

Warning Concerning Copyright Restrictions

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the reproduction of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are permitted to furnish a reproduction if used for "private study, scholarship or research." A second condition is that only single articles or chapters of a work totaling no more than 15% of the total number of pages be reproduced. Any use of a reproduction that exceeds these guidelines may be considered copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse any request for reproduction that is deemed a violation of current copyright guidelines.

This material has been reproduced from the following source:

Denham, Bryan E. From coverage to recovery: Mediating the fallen sports celebrity. *Fallen Sports Heroes, Media, And Celebrity Culture*. Wenner, L. ed. New York. Peter Lang Publishing. 2013. 1433112981. pp. 36-48.

Date prepared: 10/07/2013

This material is presented for use solely by authorized faculty and students of the Pennsylvania State University. Further reproduction or distribution of this material is expressly prohibited.

This material may be made available in alternative media upon request. Please contact Course Reserves Services at libraryreserves@psu.edu or by phone at (814) 863-0324.

If you are experiencing problems viewing or printing this document, please visit <http://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/reserves/usingereserves.html> for troubleshooting information. If further assistance is required, please send a description of the problem to libraryreserves@psu.edu that includes the course and instructor for which the material is on reserve, as well as the title of the material.

From Coverage to Recovery: Mediating the Fallen Sports Celebrity

Bryan E. Denham

Since the emergence of the penny press more than 180 years ago, reports of scandalous acts have captivated news audiences. Sensationalized accounts of cheating spouses and violent outbursts have helped to increase newspaper and magazine sales, boost the ratings of television news programs and, more recently, provide Internet users with seemingly endless amounts of *schadenfreude*. Indeed, salacious news has effectively conditioned mass audiences to take pleasure in the misfortunes of others, resulting in a popular culture that celebrates humiliation and public ridicule. Because amateur and professional sports play a significant role in popular culture, athletes who engage in scandalous behavior often find themselves the subjects of media onslaughts, challenging even the craftiest of image-restoration specialists.

This chapter examines how the mass media portray fallen sports heroes yet also provide the exposure for those same individuals to restore their respective images. The chapter begins by addressing basic news values. It then reviews theoretical frameworks in agenda setting (McCombs, 2004), framing and attribution (Heider, 1958; Iyengar, 1991), and exemplification (Zillmann, 1999), before covering work in crisis communication and image restoration (Allen & Caillouet, 1994; Benoit, 1997; Coombs, 2007). As the chapter stresses, because episodic news texts tend to be grounded in dominant conceptions of moral behavior, news audiences generally blame individuals for their predicaments, attributing embarrassing situations to shortcomings of character and to an absence of values and personal ethics (see Denham, 2008). Yet, when athletes acknowledge their behavior and offer public apologies, media feature stories of redemption, extending the basic narrative of right versus wrong, moral versus immoral.

Covering the Fallen Sports Celebrity

News values

To gain a sense of why the mass media feature scandal-driven news stories as often and as prominently as they do, one should first become familiar with basic news values. These are the fundamental characteristics of news, and those who decide whether events warrant press coverage look for the presence of at least one of these elements. As an example, news directors and editors consider events relevant based on the *proximity* of those events to news audiences (i.e., "The closer to home, the bigger the story"). Reports also emerge based on their *timeliness*, with recent events tending to receive priority over older occurrences. In the Internet age, timeliness has become especially critical as a news value, as literally thousands of news organizations and independent news blogs compete with one another to break stories. Related to timeliness is *currency*, with ongoing issues receiving sustained coverage in the press. In recent years, news organizations have reported on the use of performance-enhancing drugs (PEDs) by athletes competing in baseball, football, and cycling, among other sports, and when new allegations emerge, they become part of a broader, cheating-to-get-ahead narrative.

Perhaps more than ever, events are considered newsworthy when they contain elements of *celebrity*, especially when famous individuals find themselves entangled in a *bizarre* set of events. As an example, in 2009, when professional golfer Tiger Woods wrecked his sport utility vehicle (SUV) near his home in Orlando, Florida, news companies began reporting the event immediately. The wreck had occurred in dramatic fashion, at 2:30 A.M., and over the next 48 hours, journalists kept news audiences informed (and entertained) as new details emerged. Here was the most famous golfer in the world apparently attempting to escape the wrath of his spouse, who had become infuriated by reports of his extramarital affairs. Through "Reality TV," television viewers had grown accustomed to domestic squabbles, and now a famous athlete had been caught cheating. Woods and his indiscretions moved quickly to the top of the news agenda, sending the golfer on a lengthy hiatus from his sport and tarnishing his image among his fans and among those who had paid Woods large sums of money to endorse products and services. The moral capital he had established through his sport and clean-cut image had vanished overnight.

