

CROOKED COVERAGE: A STUDY OF
(DE)RACIALIZED TEXTS IN PRINT MEDIA

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CROOKED COVERAGE: A STUDY OF (DE)RACIALIZED TEXTS IN
PRINT MEDIA

Presented by Stephen R. Barnard

A candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, this thesis is dedicated to all who embrace the challenge of critical inquiry and dare to devote their time to elucidating a greater understanding of our society and its countless faults. It is because of each and every one of you that this project is possible and significant.

Secondly, this thesis is dedicated to my family. Many thanks for all of your support as I continue my academic career. I am repeatedly flattered to hear your strong words of encouragement and your (patient) eagerness to see my final product. Without all of you, I would not be the person that I am, and could not accomplish what I have accomplished.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF GRAPHS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
Section	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	4
3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	18
4. METHODS	19
Pilot Study	
Data Collection and Management	
Content Analysis	
5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	24
6. CONCLUSION.....	32
APPENDIX.....	36
REFERENCES	40

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph	Page
1. Percentage of articles from each newspaper that utilized code words as the initial indicator of race	25
2. Percentage of articles from each newspaper that utilized the inverted pyramid method to suppress discussions of race	29
3. Percentage of articles from each newspaper that both utilize the inverted pyramid structure and lack anterior indicators of race as an issue	30

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ABSTRACT

On top of the intense history of racism in America, recent research has shown the increasing importance of *color-blind racism* and its impact on our society. While many studies have shown that racism exists in the media, few have been able to explain how media providers institutionalize racism. Thus, while media outlets have been proven to display racist sentiments, few studies have shown how racism is operationalized (and executed) within a given media institution. The goal of this study is to explore the possibility of such practices. By taking a purposive sample of news articles from both the *Columbia Daily Tribune* and the *New York Times*, I conduct a content analysis to explore how these two newspapers treat race issues. Do journalistic models (such as the inverted pyramid style of reporting) function as injectors of racial bias? Additionally, what role do indirect racial codes have in coverage of race issues? Answers to these questions will yield important results in explaining whether or not media outlets institutionalize racism (and if so, how). Given the vast amount of research showing the immense effect media can have on public opinion, the understanding of *how* the media perpetuates racism is imperative to develop a comprehensive understanding of contemporary racism.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of *race* has been—and still remains—a major force shaping the American social structure. From Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk*, to Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, Omi and Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States*, and Bonilla-Silva's *Racism Without Racists*, social scientists have documented the extent to which race remains at the “center of the American experience” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 5). While such findings are obviously still true for some—mainly those who fall within “marked” racial categories (i.e. minorities)—it *appears* that the “problem” of race has vanished from contemporary America. But to whom (or what) do we owe for relieving our society of such an annoying and dividing problem? The answer is, expectedly, not as straightforward as one might hope.

Although there are many peaks and valleys in the frontier of race in America, the “conclusion” (at least for much of *white* America) of the civil rights movement with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the National Voting Rights Act of 1965, and other legislated “equalizers,” set the stage for a new kind of racial discourse. Prior to the civil rights movement, flagrant racism in America was still at a peak. Racism was not happening behind closed doors, but in streets, on windows and bathroom doors, and above drinking fountains. But in the post-civil rights era, a transition was being made towards what Mendelberg calls the “norm of equality,” (2001, p. 7)

After the “success” (read: “conclusion”) of the civil rights movement and the closely following shift to “political correctness”—making *overt* racism taboo—the stage was set for a new era in American race relations. No longer would distinct segregation

and other forms of legislated racism be *openly* supported by the masses (Piliawsky, 1984; Schuman, et al., 1985). Instead, public opinion now ruled that the norm would be equality, and so a similar shift in the discourse was inevitably consequential. But what form(s) did this discourse take?

Given the newly situated norm of equality, Americans were now expected to cleanse themselves of racist sentiments in order to make way for their newfound dedication to life in a color-blind society, or so the story goes. Realistically, these expectations are more than a bit much. Due to America's palpable past of deeply entrenched racism and southern apartheid, what was once a political hot potato is not likely to, over the course of any short period of time, blossom into widespread sentiment of acceptance and altruism. So, what happened, then, to public opinion if it did not make the abrupt, 180-degree turn?

According to Bonilla-Silva (2003), given the public's aggregated shift towards a superficial subscription to the color-blind ideology, the result is not de-facto equality, but "*racism without racists*" instead. Thus, the norm of equality allows for the appearance of color-blindness while further propagating the ability and willingness for individuals and institutions to utilize *implicit* racial appeals. The implicitness of racial appeals results in what Gallagher (2003) and others refer to as *erasing race*.

The problem with erasing race in contemporary America is not in the erasure itself, but in the context it is happening in and the subsequent effects. Given that our society is still structured along racial lines (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Gallagher, 2003; Omi & Winant, 1994; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Goldberg, 1993; Piliawsky, 1984), despite the contentions of the color-blind ideology and the *seemingly* unavoidable conclusions after

consuming only a small portion of the modern, mainstream media,¹ a shift in racial discourse from explicit to implicit has many real and troubling consequences. First and foremost, the trouble lies in misinformation.

In a media-reliant America, the distribution of accurate information is essential to the proper functioning of democracy. Without accurate and relevant knowledge, citizens are left unprepared to play meaningful roles in the progression of *their* society. To have the majority of citizenry informed—by *most* major media outlets—with notions of the irrelevancy of race is to one-sidedly coerce media subscribers to buying into the supposed dominance of the color-blind ideology in America. This scheme, coupled with what is lost during this endeavor (i.e. the availability of the remaining array of conclusions that result in an America where race *is* still an issue), leaves many Americans ill-prepared to accurately assess the role of race in contemporary America.²

Although there are a multitude of possible approaches to reporting on any single issue, it should be clear that, depending on topic and/or milieu, some might be better than others. Possible biases on a given issue (both of readers and authors), the level of public knowledge about the issue, and the possible need for increased public knowledge on the issue, are all concerns that should be taken into account when formulating a journalistic approach. Thus, it is often apparent that one or a few approaches may be more fitting for a particular application than a multitude of others. This is particularly true when coverage involves an issue such as racism or race-relations. Nonetheless, media institutions continue to cover issues with apparent disregard for likely social

¹ For some examples on how popular media downplay issues of race via covert discourse, see Mendelberg, 2001; Gilens, 1996 and 1999; Edsall & Edsall, 1991; Jamieson, 1992; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005.

² For more on media's effects on democracy, see Robert W. McChesney's *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (2000) and Ben H. Bagdikian's *The New Media Monopoly* (2004).

repercussions. Indeed, citizens and academics alike continue to take issue with the one-sidedness displayed by popular media outlets. Yet while much research contributes to our understanding of media bias (see Bennett, 2003; Herman & Chomsky, 2002) and framing techniques (see Bryant & Miron, 2004; Richardson & Lancedorfer, 2004; Lakoff, n.d., Bonilla-Silva, 2003), there is still a need for more research in this area.

Appropriately, in the past decade, a new wave of research has formed to account for the shift toward the norm of equality and the media's reaction to the shift. Given recent research on the growing use of *racial code words*³—defined as a word or statement that implicitly, yet somewhat noticeably, refers to race—and other racial codes—such as visual images marking race—the relevance of implicit racial cues in contemporary America is obvious. But how important are these trends and their impact on society?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Given the media's crucial role in priming social actors for their parts (or lack thereof) in an active democracy, media practices and the subsequent effects are not to be ignored. Much research has been conducted which show the impact media can have on surrounding environments such as public opinion, and consequently, public action (Gallagher, 2003; Domke, 2001; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005; Valentino, et al., 2002; Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenwald, 2006; Dreier, 2005; Gandy, 2001; Gilens, 1996 and 1999; Mutz & Soss, 1997; Hartmann & Husband, 1974). Further, numerous studies have

³ For example, see Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005; Mendelberg, 2001; Wheelock and Hartmann, 2007; Gilens, 1996 and 1999; Campbell et al., 1996.

also illustrated the tendency of media outlets to be racist (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman 1992, 1994; van Dijk, 1991; Johnson, 1987). Additionally, research by Mendelberg (2001), Gallagher (2003), Gilens (1996; 1999), Piliawsky (1984), among many others, has documented the important role that *word choice* plays in coverage pertaining to race. While many of these studies lack the evidence to conclude that racism and/or (de)racialization was the intent of such media providers, the numerous consequences of such reporting remain intact.

