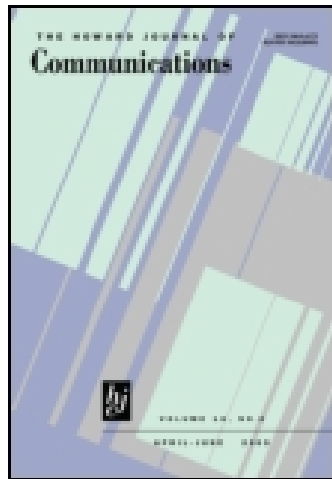


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Race as an Antecedent Condition in the Framing of Heisman Finalists

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Previous literature has established the widespread use of frames that contrast athletes' physical (i.e., the "brawn" frame, often used for Black athletes) and mental abilities (i.e., the "brain" frame, often used for White athletes) in mediated sports content, particularly oral commentary, which tends to be more spontaneous in nature. The current study analyzed the presence and salience of brawn and brain frames of Heisman finalists in newspaper articles as a function of reporter race; extending previous research by examining (a) written content and (b) reporter race as an antecedent condition. Results confirm the existence of "brawn" and "brain" biases in written sports content, with no influence of reporter race on these patterns. The lack of influence of reporter race—a finding that contradicts research on oral commentary—suggests an institutional influence on frame use in written sports coverage as a function of the more planned nature of "print" media.

KEYTERMS *content analysis, framing theory, Heisman Trophy, race, sport*

Mediated sports coverage has been suggested to have an economic, social, educational, and political influence on society, as it reflects, enforces, changes, and arguably comprises culture (Foley, 1990; Washington & Karen, 2001; Weber 1981). The mechanism behind the influence of sports coverage is that audience members' perceptions of themselves, athletes, sports, and society at large are affected by the manner in which sports coverage is framed

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(Eastman & Billings, 1999; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Kobach, 2009; Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005; Washington & Karen, 2001). Previous research has established that sports media have used dichotomous frames that emphasize athletes' physical or intellectual abilities to explain their successes and failures. These frames are colloquially referred to as *brawn* and *brain* frames (McDonald & Andrews, 2001; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005) and are often conjoined with an athlete's race, as White athletes are commonly framed as brainy, whereas Black athletes are framed as brawny (Buffington & Fraley, 2008; Fucillo, 2012; McDonald & Andrews, 2001; Mercurio & Filak, 2010). Racially based distributions of brawn and brain frames have been primarily identified in live, oral commentary (i.e., broadcasts that feature analysts commentating on events as they happen; Angelini & Billings, 2010; Billings, 2004; Bruce, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005).

The purpose of the current study is twofold. First, we extend the examination of the presence and prevalence of brawn and brain frames to newspaper coverage of Heisman Trophy finalists—which breaks from extant literature that has mainly focused on oral commentary from televised sports broadcasts (e.g., Angelini & Billings, 2010; Billings, 2004; Bruce, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). This specific focus on framing in print journalism is not trivial, as print journalism diminishes the role of reporters' subconscious and includes greater editorial and institutional influences (Gerbner, 1966). Second, we examine brawn and brain frames as a function of reporter race. Although the influence of athlete race has been established in extant research, little research has examined the influence of demographic characteristics between individual journalists on frames within written content. The current study focuses on the argument for reporter race as a significant predictor of frame use (an established finding in oral commentary), but also considers that media institutions foster implicit routines in story coverage that would result in little variance in how stories are written and edited, rendering individual differences between reporters moot (Breed, 1955; Mercurio & Filak, 2010).

FRAMING THEORY

Framing theory (Goffman, 1974) serves as the theoretical underpinning of the current study. A frame has been defined as the “[selection of] some aspects of a perceived reality [that] make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). The function of a frame is to provide a cognitive shortcut to process complex information (Goffman, 1974). In a mediated

context, frames often manifest through “words, images, phrases, and presentation styles” (Druckman, 2001, p. 227). The placement, repetition, selection, exclusion, and emphasis of those words, images, phrases, or presentation styles increase a frame’s salience (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980). The salience of a frame suggests a moral judgment or particular definition of a problem, and implies a cause or remedy (Entman, 1993, 2007; Gitlin, 1980; Kensicki, 2004; Messner & Solomon, 1993).

