

Racialized Media Framing in Federal Elections, 1992-2006

Charlton D. McIlwain
Department of Culture and Communication
New York University
cdm1@nyu.edu

Stephen Maynard Caliendo
Department of Political Science
North Central College
smcaliendo@noctrl.edu

The Project on Race in Political Communication
RaceProject.org

Abstract

Scholars have responded to the increase in racial minority involvement in federal elections by examining the types and extent of racial messages in campaign communication. Others have focused on third-party messages, particularly those found in the mass media. Building off and improving on the work of earlier cross-sectional studies, this paper features a comprehensive analysis of all federal election contests between 1992 and 2006 where at least one candidate in the general election was either a racial minority. We pay particular attention to the relationship between the level of racial framing and the focus (or lack thereof) on public policy issues, as well as the comparison between biracial and uniraical contests. Findings suggest that racial references are more common in stories about contests that feature a racial minority candidate, but such references do not necessarily constitute a “racial frame.” Further, references to race do not preclude discussion of substantive policy issues.

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For the past twenty years, researchers have been interested in exploring and explaining the ways racial messages can affect political attitudes. In 1988, America became acquainted with Willie Horton, a black man in Massachusetts who committed a violent crime while on a furlough from a state prison, through a television ad run in a small number of battleground states. As the ad began to make news, however, Horton became the face of what supporters of presidential candidate George H.W. Bush claimed was a weak position on crime by his Democratic opponent, Michael Dukakis. Civil rights leaders began to assert that the inclusion of Horton's picture in the ad, thus revealing his race, was an implicit tactic to capitalize on racist predispositions in the electorate.

While only a limited amount of Horton-type messages have captured the public's attention since that time, researchers have worked to understand how messages can covertly work to prime attitudes without viewers (or listeners or readers) being consciously aware of what is happening. At the same time, race has continued to play a central role in American electoral politics and political discourse more broadly. Since the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1960s, racial minorities – particularly African Americans – have made significant gains in securing elected positions in state, local and (to a more limited degree) national government. As a result, these pioneers have paved a road for more racial minorities to seek election to public office, and they have attempted to keep racial issues on the public agenda. In the past decade, we have seen more ideologically diverse positions advocated by members of racial minority groups, which has resulted in some new dynamics in electoral politics.

These shifts are starting to be reflected in political communication and voting behavior research. Specifically, scholars have employed the theoretical construct of framing to understand how voters process campaign communications and subsequently perceive the candidates involved. Valentino and his colleagues (Valentino, Hutchings and White 2002; Valentino, Traugott and Hutchings 2002) have noted that most of this research focuses on white candidates and white voters. In this paper, we seek to understand how racial minorities (both candidates and voters) use and process racial messages in various electoral contexts by way of a content analysis of newspaper coverage of elections that involve at least one racial minority candidate.

Previous Literature

It is widely accepted that mass mediated forms of communication have a direct influence on racial attitudes, particularly on perceptions of people of color (Cottle, 2000; Hall, 1997; Kamalipour and Carilli, 1998; Rodriguez, 1997; Zilber and Niven 2000). Most media coverage of racial minorities reinforces and perpetuates stereotypes (Chilsen 1969), from associations of minorities with criminal behavior that is violent and threatening (Drago 1992; Gibbons 1993; Gray 1996) to simple-minded caricatures (Cose 1997; Gandy 1998).

A related collection of scholarship reveals that whites' perceptions of black candidates include (and rest upon) many of the stereotypes found in mass media depictions. In a national survey of white and black perceptions of black politicians' electability, Williams (1990) found that whites tended to attribute positive characteristics such as "intelligent," "strong leader," "knowledgeable," "hard-working," "gets things done," "experienced," and "trustworthy" more often to white candidates than to black candidates. Terkildsen (1993) similarly found that whites, particularly those who harbor some racial prejudice, tend to evaluate black candidates more negatively than white candidates. She further concludes that a black candidates' skin *tone*

even has a significant effect on the evaluation of his or her competence (i.e., darker-skinned candidates are evaluated more harshly).¹

