

**Shades of Black and Brown: Minority Congressional Candidates
and Their Opponents in Multiple Contexts**

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Introduction

The 2004 election cycle saw a number of interesting contests with regard to the role race played in general, the racial diversity of candidates involved in competitive campaigns, and/or the contexts in which these diverse candidates were featured. Three members of racial minority groups were elected to the U.S. Senate. Two Latino candidates, Ken Salazar (D-CO) and Mel Martinez (R-FL), each defeated their white opponents in states where the voting population is overwhelmingly white. Salazar received 48% of the state's white votes and 72% of Latino votes, while Martinez received 53% of the white votes and 60% of Florida's Latino vote.¹

In Illinois, the contest between U.S. Senator Barack Obama (D) and Alan Keyes (R) turned out to be less-than-competitive for a number of reasons. However, the contest was historically distinguished as being the first U.S. Senate contest since Reconstruction between two African Americans, representing each of the two major parties.

This diversity stretched into contests for the U.S. House of Representatives. This includes Missouri's 5th District race between Emanuel Cleaver, who is African American, and a white woman, Jeanne Patterson. Cleaver, a former mayor of Kansas City, won the contest in this majority-white district.

The 2004 U.S. House race in Texas's second district, between incumbent Nicholas Lampson (D), and his challenger and ultimate winner of the seat, Ted Poe (R) (both white), was also significant, if nothing else than in a symbolic sense. This contest, the result of district realignment, was controversial, in large part because of the dividing and dissolution of the base of racial minority voters, as well as drastically realigning party loyalties in the district from majority-Democratic to majority-Republican (a result that Swain (1995) mentions as an unintended consequence of racial-based redistricting).

The racial diversity of candidates and contexts, as well as the results of several prominent contests in recent elections (like those analyzed from 1996 by Voss & Lublin, 2001), would seem, on its face, to cast doubt on the fundamental premise of those who espouse race-based districting. This is what Swain (1995) refers to as the "conventional wisdom": that white voters, due to conscious or unconscious racial prejudice and resentment, are largely unwilling to vote for black or other minority candidates.

On the other hand, however, the characteristics of the 2004 elections, if not anomalous, certainly indicate a recent trend. Historically, relatively few minority candidates have even attempted to run for office in districts that did not have a majority-minority population, and even fewer of those who have tried have actually been elected in districts where the majority of the voting population is white (Bositis, 1998; Cannon, 1999; Grofman & Handley, 1989; Lublin 1997a,

¹ CNN exit poll data, accessed on August 12, 2005 at:
<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/IL/S/01/epolls.0.html>

1997b, 2001). Further, there is a growing body of evidence demonstrating that whites' racial predispositions and resentments become salient factors in their political decisions when primed by various forms of racialized communication (Mendelberg, 2001; Valentino et al. 2002a, 2002b). The fundamental barrier to reconciling the two sides of this debate is a lack of empirical data necessary to confirm or refute a plausible causal connection between how white racial attitudes affect their perceptions of, and willingness to vote for, racial minority candidates. This causal link, if it indeed exists in the way that it has been suggested by the extant literature, begins with some form of racialized communication, which would activate subconsciously-held negative racial predispositions, which would in turn translate into a vote against a minority candidate in a given election scenario.

One of the primary difficulties with empirically testing such a scenario is that existing studies have approached it somewhat indirectly. Those linking white racial attitudes to unfavorable perceptions of black candidates have done so without considering the crucial intervening element of some form of racialized candidate communication (Terkildsen, 1993; Williams, 1990). Those who have demonstrated that, when primed, whites' negative racial attitudes affect their political decision making have not held up a minority candidate (or minority voters) as the principal subject of that political decision (Mendelberg, 2001; Valentino et al., 2002a, 2002b). Others have made the observation that news media may be a primary form of racialized communication that could prime whites' negative racial attitudes and therefore be a significant barrier to the electoral success of minority candidates. However, these studies are too few in number and inconclusive about the effects of such media cuing (see Reeves, 1997; Terkildsen & Damore, 1999).

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to this latter group of studies concerned with how the news media cover and frame elections involving minority candidates. We seek to ascertain the veracity of previously-drawn conclusions that show that the media disproportionately makes race a central reference point in bi-racial elections. We are particularly interested in several factors that we hypothesize significantly contribute to various forms of racial reference (some of which have not been a part of similar studies) including: the racial composition of the candidates (bi-racial including white, black and Hispanic/Latino candidates, as well as contests with two black candidates); the racial composition of voters; and the competitiveness of the race. We are also interested in whether the form of coverage differs significantly between bi-racial election contests involving African American candidates and those involving Latino candidates, as well as coverage of contests where both candidates are African American.

The data for our investigation is the result of a content analytic study of national and local newspaper coverage of nine election contests from the 2004 cycle, including five U.S. Senate contests and four U.S. House contests. These contests reflect various forms of racial diversity of the candidates involved and the majority voting population. Of the Senate races, two featured Latino candidates against white candidates, one featured an African American candidate against a white candidate, one included two African American candidates, and one included two white candidates. The U.S. House races included one contest between an African American and white candidate, one contest between two black candidates in a majority-black district, and two contests between two white candidates.

Sonenshein's (1990) observation that "there is no real literature" (220), on African American state-wide candidates, also extends to African American candidates as a whole, particularly on the federal level, and to candidates of any racial minority group. Additionally, each of these claims remains relatively true at present. This paper adds to the dearth of existing literature not only by virtue of existence, but in several other ways. First it provides direct empirical evidence to support or refute conclusions of the few studies that focus specifically on media coverage of bi-racial (white/black) elections. This contribution increases the ability with which we are able to judge the veracity of previous conclusions as they are extended to the debate surrounding structural barriers to the election of black candidates. Second, this study is unique in that it allows us to comparatively focus on similarities and differences in media coverage of black and Latino candidates. Third, it is one of the first to study (albeit in a limited way) election contests where both candidates are African American. Each of these last two points are important given recent trends suggesting that bi-racial contests including Latino candidates, and competitive contests between black candidates is likely to increase (Caliendo, McIlwain & Karjala, 2003; McIlwain & Caliendo, 2002; McIlwain & Caliendo, 2005).

Previous Literature

There are vast amounts of literature germane to the multiple and overlapping issues we focus on in this paper. For the sake of clarity, past research studies outlined below are those that relate most directly to this paper, and more specifically, those most relevant in terms of the specific research questions and hypotheses with which we are concerned. The primary areas of interest include: the use and effects of racial appeals on white voters; perceptions and evaluations of minority candidates within the voting population; and news media framing of bi-racial election contests.