As Piliawsky (1984) insightfully suggested, American racial discourse was, at the time of publication, in the middle of a severe and defining shift. The change from “individual” racism, which he defined as “the overt act of individual whites such as the bombing of a black church,” to “institutionalized” racism where “public policies and social arrangements...perpetuate the lack of proper food, shelter, medical and educational facilities for blacks” (p. 141) was only the beginning. Arguing that “institutionalized racism is particularly pernicious because it involves policies which appear to be neutral in their intent, but which have a decidedly discriminatory impact” (p. 142), Piliawsky explains America’s shift towards “respectable racism” as reliant on the use of “code words.” He concludes that “today’s respectable racism, by denying the existence of racial discrimination and by propagating the myth of enormous progress by blacks, provides the ultimate absolution of the white community’s responsibility for the condition of blacks in the U.S.” (p. 142).

Perhaps sparked by the 1988 presidential campaign and the broadcast of the infamous "Willie Horton" ad by a conservative public action committee,⁴ research exploring the increasing propensity for (and effects of) implicit racialization has grown over time. Mendelberg (2001) explains that the value of implicit racial appeals lies in their ability to "prime racial stereotypes, fears, and resentments while appearing not to do so" (p. 4). In differentiating between "implicit versus explicit communication" Mendelberg states that "an explicit message uses such words as 'blacks,' 'race,' or 'racial' to express anti-black sentiment or to make racially stereotypical or derogatory statements" (p. 8). Conversely, she states:

Implicit racial appeals convey the same message as explicit racial appeals, but they replace the racial nouns and adjectives with more oblique references to race. They present an ostensibly race-free conservative position on an issue while incidentally alluding to racial stereotypes or to a perceived threat from African Americans. Implicit racial appeals discuss a nonracial matter and avoid a direct reference to black inferiority or to white group interest. They forego professions of racial antipathy and do not endorse segregation or white prerogatives. They convey a message that may violate the norm of racial equality by submerging it in nonracial content. *In an implicit racial appeal, the racial message appears to be so coincidental and peripheral that many of its recipients are not aware that it is there.* (p. 9) [emphasis added]

Thus, Mendelberg contends that the implicitness of racial appeals is largely what determines their ability to beguile the norm of equality, therefore succeeding in racial priming. Further, it is the *ambiguity* and *deniability* of truly implicit racial appeals that allows for the issue to ostensibly remain non-racial.

⁴ The advertisement is famous because it distinctly elicited racial cues through numerous negative pictures and text of African American Willie Horton. For more on the Willie Horton ad and its numerous consequences, see Jamieson (1992) and Hurwitz & Peffley (2005).

Research conducted by David Domke (2001) has shown that the use of code words (or “racial cues”, as he refers to them) has a significant effect on individuals’ opinions about racial, and thus, political, issues. In fact, he argues, “reference by political elites and news media to widely recognized race-associated cues activates the racial perceptions of citizens and that these cognitions, in turn, become influential on subsequent political evaluations.” Further, “subtle allusions to racialized images in political discourse are highly successful in activating individuals’ racial considerations *and then prompting the application of these constructs in policy and candidate evaluations*” (p. 789) [emphasis added]. Such effects, compounded with the numerous others resulting from biased or “crooked” coverage of race issues, call attention to the relative importance of the mass media in the contemporary United States.

Additionally, Hurwitz and Peffley’s (2005) study, the “Impact of Racialized Code Words,” found alarming evidence for the influence of racial code words. After conducting an experiment that tested how the existence of racial code words such as “inner-city” influenced respondents’ opinion on crime, Hurwitz and Peffley conclude that “racially coded language can affect citizens’ political judgments in insidious ways” (p. 109). Further, they predict, given the findings of their research as well as findings from Mendelberg (2001) and Gilens (1996), that “*the racialization of politics will increasingly take place mainly at the level of code words*, or words that are fundamentally nonracial in nature that have, through the process of association, assumed a strong racial component” (p. 101) [emphasis added]. Consequently, such a proliferation may serve to further complicate the issue of race in America, not only by erasing race from political and social

discourse, but by eerily maintaining the importance of race by transforming it into the proverbial “elephant in the room” at the same time.

Strikingly, this distinct situation, and the aggregated effects, is specifically the focus of Bonilla-Silva’s *Racism Without Racists* (2003). In the context of contemporary America, he argues, the color-blind ideology, now dominant in our society and comparable to Mendelberg’s “norm of equality,” does *not* result in a society that is truly color-blind. Instead, the shift in discourse, as described above, clears the way for the onslaught of *color-blind racism*. Developing a working definition of color-blind racism, he states:

Whereas Jim Crow racism explained blacks’ social standing as the result of their biological and moral inferiority, color-blind racism avoids such futile arguments. Instead, whites rationalize minorities’ contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks’ imputed cultural limitations...[C]ontemporary racial inequality is reproduced through ‘new racism’ practices that are subtle, institutional, and *apparently nonracial* (p. 2-3 [emphasis added]).

This discovery has aided many scholars in their pursuit of understanding how racism has remained a key issue in the U.S. despite its apparent obsolescence. Indeed, the study of a phenomenon that is deeply rooted *and* well hidden in our social processes has proven to be quite elusive. Thus, the notion of color-blind racism has become tantamount to a cipher for the encoded story of contemporary racism. Although there are countless avenues for color-blind racism to appropriate, the use of code words is one that is of supreme relevance for this research.

While numerous aforementioned studies have shown the significance of verbal racial codes, research has also shown the importance of racial codes that are executed visually. For instance, Hurwitz and Peffley (2005) and Mendelberg (2001) also discuss

the influence that visual images have on the racialization of an issue. Although the Horton ad set the benchmark for implicit visual racial appeals, simply because of its initial effectiveness, it also prepared society for future appeals and trained public senses on how to detect such implicitness (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Nonetheless, Valentino, Hutchings, and White (2002) have shown that visual appeals to race can be much less obvious than the infamous Horton picture, and that such implicit racial appeals can still effectively “activate racial thinking” (p. 75).

Mendelberg (2001) also articulates the important role that visual images play in implicit racialization. In fact, she argues that, due to the difficulty in “finding words that have a *clear* racial association yet seem to be nonracial,” “visual images are a *more effective* way to communicate implicitly” (p. 9 [emphasis added]). Thus, Mendelberg sees these two separate forms as offering a mixed bag of deniability. On the one hand, visual images are most often *deniably* racial, especially if they are not accompanied by racialized language. Yet on the other hand, word choice is often deniably racial also, not only making it difficult to pin-down what lies between nonracial and overtly racial claims, but also leaving room for authors and media providers, given such ambiguity, to deny that racialization was the intent. In all, we are left with a formula that undoubtedly classifies both types of implicit racial appeals, given their qualities of implicitness and ambiguity, as significant contributors to contemporary (de)racialization. But on top of the stated methods of (de)racializing via textual and visual means, spatial manipulation may also be a factor determining what a reader takes from a text.

Since the late nineteenth century, the *inverted pyramid*—defined as a popular journalistic method that concentrates “important” information at the top of a piece of

written work, leaving information of less importance to gradually descend with the text—has been a popular journalistic method for use by print media (Po'ttker, 2003).

