

**The Effects of Candidate Race and Gender on Press
Coverage of Political Campaigns:
An Intersectional Analysis**

Orlanda Ward

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of

University College London.

Department of Political Science

University College London

November 16th, 2016

I, Orlanda Ward, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the work.

Abstract

Political candidates rely on news media to communicate with voters. Existing scholarship shows that racial and gendered patterns of campaign news coverage are unfavourable to minorities and women seeking elected office. Yet, the intersectional effects of race *and* gender have rarely been considered in this context. Recent elections have seen stark rises in the racial diversity of female candidates for the UK House of Commons and US House of Representatives. Responding to these developments, this thesis asks: *What are the intersectional effects of race and gender on news coverage of political campaigns by minority women?* Employing an intersectional theoretical framework, I formulate hypotheses regarding the effects of candidates' racial and gendered identity on the amount, overall tone and content of campaign coverage they receive. Collectively, these hypotheses anticipate that most aspects of coverage will be least favourable for minority women, compared to similar candidates from other intersectional groups. A quantitative and qualitative content analysis is performed on local US, and national US and British newspaper coverage of matched samples of minority female, minority male, white female and white male candidates. The matching strategy and a series of explanatory models control for additional campaign, candidate and media factors which may affect coverage outcomes. The results show that minority women occupy a paradoxical position of hypervisibility and invisibility in the national press: a few individuals are singled out for exceptional attention while most candidates from this group struggle to receive recognition. In the local press, minority women receive less coverage than comparable white women, and less positive coverage than comparable candidates from all other groups. However, several of the hypotheses are unsupported: there little evidence of variation in the amount of viability or issue coverage candidates receive, and although stark differences emerge between the explicit and latent foregrounding of candidates' race and/or gender, many of the relevant news frames are surprisingly positive. The qualitative analysis does however, show continued scepticism and hostility to the progressive measures which are necessary for minority women's descriptive representation. More broadly, I argue that by considering only the effects of a single axis of identity, research on women or minorities in politics may run the risk of making claims that obscure the experiences of all but the most privileged within each group.

For Elsa, and all the sacrifices she made.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisors, Jennifer vanHeerde-Hudson and Meg Russell. Thank you both for your initial faith in this project, for your incredible generosity with your time and energy, and for the many moments when you challenged me to think harder and do better. I could not have asked for more.

I am also grateful for the support of many friends and colleagues at UCL's Department of Political Science. I have especially enjoyed working alongside Donna Arrondelle, Cathy Elliot, David Hudson, Javier Sajuria, Jean Paul Salter and Manu Savani over the past few years.

Beyond my department, I would like to express my thanks to Rosie Campbell and Jennifer for early access to data from the Parliamentary Candidates project, to Liz Evans, for helpful feedback on some of my UK findings, and Heather Savigny, for being a wonderful friend and mentor over the last few years. Special thanks also go to Akwugo Emejulu, Geetha Marcus, and the co-conveners of the landmark conference on Black Feminism, Womanism and the Politics of Women of Colour in Europe. It was a pleasure to be part of the team, and the event filled me with optimism during the final months of my write-up. In addition, completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the ESRC funding I received.

Across the pond, the research benefited immeasurably from my visit to the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. I am especially grateful to Susan Carroll, Kelly Dittmar, Kira Sanbonmatsu, Mary Nugent, Cathy Wineinger, Jessica Nevin and Christabel Cruz for the warm welcome and many insights you provided during my stay. Additionally, I would like to thank Nadia Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon, whose work is among that which initially inspired this thesis, and whose thoughtful editing greatly improved the first publication to emerge from my findings. My time in the US was made

particularly special by Jillian J. Foster. Thank you for all the important work you do, and all the great weekends we shared in Brooklyn and beyond.

On the home front, I am so grateful to my long-suffering parents, Elsa and Holden, my sister, Rivkha, and brothers, Louis and Zak for all their support, encouragement and good humour while I've been working on this. I am truly sorry for everything you've had to put up with! In addition, my fairy godmother, Julie Gibson, who stepped in with incredible generosity when I was at my lowest ebb. Thank you all for your unwavering faith in me.

Two friends in particular have been rocks for me over the past few years. Paolo (Poila) Morini, thank you for being there from the lows of the Stata battles to the highs of the Pride parades, Christmas cabaret, and eventual dance of the significant p values. Sanja (Zanushka) Djerasimovic, thank you for all the things we share and all the things you know like no other. In addition, huge gratitude is due to the most raucous group of girlfriends anyone could wish for: Alisa Berry-Ryan, Helen Charles, Laura Donohoe, Line Langebek, Tara Macpherson, Joyce Peters, Polly Trenow, Cathryn Setz, Sarah Solemani and Amy Walker. Also, babies Soraya, Kaia and Claudia—fearless leaders of the future!

Last, but certainly not least, Eddie Siow. My darling, my love, this is in no small part a testament to our teamwork.

Contents

Introduction	15
1.1 Question.....	15
1.2 Motivation and political context	16
1.3 Structure of the thesis	19
1.4 Contributions	27
Theoretical Framework: Intersectionality and its Implications	29
2.1 Crenshaw’s intersectionality.....	30
2.2 Limitations: A theory of everything?.....	33
2.3 Minority women as a political category	36
2.4 Methodological debates and implications	38
Literature Review: Race, Gender and News of Elections	43
3.1 Minority women and the frequency and tone of campaign coverage	46
3.1.1 Frequency of coverage.....	46
3.1.2 Tone of coverage	52
3.2 Viability versus substantive issue coverage	55
3.2.1 Viability or the horserace	56
3.3 Issues and substantive policy coverage.....	61
3.3.1 Frequency of issue coverage.....	62
3.3.2 Masculine, feminine and minority issues	64
3.4 Explicit and latent foregrounding of gender and race	68
3.4.1 Explicit foregrounding of gender and race.....	69
3.4.2 Latent foregrounding of gender and race.....	74
3.5 Summary	78
Data and Methods	80
4.1 Overview	80
4.2 Case selection.....	81

4.3 Candidate sampling and matching	85
4.3.1 Intersectional variation within the sampling frame	92
4.3.2 Matching strategy	93
4.4 Text sampling.....	97
4.4.1 Local US newspapers.....	98
4.4.2 National newspapers	99
4.5 Quantitative content analysis	101
4.6 Inter-coder agreement.....	104
4.7 Explanatory models	106
4.7.1 Control variables	107
4.8 Hypotheses and Estimation	108
4.9 Qualitative content analysis.....	110
4.9.1 Qualitative coding process	111
A Double-edged Sword? The Frequency and Tone of Campaign Coverage.....	114
5.1 Frequency of local US coverage.....	116
5.2 Frequency of national coverage in the US and Britain	127
5.3 Tone of coverage.....	143
5.4 Discussion.....	157
A Zero Sum Game? Viability and Issue Coverage	160
6.1 Viability coverage.....	162
6.1.1 Frequency of viability coverage	162
6.1.2 Tone of viability coverage.....	166
6.1.3 Intersectional viability frames	170
6.1.4 Candidates	171
6.1.5 Parties	175
6.1.6 Voters.....	179
6.2 Substantive issue coverage.....	184

6.2.1 Frequency of substantive issue coverage.....	184
6.2.2 ‘White/male’ issue coverage	190
6.2.3 ‘Minority/female’ issue coverage	197
6.3 Discussion.....	212
Signs of Progress? Explicit and Latent Foregrounding of Identity	215
7.1 Explicit foregrounding: Gender	217
7.2 Explicit foregrounding: Race	219
7.3 Framing descriptive and substantive representation	223
7.3.1 Descriptive representation.....	226
7.3.2 Substantive representation	237
7.4 Latent foregrounding: Personal coverage.....	249
7.4.1 Husbands and children in US local news	256
7.4.2 Personal coverage in the national press.....	259
7.5 Discussion.....	272
Conclusions	275
8.1 Key findings	275
8.2 Contributions	283
8.3 Limitations	289
8.4 Pathways for future research.....	292
Bibliography	297
Appendices	311
1: US leadership roles.....	311
2: Labour leadership roles	313
3: Conservative leadership roles	314
4: Liberal Democrat leadership roles	316
5: US sampling frame summary statistics by intersectional identity	317
6: British sampling frame summary statistics by intersectional identity.....	318