Priming Effects of Racialized Political Communication

Conclusions from the most recent studies regarding the priming effects of racial messages and their resultant bearing on candidate evaluation and vote choice (Valentino et al., 2002a; 2002b) test (and ultimately support) Mendelberg's (2001) theory of implicit racial appeals. Mendelberg argues that implicit appeals, as compared to explicit racial appeals, prime white voters' negative racial prejudices, which, in turn, influence views on public policy matters and voting decisions. These conclusions are consistent with a number of related studies (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Reeves, 1997).

Valentino et al. (2002a, 2002b), however, saw a need to better isolate and measure actual priming effects resulting from voters' exposure to subtle racial messages. In doing so, they were able to test what types of cues are most powerful in priming racial attitudes, and to identify the psychological mechanisms that underlie racial priming. In one study (Valentino et al., 2002a) the researchers experimentally manipulate the types of racial cues viewed by respondents in a laboratory setting, using political ads as the vehicle for the racial cues. This choice of stimulus (political advertisements) differs from those used in Mendelberg's studies (news stories), but the results suggest, along with previous research (Brians & Wattenberg, 1996; Jacobs & Shapiro, 1994), that ads may be a more significant way of testing racial cues since they express intentional messages of candidates themselves, alleviating much of the third-party framing

effects that news broadcasts present.

Valentino et al. (2002a) found that messages regarding government spending and taxation prime racial attitudes even without racial imagery. However, they found that messages using imagery in political ads linking blacks to comments about undeserving groups had a more powerful priming effect. Two of their other significant findings are important in terms of shaping further studies in this area. First, they found that racial priming is mediated by the accessibility of race in memory, rather than self-reported levels of the importance of group representation. Additionally, they found that expectancy-violating, negative racial cues regarding blacks suppressed racial priming, while the violation of positive stereotypes of whites had a positive racial priming effect.

In a related study, Valentino et al. (2002b) found that ads containing racial cues significantly strengthened the impact of ideology self-placement in evaluating candidates. This was especially so in cases where ads portrayed some advantage of whites over blacks. Conclusions from this study suggest that group cues (and group racial cues even more) are powerful in priming political ideology.

As previously mentioned, while the conclusions of such studies are becoming increasingly substantiated, they cannot speak directly to the question of whether such appeals contribute to one's decision whether or not to vote for a minority candidate per se. Though it would be quite reasonable to surmise from these results that such appeals would negatively affect minority candidates (see Caliendo, McIlwain & Karjala, 2003 for an experimental exploration of this hypothesis), the precise hypothesis has yet to be sufficiently explored.

Perceptions and Evaluations of Minority Candidates

While not drawing a direct link between media images and their effects on perceptions of minority candidates, a second body of literature has demonstrated that whites' perceptions of black candidates mirror many of those stereotypes allegedly played out in various mediated forms. For example, in a national survey studying white and black perceptions of black politicians' electability, Williams (1990) found that most whites attributed characteristics such as "intelligent," "a strong leader," "knowledgeable," "hard-working," "gets things done," "experienced," and "trustworthy" more often to white candidates than black candidates. Terkildsen (1993) also found that whites, particularly those who harbor some racial prejudice, tend to evaluate black candidates more negatively than white candidates. Terkildsen further concluded that a black candidate's skin color had a significant effect on the evaluation of his or her competence, such that the darker-skinned candidate was evaluated more harshly.

However, the conclusions drawn from these and other such studies have been somewhat contradicted. For instance, Sigelman et al. (1995) suggest that despite the correlation between espoused stereotypes and perception or evaluation of candidates, a minority candidate's race is not necessarily the most salient predictor of his or her negative evaluations. Based on an "assumed characteristics" perspective, their findings suggest that

evaluations ultimately depend on what traits specific racial or ethnic stereotypes suggest minority group members should have, what traits they do have, and what evaluative

significance is attached to these assumed and individual traits, as influenced by their desirability and correspondence with expectancy (p. 243).

In this regard, an individual's previously-held ideologies and beliefs about what a minority candidate should "look like" politically is a significant factor in overall evaluations of minority candidates, rejecting the notion that race (or "racist" attitudes) is the primary factor in white voters' assessment of minority candidates.

Racialized Media Coverage and Bi-racial Elections Contests

Again, the primary shortcoming of research investigating the link between racial cues, white racial attitudes and willingness to vote for a minority candidate is that scholars have focused on the first two aspects, and rarely at the third. Two sets of studies stand out as significant exceptions, both of which focus on the ability of the news media to be the source of racial cues. The first is Reeves's (1997) study of media coverage of two 1989 mayoral elections that included black candidates—one in New York City featuring David Dinkins, and the other in Seattle featuring Norm Rice.

Reeves's descriptive analysis focused primarily on the frequency with which news references to the respective contests made racial references with regard to the candidates, other racial groups (including voters), and the tone of the racial references. It showed that both the *New York Times* and the *Seattle Times* frequently referred to the candidates' race (20% and 60% respectively), and that the *New York Times* in particular made reference to the race of the voters three-quarters of the time. Moreover, he found that the tone of these racial references were frequently negative.

The purely descriptive nature of this study obviously has limited explanatory capability. While it provides evidence that the news media do frequently make racial references in bi-racial campaign contests, there is no comparative data that allows us to determine whether such references might be considered "overwhelming," as Reeves often describes it, or whether it differs significantly from other racial contexts—when both candidates are white within a district with a sizeable minority population, for example. Second, the study is not set up to be able to test what influence the racial references may have had on voters.

Reeves makes up for this, however, in a second study designed to do just that: determine whether racialized media coverage had some measurable effect on a voter's willingness to vote for an African American candidate. He does so by setting up a controlled experiment where subjects read various versions of a news story, some of which did or did not contain the kind of racial cuing as seen in his content analysis study. The results of this study were mixed, however, with some measures overwhelmingly demonstrating white candidates' willingness to vote for the black candidate, and others showing tacit signs that the racial cues in news stories aroused some form of racial animus that resulted whites' choice against voting for the black candidate.

Another study that has direct bearing on our paper is also a content analysis designed to investigate the same issues in Reeves's study, with several of its shortcomings being further minimized. Terkildsen and Damore (1999) looked at news coverage of bi-racial elections in the 1990 and 1992 cycles, including in their analysis contests involving two white candidates. They

ultimately found support for what they refer to as their “racial dualism hypothesis,” concluding from the results of their study that: the media act as racial arbitrators by limiting racial emphases; the media bring race to the forefront of campaigns by highlighting candidate race; and media coverage of elections involving African American candidates suppresses the use of race among the candidates themselves, but accents the race of black candidates and their constituents.