One theoretically-appropriate method of connecting these areas of research is through the lens of framing (see, for instance, Gitlin 2003; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Manoff 1986; Nelson, Oxley and Clawson 1997; Popkin 1995). That is, the contextualization at work in media representations of racial minorities can be studied to understand the stimuli experienced by potential voters. Once the stimulus is assessed, experimental research can be employed to explain the cognitive processing at attitude formation (or shifts, affirmation, etc.) of those exposed to the stimuli. Jacoby (2000) explains that “framing effects occur when different presentations of an issue generate different reactions among those who are exposed to that issue” (751). Cognitive psychologists have conducted research on the effects of differing contextualizations on attitudes and decision-making (Kahneman and Tversky 1979, 1982, 1984; Tversky and Kahneman 1981), concluding, in part, that individuals process information differently depending on the employed frame, and that this difference in information processing leads to observable and expected differences in actions taken or choices preferred.

Research on racial framing in the contexts of elections has centered on the way that news media contextualize a particular campaign as “racial” (which is likely to happen when a minority candidate is involved) (Clay 1996; Reeves 1997). These case studies help us to understand how such frames are imposed. For example, Gibbons (1993) demonstrates how the spatial association of news stories worked to frame the image of Jesse Jackson as devious and criminal during his 1988 presidential campaign by routinely placing his photograph and accompanying news story adjacent to one or more stories about criminal violence. Here the contextualization does not take place within the story, but rather the story is contextualized in the media (on the page) in a way that activates preexisting negative racial stereotypes about African Americans.

Mendelberg (2001) argues that racial frames are not limited to contests that involve a racial minority candidate (e.g., the aforementioned Willie Horton example). She differentiates between explicitly racial messages and implicitly racial messages, which rely on preexisting stereotypes and do not trigger conscious racial cues. The former are not effective because they violate what she refers to as the “norm of racial equality” – people know that they are not supposed to have prejudiced attitudes toward racial minorities and thus refuse to associate with such messages by endorsing the candidate whom the messages are designed to promote. Implicit messages, on the other hand, are effective because they prime racial attitudes without activating racial schemata in a way that is consciously recognized by the individual. While Mendelberg’s work centers on messages by white candidates running against white opponents with messages targeted toward white voters, it is important to consider the ways such messages may be employed against candidates of color, by whites or non-whites, targeted to either white or non-white voters. And since much of the information about electoral campaigns and candidates is mediated, it is also crucial to consider these messages in the context of media depictions of the candidates (see Caliendo and McIlwain 2006).

Beyond the direct effect of messages by campaigns, the effect of mediated campaign communication is relevant. In her analysis of the Horton situation, Jamieson (1992) argues that

¹ For a contrary position, see Highton (2004). By examining exit survey results, he found that whites are actually not particularly predisposed to evaluating black candidates negatively. We are, of course, suspect of relying on self-assessments of racial prejudice to draw such conclusions. Further the 2006 midterm elections, which featured five black candidates – three of them Republicans – seeking statewide office, undermines his optimism, as only one of those candidates were successful in winning in these majority-white “districts.”

the ad was framed as “news,” and thus became “newsworthy” in the context of the substantive issue of crime. Framing it as a policy issue (crime), rather than as a racial issue, provided the justification for the news media to continue to cover “the story.” As a result, Jamieson and others have argued that race becomes less salient, providing convenient cover for those who benefit from the ad’s message to say that there is no racial element to the story, as well as providing a ready-made justification for white voters to consider the negative racial content of the ad.

Terkildsen and Damore (1999), offer one of the handful of scholarly studies of racial messages in campaigns that involve racial minorities. They find that news media generally frame biracial elections in ways that either arbitrate the degree of racial emphasis in a campaign, or emphasize race through repetitious mentions of the minority candidate’s racial group. Mentions of the race of a candidate might be accomplished by a direct statement such as, “Candidate A is the first black...” or more tacitly by publishing a photograph of the minority candidate. Or news media may emphasize the race of a minority candidate and issues related to minority group constituencies by emphasizing the racial composition of the district. As Reeves (1997) and Traugott, Price and Czilli (1993) suggest, the media set a racially-competitive tone for elections as a way to further the way in which news gets done in today’s climate; that is, they enact a sense of drama, as noted by Jamieson (1992).

In reality, given American racism, the very *presence* of a racial minority in an election places race as a central issue of the campaign, especially when minority candidates run against white candidates in majority-white districts or states. The existence of a black candidate in such a situation represents a departure from the norm in American politics; accordingly, the candidate’s minority group affiliation makes it an inherently “newsworthy” event. So it is arguable that news media have a responsibility to invoke race as a primary actor in the campaign.