Theories of media content and effects

Agenda setting. In communication research, agenda-setting theory suggests that while mass media may not tell audiences exactly what to think, they often tell them what to think *about*, when the issues at hand do not otherwise obtrude into their lives (McCombs, 2004). For instance, without news agencies covering the Tiger Woods SUV accident, few people would have known it ever occurred. Similarly, without the press bringing issues to light, news audiences may be left unaware of athletes who receive improper gifts from college “boosters” or who lose millions of dollars through gambling addictions. Through their reporting, the mass media transfer object salience, or perceived importance, to mass audiences. From a cognitive standpoint, agenda setting suggests that certain issues become more accessible in memory when they have been the focus of media attention (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Of the many items that could be the focus, only some contain sufficient news value, which allows the items to move past media gatekeepers and into the public consciousness.

In the profit-driven news industry, items that reach the public tend to be steeped in drama and lend themselves to basic narratives of right and wrong. When, in 2007, professional football player Michael Vick stood accused of animal cruelty amid an investigation into dog fighting, news audiences reacted with anger and dismay, appearing to crave additional news of justice being dispensed. In the absence of news reports, audiences would have known little, if anything, about Vick and dog fighting more generally. Moreover, with scholars having demonstrated links between mass and interpersonal communication (Vu & Gehrau, 2010; Yang & Stone, 2003), members of the news audience may have shared reactions and opinions on the events with one another. Indeed, news reports have the capacity to stimulate interpersonal communication, with people using the reactions of others as a barometer for their own responses to controversial issues.

In addition to *first-level*, agenda-setting effects, mass media have the capacity to transfer or attribute salience, effectively telling audiences *how* to think about objects in the news (McCombs, 2004). By stressing certain object attributes, media actors help to define the story for those unfamiliar with its central components. As an example of *second-level* agenda-setting, journalists who report on labor disputes in professional sports can choose to emphasize any number of issue attributes, resulting in news audiences blaming multimillionaire athletes for greedy behavior or blaming the leagues and team owners for paying athletes less than what the market dictates. Are professional athletes *prima donnas* who do not appreciate their good fortune, or are they talented individuals who wealthy executives commodify to become even wealthier?

Journalists make choices about which attributes to emphasize in news reports, with news audiences then drawing conclusions based on those attributes.

Framing and attribution. Although scholars continue to debate their similarity (see Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), second-level agenda-setting processes resemble those associated with issue framing. Describing the latter, Entman (1993) posited that

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and 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 for the item described. (p. 52)

Again, mass media stand to define news events for mass audiences, and if one conceives of these events as social constructions, the potential influence of the media becomes apparent. How a media report is framed will determine, to some extent, how mass audiences think about the issue at hand (Price & Tewksbury, 1996).

When considering processes in framing, it is important to recognize that frames apply not only to the structure and content of media reports but also to individual cognitions. As Goffmann (1974) explained, frames are devices that allow audience members to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences of information (p. 21). Cognitive frames relate to what psychologists term *schemata*, which can be understood as the mental shortcuts individuals take to make sense of their surroundings. Heider (1958) proposed attribution theory as a means of explaining how individuals make sense of the social world, and Hindman (1999) noted later that

an individual will attribute the event to some constant condition. In particular, individuals conclude that events are caused either by traits internal to the actor—such as abilities, motives, or personality—or circumstances external to the actor—such as the specific situation or environment. (p. 501)

These processes tie into framing research conducted by Iyengar (1991), who observed that individuals make sense of news reports through attributions of responsibility; that is, in reasoning about issues and events, members of the news audience tend to assign responsibility to either the individual(s) involved or to broader social considerations.

Importantly, as research in "attribution error" (Ross, 1977) has revealed, individuals are often biased in their judgment, attributing the behavior of others to internal considerations (e.g., shortcomings of character, arrogance, irresponsibility), while attributing their own behavior to external circumstances (e.g., lack of expressly stated rules, overcrowded conditions). Attribu-

tion error is significant to the discussion of fallen sports celebrities for, as Iyengar (1991) noted, news events tend to be framed largely in episodic (versus thematic) terms. Episodic frames focus on concrete events while thematic frames explore issues in greater depth. Of the two, episodic frames lend themselves most to drama, human interest and, perhaps most importantly, blame. An episode might involve an athlete accused of assaulting someone in a nightclub, with the news stressing that the athlete was belligerent and intoxicated. News audiences may in turn attribute the incident to irresponsibility on the part of the athlete who, the audience members may reason, believed that his fame and fortune would solve any and all problems. Attribution error would suggest that, had a given news audience member been involved in the same incident, he or she may have quickly attributed the alleged assault to poor security or to the behavior of others.