THE FRAMING OF RACE IN MEDIATED SPORTS CONTENT

Traditionally, sports media have used dichotomous frames that emphasize athletes’ physical or intellectual abilities (i.e., colloquially referred to as “brawn” and “brain” frames) to explain their performance (McDonald & Andrews, 2001; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). There have been several conceptualizations of the brawn frame, but most have featured the central aspect of a perceived innate advantage in physical ability, as a result of genetics, physiology, or natural ability (Billings, 2004; Buffington & Fraley, 2008; Eagleman, 2011; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Gonzales, Jackson, & Regoli, 2006; Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005; Rasmussen, Esgate, & Turner, 2005). The current study conceptualized a *brawn frame* as a portrayal that depicts athletes based on their physical ability, or attaches their performance to their genetics, biology, physiology, or natural ability. The brawn frame has been used almost exclusively to describe Black athletes, as Johnson, Hallinan, and Westerfield (1999, p. 46) suggested Black athletes are conceived to be “genetically better equipped to participate in sports.” However, occasional exceptions do exist, as Angelini and Billings (2010) suggested that White athletes in the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics were framed as physically superior to athletes of other races during broadcasts.

In contrast, the brain frame places an emphasis on an athlete’s ability to use his/her intelligence, decision making, concentration, and other mental abilities to achieve success in sport (Eastman & Billings, 2001). The brain frame has been conceptualized in a variety of ways, such as “intelligence or mental effort” (Eastman & Billings, 2001, p. 186), “perceived superiority . . . in measures of intelligence” (Billings, 2004, p. 202), and intellectual or cognitive descriptions (Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). In addition, Buffington and Fraley (2008) included the trait of leadership as a mental attribute, as it is the result of the cognitive ability to manage emotional intelligence (Bratton, Dodd, & Brown, 2011; Kerr, Garvin, Heaton, & Boyle, 2006). The current study conceptualized a *brain frame* as a portrayal that depicts athletes based on their mental ability, or attaches their performance to their genetics, biology, or natural ability. The brain frame has largely been used to describe the success of White athletes (Billings, 2004; Buffington & Fraley, 2008; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Rada, 1996).

The historical context and social construction of these frames is uniquely comparative, as both frames share the same origins (e.g., the biological determinist and social Darwinist perspectives of the 18th and 19th centuries) and were formed partially in contrast to each other (McDonald & Andrews, 2001; Schiebinger, 1990). Early scientists of this time period incorrectly believed that Black and White people were biologically and anatomically different, and readily compared their perceived abilities through an ethnocentric lens, concluding that Whites have more natural intelligence and that Blacks have greater physical abilities (Lule, 1995; McDonald & Andrews, 2001; Schiebinger, 1990). These perceptions were popularized in American media and culture during the 19th century and used as a justification for the institution of slavery (Miller, 1995; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). Despite the fallacy behind this misguided science (Ayala, 1985), these perceptions have been etched in American culture for roughly 200 years.

Prevalence of Brawn and Brain Frames

The brawn and brain frames have been discovered in mediated coverage and culture of multiple mainstream sports, such as track and field (Rasmussen et al., 2005), basketball (Buffington & Fraley, 2008; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Johnson et al., 1999; Wonsek, 1992), baseball (Eagleman, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 2006), and football (Billings, 2004; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). The racial distribution of these frames has been consistent with previously discussed patterns, as Black athletes are often described in terms of their muscle structure, speed, leaping ability, body fat, and physiology (Johnson et al., 1999; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005; Rasmussen et al., 2005) and White athletes are often described in terms of their concentration, intelligence, and leadership (Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rasmussen et al., 2005). These frames have been suggested to be especially prominent in the coverage of quarterbacks in the sport of football (Billings, 2004; Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). For example, White quarterbacks are often described as “intelligent signal-caller[s] . . . [who make] good decisions and rarely force throws,” and Black quarterbacks are often portrayed as “big guy[s] with a rifle arm[s], good mobility, good feet” (Mercurio & Filak, 2010, p. 67).