In contests that take place in majority-minority districts, however, one or more African American candidates running for a given office has become commonplace and even expected. Below, we compare racial references and frames (as captured in news reports) across a variety of election scenarios involving white and minority candidates.

This is an extension of our earlier work (Caliendo and McIlwain 2006) where we examined federal races in 2004 that included racial minority candidates. In that study, we found that racial references we commonly found in print media coverage of bi-racial elections, but that few stories contained what we identified as a “racial frame.”² Further, such racial references are not reliant on the degree of competition in the contest. We also found that stories about bi-racial contests that involved a Latino and a white candidate have slightly more racial references than bi-racial contests involving an African American and a white candidate. And, contrary to previous work, we found that a racial frame is not, per se, negative, inasmuch as it does not preclude discussion of substantive policy issues (and thereby solely focus on race as the most salient aspect of the story). However, that study examined only nine election contests, all of which took place in the same year. To find out if those findings were anomalous, we expand that work here.

² We set the bar intentionally high in identifying a frame as “racial.” The story had to mention the race of at least one of the candidates, the race of the voters, and include photographs of the candidates. We revisit this operationalization below.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

In keeping with our exploration of previously-held work on media coverage of minority candidates, as well as our own work, we begin by retesting hypotheses regarding the frequency of racial references in news coverage of election contests involving minority candidates. Our first set of hypotheses relates to the degree to which the media utilize racial references when elections that involve minority candidates.

H1: One or more racial references are more likely to appear in newspaper stories about election contests that include at least one minority candidate than those that cover contests where both candidates are white.

H1_a: Newspaper stories about election contests involving two African American or two Latino candidates will be more likely to include at least one racial reference than bi-racial contests.

Our second set of hypotheses concerns the inclusion of substantive policy issues in stories that contain racial references. In our previous study, we found that while policy issues were more often a feature of contests involving two white candidates, stories about contests involving a minority candidate that included a racial reference tended to include more substantive policy discussion. Thus, our hypotheses here are drawn from those previous findings.

H2: Newspaper stories of all-white election contests are more likely to include at least one substantive public policy issue, as well as a greater number of policy issues, than stories about bi-racial or minority-only election contests.

H2_a: Newspaper stories about election contests involving at least one minority candidate that include one or more racial references are more likely to include at least one substantive policy issue, as well as a greater number of policy issues, than those stories that have no racial references.

Our third set of hypotheses relates to the degree to which racial frames are employed in newspaper stories about contests that include one or more racial minorities. Previously, we were cautious to not conclude that the mere mention of race in a given story was enough to conclude that the story as a whole was racially framed, and therefore used a rather blunt measure of racialized media framing. With this more extensive dataset, we propose a more nuanced formula (below) that takes into consideration a wider range of racial references and a measure of the “density” of such references, and conceptualizes “racial framing” in terms of a continuum, rather than a dichotomous measure. Given previous results and our revised operationalization of racial framing, we hypothesize the following:

H3: On a continuous scale of racial framing, stories of contests including at least one minority candidate will be more highly racially framed than those in contests with two white candidates.

- H3_a: On a continuous scale of racial framing, stories of contests between two black candidates will be more highly racially framed than those in contests with one black and one white candidate.
- H3_b: On a continuous scale of racial framing, stories of contests between two Latino candidates will be more highly racially framed than those in contests with one Latino and one white candidate.