Cognitive frames can be shaped by media reports that repeatedly link certain behaviors, abilities, and propensities with certain groups. Research in the sociology of sports, for example, has found that Black male athletes tend to be characterized, or "mediated," as oversexed and potentially violent individuals (see Davis & Harris, 1998, pp. 157–165), with Latino athletes considered hot-tempered and, by extension, emotional and unpredictable (Hoose, 1989). When characterizations by race and ethnicity do not vary—that is, when athletes of certain races are described based on long-held behavioral assumptions—then media audiences begin to expect patterns of behavior to emerge based on "mediated realities" (Nimmo & Combs, 1990).

Additionally, in situations that lead audience members to experience anger or moral outrage, the very emotions that audience members experience stand to serve as frames. As Nabi (2003) argued, emotions stand to promote selective processing of information: "This perspective . . . places the receiver in a central role in the framing process by recognizing that once evoked, emotions dominate people's perspectives and drive subsequent cognitive efforts, including message processing and decision making" (p. 242). Thus, for news audiences, factual information about an event may become linked with a certain emotion, deepening the impact of the event and helping to solidify expectations and attributions of responsibility.

Exemplification. Journalists tell stories steeped in drama, and in some cases, news narratives link otherwise independent events to one another, creating "troubling trends" and "new scourges" in the process. Exemplification involves aggregating case descriptions to imply the presence of a trend (Zillmann, 1999), triggering emotional reactions among news audiences by identifying supposed moral failures. Zillmann explained the process:

Narratives, as a rule, leap from event to event, irrespective of the events' locality and position in time. More important here, narration aggregates events that exhibit sufficient phenomenal similarity to warrant their being classified as manifestations of the same kind. Such grouping implies that each and every grouped event, to the extent that it shares all essential attributes with the remaining grouped events, is capable of representing the group at large—meaning, that it is capable of providing reliable information about all other events in this group and thus about the group itself. (p. 74)

One might apply exemplification theory to a May 1998 *Sports Illustrated* article, "The Muscle Murders," in which author William Nack attempted to link a series of homicides to the pastime of bodybuilding. He began by telling the story of former Mr. Universe, Bertil Fox, who had shot to death his former fiancée and her mother on the small island of St. Kitts in 1997. The author then discussed two California bodybuilders, one of whom had stabbed and killed his girlfriend in 1993, and another who had shot and killed his estranged girlfriend and her closest friend in 1983. Nack then moved to a 1995 case in which the wife of a competitive bodybuilder had shot him dead, before covering another 1995 event in which two bodybuilders had gotten into a fight outside a gym, leaving one of the two dead with a ruptured aorta. Finally, Nack wrote of a former competitive bodybuilder who had shot and killed the owner of an Atlanta strip club in 1993. In his article, Nack made the fair point that, in the elite ranks, bodybuilding is a cult activity whose participants often live on the edge. Yet, a cautious reader might seek to differentiate those who killed from those who *were* killed, also differentiating crimes of passion from those committed in cold blood. The reader might consider the 15-year window of events, the geography of the crimes, the ages of the aggressors and the victims, and whether the bodybuilders involved were active or were no longer competing when the crimes occurred. Clearly, the events could not be directly substituted for one another.

As Zillmann (1999) explained, events that appear to constitute a dangerous pattern often have few elements in common and the circumstances surrounding their respective occurrences may differ dramatically. To illustrate, one might construct a dramatic narrative involving football players instead of bodybuilders, beginning with the 1994 murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend, Ronald Goldman. In this case, a criminal court acquitted O. J. Simpson of murder, but a civil court subsequently found him liable for the wrongful deaths of the deceased. In 1995, a court sentenced Los Angeles Ram Daryl Henley to 20 years in prison for drug trafficking, and he received 21 additional years after he attempted to hire a hit man to kill the sentencing judge and a witness. In 1999, Rae Carruth of the Carolina Panthers took part in the murder of a woman he had been dating. Advancing to 2009, a mistress

of Tennessee Titans quarterback Steve McNair gunned down the athlete before committing suicide. In April 2011, Miami Dolphin Brandon Marshall and Denver Bronco Jason Hunter were stabbed in separate domestic incidents, with both recovering from their wounds. Are these stories as similar to one another as the bodybuilding stories were? If so, sports journalists might present the stories as elements of a disturbing trend, even though the stories' differences exceed their similarities.