Explaining the significance of their findings, Terkildsen and Damore draw a conclusion they did not specifically test, but one with which Reeves would agree following his limited test of the same hypothesis. The former state that,

[e]mphasizing race in these (bi-racial) contests, either visually or in print, provides a powerful vote cue for both prejudiced and nonprejudiced citizens. For the prejudiced, race will prime their racial values, while for nonprejudiced voters race will likely cue stereotypical processing unless an alternative belief system is activated (p. 684).

In light of more recent studies, however, the authors’ distinction between “prejudiced” and “nonprejudiced” voters has little explanatory value. Terkildsen and Damore’s conclusion essentially implies that all white voters are prejudiced, the only difference being that the so-called “nonprejudiced” voter is willing to change his or her mind in light of alternative information. Studies from authors cited above, principally Mendelberg (1999, 2001), suggest that only the attitudes of those possessing some form of negative racial resentment will be primed given certain implicit racial cues. The only mitigating factor of the primed attitudes being salient to a voter’s political decisions is the rendering of the original implicit message as explicit.

The significance of pointing this out is to show that by drawing a connection between their conclusions and those of another body of literature (racial priming effects) Terkildsen and Damore are perhaps overreaching, especially in light of limited data. Again, we acknowledge the possibility that repeated racial references in news media could be shown to prime negative white racial attitudes to the detriment of a minority candidate. However, as noted above, those studies most directly focused on such priming effects only reach to decisions made about one’s relative support of certain policy decisions, rather than their direct effect on their perception or choice to vote for a minority candidate.

Additionally, studies on racial priming effects suggest the possibility that forms of political communication, such as televised political ads, are more likely to evoke racial priming effects than cues taken from news media (see the differences in experimental stimulus between Mendelberg, 2001 and Valentino et al., 2002a, 2002b).² Evidence from other studies suggest that this difference may be due to the strength of the medium of television to more effectively convey candidate messages in general (Brians & Wattenberg, 1996), not to mention its effectiveness in communicating implicit racial messages (Mendelberg, 2001), as well as the probability that voters are affected more significantly by messages emanating directly from a candidate himself or herself in a given election (Jacobs & Shapiro, 1994).

² These two studies differ, among other ways, with respect to their choice of stimuli. The Valentino studies use television ads, while Mendelberg uses news stories.

In light of this, and in the absence of direct evidence to substantiate Terkildsen and Damore's conclusions, we are cautious to build our study on the premise that media references to race alone, in elections where minority candidates are involved, are enough to activate the degree of racial animus that would cause one to not support a particular minority candidate. We, therefore opt for a more limited reach of our claims to that mentioned by Reeves (1997)³ to say that our hypotheses are noteworthy insofar as the media do not necessarily prime negative racial attitudes of white voters; we are only comfortable asserting that media might serve a racial agenda-setting function, or enact a racial frame of reference by which any reader/voter may choose to read and interpret election news stories including racial minority candidates. We include in our data analysis the degree to which we would consider media "references" to race to be elevated to the status of a substantial "frame." Again, in either case, we would be cautious in describing either as having a significant priming effect on white voters.

Our Study

We set out to test these theoretically-driven hypotheses and explore some research questions by focusing on nine general election Congressional contests during the 2004 election cycle. While no study of one year's contests can provide a generalizable set of findings on these questions, we chose to focus on several general election contests that allow for a comparison of discourse in a variety of settings. Specifically, we chose the following scenarios, the descriptive statistics of which are shown in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

As stated above, our primary goal is to examine news coverage of elections in multiple contexts where at least one candidate is a racial minority. We chose these nine races for their variance in scenario, but, of course, our choices were limited to available contests in this election year. There were two U.S. Senate general election contests with Hispanic candidates in 2004, and we examine both of these bi-racial elections: Florida, which featured a Republican Hispanic candidate (Mel Martinez), and Colorado, which featured a Democratic Hispanic candidate (Ken Salazar). Both ran against white opponents (Betty Castor and Pete Coors, respectively).

Three bi-racial contests in our study feature a black candidate running against white candidate. Georgia's U.S. Senate race featured an African American Democrat (Denise Majette) and a white Republican (Johnny Isakson). We chose to examine the election for Missouri's 5th U.S. Congressional District for four reasons: it is an open seat in a majority-white, largely urban district that was being vacated by a white member of Congress; the black candidate (Democrat Emanuel Cleaver) was a heavy favorite; the Republican candidate (Jeanne Patterson) was willing to spend large amounts of her own personal fortune (it ended up being some \$3 million); and this district is one of the few majority-white districts to send a black member to Congress in recent history (Democrat Alan Wheat represented the district from 1983-1995).⁴

³ This refers to his content analysis study. Following his experimental studies, he makes conclusions similar to those of Terkildsen and Damore.

⁴ Other notable exceptions are Barack Obama's 2004 election to the U.S. Senate seat in Illinois, as well as Carol Mosely Braun's election to the same post in 1992; Republican J.C. Watts's representation from Oklahoma's 4th

The other white-black contest was Illinois U.S. Senate race, which featured Barack Obama, a black man, running as a Democrat against the white Republican Jack Ryan. Ryan was forced to withdraw from the race due to a personal scandal and was replaced by Alan Keyes, a black candidate. The other all-black race in the study is the only one that took place in a majority-minority district. Georgia's 4th District featured ousted Representative Cynthia McKinney's return (as the incumbent Denise Majette left to run for the U.S. Senate) to beat Catherine Davis, a black Republican. For purposes of comparison, we also examined contests in majority-white districts where no person of color was running: the Maryland U.S. Senate race and the U.S. House contests for Connecticut's 4th and Texas's 2nd district.

Data Collection and Variables

For each contest, we collected newspaper stories relating to the campaigns, beginning with the day following the primary to Election Day in November⁵. Coders were instructed to record objective and subjective data for a number of other variables, as well. Besides descriptives of the contest – election contest being covered, race and party of each candidate, date of the story, level of story (national or local source) – we coded for the following variables: number of substantive policy issues mentioned, race of either candidate mentioned, race of the voters mentioned, and whether a photo of either candidate was included with the story.⁶ Table 2 indicates the number of articles examined in each elections scenario.

[Table 2 about here]

After the coding was complete, we created some new variables based on the data collected. For instance, we assigned a level of competitiveness to each contest, created dummy variables for the racial scenario, and computed a “racial frame” variable, which is a dichotomous measure of whether a racial frame is present in the story. Previous literature has identified discussion of candidates' race and the race of the voters as common ways that potential voters are primed to think about race when making voting decisions. Similarly, scholars have argued that non-verbal cues (such as photographs, or, in the case of campaign television advertisements, image manipulation) often substitute for rhetorical racial framing (and often with greater effect) (see Mendelberg 2001, Kaid & Johnston, 2002). We set the bar high by requiring that all three of these criteria be in place before we consider the story to be “racially framed.” That is, a racially framed story, in our operationalization, is that which mentions the race of either or both candidates, mentions the race of the voters, *and* includes a photograph of one or both candidates along with the story. While we agree that it is arguable at best to conclude that inclusion of any of these three elements is racial in isolation, we feel as if we are on firmer theoretical footing to contend that a story that contains all three of these elements is, indeed, framed in racial terms.