Data Collection and Methodology

The data for this study consist of news articles and editorials from state and local newspapers covering general election contests for Congress (House and Senate) between 1992 to 2006 in which at least one candidate was a racial minority.³ This resulted in a total of thirty-five separate contests. For comparison, a sample of contests involving only white candidates was also included. Stories for each contest were generated from the Lexis-Nexis database using each of the candidates' names in the search criteria. Both of the candidates' names had to appear in the article in order for it to be included for analysis. All available newspaper sources in the respective state in which the contest occurred were searched. Stories from wire reports such as the Associated Press were not included. After initial review, any story that did not substantively focus on the election contest itself was not included in the corpus of articles to be coded. Table 1 presents the descriptive details of each of the election contests included in the analysis.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Each article was coded according to eighty-seven variables. The variable categories include: 1) identification and demographic information about the election contest, candidates, their respective states or congressional districts, political parties and election outcomes; 2) variables related to the source of the story, including the newspaper in which the story appeared, the month it appeared, story length and section and whether the story was a news story or editorial⁴; 3) general variables about the nature of the story including the overall tone of the story toward each of the candidates and the tone of the headline; 4) variables related to political content such as "horse race" coverage, coverage of strategy/fundraising issues, and the mention of candidates' character; 5) variables related to the presence of public policy issues in the story, including whether the story mentioned at least one policy, dummy variables for specific policy issues mentioned (thirteen substantive issues were recorded), and the primary issue of the story; and finally 6) variables related to racial content, including whether the word "race" was mentioned, whether specific racial terms were mentioned, how many times certain racial terms were mentioned, and, when a reference to race appeared, the source of the reference (reporters, candidates, surrogates or pundits).

³ Only contests that resulted in a margin of victory of 20% and closer were included for analysis. While we are in the process of collecting news stories (including wire service stories) for every federal election contest (general and primary) between 1988 and 2006 where at least one candidate was a racial minority, our dataset is presently incomplete. We currently have data for fifteen of the thirty-five contests that meet these criteria. We present below an analysis of these fifteen contests, as well as two contests where both candidates were white (for comparison).

⁴ Letters to the editor were not included in our analysis.

Each of the articles was reviewed by an independent coder, who recorded each of the variables except the category 1 variables mentioned above (which were recorded by the investigators). Prior to coding his or her individual set of articles pertaining to a given election contest, or contests, each coder marked a sample set of fifty articles, randomly selected from a pool of 500 articles culled from among five election contests where the candidates matched the racial scenarios considered for this study (white v. white, white v. Latino, v. black, v. Asian, and black v. black). Cronbach's alpha reliability measures were calculated to determine inter-coder reliability. The coefficients for the non-objective variables ranged from .94 to .84.⁵

Results

Racial References

Our first set of hypotheses is designed to test the degree to which the media make racial references when covering election contests involving minority candidates.⁶ Table 2 reveals that such references are most often found in coverage of minority candidates (24% of the stories under consideration here) than that of contests that include only white candidates (2% of the stories), as we expected. Further, significant differences exist in the coverage of minority candidates, depending on the racial makeup of the contest; racial references appear far more frequently in stories involving two Latino candidates (62%) than in stories about contests with any other racial composition.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

These results are calculated based on the presence or absence of at least one racial reference in a story. However, when we compare groups based on the total number of racial references included in a given story, we find mixed results. We coded for five specific categories of racial references (the race of each candidate, the race of voters, a headline reference to race, or mentioning the term "race"; thus, in any story there could be up to five racial references included.⁷ The average number of racial references for stories including all groups was 1.5. With respect to those stories that included some form of racial reference (399 stories), 50% included just one such reference, 29% included two, 12% included three, and only 3% included four. None of the stories included more than four of the five forms of racial references.

Table 3 reports the results of independent samples t-tests comparing coverage of contests including two white candidates with those that include contests featuring at least one minority candidate, as well as a comparisons of specific minority-included contest configurations. While our previous finding that contests including at least one racial minority candidate feature a greater number of racial references than those including two white candidates is reflected here (1.5 and 1.0, respectively), the difference is not statistically significant. Significant differences are present, however, between contests involving blacks against whites and whites against Latinos, where the mean number of racial references is 1.2 and 1.6, respectively. The difference

⁵ The reliability coefficients for each variable in the study can be obtained from first author.

⁶ These tests utilize two primary variables: a grouping variable by racial makeup of the contest (white v. white, white v. black, black v. black, white v. Latino, Latino v. Latino, and white v. Asian) and a variable calculated based on whether at least one racial reference was made in the story (including mentioning the race of either candidate, race of voters, mention of the term "race," or mention of race in the headline).