Interestingly, research conducted by the Poynter Institute has shown that there is a tendency for readers to give less attention to text and images in certain spatial locations, most notably the lower portions of a spatial arrangement (Outing & Ruel, 2004). While this may explain the reasoning behind the application of the inverted pyramid technique, to pack information in where the reader is most likely to see it, the potential effects of this reporting technique are left unexplained.

Po'ttker (2003) illustrates that while the inverted pyramid approach commonly results in “hard news”—defined as the placement of supremely important information in the beginning of an article—, such an approach may only be said to truly accomplish bias-free hard news in chronological reports. Thus, while structuring a news report chronologically is likely to result in a straightforward presentation, allowing the author to add “her or his own judgments and interpretations” (p. 502) results in a story structured to highlight what the *author* deemed most important. While this fact does not prescribe an outcome of crooked coverage, room is surely left in the equation for the inoculation of bias.

Appropriately, given the immense popularity of the inverted pyramid method in contemporary print media, readers are likely—and to an extent, correct—to assume that placement in an article is correlated with importance. Most likely, this can (at least partially) help explain Outing and Ruel’s (2004) findings about readers’ tendencies to pay less attention to lower portions of text. Nonetheless, such an explanation does not negate the importance of the findings themselves. Thus, if readers are spatially biased towards

earlier portions of articles over later portions, and authors also filter racial discussions (overt or covert) into the latter portions of articles, the results may be another avenue for the media to effectively erase race.

In addition to research illustrating the importance and effects of implicit racial appeals, more generally, numerous studies have shown a breadth of ways in which media affect the public. For instance, Dreier (2005) found that coverage of crime inaccurately exaggerated realities of crime in urban areas, through both content and amount of coverage. The research shows how profound the consequences of such an approach to reporting are. The *Los Angeles Times* January 1984 public opinion poll concluded that nearly two-thirds of the public base their opinions of crime on information derived from media sources instead of what they personally experience (Alderman, 1994). Alderman found a significant gap between public opinion and public reality, largely due to media misrepresentation. Thus, while seventy-nine percent of people interviewed by ABC said that crime was “one of the nations biggest problems,” only fourteen percent said that crime was a big problem for their neighborhood. Further, seventy percent stated that it was “one of the smallest problems where they lived.” Therefore, because the media does over-problematize crime, public reaction results in the *construction* of crime as a serious societal concern.

Dreier (2005) also shows that inaccurate or misleading media coverage can have serious political implications. Focusing on various media coverage of urban issues, Dreier shows that there is a distinct connection between what is reported and the political opinions and engagement of the public. Thus, he states:

Many Americans have concluded that the problems such as poverty and crime may be intractable. *Media coverage of our cities contributes to public cynicism about government in general and about society's capacity to solve urban problems. This undermines the public's trust in government, and thus has an overall conservative impact*, regardless of whether editors and reporters consider themselves liberals, moderates, conservatives, or apolitical. Would you invest your hard-earned dollars in a company that has been failing for 40 years? (p. 194) [emphasis added]

Given the intense impact that media coverage of crime can have on the larger society, it is apparent that accurate coverage is necessary for an engaged and properly informed public to exist. Dreier also illustrates numerous and significant links between coverage about crime and distorted perceptions about race and poverty.

Similarly, Gilens (1999) found overt connections between coverage of poverty (which was highly racialized) and public opinion about poverty related to social issues such as welfare. Gilens found that coverage of the black poor tended to be much more negative than coverage of the white poor. Further, “pictures of poor blacks are abundant when poverty coverage is most negative, while pictures of nonblacks dominate the more sympathetic coverage that accompanies periods of national economic hardship (p. 6).” While it may be obvious that such disproportionate treatment of poverty due to race will have some costly consequences, Gilens asserts that they are vast. In fact, he argues:

Americans' cynicism toward welfare recipients, sustained by misperceptions of the racial composition of the poverty population and negative stereotypes of blacks, limits the easiest and by many accounts most effective antipoverty measure: giving money to those who lack it. The distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor is an old one, as is the stereotype of blacks as lazy. But these two sets of attitudes became entwined in the mid-1960's when poor blacks first came to the widespread attention of the American media and the American public. *The already existing belief that blacks were lazy contributed to the negative media coverage of the black poor over the ensuing decades, and*

this coverage has in turn helped to perpetuate the stereotype of blacks as lazy and the black poor as undeserving. (p. 205) [emphasis added]

Gilens adds that such a view of poverty taints public opinion about welfare issues, causing discontent and the dominance of “undeserving” as the main modifier for the (particularly black) poor. The result of such treatment by the media is a surge of public opinion that is anti-welfare,⁵ not only causing the situations of some impoverished to worsen, but also to further dramatize the issue by creating more negative images for the media to exploit. But, while images of African Americans dominate the coverage of the undeserving poor, such effects on welfare politics are only a piece of the puzzle.

Van Dijk (1991) shows the importance of print media (although he explains that all media have relevant effects) in determining not only *what* media consumers think about a particular issue, but also—and more importantly—, *how* they think about the issue. His analysis of news coverage of ethnic affairs in Britain and the Netherlands in the 1980s yields some astounding results. He finds that not only do the press have significant *initial* influence on readers, but that content also has a “lasting effect on people’s ‘social knowledge.’” More strikingly, van Dijk concludes “[that] virtually *no* reader challenges the structural forces and sustaining ideologies … defined by the authorities and the Press” (p. 244) [emphasis added]. Thus, the press can be seen as a medium for generating viewpoints or frames among readers in a clandestine manner. For van Dijk, he found this relationship in the framing of immigration and other ethnic affairs for Britain and the Netherlands, but such influence could filter into virtually any social issue. Thus, with the effects of media bias constructed along racial lines contributing to

⁵ The media is surely not the sole reason that American welfare is racialized. For more on race and welfare, see Jill Quadagno’s *The Color of Welfare* (1994).

public opinion, public cynicism, political disengagement, and of course racism, there is surely evidence to support the contention that media has a significant impact on public opinion and political behavior.

Beyond the exploration and documentation of the numerous effects media has on the larger society, the issues of how media outlets cause such effects, and in what ways these powers may be abused, become relevant. While there are a number of possible approaches to injecting bias into news, this study explores racial bias specifically.

Van Dijk (1991) found that the press was able to influence public opinion regarding race and ethnicity in a number of ways. He states:

Stories, topics, style, and rhetoric are all geared towards a definition of the ethnic situation that tends to confirm prevalent stereotypes and attitudes ... In this perspective, the many crime and violence stories, and especially the dramatic 'riot' coverage, appeal to and confirm feelings of insecurity among many readers. Similarly, the stories on the problems of immigration, alleged 'positive discrimination' in housing and employment, or the anti-racist policies of left-wing councils, *are primarily defined as a threat to the interest of 'ordinary' British taxpayers.* (p. 251) [emphasis added]

This approach to reporting on controversial issues of high social importance is problematic in a number of ways. First, van Dijk explains that the writers' choice of styles, topics, and rhetoric all feed into the common stereotypes and attitudes of the time and place. While this approach may be telling a story to readers in the shape they wish to receive it (reifying their previous beliefs), reporting news in this way is far from objective. Further, such a crooked approach to reporting can create grave misperceptions among media consumers, resulting in a tainted political climate. Second, the systematic treatment of most (or all) issues in such a manner simply furthers stereotypes and

misperceptions. The act of framing issues to tell a narrow version of a story, while seemingly paradigmatic in today's journalistic world, seriously hinders the level of service provided to the reader.