7: US matched sample summary statistics	319
8: British matched sample summary statistics	320
9: US candidate sample.....	321
10: British candidate sample	323
11: US local newspaper sample	326
12: US Issue Priorities	329
13: British issue priorities	330
14: Codebook.....	331
15: Coding notes	333
16: Inter-coder agreement: first round results US.....	336
17: Inter-coder agreement: first round results Britain	337
18: Inter-coder agreement: second round results US.....	338
19: Inter-coder agreement: second round results Britain.....	339
20: US local coverage summary statistics.....	340
21: US national coverage summary statistics.....	341
22: British national coverage summary statistics	342
23: US local: individual white male summary statistics.....	343
24: US local: individual white female summary statistics	344
25: US local: individual minority male summary statistics	345
26: US local: individual minority female summary statistics.....	346
27: US national: individual white male summary statistics	347
28: US national: individual white female summary statistics	348
29: US national: individual minority male summary statistics	349
30: US national: individual minority female summary statistics.....	350
31: British national: individual white male summary statistics	351
32: British national: individual white female summary statistics.....	352
33: British national: individual minority male summary statistics.....	353

34: British national: individual minority male summary statistics.....354

List of tables

Table 3.1 Stereotypical issue association by candidate identity	65
Table 4.1 Descriptive representation in the House of Representatives by intersectional identity (excluding delegates)	82
Table 4.2 Descriptive representation in House of Commons by intersectional identity	82
Table 4.3 Minority women’s descriptive representation in Canada and Sweden	85
Table 4.4 US and British major party candidates by intersectional identity	87
Table 4.5 US Race type by intersectional identity	88
Table 4.6 US & UK leadership roles by intersectional identity	91
Table 4.8 Ethnicity and gender among US minority candidates	93
Table 4.9 Ethnicity and gender among British minority candidates	93
Table 4.10 US Matches.....	95
Table 4.11 British Matches	95
Table 4.12 Matches on year elected among British incumbents	96
Table 4.13 Newspaper circulation by intersectional group:.....	98
Table 4.14 Sampled US and British national newspapers	100
Table 4.15 Substantive policy areas grouped by stereotypical association.....	102
Table 4.16 Hypotheses, models and expected effects for minority women.....	109
Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US local coverage by intersectional identity	117
Table 5.2: Negative binomial regressions: frequency of local US coverage	122
Table 5.3 Mean total local US articles and name mentions for minority women by ethnicity.....	127
Table 5.4: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US national coverage by intersectional identity	128
Table 5.5: Negative binomial regressions: frequency of US and British national coverage	133
Table 5.6: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US local coverage by intersectional identity	135
Table 5.7: Coverage of minority women by ethnicity	141
Table 5.8: Tone of coverage (articles and name mentions) by intersectional identity	145
Table 5.9: Ordered Probit Model: Overall Tone of US Local and US and British National Coverage .	147
Table 5.10: Predicted probabilities tone of coverage by intersectional Identity	149
Table 5.11 Tone of US local coverage of minority women by ethnicity	152
Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics: Proportion of viability coverage by intersectional identity	163
Table 6.2 Probit Model: Likelihood of viability coverage	164
Table 6.3 Predicted probabilities: Viability coverage as per cent of all coverage	165

Table 6.4 Descriptive statistics: tone of viability coverage.....	167
Table 6.5 Ordered probit Model: Tone of viability coverage.....	169
Table 6.6: Predicted probabilities tone of viability coverage by intersectional Identity	170
Table 6.7 Descriptive statistics: Proportion of substantive issue coverage by intersectional identity .	185
Table 6.8 Probit Model: Likelihood of issue coverage	187
Table 6.9 Predicted probabilities: Issue coverage as per cent of all coverage.....	188
Table 6.10 Descriptive statistics: 'White/male' issue coverage by intersectional identity	195
Table 6.11 Probit model: Likelihood of issue coverage referring to 'white/male' issues	196
Table 6.12 Predicted probabilities: 'white/male' issue coverage by intersectional identity	197
Table 6.13 Descriptive statistics: 'Minority/female' issue coverage by intersectional identity	198
Table 6.14 Probit Model: Type of issue coverage	202
Table 6.15 Predicted probabilities: Type of issues as per cent of all issue coverage.....	203
Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics: Explicit foregrounding of gender by racial identity	218
Table 7.2 Probit models: likelihood of explicit reference to gender	219
Table 7.3 Predicted probabilities: Likelihood of explicit references to gender.....	219
Table 7.4 Descriptive statistics: explicit reference to race.....	220
Table 7.5 Probit models: likelihood of explicit reference to race.....	223
Table 7.6 Predicted probabilities: Likelihood of explicit references to race.....	223
Table 7.7 Descriptive statistics: personal coverage by intersectional identity.....	251
Table 7.8 Probit models: likelihood of personal coverage.....	255
Table 7.9 Predicted probabilities: Personal coverage.....	255
Table 8.1 Review of results of hypothesis tests.....	277

List of Figures

Figure 1. Total US local articles by intersectional group	119
Figure 2. Total US local name mentions by intersectional group	120
Figure 3. Predicted frequency of coverage by intersectional identity	123
Figure 4. Distribution of total US national articles by intersectional group:	130
Figure 5. Distribution of total British national articles by intersectional group.....	136
Figure 6. Tone of coverage by market segment and intersectional identity	156
Figure 7. US local: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity	189
Figure 8. US national: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity	189
Figure 9. British national: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity	190
Figure 10. US local: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity.....	199
Figure 11. US national: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity	200
Figure 12. British national: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity	200

Chapter One

Introduction

This introductory chapter outlines the question addressed by this thesis and defines several key terms. I then discuss the theoretical and empirical motivations for the study, before providing a brief summary of each of the subsequent chapters. Finally, I highlight the main contributions made by the research project.

1.1 Question

This thesis aims to understand how political candidates' race and gender affects the quantity, tone and content of press coverage they receive during election campaigns. Political candidates rely on news media to communicate with potential voters. Research from the US, Britain and elsewhere often shows that female and minority candidates receive less favourable campaign coverage than their white, male counterparts. However, previous studies have typically tended to address race and gender as mutually exclusive categories. Therefore, news media representations of minority women on the campaign trail remain almost entirely unexplored. Responding to recent rises in minority women's descriptive representation in Britain and the US, as well as calls for the application of theories of intersectionality in empirical political science scholarship, I address the following research question: *What are the intersectional effects of race and gender on news coverage of political campaigns by minority women?*

Three terms within this question require definition from the outset. Firstly, *intersectionality*, put simply, is an heuristic tool to conceive of the ways in which multiple axes of identity as race and gender intersect. As a result of the intersection of race and gender, "black women can experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by white women and black men" (Crenshaw 2011:29). Although minority women have traditionally been the quintessential subjects of intersectional research (inter alia, Nash 2008), studies within this framework are by no means limited to analysis of race and gender. Indeed, while

this thesis focuses primarily on the combined effects these two axes of identity on press coverage of election campaigns, it also touches briefly on the intersection of political candidates' race and class in this context.

Secondly, throughout this thesis I refer to *race* as a political rather than biological category. In doing so I draw on the work of drawing on Pei-te Lien et al. (2008), who find “troubling consistency in the subordination of black [women] and all other groups of women of color in the economic and political spheres” (17) as well as “remarkable [...] similarity across all groups of women of color in their political motivation, political ambition, and assessment of biases in the campaign structure” (19). However, the authors also caution against “treating the category of women of color as static and undifferentiated”. They instead advocate intersectional work which accounts for the ethnic heterogeneity among this group, as well as variation in the experiences of white and minority women. In this design I therefore address differences between, for example, white and minority women, as well as variation among minority women of different ethnicities where the data renders this possible.

Thirdly, I employ the term *minority* as synonymous with ‘minority ethnic’, ‘BAME’ (Black Asian and Minority Ethnic) and communities ‘of colour’. This is for two reasons. Firstly, while the phrases ‘BME’ and ‘BAME’ are used to describe ethnic minorities in Britain, references to people ‘of colour’ have historically been particular to the US (Schaefer 2008:1037). These terms are not entirely interchangeable because they refer to minority communities of different ethnicities and historical contexts in each of the two country cases. I therefore employ ‘minority’ throughout both for the sake of interchangeability and brevity, while being mindful of the varying experiences of minority women from the US and Britain, as well as women of different ethnicities within these groups.

1.2 Motivation and political context

Three principle factors motivate this study. Firstly, the importance of press coverage of political campaigns on candidate evaluation and the framing of politics more broadly.