⁷ To clarify: a reference to each candidate's race was recorded separately. For a story to have all five references, it would have to include a reference to both candidates' race.

between black v. white contests and black v. black contests is also significant; the latter group has a mean score of 1.8 racial references.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

Racial Groups, Racial References, and Policy Issues

We turn next to our hypotheses regarding the coverage of policy issues amongst the various racial groups and the relationship between racial references in stories and the presence and total number of substantive policy issues included. We hypothesized that stories covering contests between two white candidates are more likely to include at least one policy issue than stories covering contests including at least one racial minority. As indicated in Table 4, this hypothesis is supported by the data; a policy issue was present in 65% of the stories covering two white candidates, but only in 58% of stories covering minority candidates. Statistically significant differences also exist between each of the configurations of minority candidates, with stories covering a Latino candidate against a white candidate most often featuring at least one policy issue (71%), and contests between two black candidates being the least likely to include a policy issue (44%).

We also hypothesized that the inclusion of one or more racial references in a story would increase the likelihood that at least one policy issue would also be present. This was not the case, as stories with racial references included at least one policy issue at approximately the same frequency as those that did not (59% and 60%, respectively). However, the likelihood that a policy issue is present when racial references are made is greater for some racial group contests than others. Specifically, stories covering contests between Latino and white candidates and those covering contests between white and Asian candidates are most likely to have policy issues included, when at least one racial reference is made.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

For those contests where there are greater numbers of stories that include at least one racial reference, the likelihood of at least one policy issue being included shrinks to 44% in black/black contests, 57% in black/white contests, and 52% in Latino/Latino contests. Additionally, as revealed in Table 5, there is a statistically significant difference in the total number of distinct substantive policy issues mentioned in stories including at least one racial reference, and the direction is consistent with our hypothesis: stories with at least one racial reference include greater numbers of policy issues (1.9), than those that do not make racial references (1.5).

[Insert Table 5 about here]

Racial Framing

As previously stated, we differentiate between the tendency for media stories to include a reference to race and a story being racially framed. That is, the mere mention of racial language does not, ipso facto, constitute a “racial frame.” We begin with some results and comparisons

regarding story length.⁸ As seen in Table 6, the mean length for stories covering contests between two white candidates is 614 words, significantly fewer than those stories covering racial minority candidates (666 words). Coverage of Latino/White contests garner the greatest amount of coverage per story (699), followed by black/black contests (680 words), Latino/Latino contests (636 words), and black/white contests (623 words). Further, stories that include at least one racial reference are, on average, longer than those that do not (means = 773 words and 634 words, respectively).

[Insert Table 6 about here]

McCombs (2004) argues that a frame is

an attribute of the object under consideration because it describes the object...not all attributes are frames. If a frame is defined as a dominant perspective on the object – a pervasive description and characterization of the object – then a frame is usefully delimited as a very special case of attributes (88).

We question whether or not the types of racial attributes or references used by the media in coverage of minority candidates are indeed positioned as the *dominant* organizing attribute in stories in which minority candidates and their campaigns are the “objects,” and whether such references do indeed provide a *pervasive* characterization of these objects in such a way so as to indicate a particular interpretive lens for the whole of a story or stories. We would argue that they do not. In our previous research, we operationalized racial framing as a binary: either stories were racially framed or they were not, given the presence or absence of certain content.⁹ In hindsight, we believe those criteria are inadequate, for a larger and more comprehensive dataset such as this. While our previous data did not allow for such an operationalization, it makes more sense to conceptualize racial framing as existing on a continuum, rather than as a binary; the ideas of “dominance” and “pervasive” are matters of degree, not simply of fact. Based on this premise, we operationalize racial framing as a function of how many forms of racial reference are used over the course of one story, compared to how many possible forms exist (we identify five) and the length of the story. This provides a measure of “racial density” – a way of assessing the pervasiveness or dominance of race in the story as a whole.

Therefore, we constructed a Racial Frame Index by adding the total number of racial references found in each story and then dividing the total by the number of possible racial reference attribute form mentions (5). That number was then divided by the total number of words in the story, and then that value was divided by 100. This resulted in an index ranging from zero to one, with zero being stories with no racial frame and one being stories that are entirely racially framed. In our sample of stories from contests including at least one minority candidate, Index scores ranged from .00 to .61, with a mean of .01 (sd=.04).

Our first test of these framing hypotheses is an independent samples t-test, comparing the mean Index scores of paired groups based on the racial makeup of the contests. As seen in Table

⁸ While it is interesting to note the degree to which different racial groups receive more or less coverage in newspapers, our primary reason for including these results here is because story length becomes more relevant below as we report results of the racial framing scale we have devised.

