ideologies are being realized. As awareness grows, the identification of negative gender frames may actually increase. However, this awareness has also advanced a more subtle mixed message frame that counters positive gender frames. Growing gender awareness in sport may spur the growth of this mixed message frame, perpetuating a subtle but equally damaging stereotype.

Despite growing awareness, current sport research has focused solely on the identification and definition of negative stereotypes in sport. This exclusive focus may have perpetuated the continuance of negative gender frame usage. If public relations personnel and media are expected to provide positive gender frames, it is necessary to identify exemplary frames. The development of a positive gender typology is necessary to stem the tide of these influences. This study advances such a typology to define and identify positive sport gender frames. It counters universal negative gender frames with positive gender indicators that value women as athletes. The identification of positive gender frames may spur the growth of counter-hegemonic ideals of women in sport. The positive gender frame typology represents an initial step in this process.

This study identifies a dual-level frame sponsorship process where both issue frames and attribute frames are sponsored to media. The identification of such a process represents a conceptual convergence of frame research and agenda setting. When framing is conceived as a process, the frames are sponsored from one entity to another in the exact manner that an agenda is transferred from one to another. Further, it allows frames to be conceptualized on two levels. Like agenda setting, issue frames and attribute frames are sponsored separately. These findings suggest the previous distinction between framing and agenda research is arbitrary when framing is considered as a process.

A convergence of framing and agenda setting promotes theoretical development in understanding issue and attribute transfer in the greater media process. Agenda setting provides a description of the transfer process between media and readers or viewers that framing has extended to describe the transfer or frame sponsorship between public relations and media. Frame research also includes a focus on why and how certain frames

are transferred through an examination of power. Finally, frame research would benefit from a convergence with agenda setting research and its description of the dual-level transfer process and agenda setting would benefit from frame research's fuller understanding of frame sponsorship, including the inclusion of public relations personnel, and its association of power in the transfer process. Thus, these concepts provide a fuller understanding of the issue and attribute transfer process that includes public relations personnel to media to reader/viewers. As a result, framing and agenda setting bring a heightened definition and understanding to the greater media process, and they provide the foundation necessary for future theoretical growth.

Methodological concerns also suggest the need for conceptual convergence of agenda setting and framing. Traditional agenda setting research has followed a more quantitative approach using content analysis while frame research has utilized a more qualitative rhetorical discourse approach. Each has associated advantages and disadvantages; however, this study suggests a combined research design is necessary. The quantitative approach of this study allowed the researcher to identify, measure and directly compare frames from differing texts. In this manner, textual frames were identified in an objective manner without introducing researcher subjectivity. While this method proved sufficient for frame identification, a qualitative approach proved necessary to identify frame sponsorship. Contextual analysis was important in clarifying multiple frames and understanding their interaction in frame sponsorship. Textual analysis was also necessary to understand frame sponsorship among frames with little power in text. Thus, quantitative's reliance on magnitude to identify dominant frames was balanced by qualitative's identification of cultural resonance. As a result,

quantitative methods proved reliable in identifying frames, and qualitative methods offered deeper levels of understanding.

Limitations and Future Research

The examination of gender frame sponsorship in the women's Final Four represents an exploratory study of the identification and transfer of sport frames, specifically gender frames, in the framing process. Due to its exploratory nature, this study exhibits several limitations. The study was hindered by the lack of a positive gender frame typology in the identification of positive gender frames in public relations material and media. Without the advantage of previous research, positive gender indicators may have been present in discourse but not identified in this study. The study also restricted the database to textual analysis, excluding broadcast visuals from examination. Public relations data represented another limitation to the study. Public relations material were relegated to written communication and did not consider intervening variables that affect public relations success. Although news conference and interview transcripts were utilized, public relations material did not consider the contact of public relations personnel and media on an individual basis, nor did it consider the previous relationship between these entities. These and other extraneous variables, such as impending deadlines and their impact on the usage of public relations frames, were not considered in the study.