District from 1995-1999; and Republican Gary Franks's representation of Connecticut's 5th District from 1991 to 1997.

⁵ A list of coded newspapers appears in Appendix A.

⁶ An abbreviated version of the written instructions provided to coders during training is presented in Appendix B.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

The three dependent variables of primary concern for us in this study are those that are present in the Reeves (1997) and Terkildsen and Damore (1999) studies discussed above: 1) the mention of candidates' race in a news story; 2) the mention of the race of voters; and 3) the appearance of candidate photographs. To this we add a fourth variable, the number of substantive policy issues mentioned which, though not directly analyzed by the others, is suggested by them: that is, bi-racial contests are more likely to focus on race than on substantive public policy issues.

Included in our list of possible factors influencing these, or those upon which significant differences are likely, include: the racial composition of the candidates; the racial composition of voters; and the competitiveness of the race. Given these sets of factors and the results of prior research, we have constructed the following hypotheses, which center on each of the dependent variables listed above and are drawn directly from previous research. We also have several research questions upon which no existing work suggests a hypothesis.

- H₁: The race of candidates and voters, and pictorial representation of candidates (separately and together), are more likely to appear in bi-racial or all-black election contests than all-white contests.
- H_{1a}: These factors are more likely to appear in bi-racial contests than all-black contests.
- H₂: The larger the white population of voters, the more likely that candidates' race will be mentioned, the race of voters will be mentioned, and the candidates photos will appear.
- H_{2a}: These factors will appear more often in majority-white districts than majority-minority districts.
- H₃: The race of candidates and voters and the pictorial representation of candidates are more likely to appear in competitive, as opposed to non-competitive, contests.
- RQ₁: Do news stories of bi-racial contests involving African American candidates more or less frequently mention the candidate's race, the race of voters and/or include a photo of the candidates than those involving Latino candidates?
- RQ₂: Do more or less substantive public policy issues tend to be mentioned in news stories involving minority candidates than those that do not?
- RQ_{2a}: Is this the case in stories that mention the candidates' or voters' race as opposed to those that do not?
- RQ₃: How frequently do news stories of contests involving a minority candidate contain all three forms of racial references: mentioning the race of the candidate, mentioning the race of the voters and featuring a photograph of the candidates?

RQ_{3a}: Of those stories that do, are there significant differences in regard to level of competitiveness, the racial makeup of the candidates, and the racial makeup of voters?

Table 3 displays an overview of the key variables under consideration.⁷ The total of the positive values of each dichotomous variable are presented, as well as the frequencies within each of the four election contest racial scenarios that are present in the study. One striking aspect of Table 3 is the disproportionate stories in the white v. Latino category. While this is explained partly by having two U.S. Senate races (Florida and Colorado) in this category, Florida's size and the competitiveness of both contests contributed to this situation. In addition, Florida has a greater number of newspapers that are part of the Lexis-Nexis database than any of the other states or districts under consideration.

[Table 3 about here]

On the whole, while not the data that we would construct if we could manipulate the real world, these cases allow us to discover the way elections involving racial minority candidates are covered in a variety of contexts, and they allow us to compare these findings against some all-white contests during the same election cycle.

Findings

Our first hypothesis (the degree to which news stories make racial references in bi-racial election contests, asserting that news story racial references in bi-racial or all-black contests would occur more frequently than in contests where both candidates are white) is supported by the data. Table 4 shows the results of crosstabulations of a number of elements that may be present in print news stories about elections in each of the scenarios under observation. The first three columns show how many stories contain mentions of the race of one or both of the candidates. While the race of candidates is mentioned most often in races where both are African American, it is also important to note that the race of at least one candidate is noted in a full quarter of the stories of bi-racial contests (white v. black or white v. Latino). Further, it is the non-white candidate's race that is most often mentioned in those contests, not the race of the white candidate.

[Table 4 about here]

The fourth column of Table 4 indicates the number of stories that included a mention of the race of the voters. Again, there is very little mention of the race of voters when both candidates in the contest are white, but when both are black, the race of the voters is mentioned forty per cent of the time. It should be remembered that one of these races with two African American candidates is in a majority-black district (Georgia's 4th Congressional District), but the others are majority-

⁷ While it was not convenient to include in the table, it is worthy of note that the mean number of public policy issues per story is 1.61 for the total sample. The breakdown within each election scenario is as follows: white v. white, 1.65; black v. black, 1.95; white v. Latino, 1.75; and white v. black, 1.06.

white states (Illinois and Georgia). The bi-racial contests have double-digit percentages in this area, but do not come near the proportion of stories in the all-black races that mention the voters' race.

The next three columns in Table 4 show the number of stories that reveal a candidate's race by displaying his or her photographs. While showing a picture of a candidate cannot be considered racial in and of itself, we consider it here and in combination with the other elements of the racial frame (below) because it does lead to a reader being aware of the candidate's race. The results are notable: in races where there is a minority candidate, there is a much greater tendency for a photograph of one of the candidates to be shown. However, unlike verbal mentions of the candidates' race, there is not a gap between the tendency to show the non-white as opposed to the white candidate in bi-racial contests.

To look at these articles another way, we organize them by the type of electoral district in which the contests took place (Table 5), hypothesizing (H_2) that the different forms of racial references mentioned in news stories will occur more often in contests where the majority of the voting population is white, as opposed to being majority-minority. It is important to note that only one of our observed contests took place in a majority-minority district (Georgia's 4th Congressional District), however. In addition, that contest was not competitive, and therefore only yielded nineteen stories, which makes it difficult to put too much emphasis on the findings here.

[Table 5 about here]

Nevertheless, the data show a greater tendency to mention a candidate's race – particularly the race of a non-white candidate – in the majority-minority district, as opposed to the majority-white districts. When a candidate's race is mentioned in a majority-white district, it is more often that of a non-white candidate. The race of the voters and photographs of the candidates (again, most notably the non-white candidates) are also more likely to appear in the majority-minority district contest. Similar to what we saw in Table 4, there is a tendency to pictorially depict white and non-white candidates at the same rate in majority-white districts.