⁹ As noted above, in that iteration, stories had to mention the race of one of the candidates, the race of voters, and show a picture of the minority candidate in order for it to be considered racially framed.

7, the average of Index scores at each racial composition scenario is low on the whole, but there is a significantly higher average Index score for coverage of races involving a racial minority (.073) as compared to those with two white candidates (.003). Contests involving two black candidates are less racially framed (.066) than those involving a bi-racial contests between black and white candidates (.082), though the difference is not statistically significant. Amongst Latino candidates, bi-racial contests against a white candidate similarly have a lower average framing index score (.053) than contests including two Latino candidates (.183, $p < .001$).

[Insert Table 7 about here]

While the level of racial framing at the story level is quite low, we also assess the degrees of racial framing at the contest level and similarly construct an appropriate operationalization of racial framing. In this case, the coefficient is a measure of the proportion of the total number of stories in a given contest that include one or more racial references. For each individual contest that includes a minority candidate, we assess the percentage of total stories that contained at least one racial reference. Figure 1 presents a graphical representation of those results, which indicate that individually, contests that involve a minority candidate are, in fact, quite racially framed if one considers the total body of stories in a given contest. In this more simplified form, the proportion of stories including racial references is as high as 62%, with the average proportion being 30%.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

In Figure 2, we tease out four separate categories of racial references for each contest involving a minority candidate: references to the race of either of the two candidates, references to the race of voters, and references to “race” itself. The proportional frequency of occurrence of each of the three frames in all stories for a given contest is indicated. On average, the Race of Candidate reference is most often prevalent (26%), followed by the Race of Voter reference (17%). The “Race” reference appears least frequently. That only 3% of stories (on average) from the contests indicate some form of racial reference in the headline suggests that little to no racial cues come from this, the most visible part of a story.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Discussion

There is a significant amount of work yet to be done to determine the extent to which media employ racial frames when covering contests that involve candidates who are members of racial minority groups. Our analysis here is limited in a number of ways. First, we only analyze newspaper coverage (and we have yet to include stories that come from wire services). Further, the dataset is incomplete, and we have no reason to suspect that the “sample” that we have here is random. We began in 2006 and worked backwards, but there are holes between 1992 and 2006 that are currently being filled. Still, we move forward the state of knowledge in this area by adding some theoretical arguments to conceptualizing and subsequently operationalizing what a “racial frame” looks like and how it should be measured in this type of analysis.

It is becoming clear, however, that as more racial minority candidates seek salient public offices, the way potential voters perceive them will be shaped by the media as much as, if not more than, by direct campaign communication. Predictably, there are more references to race in stories that involve a racial minority candidate, and this finding holds even when taking into account the potential types of racial references possible. But contrary to previous findings, such a reference to race does not necessarily replace discussion of substantive policy issues in those stories. In fact, there are actually more distinct policy issues mentioned in stories that contain a racial reference than in those that do not.

While we may not be very much closer to answering some lingering questions about how widespread and intense the level of racial framing by media in electoral contests that involve one or more minority candidates, we offer some theoretically-grounded ideas about conceptualizing and operationalizing such frames. With more data to be collected and analyzed, we are optimistic that the picture will come more clearly into focus.

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Table 1. Contests Included in Analysis

<u>Election Contest</u>	<u>Election Year</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Chamber</u>	<u>Racial Makeup</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Ford v. Corker</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>TN</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Black/White</u>	<u>313</u>
<u>Bonilla v. Rodriguez</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>TX</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Latino/Latino</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>Musgrave v. Paccione</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>CO</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>White/White</u>	<u>30</u>
<u>Madrid v. Wilson</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>NM</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Latino/White</u>	<u>109</u>
<u>Barack Obama v. Alan Keyes</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>IL</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Black/Black</u>	<u>317</u>
<u>Ken Salazar v. Pete Coors</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>CO</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Latino/White</u>	<u>212</u>
<u>Denise Majette v. Johnny Isackson</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>GA</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Black/White</u>	<u>66</u>
<u>Martinez v. Castor</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>FL</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Latino/White</u>	<u>111</u>
<u>Boxer v. Jones</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>CA</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>White/White</u>	<u>210</u>
<u>Cunnen v. Honda</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>CA</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>White/Asian</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Rodriguez v. Dooley</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>CA</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Latino/White</u>	<u>24</u>
<u>Wu v. Bordonaro</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>OR</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Asian/White</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>McKinney v. Mitnick</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>GA</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Black/White</u>	<u>82</u>
<u>Helms v. Gantt</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>NC</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>White/Black</u>	<u>72</u>
<u>Wheat v. Ashcroft</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>MO</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Black/White</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>Moseley-Braun v. Williamson</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>IL</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Black/White</u>	<u>98</u>
<u>Calvert v. Takano</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>CA</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>White/Asian</u>	<u>12</u>
				Total Stories	1,833
				Total Contests	17