Although the experimental literature which directly tests the effects of racial and gendered patterns of news coverage on candidate evaluation is limited, there is evidence that “candidates who are covered like male candidates in the news are considered more viable than candidates who are covered like female candidates” (Kahn 1992:497). Furthermore, a recent intersectional analysis of the effects of racial and gendered coverage patterns on voting intention reveals that subjects exposed to typical coverage of a Latina representative report being less likely to vote for her than those exposed to typical coverage of a white female or African American female representative (Gershon 2013). In addition, a substantial body of research shows the impact of gendered stereotypes on candidate evaluations more broadly. Although “female candidates are viewed as more compassionate and more honest than identical male candidates” (Kahn 1992:497), there is also evidence that voters display “a preference for ‘male’ characteristics at higher levels of office (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a:503). Therefore, if the press reinforces such stereotypes—as well as intersectional stereotypes specific to minority women—this may well have deleterious effects on their campaigns.

More widely, as Major and Coleman (2008:330) have highlighted, “voters will not be able to make educated decisions about female and minority political candidates if reporters do not provide relevant, equitable, and truthful news about these candidates”. Even if, as Dolan and Lynch (2013:96) argue, gendered stereotypes “are not a central part of candidate evaluations or voting decisions”, unfavourable or stereotypical coverage of women and/or minorities may have a range of other, more diffuse effects. For example, if women and/or minorities lack visibility in the press, or are portrayed unfavourably when they do appear, this may suppress political engagement and/or ambition among members of these groups. Likewise, if women and/or minorities are underrepresented in news reporting of elections, then coverage persists in normalising the image of the political sphere as the preserve of white men.

Secondly, there have been repeated calls for the application of intersectional approaches to empirical political science research (Smooth 2006, Alexander-Floyd 2014, Junn and Brown 2008, Prestage 1977). Normatively, intersectional scholars have raised concerns

about single-axis work which focuses on subordinated groups such as racial minorities or women, but tends to limit its focus to the most privileged members within those groups, such as minority men or white women. As a result, the findings of single-axis research on 'race' or 'gender' have sometimes reflected limited or distorted conceptions of categories such as 'minority' or 'female'. This can result in the marginalisation of the experiences of groups with multiply subordinated identities such as minority women.

Empirically, this has been evidenced by a growing body of intersectional work which has highlighted important differences in the experiences of minority and white women in political contexts. These differences include patterns of descriptive and substantive representation (Darcy and Hadley 1988, Philpot and Walton 2007, Smooth 2011, Mügge 2016, Hughes 2016, Evans 2016, Murray 2016), factors determining electoral success (Darcy, Hadley, and Kirksey 1993, Herrick and Welch 1992), political priorities, and legislative experiences and behaviour (Barrett 2001, Bratton, Haynie, and Reingold 2007, Brown 2014b, a, Smooth 2008). Although this work has emerged primarily from the US, recent rises in minority women's descriptive representation in Britain have also led to several recent studies evidencing this phenomenon in the British context (Evans 2016, Krook and Nugent 2016). However, although there has been extensive analysis of press coverage of political campaigns by (predominantly white) women and (predominantly male and African American) minority candidates in comparison to their white male counterparts, and intersectional work on other aspects of minority women's political experiences is gaining ground, only a handful of studies have considered the intersectional effects of minority women's identity on press coverage of elections (Tolley 2015a, Gershon 2012).

The third, related, factor is recent empirical developments in both countries of interest which render intersectional analyses of political campaign coverage both feasible and timely. Minority women have, historically, faced greater underrepresentation than either minority men or white women in both the US and Britain, as well as elsewhere (Hughes, 2011). This is beginning to change, however. At the U.S. 2012 general election, six minority women were newly elected to the House of Representatives, a net increase

from 21 to 23, and a rise from 23 to 27 percent as a proportion of all women in the House (CAWP 2010, 2012). Among this group was Iraq War veteran Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI 2nd District), the first Hindu American to serve in Congress. Meanwhile, in Utah, Mormon Mia B. Love (R-UT 4th District) ran the first viable campaign by a black female Republican for seat in the US House of Representatives. Thus, in addition to increasing numbers of minority female candidates and representatives, racial, religious and partisan difference among minority women in elite US politics is on the rise.

In Britain, recent developments have been even starker. Prior to 2010, only three minority women had been elected to the British House of Commons: Diane Abbott (Lab, Hackney North and Stoke Newington) in 1987, Oona King (Lab, Bethnal Green and Bow) in 1997, and Dawn Butler (Brent South)¹ in 2005, all from the Labour Party. Therefore, until recently, the possibility of intersectional analyses of the combined effects of race and gender on British elite electoral politics has been severely limited by a small-N problem. The 2010 general election saw a breakthrough however, as seven new minority women joined their ranks, including two Conservatives as well as the first Asian and Muslim women elected to parliament. Both the new Conservative MPs, Helen Grant (Con, Maidstone and The Weald) and Priti Patel (Con, Witham), had been members of David Cameron's 'A-List' or 'Priority List'. Thus, increasing numbers of campaigns by minority women in both countries provide unique opportunities and imperatives to investigate the combined effects of race and gender in this context.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Theoretical framework

In Chapter Two, I discuss the theoretical framework for this study. I first extend the definition of intersectionality, tracing its roots in black feminist scholarship. I then highlight the contributions made by empirical research which has employed intersectional approaches to address the combined effects of race, ethnicity and gender

¹ Dawn Butler was elected as MP for Brent South in 2005. She stood for Brent Central in 2010 but lost to Liberal Democrat Sarah Teather. Butler went on to be elected as MP for the Brent Central in 2015.

in varied political contexts. Having established a rationale for employing an intersectional lens, I then address the limitations of the approach. Critiques of intersectional work have included debates regarding the nature and number of identity categories selected for inclusion in analyses (Ludvig 2006, Butler 1990). In response, I provide a rationale limiting my focus to effects of race and gender, drawing on Staunaes' (2003) notion of particular 'sites' where intersectional processes occur and specific categories are made salient. The third section of this chapter then posits the idea of minority women as a 'political category', drawing on the work of Lien, Hardy-Fanta et al. (2008). I argue for the importance of taking a nuanced approach to categories which neither treats them as static and deterministic, nor neglects to address intra- as well as inter-categorical variation. Substantively, this is achieved in the subsequent design by attending to differences *among* minority women as well as between this and other intersectional racial, gendered groups.

Finally, this chapter sketches various methodological debates associated with the application of intersectional frameworks. I outline the theoretical and substantive rationale for including both quantitative and qualitative elements of the design. The quantitative analyses test the *additive* effects of minority women's intersectional identity (for example, whether they receive more or less coverage than other groups). The qualitative analysis explores the *multiplicative* effects of this identity by investigating the extent to which unique news frames (distinct from those applied to white women and minority men, for example) are present in coverage of campaigns by minority women.

Literature review

In Chapter Three, the review of the literature makes four key points. Firstly, I argue that single-axis literature has reached relative consensus on the effects of candidates' race *or* gender on the frequency and tone of campaign coverage they receive. Although both groups often continue to receive less favourable coverage than white men in this respect, trends have steadily improved over recent decades and are reaching parity in many contexts. However, emergent intersectional work shows that a different pattern

is observed in coverage of minority women. Gershon's (2012) analysis of local newspaper coverage of contests by incumbent US House representatives shows that while white women and minority men received coverage comparable in frequency in tone to white men, minority women received less frequent and less positive coverage than all other groups. Secondly, I suggest that this therefore raises questions about the combined effects of race and gender on coverage in other contexts (in the national press in the US and abroad), for challengers (who constitute the majority of minority female candidates outside the US), and on further aspects of coverage (such as references to viability, substantive issues, and the foregrounding of candidate identity). Thirdly, I note significant differences in the level of scholarly attention paid to racial and gendered campaign coverage in the US and the UK, and in coverage of minority candidates of varying ethnicities in the US. Finally, I pay particular attention to the challenge of attributing racial and/or gendered variation in campaign coverage to the identity of candidates themselves—and therefore media bias—rather than a range of additional candidate, campaign and media factors such as incumbency, the competitiveness of a contest, and media structures. The review is structured around the six aspects of coverage under consideration, in order to derive quantitatively testable hypotheses and subsidiary questions for qualitative analysis for each.