Entman and Rojecki (2000) offer some explanations as to why some journalists choose to report on issues in racialized ways. They begin by defining today's journalistic patterns using economic terms. Accordingly, these patterns are "externalities," "the by-products of more or less rational profit seeking behavior by media organizations facing intense and increasing economic competition for the positive attention of White-dominated mass audiences." Additionally, "Ratings and market research increasingly inform decisions, *whether about news coverage or entertainment plots*" (p. 73 [emphasis added]). Such market research shows that what media consumers expect is not traditional "hard news," but entertaining news (commonly referred to as *infotainment*). Entman and Rojecki also explain, "*there is nothing in 'reality' that compels the presentations of African Americans that the media offer*. What we see and do not see reflects a combination of forces that, with alteration, could result in different representations that are no less defensible" (p. 77) [emphasis original]. Thus, the media relay *partial* information, telling only part of a story. These bounds may be set by outside forces such as economic or political influences, or by tacitly following norms and stereotypes, of which "journalists are only imperfectly aware" (p. 77). For Entman and Rojecki, it is this disconnect between tacit assumptions and their influence on coverage that contributes to the slanted portrayal of news today.

Johnson (1987) took a quite different approach when analyzing news coverage of race in Boston. He sampled local media for a 30-day period to see 1) what messages the

media were sending about “local blacks” and 2) how accurately those messages reflected reality. To do this, Johnson not only drew from major media outlets, but from alternative, black-owned media outlets as well. Consequently, Johnson’s findings were quite shocking. While there were obvious differences in the media messages distributed by the two distinct types of outlets, Johnson found a number of socially important stories portraying blacks in a positive light that were completely absent from *all* white-owned media. He states:

[T]he evidence suggests that major-media news about Boston’s predominantly black neighborhoods is biased in the direction of commonly held stereotypes about blacks and the poor. Stories featuring crime and violence dominate almost to the exclusion of stories that would reflect the true diversity of the black community, so that a typical news consumer might easily come to associate the prevailing negative images with *all* inner-city blacks. (50-51 [emphasis added])

While these reporting practices are obviously a problem to the community for which they are to serve, Johnson was mostly troubled with the major (white-owned) media’s ability to completely ignore important issues that did not portray African Americans in a negative light. Further, “Even when stories dealt with bald-faced injustices and black-community disenchantment, most reporters *failed to acknowledge racism* as an underlying mechanism” (p. 52, [emphasis added]).

Although the avoidance of making such an obvious connection may be striking to some, much of the aforementioned research helps to explain the media’s growing shift toward upholding—perhaps superficially—the norm of equality. While there has been a stark decrease in the likelihood of race to be explicitly identified (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005; Campbell, et al., 2006), covert forms of racial description have become

increasingly important. Accordingly, racial codes have been used to fill the gap left by the overall transition to color-blind racism. Thus, while the news articles of old may have overtly stated the race of key characters, contemporary news coverage is more likely to mention the NAACP, or as quite common in my research, reference the Rev. Al Sharpton or other key minority figures as an apparent indicator. Although such ploys may be invisible to some, or obvious to others, the discussion of race in a covert manner is not without consequences.

As previous research has shown the tremendous role that media institutions play in our society, the existence (or not) of journalistic tendencies and patterns used to present race-related coverage should be of great importance to the field of sociology. Due to the acceptance of minimally regulated commercial media as the primary source of political and social information here in the U.S., the abilities of our media outlets to wield power over consumers has become increasingly evident. Thus, an understanding of the relationship between media outlets and their coverage of race issues would greatly advance the sociological understanding of inequalities. With such knowledge, social scientists may be better equipped to accurately comprehend and explain social issues. In addition, and of equal—if not greater—importance, the findings and potential implications of research may be of use to the media system itself, possibly clearing a more navigable path to truly “fair and balanced” journalism.

As has been discussed above, there is much research showing that racism is not only perpetuated by media through slanted discourse, but also through implicit discussions or sheer ignorance of race issues. It is this array of approaches to covering

race issues, coupled with the potential rewards of developing a greater understanding of those approaches, which provoke this research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Regardless of a societal need for an understanding of how race is treated in the media, research exploring the possible role that racial codes—and to a much greater extent, the inverted pyramid structure—may play in the framing of print news is surely lacking. Moreover, an examination of the inverted pyramid’s potential role in the implementation of racial bias—especially using content analysis methods—is to my knowledge nonexistent. While this may be due to the fact that content analysis offers no precise way to determine the exact intentions of the author (this could only be derived from interviews), significant knowledge about how the *New York Times* (*Times*) and *Columbia Daily Tribune* (*Tribune*) treat race issues can be gained from such research. Altogether, this study seeks to explore the possible roles that racial codes and the inverted pyramid play as injectors of racial bias in print media. These ends will be sought with the following **research questions**:

- 1) How—and to what extent—are racial codes used in the *Tribune* and *Times* news coverage?
- 2) Does the inverted pyramid method play a role in de-racializing news coverage in the *Tribune* and *Times*?

METHODS

Content analysis has long been known as a methodological tool for use by social scientists and others interested in exploring and/or explaining the semiotic nature of communication. For this study, content analysis methods offer an appealing avenue for surveying the semantics within (de)racialized media coverage. Indeed, “[c]ontent analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter” in order to discern a broader, clearer meaning from the content than is often seen at first glance (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 3). Most importantly, it is the process of familiarization with the data that allows a content analysis to yield reliable and meaningful results.

Pilot Study

In an attempt to analyze how print media outlets treat race issues via covert means, I conducted a pilot study content analysis of newspaper articles. Accordingly, I collected a small sample of *Times* and *Tribune* articles about race for preliminary analysis. Given the nature of coding and analysis, my work with the data throughout the project had an integral role in shaping how I was to proceed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Beginning with open coding, I perused the data looking for patterns. Most strikingly, I found repeated use of racial codes and some suppression of racial discourse via the inverted pyramid. As my work with the data progressed, axial coding allowed me to narrow and further conceptualize the path my research was taking. Ultimately, this stage of the pilot study resulted in the focus on both *textual* and *visual* racial codes. Finally, the selective coding stage allowed for the solidifying of codes to be used in the

content analysis. Although recent research has shown that words such as “welfare” and “inner-city” have come to be seen as racial code words (Gilens, 1996; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005), the pilot study illuminated numerous others. Indeed, “Hurricane Katrina,” “integration,” “gang,” “projects,” “social conflict,” “diversity,” and names such as “Al Sharpton” and “Rodney King” were all common implicit racial cues in the data.

Additionally, I should clarify though, that the transitions between stages of coding were fluid, and not necessarily unidirectional. The process of developing and elucidating codes proved to be complex and, at times, discouraging. But, continued work with the data yielded codes and concepts that were central to asking and answering the stated research questions.

Data Collection and Management

From November 2006 thru January 2007, data was drawn from two newspaper sources. While this time frame is not overly significant, the amount of data available in three months of coverage will allow for the selection of a representative sample of news articles while limiting the size of my sample. One small local paper, the *Tribune*, and one large national paper, the *Times*, were used due to the vast differences between the two.

From the data collected, a purposive sample was taken by content—coverage that was racial (either explicitly or implicitly)—and all *news* articles⁶ that fit the stated criteria were included in the sample.⁷ The focus on news articles instead of all articles about race is functional for one distinct reason. Past research has noted difficulties in deciphering

⁶ News may be defined as a report “in which new information is given about recent events” (van Dijk, 1988).

⁷ See Appendix for a complete list of articles included in the dataset.

intent when analyzing content in articles published in print sections such as “feature” or “editorial” (Downing & Husband, 2005). Thus, while a text may clearly embody racism or other overt biases, it may be difficult (if not impossible) to prove that the author was not using sarcasm due to the sectional location of the article(s). Therefore, using only news articles as an inclusion/exclusion principle for my sample will allow me to maintain validity, while also limiting the size of my dataset.