Table 2. Presence or Absence of Racial References by Racial Makeup of Contest

Contest Makeup	% Stories with Racial Reference	N
Both White Candidates	2%	307
Minority Candidates	24%	1638
Sig.	.000	
χ^2	79.73	1945
Black v. White	28%	765
Latino v. White	16%	451
Asian v. White	17%	53
Black v. Black	20%	308
Latino v. Latino	62%	61
Sig.	.000	
χ^2	77.73	1638

Table 3. Difference in Average Number of Racial References Mentioned in Story

Contest Makeup	Mean # of Racial References in Story	Sig.	T
<u>All White (N=323)</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>.250</u>	<u>-1.15 (df=397)</u>
<u>Minority (N=1679)</u>	<u>1.5</u>		
Black v. White (N=215)	1.4	.138	-1.5 (df=283)
Latino v. White (N=70)	1.6		
Black v. White (N=215)	1.4	.057	-1.9 (df=275)
Black v. Black (N=62)	1.7		
*Latino v. White (N=70)	1.6	.405	1.7 (df=516)
Latino v. Latino (N=38)	1.5		

Results are Independent Sample t-tests.

*Equal variances not assumed.

Table 4. Difference in Presence or Absence of Policy Issue

Contest Makeup	At Least One Policy Issue Present	N
All White	65%	313
Minority	58%	1659
Sig.	.029	
χ^2	4.79 (df=1)	1972
Black v. White	57%	775
Latino v. White	71%	456
Asian v. White	64%	53
Black v. Black	44%	313
Latino v. Latino	52%	62
Sig.	.000	
χ^2	59.19 (df=4)	1659
Racial Reference Made		
<u>Yes</u>	59%	399
No	60%	1545
Sig.	.885	
χ^2	.021 (df=1)	1944

*Results of Crosstabulations

Table 5. Difference in Average Number of Policy Issues Mentioned in Story

Contest Makeup	Mean # Issues/Story	Sig.	T
All White (N=313)	1.9	.005	2.8 (df=1970)
Minority (N=1659)	1.5		
Black v. White (N=775)	1.4	.000	-5.2 (df=1229)
Latino v. White (N=456)	2		
Black v. White (N=775)	1.4	.003	3.0 (df=1086)
Black v. Black (N=313)	1.1		
*Latino v. White (N=456)	2.0	.068	1.7 (df=516)
Latino v. Latino (N=62)	1.5		
At Least 1 Racial Reference in Story			
Yes (N=399)	1.9	.000	-3.7 (df=1942)
No (N=1545)	1.5		

Results are Independent Sample t-tests.

*Equal variances not assumed.

Table 6. Differences in Story Length by Contest Makeup

Contest Makeup	Mean Length of Story	Sig.	t
All White (N=313)	614		
Minority (N=1665)	666	.025*	-2.25 (df-534)
Black v. White (N=781)	663		
Latino v. White (N=456)	699	.001*	-3.31 (df-906)
Black V. White (N=781)	623		
Black V. Black (N=313)	680	.019*	-2.35 (df-601)
Latino v. White (N=456)	699		
Latino v. Latino (N=62)	636	.166*	1.40 (df-88)
Story Makes At Least 1 Racial Reference			
Yes (N=394)	773	.000	-5.2 (df-1634)
No (N=1242)	634		

Results are from Independent Samples t-tests.

*Equal variances not assumed.

Table 7. Difference in Racial Framing by Racial Makeup of Contest

Contest Makeup	Mean	t	Sig.	N
All White	.003			323
Minority	.073	-7.95 (df=2000)	.000	2044
Black v. White	.082			791
Latino v. White	.053	3.23 (df=1245)	.001	456
Black v. White	.082			791
Black v. Black	.066	1.49 (df=1106)	.135	317
Latino v. White	.053			456
Latino v. Latino	.183	-6.89 (df=516)	.000	62

Results are Independent Samples t-test, testing mean difference on Racial Frame Index for story. Index range = .00 to .61.