Exemplification relates to the subject of fallen sports celebrities in that individuals can be situated within any number of dramatic occurrences given a limited set of facts. Conversely, those who do not fit a narrative may be left out even when they share as many similar attributes as those included in the story. The problem, of course, is that episodes may not reflect empirical realities but nevertheless imply a behavioral trend. In fact, through sheer repetition in the press, time periods have become known by issues brought to light through media reports (i.e., the "steroid era" or the "cocaine years"). Was drug use really more prevalent during these purported "eras," or did the media construct the eras based on what seemingly stood to reason, given the high-profile athletes caught using PEDs and other illicit substances?

(Re)covering the Fallen Sports Celebrity

Having discussed the processes through which mass media construct dramatic narratives about athletes falling from grace, the chapter now examines how athletes attempt to restore their respective images through mass communication. Scholarly literature in crisis communication helps to elucidate these processes, which apply to both individuals and organizations. Crises, in general, create "information voids" (Coombs, 2007), and stakeholders must scramble to define events as quickly as possible. When high-profile athletes get in trouble with the law or experience some type of personal adversity, the athletes and their agents must move quickly, as the media will not hesitate to fill the void (i.e., report the news) based on a limited set of facts. Coombs explained:

Nature abhors a vacuum. Any information void will be filled somehow by someone. The media have deadlines, so they are driven to fill the information void quickly. . . . If the crisis team does not supply the initial crisis information to the media, some other groups will, and they may be ill informed, misinformed, or motivated to harm the organization. (2007, p. 129)

Reviewing scholarship in crisis response and image restoration (Allen & Caillouet, 1994; Benoit, 1997), Coombs (2007) proposed four "postures"

taken by organizations: denial, diminishment, rebuilding, and bolstering. Within these organizational postures, which one can readily apply to individual athletes, 10 strategies emerge, each of which informs the manner in which athletes may succeed or not succeed in responding to adversity. As this section of the chapter reveals, athletes often make poor choices in attempting to preserve or restore their respective images, and in some cases, they dig themselves deeper into the information void to which Coombs referred.

The first type of posture, denial, contains three strategies: attacking the accuser, denial, and scapegoating (Coombs, 2007, p. 140). For examples of these strategies, one can look to the responses of athletes named in *The Mitchell Report*, a 409-page document released in December 2007. Major League Baseball Commissioner Bud Selig had asked former U.S. Senator George Mitchell to conduct an investigation of steroid use in professional baseball, and of the many players accused in the report of using PEDs, few were as prominent as New York Yankees pitcher Roger Clemens, whose name appeared 82 times. Brian McNamee, who had worked as a strength coach for Clemens, told investigators he had personally injected the pitcher with steroids (see Thompson, Vinton, O'Keeffe, & Red, 2009), but attacking the accuser, Clemens's attorney, Rusty Hardin, said McNamee was "troubled and unreliable." Clemens denied steroid use outright during a January 2008 episode of *60 Minutes*, and in February 2008, Clemens testified before Congress and denied using PEDs. However, in August 2010, a federal grand jury indicted Clemens on obstruction of Congress and perjury charges. Journalists subsequently offered an indictment of their own, having been used by Clemens to profess his innocence in the face of PED allegations. For Clemens, attacking the accuser and denying the allegations did not get the job done.

San Francisco Giant Barry Bonds, caught up in a steroid scandal with Bay Area Laboratory Co-operative (BALCO) in California (see Fainaru-Wada & Williams, 2006), used a scapegoat strategy in alleging that he had been misinformed about the contents of syringes used to inject PEDs. Bonds claimed that had he known the syringes contained PEDs and not flaxseed oil, he never would have permitted the injections. In general, media audiences do not respond favorably to scapegoating, as such a practice may be perceived as a mask for an unwillingness to offer a straight answer. Additionally, from the standpoint of image restoration, both Bonds and Roger Clemens had alienated sports journalists, and when steroid allegations emerged, few in the press came to their rescue. Rather, journalists appeared to "pile on" and keep the stories in the news for as long as possible.