Data and methods

Chapter Four outlines an observational design comprised of two complementary elements. First, a quantitative content analysis and series of explanatory models test ten hypotheses regarding the *additive* effects of candidates' intersectional identity on six key aspects of campaign coverage, controlling for additional factors. Second, a qualitative content analysis explores the *multiplicative* effects of minority women's intersectional identity on news framing of their candidacies. For example, while the quantitative analysis addresses the frequency of viability or issue coverage candidates receive, conditional on intersectional identity, the qualitative analysis explores the unique framing of minority women's viability as dependent on a range of intersectional advantages. The chapter first discusses country case selection, outlining the benefits of comparisons between US local and national newspaper coverage, as well as national

coverage in the US and Britain. This section also explains the limits to which cross country variation can be attributed to specific factors, and why this is therefore not a strictly comparative design. Subsequently, the candidate sampling and matching strategies are elaborated. These aim to control for candidate, campaign and media factors in order to isolate the effects of candidates' identity and therefore address rival explanations for any variations in coverage which are subsequently observed. I then detail the approach to text sampling, providing a rationale for the selection of local and national newspaper coverage over other media, before discussing the quantitative coding instrument and measurement of each variable, as well as reporting the results of tests of inter-coder agreement. Proceeding to a discussion of the explanatory models which test the quantitative hypotheses, I outline the basic model, as well as the rationale for each of the control variables which are included, based on existing literature. The final section of this chapter begins by providing a definition of *framing*, drawing on the work of Entman (1993), before detailing the qualitative coding process.

Results: Frequency and tone

Chapter Four is the first of three empirical chapters which report the results of the quantitative hypothesis tests and qualitative analyses. Hypotheses 1a and 1b concern the effects of candidates' intersectional identity on the frequency of national and local coverage respectively. The frequency of coverage is captured by two measures. Firstly, the total number of articles featuring each candidate during the eight-weeks prior to election day, and secondly, the total number of name mentions received by the candidate during the time period. This provides measures of the breadth and depth of coverage received. It is hypothesised that in US local coverage, minority women would receive least coverage compared to candidates of other intersectional identities, controlling for additional factors. This is because local coverage usually focuses on individual races, in which minority women may be hampered by lingering negative perceptions of viability, and this is not countered by a 'novelty' frame because they are rarely anomalous in local contests often characterised by majority-minority districts in the US. While the initial descriptive statistics appear to support this hypothesis, the results from two negative binomial models show that only the difference between the

number of articles received by minority and white women remains statistically significant when controlling for additional factors. In addition, the results indicate vast variation *within* each intersectional group, which highlights the necessity of qualitative and contextual analysis that identifies factors driving candidates' visibility at the individual level.

Hypothesis 1b anticipates that in contrast to local coverage, minority women would appear more frequently than comparable candidates in the national press. This is because national newspaper coverage tends to focus on stories regarding the election as a whole, singling out particular candidates or contests which can be framed as containing some novelty value. Therefore, the double novelty of minority women's racial and gendered identity, and the possibility of an array of intersectional 'firsts' in both campaigns is expected to result in a visibility advantage for minority women. In neither country case do the results support the hypothesis. However, the results from the negative binomial models again highlight statistically significant differences between minority and white women, in line with the direction of effects expected by the hypothesis. In both the US and British national press, minority women receive more name mentions over the campaign period than comparable white female candidates. Yet, again, the substantial variation *within* as well as between groups shows that this finding was primarily driven by a select few outliers who received far more coverage than the average minority or white female candidate.

The second part of this chapter reports the results of hypothesis 2a, which expects that in all three coverage samples, minority women's coverage is more negative than that of other groups. The tone of coverage is coded on a three-point 'negative', 'mixed', 'positive' scale, and the subsequent models are tested with ordered probit and the article as the unit of analysis. The results from the US local press support the hypothesis: white men, white women, and minority men all receive coverage which is more positive, on average, than that of minority women. However, a different pattern emerges in the US and British national press. Minority women receive more negative *and* more positive coverage than all other groups. Therefore, in both samples, they are not covered less

positively as the hypothesis anticipates, but are instead subject to more explicit appraisal than other candidates and their coverage is least likely to be mixed. Again the results are driven by outliers, and show that the most prominent minority women (Mia B. Love in the US and Diane Abbott in Britain) are more likely to receive negative coverage than other members of this group.

Results: Viability and issues

Chapter Five begins with an analysis of the effects of candidate identity on the frequency and tone of ‘viability’ or horserace coverage. Viability coverage includes any discussion of the strength of a candidate’s campaign or their chance of winning. H₃ expects that, in comparison to all other intersectional groups and controlling for additional factors, minority women’s coverage is most likely to include reference to viability; H₄ anticipates that minority women’s viability coverage is least positive. Neither hypothesis is supported in any of the three samples. In the probit and ordered probit models which are employed to estimate the effects of intersectional identity on these aspects of coverage respectively, none of the coefficients for intersectional groups are significant. However, with regards to the tone of references to viability, minority women’s coverage on this matter is again least likely to be mixed, across all three of the press samples. The subsequent qualitative analysis provides some explanation for this, identifying a series of ways in which minority women’s candidacies, relationships with political parties and voters are uniquely framed in this aspect of coverage. These frames include the collectivisation of minority women, despite silence regarding structural racial, gendered and intersectional disadvantages they may face. Secondly, minority women are framed as darlings of their parties, benefiting from progressive measures which were regularly characterised as anti-democratic. This frame simultaneously links minority women to the entrenchment of political elites and as lacking autonomy. Thirdly, minority and female voters are consistently framed as an advantage for minority women, while white voters were sometimes characterised as neglected or in need of being won over, but never as a disadvantage.

This chapter then considers the frequency and type of issue coverage candidates receive, conditional on intersectional identity. H5 anticipates that minority women will receive least substantive issue coverage, while H6 and H7 anticipate that this group's issue coverage will be most likely to feature issues stereotypically associated with (white) men, and most likely to feature issues stereotypically associated with minorities and/or women. H5 is not supported. However, descriptively, the entire population of viable minority female candidates receive substantive issue coverage in a total of only 14 national articles in the US and 22 in Britain. With regards to the type of issue coverage received, the results for H6 show that white women receive more coverage on 'white/male' issues than minority women in US local coverage, and in the British national press, white men receive more coverage on these issues than comparable candidates from all other intersectional groups. Similarly, regarding H7, white men are less likely to be featured in relation to 'minority/female' issues than other candidates.

Results: Explicit and latent foregrounding of identity

Chapter 7 analyses the effects of candidates' intersectional identity on the frequency and framing of explicit and latent references to their race and gender. H8 anticipates that minority women's gender is more likely to be foregrounded than that of their white female counterparts. The results from the US local and UK national samples both provide strong support for the hypothesis. H9 expects that minority women's race is more likely to be explicitly foregrounded than their minority male counterparts', and is supported in the results from the British national sample. The qualitative analysis of explicit references to race and gender reveals the character of debates regarding specific racial and/or gendered substantive representation in the US and Britain, but does not identify unique news frames applied to minority women in this context.

The second part of the chapter considers the latent foregrounding of candidates' identity via 'personal coverage'. This includes references to age, appearance, religion, spouses and caregiving responsibilities. H10 anticipates that compared to all other groups, minority women will receive most personal coverage. The results are mixed. In US local coverage, white women actually receive more personal coverage than their

minority female counterparts. The qualitative analysis provides some explanation for this, showing how white women's spouses and caregiving responsibilities are referenced more often than those of minority women, but are interestingly framed advantageously rather than as a challenge to competency or leadership norms. In the US national sample, minority women receive more personal coverage than their white female counterparts, but this is primarily due to accusations of an ethics violation levelled against incumbent Representative Maxine Waters (D-CA 43rd District) and her husband. In the UK, the results fully support the quantitative hypothesis, but the qualitative analysis reveals that the framing of personal coverage—in particular references to appearance—are often advantageous.

Conclusions

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis. I first highlight the contributions made by the study, which include empirical tests of both the additive and multiplicative effects of minority women's intersectional identity on patterns of campaign coverage. Furthermore, the analysis highlights important differences in US local and national coverage, as well as national coverage in the US and Britain. The candidate matching strategy and explanatory models make significant methodological contributions by aiming to isolate the *effects* of intersectional identity, rather than providing a descriptive analysis of similarities and differences between groups. The qualitative analysis both highlights unique frames applied to minority women and updates findings regarding the effects of gendered frames regarding appearance, spouses and caregiving responsibilities in particular.