Our third hypothesis asserted that repeated racial references would more often be found in competitive rather than non-competitive election contests. Table 6 shows the findings in the campaign coverage under consideration here. We retrospectively assigned the label of “competitive” to those races where the margin of victory in the final result was five percent or smaller. These data show no support for this hypothesis with regard to mentions of the race of the candidates or the race of the voters, as none of the crosstabulations yield significant differences. There is, however, limited support with respect to inclusion of candidates' photographs, but the results are not overwhelming.

[Table 6 about here]

We wondered if this might be a result of too much variation in the types of contests that were included in the “competitive” and “not competitive” categories. Specifically, we questioned whether there was a difference among competitive and non-competitive races under different electoral scenarios. Table 7 reveals that there is some validity to this contention. While we

certainly would have liked to have more data in each category, we can get a feel for the election coverage of these races. Whether the election is competitive or not, a candidate's race (particularly the non-white candidate's race) is more likely to be mentioned in news stories about all-black or bi-racial elections. The race of the voters is more likely to be mentioned in those contests, as well, and the tendency to print photographs of the candidates follows the same pattern as Tables 4 and 5 revealed (somewhat more likely in the bi-racial or all-black races – in this case, especially those that are competitive – and not much difference in the tendency to show the white or the non-white candidate in the bi-racial scenarios).

[Table 7 about here]

Besides the hypotheses that are suggested by the literature, we also offer a number of research questions for these elections. The first of these is designed to address differences in coverage between bi-racial contests involving Hispanic or Latino candidates and those involving African American candidates. Looking first at how the bi-racial contests compare to the all-black contests, Table 4 findings suggest that it is the latter that elicit the greatest proportion of racial elements.⁸ Specifically, the tendency to mention the candidates' race is greater in the all-black races than in the bi-racial contests. This is consistent with the previous findings that it is the presence of a minority candidate that tends to elicit mention of race. Similarly, the race of the voters is more likely to be mentioned in all-black races than in the bi-racial contests. With regard to photographs of candidates, there is very little difference between the bi-racial and the all-black contests, though all have significantly more stories featuring photographs than the white v. white contests. As Table 7 reveals, this holds true with respect to competitive contests, but things even out much more with respect to photographs of candidates in less-than-competitive races

With respect to bi-racial contests featuring a black candidate compared to bi-racial contests featuring a Latino candidate, the results are clear: there is not much difference. A crosstabulation of only the bi-racial contests (not shown) reveals that there is not a statistically significant difference among the different bi-racial contests with respect to any of the variables except whether a photograph of the white candidate in the race is included (it is mentioned 36.2% of the time in white v. Latino races and only 24.6% of the time in white v. black races).

The second research question (and its corollary) centers on the tendency for a story to include discussion of substantive policy issues. Table 8 presents some models to explore this aspect of the paper. The first model presents each of the election scenarios regressed on a count of policy issues mentioned in each story. The only statistically significant coefficient besides the constant is for the white v. black scenario, and it is in the expected direction. That is, while white v. white contests average 1.6 policy issues per news story, those involving a black and a white candidate feature .5 issues fewer policy issues. The remaining models include these scenario dummy variables, but feature the various elements of racial framing discussed above. Model 2 reveals that each of these elements is statistically significant, though their predictive power is modest. While this model (or any of these models, for that matter) does not explain much of the variance

⁸ It is not possible to compare the elements while controlling for level of competitiveness since the contests involving black candidates (Georgia U.S. Senate, Georgia 4th CD, Illinois U.S. Senate, and Missouri 5th CD) were not competitive, while those involving Hispanic candidates (Florida and Colorado U.S. Senate) were.

in the number of policy issues included in the stories under examination, it is interesting to note that discussion of a candidate's or the voters' race and inclusion of photographs (which reveal race) actually lead to more substantive policy discussion (as measured by number of issues included, not depth of discussion) in the story.

[Table 8 about here]

The third model takes apart two of the three racial frame elements. The results are not intuitive: while mention of the non-white candidate's race tends to increase the amount of substantive policy issues mentioned, so does inclusion of a white candidate's photograph.

The Racial Frame

Tables 4 through 8 all contain an additive element entitled "racial frame." As noted above, we created a dichotomous variable that reveals the extent to which all three forms of racial references are included in the news stories under examination. Recall that only when a story contains a mention of either candidate's race, a mention of the voters' race, *and* a photograph of at least one of the candidates, do we consider it to be racially framed.

The last column in Tables 4 through 7 reveal the stories that used this frame and under what circumstances. Table 4 shows that the frame is used more often in all-black and white v. Latino contests than all-white or white v. black contests. While there is no statistical difference in use of the frame in majority-white districts as compared to the majority-minority district, even when looking at specific scenarios within those categories (Table 5 and 7, respectively), it is nearly twice as likely to be used when the race is competitive (Table 6). The fourth model in Table 8 shows that, even controlling for the election scenario, the race frame is a predictor of the number of policy issues in a story. Contrary to what might have been expected, though, the coefficient's sign is positive, meaning that inclusion of the frame leads to greater substantive (number of) policy issue discussion.

Discussion

While it is possible to run more rigorous tests to try to explain these curiosities, we suspect that the explanation is at least partly related to the scarcity of a wide variety of data. That is, as we stated at the outset, we must tread carefully with what is a largely anecdotal study.

Our hypotheses in this study were driven, in large part, by the findings of Reeves (1997) and Terkildsen and Damore (1999) with regard to news media coverage of bi-racial elections. When read alongside these authors, our findings seem to both support and contradict some of theirs. Like these authors, we find that racial references are commonplace in bi-racial election contests. This includes all forms of the racial references we examined, each of which were present more often in bi-racial (and all-black) contests than in those where both candidates were white. Unlike these authors, however, we are unwilling to interpret the prominence of such racial references in bi-racial contests as significant enough warrant to claim that such references alone (that is, in either form individually) would likely have a priming effect on white voters and necessarily contribute to negative perceptions of the minority candidate. This is especially so when taking

into account that only eight per cent of the stories in bi-racial elections rise to the level of what we would refer to as a "racial frame," in which stories collectively mention the race of candidates, the race of voters and include photographs of the candidates.

While this small percentage may not allow us to reasonably speculate about how these may influence white voters, it does demonstrate that the presence of a racial minority in an election contest does significantly increase the chances that the news media will compel voters to view all facets of the election itself, primarily through the lens of race. Given this, we believe there is sufficient need to monitor this trend in the future, to the degree that minority candidates increasingly enter election contests against white opponents.

Neither Reeves nor Terkildsen and Damore explicitly test the degree to which the level of competition in bi-racial contests influences the news media's tendency to make racial references, though both of their studies are premised on this contention. Their assumption is reasonable given their own findings, in addition to more general conclusions by Jamieson (1993) for example, that competition not only breeds increased media attention, but also the increased need to frame the contest in a way that dramatizes and emphasizes their most competitive elements. With the relative anomaly of bi-racial elections, the pitting of two candidates from different racial backgrounds would seem to fit this description. Our findings suggest that the degree of competition has little to do with the mention of various forms of racial references.⁹ Whether the race is competitive or not, racial references are more likely to occur in bi-racial elections more than those including two white candidates.