The second type of posture, diminishment, contains strategies that allow individuals to excuse or justify an embarrassing event. Coombs (2007) noted

that in excusing an action or a behavior, an individual might claim that he or she had no choice in the matter. As an example, a professional athlete caught using PEDs might argue that drug use in sports is pervasive, and for every athlete who takes the moral high ground and does not enhance performance with chemical substances, hundreds of others will gladly step in, leaving the athlete out of a job. In reporting the news, media personnel can cite those who agree with the athlete, or they can quote those who moralize about sports and the athletes who participate in them. Sources define the news for mass audiences (Sigal, 1973), and the choices journalists make in this regard will impact audience perceptions.

Those who viewed the 2006 FIFA World Cup final between France and Italy may recall a physical altercation that took place between French star Zinedine Zidane and Italy defender Marco Materazzi culminating with Zidane head butting Materazzi and sending the Italian player to the turf. Zidane received an immediate red card and was sent off, with television announcers offering scathing criticism of his behavior. But as Denham and Desormeaux (2008) observed, Materazzi may have made crude remarks about Zidane's sister, provoking the French forward, and as the story unfolded, some journalists began to characterize the head butt as justified, given the circumstances. Specifically, journalists working for prominent news outlets in Ireland appeared more sympathetic to Zidane than did journalists in England and Scotland. Did the French star commit a flagrant foul or did he defend the honor of his sister against crude remarks?

The third type of posture, rebuilding, contains strategies grounded in compensation and apologia (Coombs, 2007). In addition to basic cash payments, compensation sometimes takes the form of donations to charity. Such donations serve as gestures of goodwill, not just among individuals but also among organizations. As an example, when the U.S. government began to hold hearings about PED use in Major League Baseball, the league quickly agreed to help fund public-service announcements about the dangers of anabolic steroids. An athlete arrested for drunk driving may offer a public apology for his behavior and make a monetary donation to an organization such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD).

Of the image-restoration strategies athletes employ, few tend to be as successful as taking ownership of an event or a behavior, accepting responsibility, and seeking to make amends. Tiger Woods offered a public apology for his extramarital affairs, and even though critics found his communication stoic and perhaps overly rehearsed, the golfer nevertheless owned up to his behavior. No one forced him to make the choices he did, and he accepted the responsibility for what had occurred. Woods also sought counseling for a

possible sexual addiction, moving the story from one of selfishness and irresponsibility to one involving a possible psychological condition.

Apologizing offers a segue to the fourth type of posture, bolstering, which includes three strategies: reminding audiences about previous good works and positive contributions, ingratiating oneself to stakeholders, and suggesting that the organization or individual is also a victim of bad actors. Michael Vick angered many people with his involvement in dog fighting, especially members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), some of whom may never forgive Vick for his actions. In his defense, however, Vick can at least remind PETA members and others that he served his sentence in prison, paying his debt to society. Many people involved in crimes do not serve a single day in prison, and Vick served 19 months at the federal prison in Leavenworth, Kansas. He finished his 23-month sentence under house arrest and went bankrupt as a result of actions and legal costs. In a sense, Vick ingratiated himself to the Philadelphia Eagles by thanking the organization for giving him a second chance in the National Football League.

Finally, in terms of the victim strategy, both Major League Baseball and the National Football League have, at certain points, identified the sporting culture in the United States as the reason athletes feel compelled to use PEDs. Fans expect to witness incredible athletic feats, league representatives contend, and athletes feel compelled to consistently demonstrate those feats, lest they be replaced by better personnel. In some cases, league officials point to antidrug programs that have been instituted, assuring sports journalists and their audiences that they have taken steps to fight PED use in sports. League officials remind audiences that few entities have a greater interest in keeping sports "clean" than they do, and that reports of PED use taint the credibility of the respective sports and everyone involved. Alas, once a fan bears witness to a 500-foot home run, others tend to pale in comparison, and the 500-footer becomes the standard for greatness. The fans, themselves, play a significant role in setting that standard.

Conclusion

This chapter began by reviewing basic news values, noting how media gatekeepers evaluate potential news items based on considerations such as proximity, timeliness, currency, celebrity, and bizarre circumstances. While news audiences have always enjoyed learning about the private lives of celebrities, the Internet has accelerated the speed at which salacious information spreads among mass audiences. High-profile athletes are

ensconced in the celebrity culture of the United States, and when they act irresponsibly or selfishly, reporters do not hesitate in calling attention to them. Indeed, "mainstream" news organizations have found it difficult to dismiss gossip and schadenfreude, given the commercial success of tabloids such as the *National Enquirer*, which actually broke the Tiger Woods story.