While the method of handpicking articles may appear to be overly time consuming and thus inefficient, it was necessary to personally collect and sample the data by hand due to the nature of the research. Thus, given that I studied articles where race was both explicitly and implicitly covered, search engines were not a reliable source to obtain articles that contain racial issues, yet are only referred to in a clandestine manner. For example, an article about a murder between people of different races may never explicate the races of the individuals or discuss race as an issue at all, all the while keeping the issue ever present. This may be done through the use of indirect code words strongly associated with a particular race (Mendelberg, 2001; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005; Wheelock & Hartmann, 2007; Piliawsky, 1984; Campbell, et al., 2006). In addition to the shortcomings of search engines for use in this research, dealing with hard copies of the data allowed for the collection of important information that, from online databases, is often unavailable or unreliable. Accordingly, as the data was sampled, publication dates, titles, and page numbers were recorded for later analysis.

After the data was collected and sampled, it was then prepared for analysis. Given the convenience of online databases, I utilized LexisNexis Academic and the *Tribune*’s online archives to obtain electronic copies of the desired articles. This allowed

me to enter the data into the textual analysis program, Qualrus, with ease. While paper copies of the newspaper articles were filed by publication, the electronic copies were managed in a multitude of ways. Electronic data was kept in both Microsoft Word and Qualrus. Additionally, files were saved in numerous places, such as my home computer, flash drive, and an external hard drive. Such a diversification of data storage assured that the electronic data necessary for the content analysis was not lost or damaged.

Content Analysis

After performing the pilot study and fully compiling and preparing the dataset, I began conducting the content analysis. Consequently, the data was coded utilizing a number of different codes necessary to answer the stated research questions. The codes consisted of “photo of race,” “explicit language,” “code word,” “explicit language in title,” “code word in title,” and “inverted pyramid.” Although the meaning of some codes may be quite obvious and/or previously stated, a straightforward definition of each is important to ensure the reliability of the results.

Accordingly, the code “code word” was used to identify implicit textual references to race. Language such as “Hurricane Katrina,” “integration,” “gang,” “projects,” “social conflict,” “diversity,” “Al Sharpton,” and “Rodney King”—derived from the pilot study—were all marked as racial code words. It is important to note that the role of these words as racial codes is contingent upon the context in which they are used. Thus, every instance in which these words were used was not necessarily coded as a code word. In order to be coded as a code word, other implicit racial indicators needed to be present. Therefore, if an article was accompanied by a racialized photograph or

waited to explicate race as an issue until after the code word was initially used,⁸ it was then coded as a code word.

In addition to its role in determining the relevance of code words, the code “photo of race” was also used to determine the presence of *visual* racial codes. This code was utilized where a photograph of a person in a marked racial category (i.e. non-white) was present. Importantly, the role of photographs was also vital in the exploration of inverted pyramid’s hand in de-racialization.

Given recent research showing common readers’ propensity to give less attention to lower-positioned text (Outing & Ruel, 2004), spatial representation of race was an important part of my analysis. As a result, the “inverted pyramid” code was used to refer to the textual ignorance of race until after the mid-point of the article. Yet while suppressing discussions of race to latter portions of an article may often signify de-racialization, this indicator, in itself, is surely not a perfect one.

Importantly, the presence of *anterior racial indicators* outside the *body* of text (i.e. title and photograph) may severely alter the effects of spatial suppression of racial discussions *within* the body of text. Thus, evaluating spatial representation, language, and photographs altogether is necessary in order to arrive at an accurate assessment of the inverted pyramid’s role in erasing race. Consequently, *explicit* racial appeals such as “black,” “white,” “race,” and “racism” were also coded. Most importantly, the codes “explicit language in title” and “code word in title”—coupled with the previously described “photo of race” code—were used to determine whether or not an article contained any anterior indicators of race that might negate the impact of spatial

⁸ This pattern *may* also indicate the presence of the inverted pyramid method as a way to de-racialize an article.

suppression of race within the body of the article. Altogether, the execution of the stated methods yielded some interesting results.

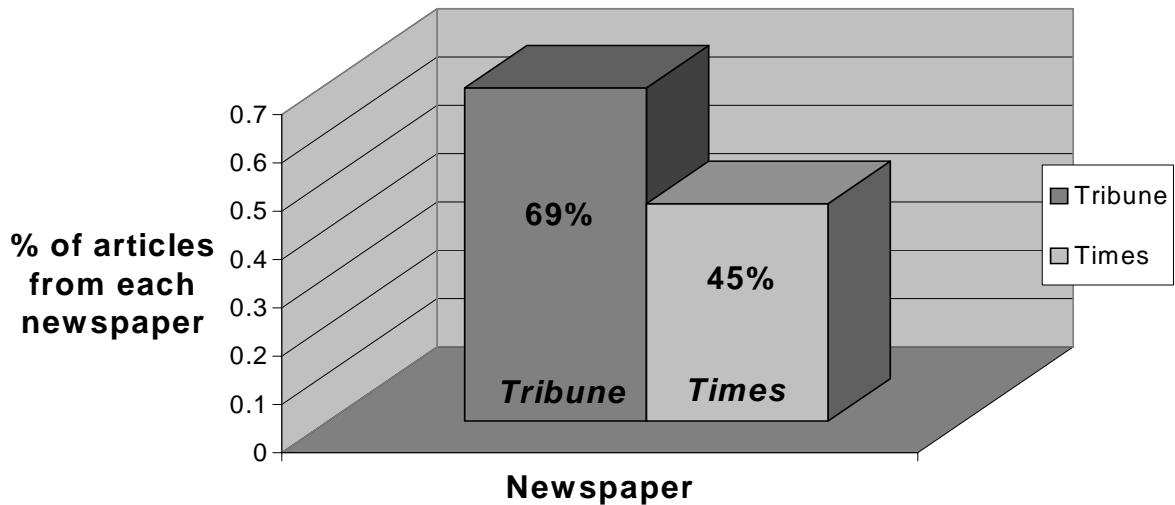
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In an attempt to further explore and explain the relationship between racism and the press, I conducted a content analysis of *Times* and *Tribune* news articles discussing race issues. The path of questioning, coding, and creatively exploring the data was an interesting and surprising one. In the early stages of this project, I was not sure where my analysis would lead. Is my data rich enough? Am I asking the right questions? Where will the data lead me? These were questions I could not wait to answer.

Accordingly, I jumped into the analysis stage, as expected, not sure of what questions I would ask nor what possible answers may follow. I tried to let the data speak for itself. What patterns was I seeing? What was striking about the news coverage? The answers to these questions were the result of the open coding that took place as I collected and familiarized myself with the data.

What was most striking to me in the initial collection and coding process was the overwhelming role that code words played in the discussion of race for both the *Times* and the *Tribune*. As Campbell, et al. (2006) show, the use of code words is quite prevalent in the *Times'* discussion of race. But how prevalent are they in small town newspapers' approaches to race? Does the *Tribune* utilize code words similarly? Would both papers treat the same story in the same manner? This was the first path of exploration that my research traveled down.

Graph 1- Percentage from each newspaper that utilized code words as the initial indicator of race



As expected, the *Times*' discussion of race was riddled with code words. Of their forty news articles in my dataset eighteen (45%) utilized code words to introduce race as an issue (see Graph 1 above). While this may not seem like a striking finding, the relevancy of this should not go unnoticed. Although Mendelberg (2001), Hurwitz & Peffley (2005), Gilens (1996 & 1999), Edsall and Edsall (1991), Jamieson (1992), and Campbell, et al. (2006) all demonstrate how commonplace code words have become, they do not explore the role of *where* code words are utilized. Thus, the finding that the *Times* relies on code words as the *initial* indicator of race in almost half of their articles discussing the topic is a notable proclivity.