Figure 1. Percentage of Total News Stories with at Least One Racial Reference

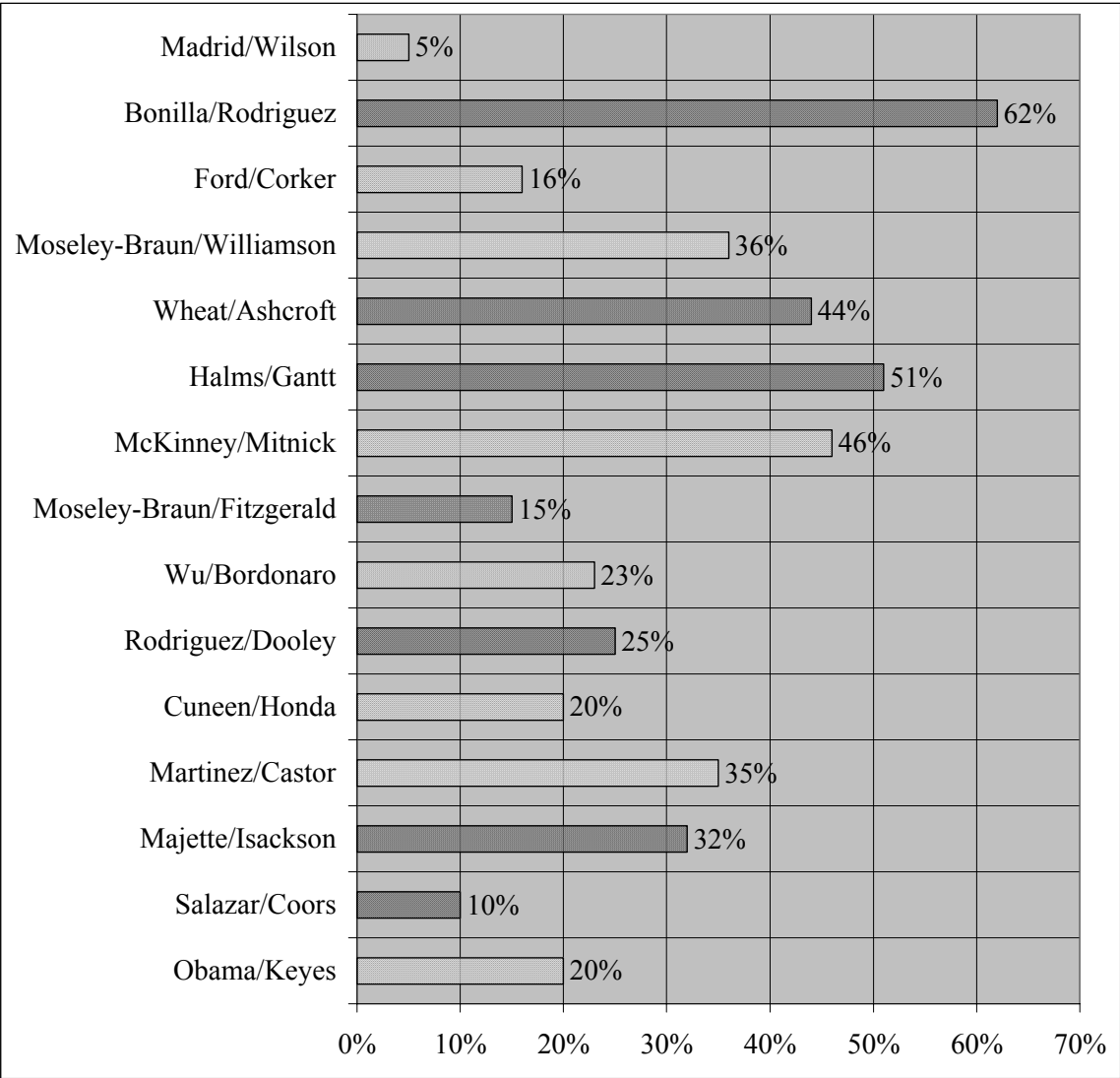


Figure 2. Frequency of Forms of Racial Reference in Contests Including Racial Minorities