Secondly, I address key limitations of the design. These include the exclusion of analyses of candidates' own campaign strategies and materials, the limitations of the data with regards to the comparability of candidates from different groups and the number of available cases, and the limitations of the quantitative coding scheme.

Finally, I outline pathways for future research. These include further analysis of the conditions under which certain candidates receive atypical coverage, and why particular

candidates are framed as representatives of other political actors who share their intersectional identity. In addition, I suggest that future research should focus on candidates' own campaign strategies, as well as additional axes of identity, including dominant categories such as maleness or masculinity. Finally, I highlight minority women's growing descriptive representation in contexts beyond Britain and the US, suggesting that this provides both imperatives and opportunities for future research in this area.

1.4 Contributions

Firstly, the quantitative element of the analysis provides an empirical test of intersectional theory regarding *additive* effects of candidates' race and gender on various aspects of the campaign coverage that they receive. Reading the existing single-axis literature from an intersectional perspective, the hypotheses collectively anticipate that—aside from the frequency of appearances in the national press—newspaper coverage of minority women will be less favourable than that received by comparable candidates from all other intersectional groups. Secondly, the qualitative element of the analysis contributes empirical test of *multiplicative* effects of minority women's intersectional identity on the qualitative framing of their candidacies, by exploring the degree to which *unique* intersectional frames are observed in coverage of minority women. Thirdly, the empirical test of intersectional theory is not limited to consideration of variation in the treatment of minority women and other groups, but also of minority women of varying ethnicities. Fourthly, this thesis also contributes an evaluation of differences between local and national newspaper coverage of campaigns in the US, and national coverage in the US and UK, underscoring the varying dynamics affecting who receives coverage locally and nationally, and the extent to which intersectional variation in coverage is consistent cross-nationally.

Methodologically, the use of a candidate matching strategy and explanatory models make a key contribution by attempting to isolate the effects of candidate identity on coverage outcomes. This strategy is useful for two, related reasons. Firstly, to rule out alternative explanations for intersectional differences where they are present, and

secondly, to therefore consider whether it is the actions of reporters and editors, or, for example, political parties, in order to render press coverage of campaigns more equitable for all candidates in future. In addition, the qualitative analyses add important context and nuance to the quantitative hypothesis tests, and elucidate key debates regarding the descriptive and substantive representation of historically underrepresented groups.

More broadly, this thesis contributes to our understanding of the position of women, minorities and minority women in politics more generally. It contributes to a growing literature showing that variation in political ambition, electoral success and legislative efficacy is present not just among white and minority or male and female candidates, but also *among* women and minorities. Therefore, intersectional approaches are important to ensure that the experiences of minority women are not subsumed by single axis approaches which focus exclusively on the effects of race *or* gender.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework: Intersectionality and its Implications

This study employs a theoretical framework underpinned by the concept of intersectionality, as formulated and articulated by Crenshaw (1989, 1991), Hill Collins (1990), and King (1988) among others. “Rooted in Black feminism and Critical Race Theory, intersectionality is a method and a disposition, a heuristic and analytic tool” (Carbado et al. 2013:303). The metaphor of intersection is used to describe the ways in which axes of identity such as race and gender are both mutually constituted and mutually constitutive. For example, within this analysis, racial and gendered patterns of campaign coverage identified in studies of elections featuring predominantly white women and male minorities are neither expected to apply fully to minority women, nor are effects simply expected to be the sum of both. This is because previously identified gendered frames are regarded as implicitly racialising, often through the absence of reference to the race of white candidates. Similarly, racial frames applied to minority male candidates are regarded as implicitly gendered. For example, the ‘risk’ frame sometimes applied to black male candidates in the US candidates is tied up with the intersectional stereotype of dangerous black masculinity (Jeffries 2002). The frame is both racial *and* gendered, and therefore may not be applicable to African American women running for office. Thus, a single-axis lens which considers only the effects of race *or* gender is not deemed sufficient to analyse the intersectional effects of both axes of identity on coverage of increasing numbers of minority female candidates. By considering only the effects of isolated identity categories on campaign coverage, research on women and minorities in politics may run the risk of making claims about media treatment of ‘female’ or ‘minority’ candidates that obscure the experiences of minority women.

Despite repeated calls both for intersectional approaches and the centring of women of colour as subjects in political science research (Smooth 2006, Alexander-Floyd 2014, Junn and Brown 2008, Prestage 1977), the discipline has, until recently, been slow to respond, particularly with regards to the study of elite electoral politics. The community of scholars which has taken up this task has generated a growing body of empirical findings, discussed below, which shed light on the varied experiences of female and/or minority political actors, confirming the utility and necessity of this framework. In this chapter I consider the substantive and methodological implications of intersectional theory for this study, outlining how I contribute to existing research which employs an intersectional lens, and discuss some limitations of the approach.

2.1 Crenshaw's intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality has been most prominently articulated by critical race theorist and legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, in particular her influential (1989) essay, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. Building on black feminist critiques of white feminism such as those by the Combahee River Collective (1977), hooks (1981, 1984) Hull, Bell-Scott et al. (1982) and Davis (1983), the starting point of Crenshaw's argument is that by treating race and gender as mutually exclusive categories, "black women are theoretically erased" (2011:25). This erasure is apparent in both theoretical and empirical work within political science and other disciplines, as well as in feminist and anti-racist movements:

The focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination. I suggest further focus on otherwise-privileged group members creates a distorted analysis of racism and sexism because the operative conceptions of race and sex become grounded in experiences that actually represent only a subset of a much more complex phenomenon (Crenshaw 2011:26).

Thus, theoretical conceptions of subordinated groups such as racial minorities or women are often skewed towards an understanding of privileged members within those

groups, such as minority men or white women. Empirical research on 'race' or 'gender' has then gone on to reflect limited conceptions of categories such as 'minority' or 'female', and as a result findings have applied predominantly to privileged members within those groups. For example, Smooth (2011:438) shows that female African American representatives' definitions of 'women's issues' are not confined to the usual suspects as defined by single-axis women and politics scholarship which focuses only on gender. Smooth's interviewees instead include the crosscutting gendered aspects of 'racial' issues as being 'women's issues'. This mirrors the concerns of feminist and antiracist/civil rights movements which have historically been dominated by elites among women who enjoy racial or other privileges, and likewise ethnic minority men who are privileged in relation to their minority female counterparts. In addition, "because the *privileging* of whiteness or maleness is implicit, it is generally not perceived at all" (Crenshaw 2011:30).

There are clear knowledge gains to be made when minority women are no longer subsumed by the categories 'minorities' or 'women'. Smooth's (2011) findings are just one instance of how intersectional research has begun to document the ways in which, among minority female politicians, patterns of descriptive and substantive representation (Darcy and Hadley 1988, Philpot and Walton 2007, Smooth 2011, Mügge 2016, Hughes 2016, Evans 2016, Murray 2016), factors determining electoral success (Darcy, Hadley, and Kirksey 1993, Herrick and Welch 1992), political priorities, and legislative experiences and behaviour (Barrett 2001, Bratton, Haynie, and Reingold 2007, Brown 2014b, a, Smooth 2008) are distinct from those of their white female and minority male counterparts. However, this body of work has rarely touched upon the intersectional effects of race and gender for minority women in the context of news media coverage of political campaigns.

Crenshaw adopts the metaphor of 'intersection' to highlight the ways in which "black women can experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by white women and black men" (2011:29). So crucially, while the intersection of multiple subordinated categories frequently results in the

theoretical, empirical or political marginalisation of black women, Crenshaw does not assert that this necessarily results in ‘multiplied’ disadvantage—categories are *mutually* constituted, rather than simply added together. The result, for example, is not only that minority male and female experiences of racism may differ, but that the intersection of multiple strands of subordinated identity may at times result in unexpected, sometimes positive, consequences. This is highlighted by existing empirical findings which counter the notion of an entirely ubiquitous ‘double disadvantage’ for minority women in politics, identifying instead more complex patterns in the combined effects of race/ethnicity and gender in specific contexts. For example, Fraga et al. (2008) posit ‘strategic intersectionality’ to conceptualise the dynamics in which Latina representatives in US state legislatures enjoy advantages over Latino colleagues as advocates for working class communities of colour. Similarly, Bejarano (2013) partially attributes Latinas’ success in gaining descriptive representation to the perceived softening of racial threat due to gender, again creating advantages compared to Latinos (see also, Montoya, Hardy-Fanta, and Garcia 2000, Pachon and DeSipio 1992, Takash 1993, Sierra and Sosa-Riddell 1994, Hardy-Fanta 2000).