This study exhibited successful frame sponsorship from public relations personnel to media. Based on this analysis, however, a causal connection between these two entities cannot be established. This study only establishes a connection between public relations personnel and media rather than a causal relationship. This limitation is particularly

important in gender frame research. This study is unable to assert that public relations practitioners are the cause for damaging gender media frames, only that they may be a contributing source. Finally, the examination of frame sponsorship is hampered by the quantitative reliance on word frequency for frame identification. Frame research notes that a word or phrase does not have to exhibit a high word frequency or magnitude for it to be important (Miller & Riechert, 2001). This limitation was offset by the usage of qualitative procedures to identify the cultural resonance or substantive meaning of a word or phrase in text. While the duality of methods was important, they are still unable to account for the multiple levels of meaning apparent in text. For example, numerous terms and phrases are commonly used to identify a single concept or idea, but the methodology of this study typically considered a single word or phrase as an independent frame identifier.

This study represents an initial step in the exploration of frame sponsorship from public relations material to media discourse. Study findings suggest that frame sponsorship acts much like agenda setting by operating at two levels. This dual process requires additional examination to determine if issue frame sponsorship and attribute frame sponsorship are an integrated component or transferred separately in the framing process. Future research should consider if this dual process is specific to sport or to high profile events. It should also consider if event or topic salience affects the separate issue and attribute transfer.

The conceptual convergence of framing with agenda setting provides initial evidence that media frames impact society (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, 1993); however, the influential extent over time is less clear. The inclusion of the frame process model

allows researches to track frame transfer over time to examine the impact of frame cultivation. Future research could utilize this framing process model to determine what long-term effect, if any, the frames noted in this study have on society. For example, African-American quarterbacks are no longer framed as anomalies in sport, but are simply quarterbacks today. Is this the result of consistent frame usage over time? Would consistent positive gender frames of women athletes result in a similar cultivation shift? These questions provide both ideological and practical ramifications: ideological in the explanation of hegemonic shifts and practical for the effective public relations practice of image management.

This research also found frame sponsorship to be impacted by media type, print media locale, and event salience. Additional research is necessary to promote greater understanding of their impact on the framing process as well as the impact of the traditional news process. This study noted the impact of the traditional news processes on frame sponsorship. Particularly at the national print level, frame sponsorship was guided by traditional news elements. The adherence to a formal template is common in both the media and public relations professions, but what is the impact of such templates on frame sponsorship? For media personnel, what extent does the traditional news process have on frame construction? For example, ESPN broadcast in this study illustrated an overall more positive gender frame than print. Was this difference due to medium differences or the usage of a less traditional news template by the cable provider? For public relations practitioners, are frames constructed and sponsored based on traditional templates, and what effect, if any, do these templates have on frame sponsorship?

Finally, this study identifies framing as a process and extends the model to include public relations personnel. The suggested conceptual convergence of framing and agenda setting highlights the need to examine the macro-frame process from public relations personnel to media to readers or viewers and back to public relations personnel. Research should consider the path an issue takes in the model as well as how the issue is transferred.

The function of frame sponsorship extends beyond the public relations practitioner and encompasses any entity that frames an issue. In college sport, athletic coaches, parents, athletes, university professors and administration, and groups associated with the university, although not acting in an official capacity, often submit frames that may impact media frames. For public relations practitioners, these unofficial frames may constitute a loss of frame control and negatively impact the successful sponsorship of public relations frames. Future research should examine the impact of unofficial frames on image management initiatives, particularly the impact of contradictory official and unofficial organizational frames on media discourse. A common sport practice is to train selected athletes and athletic representatives in public speaking principles. This training could expand traditional delivery/presentation training to include message content training for athletic spokespersons.

This study identifies the presence of positive and negative gender frames in public relations material and media. The identification of positive gender frames was hampered by the lack of an existing positive gender frame typology. Future research could build on the proposed typology to identify and define positive gender frames in a variety of subjects, not necessarily sport, in order to define universal positive gender frames. This

study further suggests that negative gender frames are becoming subtler in their presentation. Further research is necessary to identify this new negative gender frame form. Finally, a secondary analysis in this study suggested negative gender differences exist within women's sport. The male and female differences in a single women's sport has been unexplored and may prove beneficial in a micro-examination of gender frames.

An examination of gender frame sponsorship identified a connection between public relations personnel and media. This examination provided foundational support that negative gender frames may be sponsored from public relations text to media text at both the issue and attribute level. However, a quantitative approach limited the study to textual analysis. More research is necessary for a deeper understanding on why these gender frames exist, how these frames might be transferred, and the effect on society.