Even more striking is the apparent propensity of the *Tribune* to rely on code words to introduce race as an issue. Of their twenty-nine articles in the dataset, twenty (about 69%) chose code words as the racial icebreaker (see Graph 1 above). Given this

finding, the ironic conclusion that code words play a dominant (although passive) role in the discussion of race issues has led me to further explore how race was *introduced*.

It is seemingly common knowledge that the role of a title is to inform the reader of where a piece of written work may lead them. Consequently, I tested the role that the title plays in preparing the reader for what is to follow. To do so, I analyzed each title in relation to its article. Interestingly enough, both newspapers had very similar approaches to titling. Of the *Times*' forty articles, seventeen (42.5%) indicated race as an issue in the title, either through code words or an overt mention of race or racism. Similarly, twelve of the *Tribune*'s twenty-nine articles (about 41%) made race an issue in the title. What is striking about this is not the sheer numbers, but the patterns by which the articles follow.

For most articles that justify the utilization of the title as a “warning,” the outcome is an obvious discussion of race, whether overt or through the repeated use of code words. Moreover, the type of language used in the title (either explicit or implicit) was often a predictor of how the body of the article would discuss race as well. Thus, articles that accompanied a title with code words were likely to continue to use other race-related code words throughout the article. Understandably, articles that were titled to *explicate* race as an issue (i.e. using words like “race,” “racist,” “African American,” “Hispanic,” etc.) were overwhelmingly likely to continue their explicit discussion of race in the body of the article. While the title is an obvious indicator for the topic of an article, this is a noteworthy finding due to the additional correlation between word choice in a title and word choice in the article itself.

In addition to the title being an indicator of the topic a given article, photographs also play a role. In fact, twenty-one (52.5%) *Times* articles in the dataset were

accompanied by a photo of a non-white person(s). While these numbers are a bit higher than for the *Tribune* (ten photos or about 34%), this difference should be somewhat expected due to the size and budget differences between the two. Additionally, Campbell et al. (2006) also found a steady growth in the *Times'* use of photographs to (although somewhat covertly) bring out the issue of race over the past half-century. Understandably then, the *Times'* use of photographs that accompany articles covering race issues should be no surprise.

While the methods used by both the *Times* and the *Tribune* to bring the discussion of race to the forefront before the article even begins are mostly effective, the option to avoid such explication of race as an issue was also a factor for a number of the articles. Of all forty *Times* articles in the dataset, only twenty-eight (70%) provided indicators that race was an issue (either with explicit or code words in the title, or with photos), prior to the start of the article. Similarly, only seventeen (58.6%) of the *Tribune* articles in the dataset gave any such anterior indicator. Given these findings, it is important to consider what is missing. What of the twenty-four (35%) articles in the dataset that did not indicate race as a factor prior to the start of the article?

Although those twenty-four articles are evenly distributed between the two papers (twelve articles from each), the stories the numbers tell are a quite different. Thus, while only 30% of *Times* articles discussing race issues were without leading indicators, 41% of *Tribune* articles did not have any. The contrast here cannot be explained away quite as easily. While the budget of the *Tribune* may play a bit of a factor in disallowing a reliance on photographs to help prime the reader, the paper's ability to title articles appropriately is unlikely hindered by *outside* constraints. That is, while the *Tribune* is, to

an extent, powerless against forces such as readership size and budget, the ability and willingness to utilize racial indicators prior to a discussion of race (either overt or covert) is only bounded by the news outlet itself. While this assertion may help elucidate the *choices* of the *Tribune*, an explanation for the *Times'* practices has yet to be found.

Given the *Times'* reputation as a “liberal” newspaper that is lauded across the globe (Seligman, 2001), it is to be expected that its reporting on controversial topics would be more straightforward than the average newspaper. So, when the findings suggest that the *Times* is more likely than other papers to treat controversial issues of race with ample respect, thus discussing them openly, it should not be surprising.⁹ But regardless of reputation, both the *Times* and the *Tribune* showed an (at least partial) inclination to avoid explicit discussions of race at times. We will now shift to a discussion of other avenues for the inoculation of racial bias.

In addition to the examination of the use of code words and other anterior indicators of race, I also explored the role that the inverted pyramid method may play in the structuring of news articles discussing race. While this method is considered a standard of the contemporary press (Poettker, 2003; Eveland, 2003), its role in controversial discussions may be of great importance.

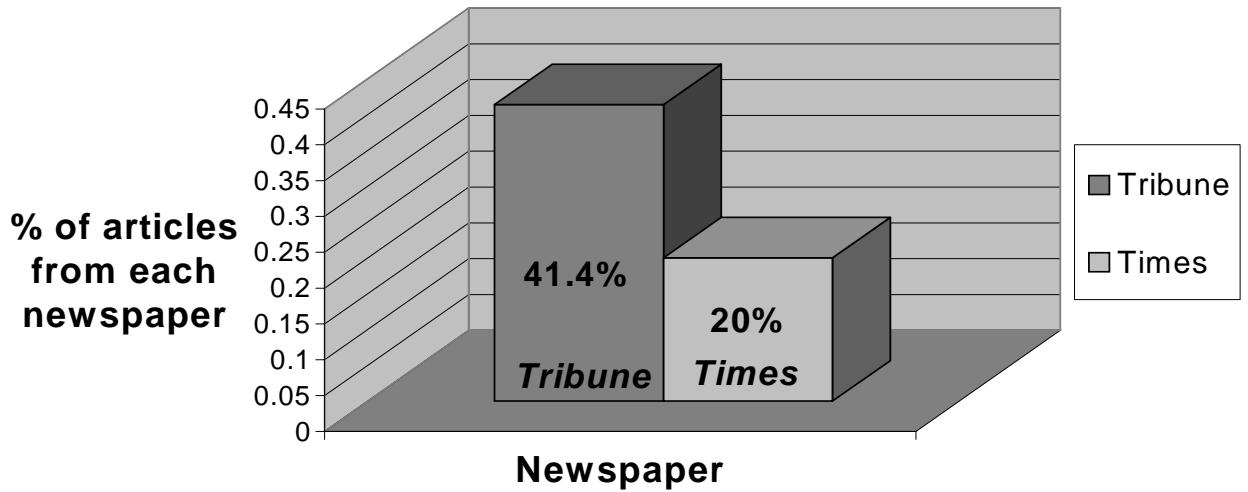
Of the forty *Times* articles in the dataset, eight (20%) were found to utilize the inverted pyramid structure to conceal discussions of race (see Graph 2 below). Of those eight, seven of them (17.5%) also lacked any anterior indicators of race (through either a title or photo), thus giving no mention of race as an issue until the depths of the article (see Graph 3 below). Although conclusions from these 20% could be drawn as alarming

⁹ Ideally, research comparing the *Times'* coverage of race to at least one “conservative” paper would be necessary to fully support this point. Unfortunately, I do not have such data.