This of course raises the question of whether the ‘double novelty’ of being a minority female candidate could result in possible advantages as well as disadvantages in terms of campaign coverage. Therefore, when formulating hypotheses in the next chapter, I do not automatically assume that *all* aspects of patterns of coverage will be most unfavourable for minority women, resulting from the simple addition of racial and gendered biases. Instead, I expect that in some contexts minority female status may lead to a visibility advantage over comparable candidates from other intersectional groups. Secondly, I do not assume that the content of intersectional news frames applied to minority women will simply equal the sum of the content of news frames applied in coverage of white women and minority men on the campaign trail. Instead, I explore whether news frames applied to minority female candidates include unique elements. For example, do such frames reflect intersectional stereotypes, such as that of the ‘Angry Black Woman’ (inter alia, Hill Collins 1990), which have not yet been considered in single-axis research on media framing of political actors.

2.2 Limitations: A theory of everything?

It is important to note that the concept of intersectionality spans categories beyond race and gender. The diversity of studies employing intersectional approaches reflects the fact that while Crenshaw's work on black women in the US has been crucial to its advancement, its foundational narratives can also be traced back to diverse theoretical strands and political positionings such as Marxist-feminist criticism of the relationship between capitalist socialization and gender relations, lesbian feminist critiques, and perspectives on the connections between gender and disability (Lutz, Vivar, and Supick 2011:1).²

The extension of intersectional work beyond the study of black women has led to several debates regarding the nature and number of categories selected for inclusion in analyses. Crenshaw by no means sees race and gender as the only categories of interest, even in work on minority women, noting that her "focus on the intersections of race and gender only highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (1991b:1245). However, the "seemingly endless proliferation of difference" has been seen by some as the "Achilles heel" of intersectionality (Ludvig 2006:247). Judith Butler describes the proverbial 'etc.' that follows mentions of 'gender, race, and class' as "a sign of exhaustion as well as the illimitable process of signification itself" (1990:143). Some have attempted to remedy this by widening the categories of analysis while retaining a degree of limitation. Williams (1989) adds age, disability and sexuality to the trinity of race, class and gender make the

² The parallel formation of these multiple narratives and their impact on the diverse ways in which intersectionality has been conceived and employed is also apparent in the myriad of alternative terminologies which have emerged. Those most frequently acknowledged are "matrix of domination"/ "interlocking systems of oppression" (Hill Collins, 1990) "racialized boundaries" (Floya Anthias et al., 1992), and "multiple jeopardy" (King, 1988). In her extensive review, Lykke (2011:209) also identifies, "inappropriated/d otherness" (Trinh, 1987; Trinh Thi Minh, 1989; Haraway et al., 1992), "interferences" (Moser, 2006), "differences among women" (De Lauretis, 1984; Braidotti, 1994) and "differential powers, politics and consciousness" (Sandoval, 2000). Similarly, Dharamoon (2011:232) adds "multiple consciousness" (King, 1988; Matsuda, 1992) "multiplicity" (Wing, 1990), "multiplex epistemologies" (Ann Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006) "translocational positionality" (F. Anthias, 2001), "multi-dimensionality" (Hutchinson, 2000), "inter-connectivities" (Valdes, 1995), and "synthesis" (Ehrenreich, 2002).

“big six” categories of difference. Lutz and Wenning (2001) offer thirteen; Lutz (2002) fourteen; Leiprecht and Lutz (2005) fifteen (but propose race class and gender as a minimum standard to which others can be added depending on context); and Bunch (2001) sixteen.

These approaches are problematic for several reasons. Firstly, there are obvious concerns regarding the feasibility and parsimony of considering large numbers of categories and/or processes simultaneously. As Hancock (2007b:66) has made clear, the “rule of parsimony, so the argument goes, would be violated with little to no gain in explanatory power for political problems such as persistent poverty or discrimination”. However, imperatives to set a ‘minimum standard’ encourage hierarchies among categories, implying that race, class and gender are somehow more constant than, for example, age or sexuality. In response to such debates, Bereswill and Neuber argue that some social divisions are more significant than others in constructing specific positioning, and that while gender and ethnicity affect most people in most contexts, “social divisions such as disability or statelessness tend to affect fewer people globally” (2011:160).

An argument along these lines misses two important points. Firstly, all axes of identity and their association with privilege or subordination affect all individuals: being able-bodied is just as much a part of intersectional experience as being disabled. While ‘disability’ is experienced by the few, ignoring the ‘ability’, (whiteness, maleness, heterosexuality and so on) of the many is to perpetuate the invisibility of privilege. Secondly, I would suggest that the reason why certain subordinated categories of difference may appear more salient or significant than others is often not simply associated with the degree of impact they may have on individual experience or processes associated with power. It may instead be a result of the success of social movements which have brought the experience and perspectives of specific groups to the fore. So, while racial, class-based and gendered subordination have been, and continue to be confronted by prominent social movements, other forms of privilege and subordination (for example, associated with gender identity or statelessness) have not

mobilised similarly longstanding campaigns. Therefore, I would argue that it is dangerous and unhelpful to posit either a hierarchy of difference or attempt to draw up concrete margins regarding the factors that affect intersectional experience and processes.

This is not to suggest however, that intersectional research should attempt to address all categories of difference simultaneously. Instead I employ the solution offered by Staunæs (2003), which is to focus on specific 'sites' where intersectional processes occur and intersectional identities are performed. Considering minority women as political candidates and representatives, intersectional identity is performed and inscribed through the use of singular phrases such 'daughter of immigrants' or 'first African American Republican woman', and election campaigns or news media coverage of those campaigns are explicit sites on which these processes take place. Although Crenshaw (1991b:1244) has been frank in stating that she does not offer intersectionality "as some new, totalizing theory of identity," many of the critiques relating to the number and nature of categories considered by intersectional research appear to be critiques of its ambition. I therefore argue that applying the logic of specific sites is a practical way of rendering intersectional work both coherent and possible.

This also addresses a third criticism of intersectional theorising: "in attempting to keep multiple categories simultaneously in view, intersectionality is sometimes criticized for treating all differences as equivalent, and hence, interchangeable when they have different logics and operate at different levels" (Phoenix 2011:138). By considering the effects of just two categories in this context, I am not suggesting axes of identity such as class, age or sexuality have no relevance to the mediation of political campaigns or the experiences of candidates with varying identities. Instead, I am limiting my focus to the intersection of two characteristics, race and gender, which are known to be highly salient in this context and to have demonstrable effects on the quantity, quality and content of campaign coverage political candidates receive. I am also responding to a political context which has seen sharp rises in the numbers of minority women as candidates and elected representatives in both Britain and the US. In addition, I aim to

contribute to a growing body of literature which has highlighted the unique position of minority women with regards to many aspects of political experience and behaviour, including patterns of descriptive and substantive representation, political priorities and legislative efficacy, discussed above.

2.3 Minority women as a political category

Having established a rationale for focusing on the intersectional effects of racial and gendered identity in a particular context, I posit minority women as a ‘political category’ (Lien et al. 2008). Rather than focus on a specific ethnicity among minority women, I include African Americans, Latina, Middle Eastern American and Asian Americans, as well as Black British and British Asian candidates, while being mindful of the ethnic, partisan and other heterogeneities within this grouping.

This decision stems from both substantive and theoretical concerns relating to the intersectional paradigm. Firstly, as Cohen (2003:193) notes, “the documented or written knowledge on the political involvement of women of colour is not evenly distributed across racial groups. There has been significantly more written on the experiences of Black women within and outside the traditional modes of political expression”. While US scholarship which centres on Latinas in the political sphere is gaining ground (e.g. Takash 1993, Fraga et al. 2007, Fraga et al. 2003, Casellas 2011, Bejarano 2013, Montoya, Hardy-Fanta, and Garcia 2000), the literature on Chicana, Asian American and Native American women in politics is somewhat more sparse, despite some notable exceptions (Sierra and Sosa-Riddell 1994, Takash 1993, Hardy-Fanta et al. 2006, Lien 2010, and Wong 2013, Gutiérrez, Meléndez, and Noyola 2007, Marquez 1997, e.g. Chu 1989). Just as intersectional work rejects the subsumption of minority women within the categories ‘minority’ and ‘woman’, it follows that work which posits ‘minority women’ as a political category should avoid privileging the experiences of certain women among this group. Therefore, substantively, this study aims to consider the intersectional effects of racial and gendered identity on the experiences of minority women of a broad range of ethnicities.