This finding could be explained in several ways. We could assume the conventional assertion that the competitiveness of some contests increases the probability that the issue of race would be included as part of the competitive framing by the news media. With regard to the non-competitive, it may be that the media, for lack of interest in any other aspect of a campaign, may simply default to race as being the only real "newsworthy" aspect of a bi-racial contest and therefore make frequent references in the relatively minimal amount of coverage they give to the contest. Finally, it is possible that when a bi-racial contest is initially considered to be uncompetitive, the news media may try to highlight race as a way of increasing the public's perception of the competitiveness of the race, which would consequently provide the outlet with more "newsworthy" material to print.

To some degree this finding could be seen as positive for minority candidates exploring the possibility of entering into an election contest against a white opponent. That is, such a candidate would at least know that facing a tough, white challenger alone would not necessarily increase the chances that his or her contests would focus on the race issue. We are cautious to not give much weight to this finding, however, acknowledging that we measure "competitiveness" in a singular manner and retrospectively. Despite this though, many other measures of competitiveness such as fundraising, amount of advertising or news media attention, for instance, are likely to be flawed.

⁹ Bivariate Pearson Correlations of competitiveness with the existence of the racial frame boasts a statistically significant, but very small (.072) positive relationship. The strongest relationship that competitiveness has with any of the racial component variables is .118 (photograph of white candidate included).

We believe that our findings with regard to our more general research questions are significant as we move forward in trying to understand the ways that news media coverage influences various facets of elections where minority candidates are involved. First, the greater frequency that racial references in news stories of bi-racial contests including Latino compared to black candidates certainly raises an interesting question as to why this would be the case. This is especially true given the finding that the degree to which what we refer to as a "racial frame" is found significantly more often among Latino than black candidates in bi-racial contests. That Latino candidates are more recent newcomers to U.S. elections may be one explanation—that is, that Latino-white contests are even more of an anomaly than black-white contests. Whatever the case may be, this tendency may have ramifications for Latino candidates themselves. The difference could also signal a new "competitive" dimension, should both blacks and Latinos continue to enter the bi-racial election fray, essentially running into a "limit" to which the white American public can accept being represented by minorities.

On a second front, these data suggest that when a racial frame is imposed, the media, perhaps to appear to not be focusing on solely on race, focus on a greater number of substantive public policy issues.¹⁰ An inferred conclusion of the Reeves and Terkildsen and Damore studies would suggest that in bi-racial elections the media would be more likely to emphasize race alone (or at least more than substantive public policy issues). Our findings to the contrary, however, should encourage further studies to consider this relationship.

We believe that interweaving race and other public policy issues could have positive consequences on non-racializing what many consider to be "racial" issues, and increasing the degree to which minority candidates are seen by white and other voters as being able to focus on issues other than those largely considered to be primarily racial in nature. In practical terms, this means that if the media highlights a candidate's race while simultaneously paying more attention to issues such as Medicare, Social Security or national security, for instance, the effect may be that voters come to view black or Latino candidates as those who can represent their interests on those issues despite the fact of their race.

Without taking away from the rigor of our study or the veracity of its results, we feel like we must limit the degree to which we interpret or generalize from them. This is the case because this study, like all similar ones preceding it, is plagued by the unfortunate characteristics of relying on a very limited amount of data. Our study, though it encompasses many dimensions, focuses on a single election cycle. In addition, there are many ways in which a particular occurrence, as well as the individual results of the contests, is an anomaly. And, because of the non-normative nature of such elections, it is difficult at this point to even generate plausible explanations about what these data mean on their own and with respect to previous studies.

¹⁰ It is important to note that this finding has to do with inclusion of the three elements of the racial frame variable. That is not to be confused with the first model in Table 8, which showed that fewer policy issues were mentioned in white v. black contests than any other election scenario. Interestingly, this holds even when the elements of racial frame are controlled for (in models 2 through 4 of Table 8).

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Appendix A. Newspapers Considered for Analysis

We searched the Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe database for stories about the election contests under consideration. We used the “Major Papers” designation, as well as the “Local Papers” designation in the areas where the elections took place. We did not use any of the foreign press sources.

Major Papers

Associated Press	Journal of Commerce
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Los Angeles Times
The Baltimore Sun	Miami Herald
The Boston Globe	New Straits Times (Malaysia)
The Boston Herald	The New York Times
The Buffalo News	The New Zealand Herald
Chicago Sun-Times	Newsday (New York)
The Christian Science Monitor	The Observer
The Columbus Dispatch	Omaha World Herald
Daily News (New York)	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
The Daily Telegraph (London)	The Plain Dealer
The Daily Yomiuri (Tokyo)	The Press (Christchurch, New Zealand)
The Denver Post	San Diego Union-Tribune
The Dominion (Wellington)	The San Francisco Chronicle
The Dominion Post (Wellington, New Zealand)	The Scotsman
The Evening Post (Wellington)	The Seattle Times
Financial Times (London)	South China Morning Post
Gazeta Mercantil Online	St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The Guardian (London)	St. Petersburg Times
The Hartford Courant	Star Tribune (Minneapolis MN)
The Herald (Glasgow)	The Straits Times (Singapore)
The Houston Chronicle	The Tampa Tribune
The Independent	The Times-Picayune
The Irish Times	The Toronto Star
The Jerusalem Post	USA Today
	The Washington Post

Appendix A. Newspapers Considered for Analysis (continued)

Relevant Local Papers

Colorado Springs Business Journal
The Denver Post
Denver Westword
Pueblo Business Journal
Rocky Mountain News

Connecticut Law Tribune
Connecticut Post (Bridgeport, CT)
The Hartford Courant

Broward Daily Business Review
Florida Underwriters
The Ledger (Lakeland)
Miami Daily Business Review
Miami Herald
Miami News Times
New Times Broward-Palm Beach
Palm Beach Daily Business Review
The Palm Beach Post
St. Petersburg Times
The Tampa Tribune

The Augusta Chronicle
Fulton County Daily Report

Chicago Daily Herald
Chicago Daily Law Bulletin
Chicago Lawyer

Chicago Sun-Times
Crain's Chicago Business
Crain's Small Business-Chicago
Illinois Legal Times
The Pentagraph
The State Journal-Register (Springfield)

The Baltimore Sun
The Capital (Annapolis, MD)
The Daily Record (Baltimore, MD)
Maryland Gazette

Kansas City Daily Record
Pitch Weekly
Riverfront times
St. Charles County Business Record
St. Louis Daily Record / St. Louis Countian
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Austin American-Statesman
Corpus Christi Caller-Times
The Dallas Observer (Texas)
The Houston Chronicle
Houston Press (Texas)
San Antonio Express-News
Texas Employment Law Letter
The Texas Lawyer
Texas Monthly

Appendix B. Coding Instructions

The following is an abbreviated version of the written coding instructions provided to the coders during training.