Difference between Oral and Written Content

In addition, brawn and brain frames are not only frequently found in the coverage of multiple sports, but also in a variety of mediated content, such as magazines (Eagleman, 2011), NFL draft websites (Mercurio & Filak, 2010), but most commonly, live broadcasts of sporting events (Angelini & Billings, 2010; Billings, 2004; Bruce, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). Live, oral commentary has been extensively examined,

but as previously mentioned, oral and written content are very different. For example, the subconscious is key in oral commentary, as this media is spontaneous, unscripted, stressful, often uncensored, and requires an analyst to produce a steady stream of content to avoid empty air-time (Bruce, 2004; Devine, 2001; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). This quick reaction to gameplay or events has been suggested as the mechanism behind racially based framing, as a commentator's experiences, knowledge, and bias leak from his/her subconscious to audience members' ears (Bruce, 2004; Devine, 2001; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). Framing theory provides further support for this relationship, as the association between the increased role of the subconscious and use of brawn and brain frames makes intuitive sense given the implicit and unintentional nature of framing (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974). Although it is arguable that commentators attempt to self-censor because they are still accountable for what they say, the lack of gatekeepers; the increased role of the subconscious; and the unfiltered, continuous, and stressful nature of oral commentary makes this medium unique.

Comparatively, most written content goes through an editorial process, as it is reviewed and altered before it reaches its intended audience. The editorial process starts with a topic being assigned, carefully constructed, edited by either the writer or editor, and reviewed by multiple people before it reaches the public (Hoey, 2008). This process makes an individual reporter's subconscious more difficult to identify as the mechanism behind written frames, as printed content is constructed by more than one person. Thus, it has been suggested that the existence of frames in written content demonstrates not only that these frames are widely held by individuals, but that collectively the media institution that produced the content deemed the use of those frames as permissible (Gerbner, 1966; Scheufele, 1999). Despite the difference between newspapers and live commentary, the presence and pervasiveness of brawn and brain frames in multiple sports and types of content suggests that these frames should also exist in newspaper articles about Heisman Trophy finalists. The preponderance of evidence serves as the rationale for the first three hypotheses of the current study:

H1: When covering Black Heisman Trophy finalists, newspaper journalists will use the brawn frame to describe the athlete at a rate greater than the journalist would by chance.

H2: When covering White Heisman Trophy finalists, newspaper journalists will use the brain frame to describe the athlete at a greater rate than the journalist would by chance.

H3a: Black Heisman Trophy finalists will be more likely to be framed in the brawn frame than will White Heisman Trophy finalists.

H3b: White Heisman Trophy finalists will be more likely to be framed in the brain frame than will Black Heisman Trophy finalists.

Beyond the mere presence or absence of brawn and brain frames, the examination of frame salience provides further evidence of their usage. Entman (1993) conceptualized salience as “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (p. 53). A frame’s ability to leave a lasting impression or evaluation has been suggested to be a function of a frame’s salience (Entman, 1993). Salience differs from the measurement of a frame’s presence because it examines the pervasiveness of a frame rather than its mere existence. Past research studying brawn and brain frames has not extensively examined salience separately from presence and absence. By examining salience we hope to understand the pervasiveness of reporters’ use of these frames on an article level. Again, based on established patterns of the racial associations with these frames, the following hypothesis was forwarded:

H4a: Black Heisman Trophy finalists framed in the brawn frame will have higher salience scores than will White Heisman Trophy finalists in the brawn frame.

H4b: White Heisman Trophy finalists framed in the brain frame will have higher salience scores than will Black Heisman Trophy finalists in the brain frame.

REPORTER RACE, INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PRINT JOURNALISM, AND FRAMING

Although the link between athlete race and frame use in mediated sports content has empirical support, little has been suggested about the significance of reporter race on frame use. Thus, as the central purpose of the current study, we attempt to address the dearth of research on this point by examining two assumptions—one that emphasizes the importance of reporter race and another that cites institutional socialization as a source of brawn and brain frames.

Influence of Reporter Race on Mediated Content

Examining demographic factors (e.g., race or gender) as an antecedent of framing can be rationalized by previous research (Eastman & Billings, 1999; Liebler, 1994). For example, multiple studies have demonstrated that female reporters are less likely than male reporters to use racially biased frames (Kian & Hardin, 2009; Rodgers & Thorson, 2003). Further, previous research has suggested that reporter race influences several aspects of news content