Secondly, intersectionality has challenged notions of homogeneity within structural categories by emphasising intra-categorical diversity and as a result has been “conflated with postmodern and poststructuralist critiques [...] which question the existence of such categories at all” (Hancock 2007b:66). However, by attending to both inter- and intra-categorical variation it is not theoretically necessary to do away with categories altogether. Work within the intersectional paradigm instead argues for “new conceptualizations of categories and their role in politics, rather than seeking an abolition of categories themselves” (Hancock 2007b:66). Therefore, I take a nuanced approach to this political category by considering both inter-categorical variation (differences between minority women and other intersectional groups) and intra-categorical variation (differences among minority women of varying ethnicities).

It is also important to note that positing categories in this way is not to treat them as static and deterministic. Crenshaw’s conception of intersectionality rests instead on the notion of dynamic categories, created and repeated via historical processes. The epistemological position associated with dynamic notions of categories is that knowledge is “always partial, dynamic and subject to the interplay of power relations,” (Phoenix 2011:139). Thus, intersectionality is a conceptual tool to simplify these relations (Ferree 2011:55). To put it another way, in practice, intersectional conceptions of categories can become a useful heuristic for complex, situated knowledge, compatible with a positivist research paradigm. Crenshaw’s discussion of the theoretical debates that have followed her 1989 essay implies that theory may have much to learn from intersectional political practice: “recognizing that identity politics takes place at the site where categories intersect thus seems more fruitful than challenging the possibility of talking about categories at all” (1991:1299). Thus, although “intersectionality emerges out of a deconstructionist tradition, it does not remain there”. (Hancock 2007b:74)

Finally, in addition to the ontological and epistemological implications of defining categories, there are also normative concerns. Jordan-Zachery (2007:261) argues that we must posit the question “Who gets to define how these multiple identities should be ‘isolated’?”, and Junn and Brown (2008:65) suggest further that “the dominant approach

of static and unitary categories must be wrestled down and left behind in favour of a strategy of inquiry that treats political beings as dynamic subjects with a multiplicity of categorical homes”. Therefore, just as I identify political campaigns as a site in which specific power processes, manifested in media frames, are played out, I posit minority women as a dynamic political category, not a static, essentialist or deterministic one, and one which I also note includes substantial heterogeneity.

2.4 Methodological debates and implications

Several key debates have arisen regarding the methodological implications of intersectional approaches. To some degree these mirror themes common to wider methodological controversies within political science and other disciplines. As I outline below, qualitative case studies, seen by some as methods traditionally associated with intersectional approaches, are critiqued for their lack of generalisability (Dhamoon 2011). On the other hand, large N quantitative studies are sometimes held responsible for contributing to the erasure of black women and other multiply subordinated groups. More specific to intersectional approaches are questions regarding the power of research designs to privilege or subordinate identities by defining them in the first place (Dolan 2014), as well as the extent to which it is possible to analyse intersectional processes in a way that does not render them as the addition of, for example, the effects of race and gender. While there is some weight to all of these critiques, I contend that in this design, the use of mixed methods allows for both generalisable and specific claims to be made where appropriate. In addition, the design allows for intersectional processes to be theorised as either additive (resulting in compounded racial and gendered advantage or disadvantage) or multiplicative (resulting in *unique* outcomes for minority women), depending on context.

Positivist critiques of many qualitative methodologies used by intersectional scholars, such as oral history and personal testimony, see them as failing to be “rigorous, theoretical, or scholarly” (Dhamoon 2011:240). Yet these traditional tools of intersectional research are viewed by those who employ them as both necessary and sufficient precisely because they centre “situated and experiential knowledge”

(Dhamoon 2011:240). Hancock has mounted one of the most convincing defences of such methods in intersectional work, arguing that they have “generated critically important knowledge essential for testing time-worn theories such as the gender gap, pluralist models of democracy, approaches to peacemaking, sustainable development, and international law on refugees” (2007b:66). More broadly speaking, Shapiro (2002:605) argues that “intersectionality serves as an important corrective for imprudent overemphasis on generalisability that overlooks the priority of producing valid knowledge claims”.

My aim is neither to privilege the specific nor the generalisable. While the quantitative elements of my design investigate systematic differences in campaign coverage which can be explained by the effects of intersectional of identity, detailed qualitative analysis is necessary to unravel the complex content of mediated responses to women of colour seeking or holding positions of political power. Alexander-Floyd (2013:471) has advocated the use of qualitative methods in this context as “critical for assessing the ways in which narratives in their various guises establish the parameters of public discourse, promote or undermine policies, and/or galvanize political behaviour and action,” a view that is put into practice by her (2008) study of representations of Condoleezza Rice. Similarly, Meyers’ (2013) examination of Michelle Obama’s mediated public persona provides an analysis of the way in which the First Lady both capitalises on and challenges intersectional stereotypes. While both studies are limited in their generalisability, they identify elements *unique* to the mediation and self-presentation of minority female actors, which are not captured by the standard indicators of ‘racial’ or ‘gendered’ frames as operationalised in single-axis quantitative studies.

Some intersectional scholars have criticised the shortcomings of methods such as the use of large-N data sets and logistic regression which often render groups such as minority women invisible by controlling for single categories (Simien 2007:271). However, a growing body of scholarship is showing how quantitative methods can be employed alongside an intersectional lens (Black and Veenstra 2011, Veenstra 2011, Dubrow 2008, Winker and Degele 2011, Hughes 2011, Hughes 2016). For example,

Hughes (2011) uses hierarchical linear modelling to analyse how racial and gender quotas have interacted to influence the election of minority women from more than 300 racial, ethnic, and religious groups across 81 countries. The findings show that minority women's odds of election are lower than both ethnic majority women and minority men, and that quotas aimed at 'women' and 'minorities' are of less benefit to minority women than ethnic majority women and minority men. Therefore, this demonstrates the possibility of intersectional work which satisfies positivist methodological requirements and makes generalisable claims.

I employ a mixed-methodological design in order to achieve two complementary aims. Firstly, to identify broad intersectional patterns in campaign coverage of minority women, minority men, white women and white men. Secondly, to investigate the unique content of frames applied to minority women. This approach has been used successfully in Brown and Gershon's (2013) qualitative and quantitative analysis of issues, personal characteristics and experiences emphasised by elected officials in website biographies. Quantitatively, they identify that minority women emphasise both their racial and gendered identities more frequently than white women and minority men, as well as highlighting their class and making explicit references to their socioeconomic status. Their qualitative analysis also reveals that minority women often frame women's issues in "racialized language" (2013:14), thus explicitly addressing concerns of particular relevance to minority female constituents. Furthermore, minority women were found to frame global women's issues in humanitarian terms, while white women frame these issues in terms of defence or homeland security (2013:15). The authors argue, "only through the combination of both these methodologies are we able to give a detailed, yet generalisable, description of the messages emphasized by minority congresswomen and their peers" (2013:7). While mixed methods or a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis may not always be appropriate for intersectional research, this example demonstrates the strength of such an approach when applied to suitable questions.

The second key methodological debate regarding the empirical application of intersectional theory regards finding ways to describe or explain multiple processes of privilege and subordination without reducing them to the sum of their parts. Jordan-Zachery (2007:259) argues that, “although we have tried to stay away from the “additive” approach to an understanding of intersectionality, our methods and methodologies sometimes bring us right back to this approach”. For example, Fraga et al. (2003) analyse patterns of election and policy advocacy for Latinas in state legislative offices. The study finds similarity among the perspectives of Latina and Latino male representatives. However, the authors find that the substantive representation of women was a higher priority for Latina legislators in Texas than those in California (Fraga et al. 2003:16). This is a good example of the way in which an apparently intersectional study of minority women ends up reverting to an additive approach because it questions the extent to which those women focus on ‘gender’ rather than considering concerns specific to Latinas as *mutually* constituted by their gender and ethnicity. Thus, the conception of ‘gender differences’ has deliberately been applied to women of a specific ethnicity, while not taking into account the gender differences *specific to that group*. Furthermore, this study’s additive approach is apparent in the use of the phrase “dual identity” (Fraga et al. 2003:21) suggesting the conceptual separation of ethnic identity and gendered identity, rather than conceiving of both as unified by their mutual constitution.