This examination of frame sponsorship extends study implications beyond sport. The study highlights two foundational concerns for public relations practitioners, awareness and the associated societal responsibility. Agenda setting and framing research have demonstrated media's power, but this study expands the power scope to include public relations practitioners. Public relations frames impact media frames and thus maintain a power role. An awareness of power ingrained in the practice of public relations necessitates social responsibility. Public relations ethics requires public relations practice for the good of the client and the greater community, i.e. social responsibility. Public relations practitioners must be aware of the power of their sponsored frames and the potential effect on society. This practical implication is related closely to a theoretical implication. The framing process illustrated in this research defines a transfer of power throughout the process that describes and defines framing in society. This process is not

limited to a public relations function, but encompasses any person or organization that intentionally or unintentionally sponsors frames. Regardless of the inherent purpose, this research demonstrates the power and influence sponsored frames have on media and society and the responsibility such power requires.

Conclusion

An examination of gender frame sponsorship in sport provided foundational evidence that frame sponsorship is a viable component of the framing process and that it may be used to disseminate damaging gender frames to media. Frame sponsorship was found to operate on dual levels, an issue level and attribute level, and these levels transfer independently. Study findings underscore the importance of frame power from the receiver's perspective to identify frames most likely to be successfully sponsored from public relations material to media discourse. Further, this study illustrated that frame sponsorship is often qualified by media type, print media locale and event salience

A gender frame analysis revealed that damaging gender frames exist in both public relations text and media discourse. In media text, this examination noted the presence of more subtle gender frames than identified in previous research. It also noted that positive gender frames are present in media discourse but often neutralized by a connection with a negative gender frame, resulting in a mixed gender message. The identification of negative gender frames in public relations material suggests a need for increased monitoring of gender stereotypes by university personnel. Awareness is heightened by study findings that gender frames can be sponsored from public relations material to media text just like other frames. This finding brings a renewed sense of responsibility concerning the power associated with public relations positions.

The issue of power within frame sponsorship brings an associated need for greater understanding of the framing process. This study suggests that a greater understanding would be facilitated by the conceptual convergence of agenda setting and framing research. Together, these concepts provide a fuller definition and understanding of the greater media process from the public relations practitioner to the reader/viewer.

The growth of a mediated community in sport has increased our reliance on media for information and entertainment. This study confirms that media promote damaging gender stereotypes; however, it also suggests that public relations personnel may influence media frames. Identifying frame sponsorship is an important consideration in challenging dominant ideology. Public relations practitioners can influence and even challenge hegemony through sponsored frames to media. The power associated with frame sponsorship corresponds to a heightened sense of responsibility. University public relations personnel must be aware of the presence and type of gender frames in their communication before they can impact damaging gender stereotypes. This study serves as an initial step in this process by identifying the connection between public relations personnel and media in sport and the presence and type of gender frames in public relations material and media. Awareness is a crucial first step, but a greater understanding of the frame sponsorship process and its corresponding societal implications is necessary. A growing mediated society necessitates this further examination to stem the tide of damaging gender frames in sport.

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VITA

Christie Morgan Kleinmann was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on August 13, 1974. She attended schools in the public school system of Sullivan County where she graduated from Sullivan Central High School in 1992. She attended King College and received a Bachelor of Arts in English/Secondary Education in May 1996. She then entered the Master's program in Communication at Auburn University and received a Master's of Communication with an emphasis in Public Relations in June 1998. In August 2002, she attended the University of Tennessee to pursue a Doctorate of Philosophy from the College of Communication and Information. The doctoral degree was received in May 2005.

Prior to her doctoral work, Kleinmann served as the marking/communication director for the major behavioral health care organization in Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia. In this capacity, she oversaw and developed all related public relations/advertising materials for the company and its affiliated programs. During her tenure, she served on various local, regional and state committees to promote behavioral health and was recognized as a 40 Under 40 Business Leader in the greater Northeast Tennessee/Southwest Virginia area.

Following her Master's program, Kleinmann also worked as a part-time communication instructor at King College. She was instrumental in the development of the first communication concentration at King and assisted in development of the Technical and Professional Communication major. She also served as the student newspaper advisor.

Kleinmann received several honors during her doctoral work, including membership in the Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society and the Kappa Tau Alpha Honor Society. She also received best graduate paper honors at the AEJMC 2004 Southeast Colloquium for her research on historical memory. She also served as a communication consultant for Frontier Health during 2002-2003, assisting in a joint-study with Frontier Health and the Commonwealth of Virginia on performance outcome measures in behavioral health.

Kleinmann currently resides in Bristol, Tennessee, with her husband Craig and two children.

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