(Pritchard & Stonebely, 2007; Wu & Izard, 2008; Zeldes & Fico, 2005; Zeldes, Fico, & Diddi, 2007). For example, Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) suggested that Black reporters were three times more likely than White reporters to cover minority stories because of assignment, increased interest, or a lack of interest amongst White reporters. Likewise, Owens (2008) demonstrated that Black reporters were more than twice as likely to use minority sources as on-camera sources, as minority sources appeared in 45.1% of Black reporters' stories but only 25.2% of White reporters' segments. Although this demonstrates that reporter race can influence aspects of coverage, it does not mean frames within coverage will vary, as the topic and sources of a news story are different constructs than frames (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Although the majority of studies that have examined the role of reporter race have focused on factors surrounding content (e.g., topics and sources), few studies have examined the actual frames used in that content, especially within a sports context (Billings, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001). Billings (2004) examined the influence of oral commentators' race on their use of the brawn frame to describe Black college and professional football quarterbacks, and suggested that White commentators framed Black quarterbacks' successes in the brawn frame, but Black commentators did not. This supports the belief that race can serve as an antecedent condition for frame use, at least in oral commentary. However, given the uniqueness of print journalism as a medium, other factors may render demographic factors of individual journalists as inconsequential.

Influence of Institutions that Produce Media Content

The context of print journalism introduces institutionalization as another possible antecedent for the use of frames (Breed, 1955; Gerbner, 1966). In the current study, *institutionalization* refers to a media organization's formal and informal processes and policies that influence and shape content. Both formal processes (e.g., editing; Gerbner, 1966) and informal processes (e.g., socialization; Breed, 1955) have been considered as mechanisms behind the construction of mediated content. Although formal processes (e.g., editing and organization policies) have traditionally been considered influential in media production (Gerbner, 1966), most media outlets do not have a formal policy regarding construction of content—thus, most influence is suggested to be socialized and learned subconsciously (Breed, 1955; Flegel & Chaffee, 1971; Stark, 1962; Tuchman, 1972). Mercurio and Filak (2010) specifically suggested that the use of racially biased frames is informally and socially learned in the newsroom, as younger journalists learn from their older coworkers. Research on the social norms of journalism supports this informal socialization model and asserts most learning occurs by osmosis (i.e., subconsciously; Breed, 1955; Flegel & Chaffee, 1971; Sigelman, 1973).

The mechanism behind socialization in newsrooms is that older journalists are usually in positions of power (e.g., editor or chief editor); therefore, out of self-interest, younger journalists must conform to the way the older generation approaches coverage (Mercurio & Filak, 2010). Those who conform are rewarded with publications, assignments, better placement in the newspaper, and promotions, which only further reinforce the older generation's approach (Breed, 1955; Warner, 1971). An additional motivation is relational obligation (Breed, 1955; Molotch & Lester, 1974; Tuchman, 1972). In other words, reporters follow patterns of coverage because of liking for or a desire to gain the approval of fellow coworkers. No matter the motivation, with socialization each generation learns and uses coverage techniques (including the use of frames) from the previous generation—just as that generation learned from the generation before them, and so on, and so forth (Breed, 1955). This assertion was demonstrated in Fee's (1999) examination of a North Carolina newsroom. Fee (1999) suggested that despite profound organizational shifts (e.g., editorial changes and an influx of employees that did not possess traditional journalistic values [e.g., graphic designers and artists]), newsroom culture and belief systems serve as a constraining force that socialize employees to create uniformed content over time. Further, these belief systems and culture serve as a means of resistance to change.

This rationale is further supported by the current study's theoretical framework, which suggests frames are socially shared and persistent over time, even within a media organization (Reese, 2001; Scheufele, 1999). Finally, the empirical record also downplays the importance of individual factors (e.g., race) on frame use. For example, interviews with reporters have produced uniformed responses that "a good reporter, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, will be able to cover a story as well as anybody else" (Pritchard & Stonebely, 2007, p. 237). However, these interviews could contain a desirability effect, as the reporters may have perceived that their objectivity was being called into question by the assumption that demographic factors would affect news production.

Thus, with some literature supporting reporter race and others supporting institutionalization as a possible source of racially based framing, a hypothesis was not put forth. The literature advocating the influence of reporter race is small and contradicts theoretically grounded assumptions about how reporters learn to cover news. In addition, both perspectives have little empirical data to support their claims. Therefore, the current study asked research questions that would more exhaustively examine the role of a reporter's race and the interaction between reporter and athlete race in producing brawn and brain frames in written news coverage.

RQ1: Does the race of a reporter affect the brawn and brain frames used when covering Heisman Trophy finalists?

RQ2: Is there an interaction between reporter and athlete race on the use of brawn and brain frames when covering Heisman Trophy finalists?

METHOD

The current study is a content analysis of print newspaper articles that covered Heisman finalists from 2000 to 2011. A frame analysis was conducted for the presence and salience of brawn and brain frames as a function of reporter race in a between group design that examined Black and White reporters.