General Coding Instructions

of Policy Issues Mentioned

- These include substantive public policy issues (areas), not things such as character, ethics, criminal investigations, etc. (Education, Health Care, Gun Control, etc... are representative types).

Race of [Candidate or Voters] Mentioned

- Keep in mind that these may be state explicitly or implicitly. For example, if a reporter says:

“the district X is running in is primarily African American,”

this is clearly an identification of the candidate’s race. A more implicit statement of the same effect might be:

“X’s opponent is white, giving her some advantage among the district’s majority population.”

Here, we can infer that the candidate is something other than white, the opponent is white, and the voters of the district are primarily non-white – all of which signal a reference to the race of candidate, opponent, and voter by the reporter.

Here are a few other examples of implicit references to race:

- In an October 10 article in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, for example, writer Henry Farber noted that Scott “is known for his interstate billboards, TV spots featuring brother-in-law Hank Aaron and his weekend door-to-door introductions.” AP writer Russ Bynum similarly noted Scott’s famous endorsements in an August 21 story, noting that Scott touted “celebrity support from the likes of home-run king Hank Aaron and former heavyweight champ Evander Holyfield.”
- Indiana’s 7th District was quiet on the issue of race overall, but in a July 29 article by Peter Schnitzler of the *Indianapolis Business Journal*, Congresswoman Julia Carson was quoted as saying, “The people that I rely on to return me to Congress time after time don’t have their photos on dollar bills.”
- Two days following this, Orndorff wrote about Hilliard supporter Rev. Walter Fauntroy’s comments regarding Davis’s fundraising from pro-Israeli groups: “They send money to

this boy. Excuse me, I know, but I had to say it because that's what he is. New York already has 31 members of Congress. Why do they need to buy another one in the Black Belt?"

- Again on June 24, a *Birmingham News* story by Vicki McClure and Mary Orndorff relayed joking comments by Davis supporter Bishop Earnest L. Palmer about Davis's Ivy League education: "That is why his accent is so messed up. But he's from Montgomery, Alabama."

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Election Contests Under Examination

<u>Contest</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Racial Comp. of District</u>	<u>Total Stories</u>	<u>Winner¹</u>
U.S. House Connecticut 4 th	Farrell (D) (white) Shays (R) (white)	76.8% white 11.8% black 9.7% Latino	36	Shays (52-48)
U.S. House Texas 2 nd	Lampson (D) (white) Poe (R) (white)	71% white 19.1% black 12.7% Latino	18	Poe (55-43)
U.S. House Georgia 4 th	McKinney (D) (Black) Davis (R) (Black)	35.7% white 54% black 9.7% Latino	19	McKinney (64-36)
U.S. House Missouri 5 th	Cleaver (D) (Black) Patterson (R) (White)	69.7% white 25.2% black 6.0% Latino	32	Cleaver (55-42)
U.S. Senate Illinois	Obama (D) (Black) Keyes (R) (Black) Ryan (R) (White) ²	74.5% white 14.7% black 13.7% Latino	130	Obama (70-27)
U.S. Senate Maryland	Mikulski (D) (white) Pipkin (R) (white)	64.2% white 27.6% black 4.8% Latino	12	Mikulski (65-34)
U.S. Senate Georgia	Majette (D) (Black) Isakson (R) (White)	66.2% white 27.6% black 6.3% Latino	81	Isakson (58-40)
U.S. Senate Florida	Castor (D) (White) Martinez (R) (Latino)	77.1% white 15.2% black 18.7% Latino	425	Martinez (50-48)
U.S. Senate Colorado	Salazar (D) (Latino) Coors (R) (White)	83.8% white 4.1% black 18.7% Latino	160	Salazar (51-47)

Note: Racial composition of districts data come from the U.S. Census Bureau, Fast Facts for Congress; 2003 American Community Survey Data Profile Highlights, except Texas 2nd, which comes from 109th Congress Congressional District Demographics of the 2000 census (<http://factfinder.census.gov/>). Final results data come from CNN's "America Votes 2004" page (<http://www.cnn.com/election/2004/>).

¹ Only percentages of major party candidates are presented.

² Republican Jack Ryan was Barack Obama's opponent until he was forced to drop out of the race on June 25, 2004 due to personal issues. At that point, Republican Alan Keyes moved to Illinois from Maryland to run.

Table 2. Racial Scenario of Contests Under Examination

	Contests	Total Items
White v. White	3	66
Black v. Black	2	40
White v. Latino	2	585
White v. Black	3	187
TOTAL	10	878

NOTE: Contests total ten even though only nine races were observed because we counted the Illinois Senate race as two separate contests: one with Obama v. Ryan (black v. white) and one with Obama v. Keyes (black v. black).

Table 3. Frequencies of the Elements of Racial Framing Within Each Election Scenario

<u>Election Scenario</u>	<u>Race of Either Candidate Mentioned</u>		<u>Race of Voters Mentioned</u>		<u>Photograph of Either Candidate Included</u>		<u>Total</u>	
White v. White	2	(3.0%) (0.9%)	2	(3.0%) (0.2%)	11	(16.7%) (3.2%)	66	(100.0%) (7.5%)
Black v. Black	23	(57.5%) (10.5%)	16	(40.0%) (11.9%)	16	(40.0%) (4.6%)	40	(100.0%) (4.6%)
White v. Latino	152	(26.0%) (69.1%)	95	(16.2%) (70.4%)	249	(42.6%) (71.6%)	585	(100.0%) (66.6%)
White v. Black	43	(23.0%) (19.5%)	22	(11.8%) (16.3%)	72	(38.5%) (20.7%)	187	(100.0%) (21.3%)
Total	220	(25.1%) (100.0%)	135	(15.4%) (100.0%)	348	(39.6%) (100.0%)	878	(100.0%) (100.0%)
Chi-square	40.163***		28.580***		16.753***			

Note: Figures were generated by three separate crosstabulations. Displayed are the raw number of stories within each election scenario that meet each criteria. Percentages follow in parentheses.