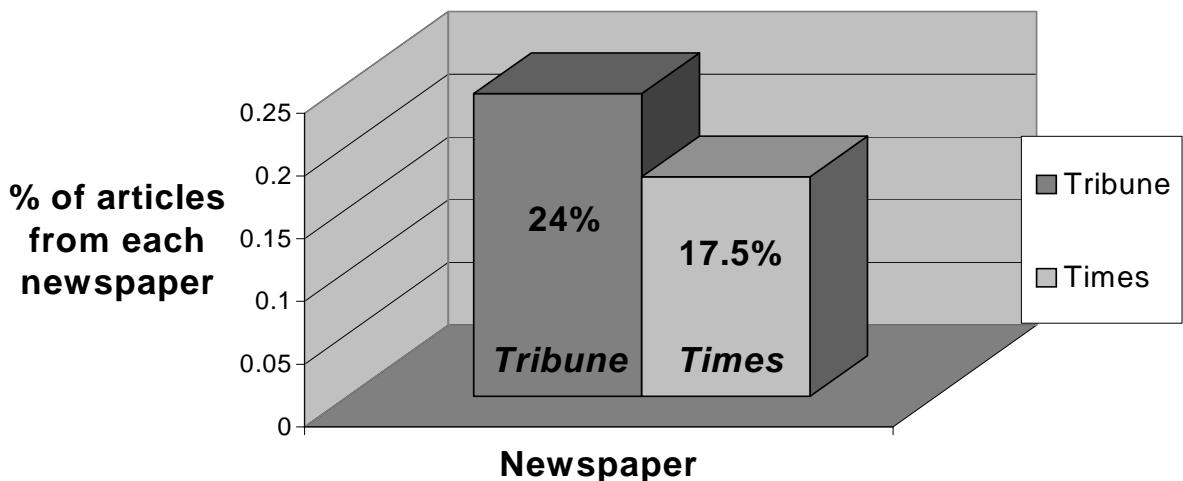
and surely problematic, we should also be reminded of those 80% of *Times* articles that did allow for some unsuppressed discussion of race.

Contrastingly, the story told by the *Tribune* articles paints a completely different picture. Of the twenty-nine *Tribune* articles in the dataset, twelve (41%) were found to utilize the inverted pyramid structure to conceal discussion of race (see Graph 2 below). Of those twelve, seven (24%) were also without any anterior indicators of race as an issue (see Graph 3 below). The strength of this finding is not only rooted in the spatial bias put into discussions of race, but also in the popularity of the inverted pyramid's use to the *Tribune* to suppress racial discourse.

Graph 2- Percentage of articles from each newspaper utilizing the inverted pyramid method to suppress discussions of race



Graph 3- Percentage of articles from each newspaper that both utilize the inverted pyramid structure and lack anterior indicators



For the *Tribune*, its utilization of the inverted pyramid method to truly suppress racialization in almost a quarter of the articles *might* be construed as an intentional and racist ploy. But what would we learn from such a conclusion? How do such accusations (even if legitimate) help us build an understanding of how the press covers race issues? The truth is, not much. Unfortunately for those looking to place blame, discovering an individual's or media outlet's motive(s) is difficult, if not impossible, to derive. But regardless of the availability of such information, sociology still has little use for discovering intent, as it has little to no bearing on the social repercussions of a given action. Fittingly, sociologists are primarily concerned with social *action* and it's subsequent effects. So, what consequences follow a choice to covertly discuss race? How might a few key choices about *if* and *how* to cover a social issue influence the status quo?

As research has repeatedly shown, the ability of the media to influence its “consumers” is overwhelming (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenwald, 2006; Dreier, 2005; Gandy, 2001; Gilens, 1999; Mutz & Soss, 1997; van Dijk, 1991; Hartmann & Husband, 1974). While this capability was found through the examination of numerous types of coverage, each having their own distinctive characteristics, recent research has also shown the increasing propensity to substitute racial codes for explicit discussions of race (Mendelberg, 2001; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005; Campbell et al., 2006; Entman & Rojecki, 2000). Additionally, Domke (2001) has also documented the subsequent repercussions of clandestine discussions of race. Given the growing tendency to de-racialize texts, either by a complete aversion to an overt discussion or by slowly wading into a sea of racial controversy, this trend may prove to carry greater social consequences as such procedures are further institutionalized.

Po“ttker (2003) explains that the prominence of the inverted pyramid structure¹⁰ is partly rooted in a cyclical pattern created by journalistic institutions. Given the nature of universities and other training organizations, their task is to prepare future workers for a career. Consequently, training consists, in part, of bringing future journalists up to speed on the *standards* of the trade. It is this process that results in the reification of journalistic norms. This is a notable distinction due to its ability to clarify and expand our understanding of how the realities of contemporary journalism are socially constructed and reproduced. Accordingly, we can confidently infer that such conditions are not natural or inevitable, but a product of institutionalization. This distinction will be

¹⁰ Po“ttker (2003) discusses the inverted pyramid as a *general* method for the press to report news. I have not found *any* research to date exploring the inverted pyramid’s potential role as an injector of bias.

particularly useful for those interested in learning more about what can be done about contemporary realities in the U.S. media system.

CONCLUSION

Bonilla-Silva's (2003) contention that the contemporary United States is an environment that is still riddled *with* (not rid of) racism may help to shed light on this increasingly popular approach to the coverage of race issues. Indeed, the prevalence of covert discussions of race is part and parcel of the growing problem of color-blind racism itself. Given the media's ability to both influence and cater to the public, such an aversion to a complete and overt discussion of issues involving race may only act to further perpetuate the problems of color-blind racism.

Overwhelmingly, research has shown that choices made by media outlets have a lasting effect on the society they "serve." The ability and willingness to buy and sell the myth of a colorblind society to the masses only serves to further reproduce and dissemble problems that many truly are blind to. And while racial codes have become a popular method to disguise racial issues and engrain a color-blind racist ideology, there is also evidence indicating the ability and willingness of media outlets to exploit the inverted pyramid method in order to de-racialize texts.

As shown above, 41% of *Tribune* articles and 20% of *Times* articles utilized the inverted pyramid method as a means to spatially suppress coverage of race issues. And while a majority of those *Times* articles using the inverted pyramid to suppress discussions of race also lacked anterior indicators (87.5%), only 58% from the *Tribune*'s

portion utilizing spatial bias lacked anterior indicators. Considering that the *Tribune* showed a much stronger habit of using code words as the initial indicator of race (69% of their articles) compared to the *Times*' 45%, we might conclude that the *Tribune* is much more likely to avoid overt discussions of race than the *Times*. This is especially true given that the *Tribune* is twice as likely to utilize the inverted pyramid to suppress discussions of race than the *Times*. Yet, if the *Times* does utilize the inverted pyramid approach to spatially suppress race as an issue, they are much more likely to also avoid anterior indicators of race.

Given the findings of this research, it is obvious that the *Times* and the *Tribune* use racial codes as a prominent method for dealing with race. Moreover, the inverted pyramid method has also been shown as a notable, if not common means to de-racialize texts. Clearly though, there are limitations to this study, such as the minuscule number of newspapers, limited time frame, small dataset, lack of outside coder, and the lack of historical analysis. While these limitations do not fully negate the findings of this research, they do pose some significant obstacles. Most notably, the inclusion of only two newspapers, narrow time frame, and relatively small dataset bring into question how generalizeable these findings really are. Additionally, a historical analysis of how the *Times* and *Tribune* report race issues would greatly reinforce the ground underneath much of this research.¹¹ Further, the lack of an outside coder brings into question the replicability of these findings. But, regardless of the limitations to this study, the implications of the stated findings remain troublesome.

¹¹ I should clarify that while I have drawn on a narrow bit of historical analysis of the *Times*' coverage of race issues (Campbell et al., 1996), such research on the *Tribune*'s past is, to my knowledge, nonexistent.

Most importantly, these findings point to a mixture of de-racialization in the contemporary American press. Unquestionably, implicit racial appeals have been proven to have astounding effects on public and political opinion (Mendelberg, 2001; Domke, 2001; Valentino, et al., 2002; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Given the relative ease with which news outlets can effectively de-racialize news coverage, it seems that the press' propensity for making implicit racial appeals is likely to continue to flourish. Additionally, the utilization of the inverted pyramid method to hide discussions of race yields differing societal results. While racial codes allow for the apparent erasure of race in American political and social discourse, the inverted pyramid allows for a more realistic erasure, only further complicating the “problem” of race in America. Thus, in a “media-obsessed” society such as the United States, the ostensible erasure of race via covert language and spatial misrepresentation are likely to compound, painting yet another, even clearer, picture of a color-blind America for the public to happily lap up.