Sample

We examined print newspaper articles written about Heisman finalists, as they are (a) the most high-profile athletes in college football and (b) provide a unique sample in which arguably all members are equally talented. A Heisman Trophy finalist was operationalized as an athlete who was invited to New York City for the presentation of the award. In total, 43 Heisman Trophy finalists from 2000 to 2011 were selected (21 [49%] were Black and 22 [51%] were White) as the topics of coverage for the current study. These players' positions were largely invariant, as 40 of the 43 athletes were quarterbacks and running backs (common with Heisman balloting).

The names of the 43 finalists were used in separate Lexis-Nexis Academic database searches in conjunction with the word *Heisman* to procure the newspaper articles that comprise the current study's sample. This original search yielded 5,718 newspaper articles, which was reduced to 468 articles based on the following inclusion criteria: each article had to (a) be written during the college football season (i.e., August 1 to the day the Heisman was awarded) in which the finalist received his first invitation to the award's presentation, (b) be written by one identifiable author who was either Black or White, and (c) be produced by a daily newspaper. In addition, any duplicate articles (i.e., articles that appeared in more than one of the 43 Lexis-Nexis searches) were eligible to be coded only once. The remaining 468 articles were authored by a total of 223 reporters (205 [92%] were White and 18 [8%] were Black), and the 18 Black journalists wrote 23 (5%) of the 468 articles. Because of the between-group design of the current study and the low number of Black reporters, the population of Black reporters were included and a stratified random sample of 23 articles written by White journalists was procured from the remaining 445 articles; giving the current study a final sample size of 46 articles. The 46 articles of the sample were written by 18 Black reporters and 21 White reporters. It is important to note that the unit of analysis for the current study was not articles, with the exception of the

measurement of salience, but frames. Within the 46 articles, 146 frames were identified and coded.

Procedure

Three independent coders from a large Mid-Atlantic university performed a content analysis of the 46 articles containing the 146 frames of Heisman Trophy finalists, dating from 2000 to 2011. This analysis focused on the use of brawn and brain frames in reference to each athlete, and compared the distribution of these frames as a function of reporter race. The content analysis was performed utilizing text only versions of the 46 articles. These files were formatted in Microsoft Word to be consistent in font size, style, and spacing. All disagreements during coding were resolved by a majority rule decision (i.e., two coders in agreement). In all cases, at least two of the three coders agreed.

CODER TRAINING AND RELIABILITY

Prior to data collection, the three coders were trained for 6 hours on 20 sample articles, which were taken from articles that were collected during the Lexis-Nexis search but not used for the sample. Coders were asked to record (a) the presence of brawn or brain frames, (b) the race of the framed athlete, and (c) the race of the reporter who wrote the frame. Krippendorff's alpha statistic was used as the index of intercoder reliability because it can be used with multiple coders, different levels of measurement, and it accounts for the possibility of agreement by chance (Lombard, Synder-Duch, & Bracken, 2010). Coder training ceased when coders reached an alpha of .75 or higher for each category.

Units of Analysis and Variables

PRESENCE OF THE BRAWN AND BRAIN FRAMES

The brawn frame was operationalized as words or frames that attributed success or skills of an athlete to his physiology (e.g., size, limbs, muscle mass, hand size, height, weight, etc.), genetics (e.g., references to family members who were athletes), general biological skills advantage (e.g., speed, strength, mobility, agility, athleticism, etc.), and game-specific skills advantage (e.g., arm strength, big hitter, footwork, ability to break tackles, etc.). The brain frame was operationalized as frames that attributed success or skills of an athlete to his leadership (e.g., making players around them better, team player, etc.), academic intelligence (e.g., GPA, SAT, ACT, impressive major, good student etc.), general biological skills advantage (e.g., smart, quick

thinker, intelligent, concentration, composure, etc.), and game-specific skills advantage (e.g., reads the defense/offense, high football IQ, good vision, smart play, knows playbook, does not force throws, etc.). For each frame identified in the sample, coders coded the frame as either brain (“0”) or brawn (“1”). Of the 146 frames in the sample, 96 (66%) brawn and 50 (34%) brain frames were identified. Coders reached an acceptable reliability for this category (Krippendorff’s $\alpha = .92$).