Agenda-setting theory suggests that while mass media may not tell news audiences exactly what to think, they do tell them what to think about. This theory becomes especially important at the second level, which suggests that in stressing certain attributes of stories, the media can effectively tell people how to think about issues and events. As research in framing has revealed, members of the news audience indeed tend to follow news frames in reasoning about issues. They do so through attributions of responsibility, and when news reports focus heavily on concrete events—and embarrassing events at that—then audiences begin to attribute much of what they see to the shortcomings of those who appear in the news. Social psychologists have explained this tendency through attribution error, which suggests that individuals tend to attribute their own behavior to what is going on around them, while attributing the behavior of others to internal factors. Thus, the professional baseball player who uses PEDs is considered a moral failure, as opposed to being thought of as an athlete competing in a sporting culture that privileges the kinds of incredible feats that PED use makes possible.

Regarding image restoration, of the many strategies athletes employ, a basic apology tends to resonate with audiences. On occasions when someone is truly innocent, a denial strategy may be appropriate, but as athletes such as Roger Clemens and Barry Bonds have learned, lying to journalists is generally a bad idea, as it only motivates them to dig deeper for a story. Failing to tell the truth keeps the story alive, and while it may be painful or embarrassing to offer a public apology or admission of guilt, doing so puts that dimension of the story to rest, allowing the athletes to focus on the future instead of attempting to manipulate the past.

References

- Allen, M. W., & Caillouet, R. H. (1994). Legitimation endeavors: Impression management strategies used by an organization in crisis. *Communication Monographs*, 61(1), 44–62.
- Benoit, W. L. (1997). Image repair discourse and crisis communication. *Public Relations Review*, 23(2), 177–186.
- Coombs, W. T. (2007). *Ongoing crisis communication: Planning, managing, and responding* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Davis, L. R., & Harris, O. (1998). Race and ethnicity in US sports media. In L. A. Wenner

- (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 154–169). London, UK: Routledge.
- Denham, B. E. (2008). Calling out the heavy hitters: What the use of performance-enhancing drugs in professional baseball reveals about the politics and mass communication of sport. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 1(1), 3–16.
- Denham, B., & Desormeaux, M. (2008). Headlining the head-butt: Zinedine Zidane/Marco Materazzi portrayals in prominent English, Irish and Scottish newspapers. *Media, Culture & Society*, 30(3), 375–392.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Fainaru-Wada, M., & Williams, L. (2006). *Game of shadows: Barry Bonds, BALCO, and the steroids scandal that rocked professional sports*. New York, NY: Gotham Books.
- Goffmann, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Heider, F. A. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Hindman, E. B. (1999). 'Lynch-mob journalism' vs. 'compelling human drama': Editorial responses to coverage of the pretrial phase of the O. J. Simpson case. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(3), 499–515.
- Hoose, P. M. (1989). *Necessities: Racial barriers in American sports*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Nabi, R. L. (2003). Exploring the framing effects of emotion: Do discrete emotions differentially influence information accessibility, information seeking, and policy preference? *Communication Research*, 30(2), 224–247.
- Nack, W. (1998, May 18). The muscle murders—When a former Mr. Universe was arrested for double homicide last year, he became only the latest on a list of accused murderers among hard-core bodybuilders. *Sports Illustrated*, 88(20), pp. 96–103.
- Nimmo, D., & Combs, J. E. (1990). *Mediated political realities* (2nd edition). New York, NY: Longman.
- Price, V., & Tewksbury, D. (1996). News values and public opinion: A theoretical account of media priming and framing. *Progress in Communication Sciences*, 13, 173–212. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Ross, L. (1977). The intuitive psychologist and his shortcomings: Distortions in the attribution process. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 10, pp. 173–220). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9–20.
- Sigal, L. (1973). *Reporters and officials: The organization and politics of newsmaking*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.
- Thompson, T., Vinton, N., O'Keeffe, M., & Red, C. (2009). *American icon: The fall of Roger Clemens and the rise of steroids in America's pastime*. New York, NY: Knopf.
- Vu, H. N. N., & Gehrau, V. (2010). Agenda diffusion: An integrated model of agenda setting

and interpersonal communication. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(1), 100-116.

Yang, J., & Stone, G. (2003). The powerful role of interpersonal communication in agenda setting. *Mass Communication & Society*, 6(1), 57-74.

Zillmann, D. (1999). Exemplification theory: Judging the whole by some of its parts. *Media Psychology*, 1(1), 69-94.