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Table 4. Elements of News Stories Within Each Election Scenario

<u>Election Scenario</u>	<u>Race of Either Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Non- White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Voters Mentioned</u>	<u>Photo of Either Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of White Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of Non- White Cand. Included</u>	<u>“Racial Frame” Imposed</u>
White v. White	3.0% (2)	3.0% (2)	---	3.0% (2)	16.7% (11)	16.7% (11)	---	1.5% (1)
Black v. Black	57.5% (23)	---	57.5% (23)	40.0% (16)	40.0% (16)	---	40.0% (16)	10.0% (4)
White v. Latino	26.0% (152)	2.6% (15)	25.5% (149)	16.2% (95)	42.6% (249)	36.2% (212)	35.0% (205)	9.4% (55)
White v. Black	23.0% (43)	4.3% (8)	23.0% (43)	11.8% (22)	38.5% (72)	24.6% (46)	29.4% (55)	3.7% (7)
N	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Chi-square	40.163***	2.734	45.509***	28.580***	16.753**	35.577***	35.508***	10.433*

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Note: Figures were generated by seven separate crosstabulations. Displayed are the percentages of stories within each election scenario that meet each criteria. The raw number of stories in each category follow in parentheses. “Racial Frame” indicates that all of the following appear in the story: the race of either candidate is mentioned, the race of the voters is mentioned, and a photograph of either candidate is mentioned.

Table 5. Elements of News Stories in Majority-White and Majority-Minority Electoral Districts

<u>District Composition</u>	<u>Race of Either Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Non- White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Voters Mentioned</u>	<u>Photo of Either Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of White Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of Non- White Cand. Included</u>	<u>“Racial Frame” Imposed</u>
Majority-white	24.7% (212)	2.9% (25)	24.1% (207)	14.9% (128)	38.9% (334)	31.3% (269)	30.5% (262)	7.6% (65)
Majority-minority	42.1% (8)	---	42.1% (8)	36.8% (7)	73.7% (14)	---	73.7% (14)	10.5% (2)
N	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Chi-square	3.006	.569	3.260	6.878**	9.410**	8.578**	16.083***	.231

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Note: Figures were generated by seven separate crosstabulations. Displayed are the percentages of stories within each election scenario that meet each criteria. The raw number of stories in each category follow in parentheses. “Racial Frame” indicates that all of the following appear in the story: the race of either candidate is mentioned, the race of the voters is mentioned, and a photograph of either candidate is mentioned.

Table 6. Elements of News Stories in Competitive and Non-competitive Election Contests

<u>Competitiveness</u>	<u>Race of Either Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Non- White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Voters Mentioned</u>	<u>Photo of Either Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of White Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of Non- White Cand. Included</u>	<u>“Racial Frame” Imposed</u>
Competitive	24.5% (152)	2.4% (15)	24.0% (149)	15.5% (96)	40.1% (249)	34.1% (212)	33.0% (205)	8.9% (55)
Not Competitive	26.5% (68)	3.9% (10)	25.7% (66)	15.2% (39)	38.5% (99)	22.2% (57)	27.6% (71)	4.7% (12)
N	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Chi-square	.380	1.431	.280	.011	.189	12.234***	2.445	4.522*

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Note: Figures were generated by seven separate crosstabulations. Displayed are the percentages of stories within each election scenario that meet each criteria. The raw number of stories in each category follow in parentheses. Competitiveness is retrospectively identified as those contests where the final popular vote result was within five percent. “Racial Frame” indicates that all of the following appear in the story: the race of either candidate is mentioned, the race of the voters is mentioned, and a photograph of either candidate is mentioned.

Table 7. Elements of News Stories Within Each Election Scenario at Different Levels of Competitiveness

<u>Election Scenario</u>	<u>Race of Either Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Non- White Cand. Mentioned</u>	<u>Race of Voters Mentioned</u>	<u>Photo of Either Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of White Cand. Included</u>	<u>Photo of Non- White Cand. Included</u>	<u>“Racial Frame” Imposed</u>
<i>Competitive</i>								
White v. White	0	0	---	2.8% (1)	0	0	---	0
Black v. Black	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
White v. Latino	26.0% (152)	2.6% (15)	25.5% (149)	16.2% (95)	42.6% (249)	36.2% (212)	35.0% (205)	9.4% (55)
White v. Black	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
N	621	621	621	621	621	621	621	621
Chi-square	12.385***	.946	12.064**	4.702*	25.580***	19.808***	18.832***	3.714
<i>Not Competitive</i>								
White v. White	6.7% (2)	6.7% (2)	---	3.3% (1)	36.7% (11)	36.7% (11)	---	3.3% (1)
Black v. Black	57.7% (23)	---	57.5% (23)	40.0% (16)	40.0% (16)	---	40.0% (16)	10.0% (4)
White v. Latino	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
White v. Black	23.0% (43)	4.3% (8)	23.0% (443)	11.8% (22)	38.5% (72)	24.6% (46)	29.4% (55)	3.7% (7)
N	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257
Chi-square	27.000***	2.312	32.292***	24.108***	.081	15.683***	14.813**	3.034

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Note: Figures were generated by fourteen separate crosstabulations. Displayed are the percentages of stories within each election scenario that meet each criteria. The raw number of stories in each category follow in parentheses. Competitiveness is retrospectively identified as those contests where the final popular vote result was within five percent. “Racial Frame” indicates that all of the following appear in the story: the race of either candidate is mentioned, the race of the voters is mentioned, and a photograph of either candidate is mentioned.

Table 8. Effect of Election Scenario and Racial Elements on Number of Public Policy Issues Mentioned Per Story

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
(constant)	1.652***	1.580***	1.557***	1.629***
Black v. Black	.298 (.043)	-.155 (-.022)	.0038 (.005)	.0073 (.010)
White v. Latino	.102 (.033)	-.124 (-.040)	-.107 (-.035)	-.0004 (-.001)
White v. Black	-.593 (-.167)**	-.778 (-.220)***	-.725 (-.205)***	-.647 (-.183)**
Race of Voters Mentioned		.379 (.094)*	.454 (.113)**	.489 (.122)**
Race of Either Candidate Mentioned		.455 (.136)**		
Photo of Either Candidate Included		.279 (.094)**		
Race of White Candidate Mentioned			.0068 (.008)	
Race of Non-White Candidate Mentioned			.379 (.112)**	
Photo of White Candidate Included			.470 (.149)***	
Photo of Non-White Candidate Included			-.112 (-.036)	
“Racial Frame”				.531 (.097)*
F	12.109***	15.270***	11.912***	15.007***
Adjusted R ²	.037	.089	.091	.074

Note: Cell figures are unstandardized OLS coefficients. Standardized coefficients follow in parentheses. The “white v. white” election scenario dummy variable is omitted from the models. “Racial Frame” indicates that all of the following appear in the story: the race of either candidate is mentioned, the race of the voters is mentioned, and a photograph of either candidate is mentioned.

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05