SALIENCE OF BRAWN AND BRAIN FRAMES

Salience was operationalized in the current study as the repetition of phrases that qualify as fitting the brawn or brain frames. For each article, a coder identified a number of discrete references as brawn or brain frames. Salience was then calculated by the researcher ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 3.05$, kurtosis = 1.40, skewness = 1.32) on the article level in a continuous measure, with a score of “0” representing the absence of a frame.

ATHLETE RACE

The current study conceptualized race as “the social meaning of the geographically marked body, familiar markers being skin color, hair type, eye shape, [and] physique” (Haslanger, 2000, p. 44). This conceptualization views race as a social construction without biological determination and has been supported by previous research (Ayala, 1985; Haslanger, 2000; Lopez, 1994). The current study focused on people who are visibly of Black or White heritage. The terms of *Black* and *White* were purposefully selected as they are dichotomous, visually based, socially constructed, and are not rooted in nationality or geographic heritage unlike *African American* and *Caucasian*. For each frame identified in the sample, the athlete referred to was coded as either White (“1”) or Black (“2”). Of the 146 frames, 77 (53%) referred to Black athletes and 69 (47%) referred to White athletes.

REPORTER RACE

Reporter race was operationalized the same way as athlete race. For each frame identified in the sample, coders coded the reporter who authored the frame as either White (“1”) or Black (“2”). Eighty (55%) frames were written by Black reporters and 66 (45%) were written by White reporters. All reporters in the sample fell inside of these categories because of the study’s inclusion criteria. Reporters’ race was determined through visual identification gathered from a newspaper’s website or social media accounts.

TABLE 1 Presence and Absence of Brawn and Brain Frames for Black and White Heisman Trophy Finalists, Respectively

	Presence	Absence	Total
Brawn frame, Black athletes ^a	62 (81%)	15 (19%)	77
Brain frame, White athletes ^b	35 (51%)	34 (49%)	69

^aBinomial distribution significant at $p < .001$ level. ^bBinomial distribution not significant ($p = \sim 1.00$).

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1 predicted that when covering Black Heisman Trophy finalists, newspaper journalists would use the brawn frame to describe the athlete at a rate greater than the journalist would by chance. Results of a binomial distribution analysis supported this hypothesis, as 62 (81%) of the frames involving Black finalists were brawn frames ($p < .001$). Hypothesis 2 predicted that when covering White Heisman Trophy finalists, newspaper journalists will use the brain frame to describe the athlete at a greater rate than the journalist would by chance. Results of a binomial distribution analysis did not support this hypothesis, as 35 (51%) of the frames involving White finalists were brain frames ($p \sim 1.00$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported and Hypothesis 2 was not supported; see Table 1.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that Black Heisman finalists would be more likely to be framed in the brawn frame than would White finalists. Similarly, Hypothesis 3b predicted that White Heisman Trophy finalists would be more likely to be framed in the brain frame than would Black Heisman Trophy finalists. Results of a chi-square analysis support that the distribution of frames in the 2×2 design (Athlete Race \times Frame) was significantly different than the expected distribution, $\chi^2(1) = 15.78$, $p < .001$; with Black finalists being framed as brawny ($n = 62$, 65%) more than White finalists ($n = 34$, 35%), and White finalists being framed as brainy ($n = 35$, 70%) more than Black finalists ($n = 15$, 30%). However, because Hypotheses 3a and 3b inquire about two different halves of the 2×2 , post-hoc analyses using binomial distribution tests were used to compare the racial distribution of the brawn

TABLE 2 Distribution of Brawn and Brain Frames across Heisman Trophy Finalists' Race

	Brawn ^a	Brain ^b	Total
Black athletes	62 (65%)	15 (30%)	77
White athletes	34 (35%)	35 (70%)	69
Total	96	50	

Note. $\chi^2(1) = 15.78$, $p < .001$.

^aBinomial distribution significant ($p = .006$). ^bBinomial distribution significant ($p = .007$).

TABLE 3 Mean Salience Scores between Black and White Heisman Trophy Finalists for Brawn and Brain Frames

	Brawn ^a	Brain ^b
Black athletes	1.55	.38
White athletes	.85	.88

^a $t(40) = 1.24, p = .22$. ^b $t(40) = -2.00, p = .053$.

and brain frames separately. Results demonstrated that both distributions differed significantly from each other (brawn frame, $p = .006$; brain frame, $p = .007$). Thus, Hypotheses 3a and 3b were supported, see Table 2.