Although these findings are convincingly telling of the tendencies shown when reporting on race issues, additional research is needed to further test and elucidate the role of racial codes and—even more so—the inverted pyramid in press coverage of race. Further, while some might think it reasonable to generalize that indirect racial codes (and to a lesser extent, the inverted pyramid approach) are commonly used in avoidance of overt discussions of race by numerous print media providers in the U.S., given the diversity of the two papers, and the role of the *Times* as an example for others to follow (Seligman, 2001), much research is still needed to explore such possibilities. And despite the possibility that the findings of this research may be somewhat predictive of potential tendencies of print media outlets beyond the two included in this study, we should be

reminded that each media outlet (at least in theory) makes its own choices about how to cover an issue and whether or not to fall in line with the published approaches of other establishments.

Finally, I should clarify, once and for all, that I am in no way claiming that any of the authors or newspapers included in this study were either intent upon, or even conscious of, the results and consequences of their approach. Alas, such is another alarming indicator of the difficulties that color-blind racism emits into our social world. Given the dominant role that the media plays in contemporary society, and the cyclical fashion in which the media works, both in the training institutions and reinforcement of social norms (partially prescribed by the media itself), solutions may be even less noticeable than the problem itself. And given the public's perpetual proclivity to take media reports at face value and buy into the color-blind myth, an escape clause is ostensibly left out of the loop. Indeed, unless society can find a way to come together and combat these issues at once, thus putting an end to the *erasure* of race, it seems that, at least implicitly, "race will *always* be at the center of the American experience" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 5).

APPENDIX

List of newspaper articles in dataset

Newspaper	Article Title	Date	Page Number
<i>New York Times</i>	“Helping Turn Dreamers Into Doctors”	11/17/06	26
<i>New York Times</i>	“Schools Slow In Closing Gaps Between Races”	11/20/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“From Projects To Penthouse, It's One Family”	11/23/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Police Kill Woman, 92, In Shootout at Her Home”	11/23/06	24
<i>New York Times</i>	“Plans to Honor Two Cultures At Home in One City Park”	11/24/06	18
<i>New York Times</i>	“Another Social Conflict Confronts New Orleans”	11/26/06	16
<i>New York Times</i>	“Police Kill Man After a Bachelor Party in Queens”	11/26/06	29
<i>New York Times</i>	“A Day After a Fatal Shooting, Questions, Mourning and Protest”	11/27/06	20
<i>New York Times</i>	“Mayor Focuses On Dialogue In the Aftermath”	11/27/06	20
<i>New York Times</i>	“50 Shots Fired, And the Experts Offer a Theory”	11/27/06	20
<i>New York Times</i>	“Bloomberg Calls 50 Shots by the Police 'Unacceptable'”	11/28/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Atlanta Officers Suspended In Inquiry on Killing in Raid”	11/28/06	16
<i>New York Times</i>	“Lawyers Debate Why Blacks Lag At Major Firms”	11/29/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Paris Soccer 'Ultras' at Center of Furor Over Fan's Death”	11/29/06	3
<i>New York Times</i>	“Anger Undimmed in Atlanta At Killing of Aged Woman”	11/29/06	21
<i>New York Times</i>	“After Fatal Shooting by Police, Kelly Looks Ahead, and Back”	11/30/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Plain Clothes, Perilous Choices”	12/1/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Police Shooting Reunites Circle of Common Loss”	12/2/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Fire Chief Steps Down In Los Angeles In Bias Case”	12/2/06	10

Newspaper	Article Title	Date	Page Number
<i>New York Times</i>	“This Time, Some Black Leaders See a Mayor They Can Stand By”	12/3/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Straight 'A' Student? Good Luck Making Partner”	12/3/06	‘Week In Review,’ 3
<i>New York Times</i>	Officer's Request for 2 Blacks to Rap Stirs Furor ””	12/4/06	22
<i>New York Times</i>	“Court Reviews Race as Factor In School Plans”	12/5/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Black Lawmakers Set to Take Crucial Posts Face Pressure”	12/5/06	21
<i>New York Times</i>	“Gulf Hurricane Evacuees Remain in the Grip of Uncertainty”	12/6/06	1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Hawaii Schools' Racial Enrollment Upheld”	12/6/06	19
<i>New York Times</i>	“Rosie Lee Tompkins, African-American Quiltmaker, Dies at 70”	12/6/06	21
<i>New York Times</i>	“The Pattern May Change, If”	12/10/06	‘Week in Review,’ 1
<i>New York Times</i>	“Brown v. Board of Education, Second Round”	12/10/06	‘Week in Review,’ 3
<i>New York Times</i>	“New Orleans Voters Support Their Man Over F.B.I.”	12/11/06	24
<i>New York Times</i>	“50 Bullets, One Dead, and Many Questions”	12/11/06	25
<i>New York Times</i>	“Doubt Cast on Black Air Group's Perfect Record”	12/12/06	28
<i>New York Times</i>	“Adjusting a Formula Devised for Diversity”	12/13/06	31
<i>New York Times</i>	“With 101 Homicides, Newark Nears a Bleak Milestone”	12/17/06	38
<i>New York Times</i>	“Protesters Flood Fifth Avenue to Denounce Police Killing of Unarmed Man”	12/17/06	39
<i>New York Times</i>	“Stars and Strife: Flag Rule Splits Town”	12/18/06	20
<i>New York Times</i>	“An Inward Look At Racial Tension At Trinity College”	12/18/06	24
<i>New York Times</i>	“Georgia Man Fights Conviction as Molester”	12/19/06	22
<i>New York Times</i>	“Hispanic Teenagers With Outsider Roots Are Finding a Way In”	12/31/06	16
<i>New York Times</i>	“Murders in Houston Rise to 12-Year High; Mayor Cites Storm”	1/2/07	11

Newspaper	Article Title	Date	Page Number
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Quest continues for outside panel to review police”	11/18/06	14A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Scores create transfer option”	11/18/06	1A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Attorney says judge's ruling favors district”	11/21/06	12A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Activist calls for query into police shooting”	11/25/06	2A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Black ministers preach the ills of smoking to St. Louis youths”	11/26/06	12A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Police shooting kills man on wedding day”	11/26/06	13A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Community holds a vigil for groom slain by police”	11/27/06	5A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Bloomberg meets with man's family”	11/28/06	10A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Blair condemns slave trade but doesn't apologize”	11/30/06	8A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Supreme Court takes school diversity cases”	12/3/06	2A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Crowd gathers to mourn victim of NYPD shooting”	12/3/06	14A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“MAP belies students' progress”	12/3/06	18A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Not back to normal”	12/3/06	‘Perspective,’ front page
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“High court ponders legality of school integration policies”	12/4/06	5A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“‘Suspect’ gets to tell his story”	12/9/06	N/A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Most whites secretly racist, professor says”	12/10/06	‘Perspectives,’ back page
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“After 60 years, a demand for justice”	12/10/06	‘Perspectives,’ front page
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Field Elementary School reaching out to parents”	12/11/06	12A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Some hurricane victims die from broken hearts”	12/17/06	‘Perspectives,’ 4D
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“State agency gives district good report”	12/24/06	1A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Officers indicted in shootings after Hurricane Katrina”	12/29/06	10A

Newspaper	Article Title	Date	Page Number
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Brown still able to draw a crowd”	12/31/06	11A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Mall sets limits on teenagers”	1/8/07	1A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Hispanics could be swing voters of 2008”	1/10/07	10A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Ratliff's diligence honored”	1/11/07	12A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Atlanta honors King, keeper of his dream”	1/14/07	15A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Work never done, King's child says”	1/15/07	3A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Texas county worst for jailing innocent”	1/20/07	11A
<i>Columbia Daily Tribune</i>	“Atlanta faces new secession crisis”	1/24/07	12A

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