Hypothesis 4a predicted that Black Heisman finalists framed in the brawn frame would have higher salience scores than White finalists in the brawn frame. A paired samples t -test did not support this hypothesis, $t(40) = 1.24, p = .22$; as salience scores did not differ between Black ($M = 1.55, SD = .44$) and White brawn frames ($M = .85, SD = .25$). Hypothesis 4b predicted that White Heisman finalists framed in the brain frame would have higher salience scores than Black finalists in the brain frame. A paired samples t -test did not support this hypothesis, $t(40) = -2.00, p = .053$; as salience scores did not differ between White ($M = .88, SD = 1.16$) and Black brain frames ($M = .38, SD = .74$). Hypothesis 4a and 4b were not supported; see Table 3.

Research Question 1 investigated whether the race of a reporter affected the frames used when covering Heisman Trophy finalists. Results of a chi-square analysis suggested that— $\chi^2(1) = .045, p = .833$ —Black journalists did not use brawn ($n = 52, 54\%$) or brain frames ($n = 28, 56\%$) more than White journalists used brawn ($n = 44, 46\%$) or brain frames ($n = 22, 44\%$); see Table 4. Research Question 2 examined the potential for an interaction of reporter and athlete race on the use of brawn and brain frames. Results of a chi-square analysis suggested that— $\chi^2(1) = .16, p = .691$ —there was no interaction effect of reporter and athlete race on frame use.

TABLE 4 Distribution of Brawn and Brain Frames of Heisman Trophy Finalists as a Function of Reporter Race

	Brawn	Brain	Total
Black reporters	52 (54%)	28 (56%)	80
White reporters	44 (46%)	22 (44%)	66
Total	96	50	

Note. $\chi^2(1) = .045, p = .833$.

DISCUSSION

The results of the current study provide several insights into the existence of brawn and brain frames in print journalism. In particular, data from this study (a) suggests that patterns of brawn and brain frames used to describe Black and White athletes in print journalism largely follow what has been reported in oral commentary, (b) expands the empirical record by including measures of salience to give a more detailed account of the usage of said frames, and (c) suggests reporter race is not an antecedent condition of framing in print journalism, or is marginalized by other institutional influences. Each of these main findings is discussed in detail below.

Brawn and Brain Frames in Print Journalism

Data supports extant literature by suggesting that racially biased brawn frames in print journalism are associated with the race of Heisman finalists. The brawn frame was used to describe Black athletes based on probability and in comparison with White athletes. These results suggest that even in print journalism Black athletes are viewed in terms of their physical abilities and qualities in general and in comparison to other athletes. Likewise, the current study partially supports previous research on brain frames, as Whites were framed in the brain frame more frequently than Black athletes but were no more likely to be framed as brainy or brawny in general. The comparison between the two races supports previous research (e.g., Angelini & Billings, 2010; Billings, 2004; Bruce, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005), but the significance of this relationship is most likely a reflection of the overwhelming brawn framing of Blacks. In essence, it is not that Whites are prodigiously framed in the brain frame, but the fact that Blacks are rarely framed as such which creates the significant relationships between being a White athlete and being framed as brainy.

Salience of Frames

Even though frame salience was not significant, the small sample size ($n = 46$) and near statistical significance of difference in brawn ($p = .22$) and especially the brain ($p = .053$) salience suggests there may be an underlying pattern of increased salience for Black brawn and White brain frames on the article level. However, this is a mere suggestion and more research needs to be conducted to support such a claim. However, if supported, this suggestion provides insight into the use of these frames and demonstrates that when these frames are used, they are used pervasively.

Institutionalization of Print Journalism

Results of the current study suggest an institutional influence on frame use—a finding that contradicts previous research on oral commentary that asserted reporter race was an antecedent condition of frame use (Billings, 2004). This disparity is possibly a function of the medium analyzed (print compared to live broadcast), as the institutions that produced our sample may negate the influence of reporter race or subconscious. Given the suggested lack of influence of formal processes on mediated content (Breed, 1955; Flegel & Chaffee, 1971; Stark, 1962; Tuchman, 1972), the current findings could be a result of organizational socialization (Jablin, 1987, 2001). For example, numerous studies have proposed that employees acquire information about their work tasks and organizational norms from coworkers, work groups, and supervisors (Miller & Jablin, 1991; Morrison, 1993; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992), validating suggestions that frames could be socially learned by new journalists as they learn the expectations and norms of their organization and profession (Breed, 1955; Hjarvard, 2012; Mercurio & Filak, 2010).

However, other possible explanations of our data exist. For example, it is possible that editors and other organizational gatekeepers influence and edit the content produced to accomplish organizational and commercial goals (Gerbner, 1966). It is also possible that commercial influences shaped the frames within content (Gerbner, 1966; Lowes, 1999). Kennedy and Hills (2009) even suggest that fast pace news cycles associated with sports journalism exacerbate frame use. Although these are alternative explanations, each could be considered as institutionalization. Thus, although our data emphasize the role of institutional processes in framing, we cannot provide further insight into the exact aspects of institutionalization (e.g., formal, informal, social, commercial, etc.) that produce brawn and brain frames. Instead, we only suggest that socialization is a possible explanation that is heavily supported by previous research. Future studies should continue to explore such issues as alternative explanations of frame use.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of the current study should be interpreted in light of the study's limitations. First, the small sample size used in final analyses was a limitation, as conducting chi-square analyses with small sample sizes is statistically limiting, as salience scores were insignificant but trended in the predicted direction. However, this study's small sample size is justifiable, as we used the complete population of articles written by Black reporters ($n = 23$) and a stratified random sample of White reporters within our determined inclusion criteria to ensure equal distributions for a between groups analyses. In addition, the small sample size could be viewed as a point of strength given

that despite the small sample, results were in line with several of our predictions, suggesting that the trends identified are profound. Given hundreds of articles were removed from analyses due to our inclusion criteria and an attempt to create relatively equal groups for comparison, future studies should consider differences within groups of reporters as well as between groups. These studies could focus on whether there is within group variance and unpack which factors account for such variance.

Second, race was conceptualized based on a visual determination that excludes more complex and unique communicative perspectives that focus on the performance of race (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). In addition, by exclusively examining White and Black athletes, it is possible the comparative differences between frames used for Black and White athletes could diminish when other races are examined. However, the exclusive use of White and Black categories were justified on the athlete level because all of the Heisman Trophy finalists from 2000 to 2011 were Black or White, the brawn and brain frames are deeply associated with Black and White races, and little empirical or anecdotal data currently exists with which to study these frames with other racial constructions. Future studies could consider expanding beyond these two racial categories and include additional variables (e.g., athletic position, sport, or nationality) to develop a better understanding of the intersection between race, sport, and media coverage.

Third, although the current study did increase the understanding and importance of the salience of brawn and brain frames, the manner in which salience was calculated was rudimentary. The focus on the repetition of frames at the article level did not allow for the inclusion of font size, location, or pictures as salience increasing variables, which theoretically could influence a frame's salience (Entman, 1993). However, this limitation may be a moot point given that the articles were uniformly formatted in a word document to prevent other salience-related variables from skewing the single coder's identification of brawn and brain frames. Future research should continue to develop salience as a separate construct from presence of frames, especially in regards to competing frames within a single text.

Most importantly, future research should extend the findings of the current study in two primary ways. First, future research should consider the examination of the effects of these frames on audience members' behaviors or attitudes. Despite numerous suggestions and theoretical support for the influence of these frames, little empirical data actually exists to demonstrate the influence such frames have, and without such data the further examination of these frames may be a moot point. Second, future studies should extend these findings to determine which institutional processes and discourse (e.g., socialization, regional bias, editing, etc.) influence the use of brawn and brain frames in mediated sports content and which variables

influence reporters' use of frames and autonomy to resist such institutional processes (e.g., reporter position, gender, years of experience; Demers, 1995; Liebler, 1994).

CONCLUSION

The current study demonstrates an uneven distribution of brawn and brain frames as a function of athlete, but not reporter, race when examining frame use between White reporters compared to Black reporters. These patterns were discovered in an understudied context where institutional processes have been suggested to influence sports coverage. Further examination is needed of the complex interactions between organizational norms and the production of mediated content. In addition, these results support previous findings that brawn and brain frames are dichotomous and comparative, especially given the significance of White brain frames being the result of the overwhelming presence of Black brawn frames. On a larger societal level, several scholars (Edwards, 1983, 2001; Moore, 1992; Wonsek, 1992) suggest that the cultural relevance of sports in combination with the presence and pervasiveness of these frames may have a profound influence on audience members and society's perceptions (Mercurio & Filak, 2010; Washington & Karen, 2001). With social and cultural implications at stake it is important to continue to strive to understand the use and effects of brawn and brain frames.

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