It is however, extremely difficult to get away from single-axis language, and taking an intersectional approach doesn’t necessarily prohibit talking about ‘race’ or ‘gender’ as separate axes of identity. For example, as Hancock (2007a:251) argues, “while the various categories of difference should be equally attended to in research, the relationship among the categories is an open empirical question”, and therefore it would be a mistake to assume that race and gender play equal roles in all political contexts.

It may also be useful to acknowledge that the effects of certain forms of intersectional subordination can reasonably be theorised as additive while others produce effects unique to minority women. If coverage of white women and minority men is more negative than white men, but that of minority women is more negative than all others,

it makes little difference whether we theorise this as additive or multiplicative. The effect is similar. But if news frames applied minority women contain unique elements not found in those of white women or minority men, this is evidence of a multiplicative rather than additive process. We cannot simply assume that the content of news frames applied to minority women equals the content of those applied to white women plus the content of those applied to minority men. Furthermore, as the examples discussed previously and in the following chapter demonstrate, the intersectional effects of multiply subordinated identity categories do occasionally result in positive outcomes.

Having considered how to apply an intersectional theoretical framework in this context, the following chapter reviews and critiques the relevant single-axis literature from an intersectional perspective.

Chapter Three

Literature Review: Race, Gender and News of Elections

This review makes four key points. Firstly, I show that single-axis literature has reached relative consensus on the effects of candidates' race *or* gender on the frequency and tone of coverage that they receive. However, this consensus has been challenged by the only extant quantitative analysis of the intersectional effects of race and gender in this context. Gershon's (2012) findings indicate that when the combined effects of both axes of identity considered together, minority female US House Representatives receive local newspaper coverage which is less frequent and less positive than that of *all* other groups. This therefore raises questions regarding the extent to which these intersectional patterns extend to other contexts, i.e. for challengers, in local as well as national media, and in Britain as well as the US.

Secondly, I outline additional patterns of unfavourable coverage which have been identified in the single-axis literature on race or gender, including focus on viability or the 'horserace', reference to substantive issues or policy, the explicit and latent foregrounding of candidates' gender and racial identity. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses are the dominant methodological tools employed by these studies. However, I also discuss recent experimental findings regarding the effects of coverage where these are available. Taken together, existing research shows that racial and gendered patterns in news reporting result in coverage which, firstly fails to accurately reflect the competency, character, and activities of female and minority politicians, and secondly has negative effects on voter evaluations, electoral success, political ambition and legislative efficacy. Reviewing these existing single-axis literatures from an intersectional perspective, I develop quantitatively testable hypotheses regarding the combined effects of race and gender on each of the relevant aspects of coverage of minority women. These hypotheses address my overarching research question: *What*

are the intersectional effects of race and gender on news coverage of political campaigns by minority women?

Thirdly, it is important to note differences the level of scholarly attention paid to racial and gendered patterns in campaign coverage. These reflect variation in US and British political culture, as well as intersectional hierarchies in the study of subordinated identities. For example, while US elections have long been candidate-centred, this is still an emerging trend in Britain (Campbell and Cowley 2013:1, see also, Stewart and Clarke, 1992). Therefore, there is a far larger body of US research on the relationship between candidate identity and election news media. However, US studies of gendered coverage outweigh those focusing on race. Furthermore, as US studies of racial difference focus primarily on African Americans, there has been limited research on representations of Asian American, Native American or Latina/o candidates. Extant scholarship addressing the mediation of campaigns and office holding by minority women is scarcer still. In Britain, while research into media representations of women in politics is gathering pace, no studies have yet addressed representations of minority politicians—from either a single-axis or an intersectional perspective. Therefore, this thesis addresses several significant gaps in the existing literature.

Fourthly, I pay particular attention to the methodological challenge of attributing variation in coverage to racial and/or gendered bias. Many scholars attribute the differential treatment of women in the news to the lack of women in the production of news media (Norris 1997, Bruin and Ross 2004, North 2008). For example, Adcock (2010:146) found in her analysis of Britain's 1997 general election that, "the marginalisation of women's voices was exacerbated by the prolific use of mostly male columnists and sketch writers". Furthermore, Zoonen (1994) argues that even the few women employed in this environment often embrace masculinist values themselves. This is evidenced by the findings of Ross et al. (2013:12) that during the UK 2010 campaign, men were more likely to write about women than women were to write about women.

Evidence shows that minorities are similarly underrepresented in British and US newsrooms. For example, a survey for the *New Statesman*, published in January 2012, found minorities to be severely underrepresented among writers and columnists for national daily broadsheets. Minority writers were found to be completely absent from the *Telegraph* and the *Express*, and the neither the position of Political Editor nor Editor was held by a minority individual at single national daily broadsheet.³ Similarly, The American Society of Newspaper Editors Census reported in 2012 the continued decline of minority percentages at participating publications. The figures show the complete absence of minority members at the majority of participating publications.⁴ Thus, unfavourable racial and gendered patterns in campaign are often taken as evidence of newsroom bias against minority and female candidates. As a result, existing scholarship often implies that if this is a problem to be solved, the media must be the site of the solution.

However, while the weight of evidence is highly suggestive, descriptive designs do not conclusively demonstrate that this is indeed consistently the result of a negative bias towards female and minority candidates. In some of the examples discussed in this chapter, racist and or sexist frames are so overt, even in mainstream publications, that bias seems obvious. Yet, although racial and gendered coverage patterns have clearly been identified, it is arguable that in some cases insufficient attention has been paid to contextual candidate, campaign and media factors (such as incumbency and competitiveness) also likely to affect the quantity, quality and content of campaign coverage candidates receive. This is problematic because the historic underrepresentation of women and minorities has resulted in substantial differences in, for example, rates of incumbency compared to white and/or male candidates. I therefore contend that the isolated effects of candidate race and/or gender cannot be identified

³ Alice Gribbin, "Exclusive report: Are the media racist", *New Statesman*, 11th January 2012, <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2012/01/white-pages-press-ethnic>

⁴ Ken Flemming, "Total and minority newsroom employment declines in 2011 but loss continues to stabilize", *American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 4th April 2012, <http://asne.org/content.asp?pl=121&sl=122&contentid=122>

without accounting for these additional factors, and assertions of racial and/or gendered media bias remain open to critique unless alternative explanations for unfavourable coverage are ruled out.

The chapter is organised around the various aspects of coverage under consideration: its frequency, overall tone, references to viability, substantive issues, explicit references to race and gender, and personal coverage. For each of these, scholarship on gender in the US context is reviewed first, followed by discussion of findings regarding race in the US and/or findings regarding gender in the UK where either is available.

3.1 Minority women and the frequency and tone of campaign coverage

This section outlines existing single-axis findings regarding the effects of race and gender on the frequency and tone of coverage received by female and minority candidates of varying ethnicities in the US, and by female candidates in Britain. I then show how these findings have been challenged by the only extant intersectional analysis of these dynamics (Gershon, 2012). Building on Gershon's results, I formulate hypotheses regarding the combined effects of candidates' race and gender on the frequency and tone of campaign coverage by local US newspapers, and national newspaper in the US and Britain.

3.1.1 Frequency of coverage

Turning first to the frequency of coverage, there is continued debate regarding the effects of candidate gender on media visibility. For example, in the US, ground-breaking work by Kim Fridkin Kahn and Edie N. Goldenberg (e.g. Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Kahn 1994) has been highly influential in identifying gendered patterns of coverage and providing a basis for many subsequent research designs (Lavery 2013). Employing quantitative content analysis and descriptive statistics, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) found that female candidates in the 1982-1986 senatorial elections consistently received less newspaper coverage (fewer paragraphs per day) than their male counterparts, and that this was the case in both competitive and non-competitive candidacies. The same pattern was identified for both senatorial and gubernatorial candidates between 1982

and 1988. These findings have been echoed a large body of scholarship which puts forward evidence for a gender gap in the frequency of coverage of US campaigns for levels of office right up to the US presidency (e.g., Braden 1996; Bystrom et al. 2001; Heldman et al. 2005; Falk 2008).

There is, however, mounting evidence within single-axis literature that the frequency of coverage of male and female candidates may actually be approaching parity (Hayes and Lawless 2015; see also, Smith, 1997, Lavery 2013). Jalalzai (2006) has replicated Kahn's earlier designs (e.g. 1994) to investigate coverage of gubernatorial and senatorial candidates running between 1992 and 2000, finding that among both groups women actually appeared more often than their male counterparts. Similarly, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson (2003) found that, compared with their studies of previous election cycles (Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001), women and men received more equal levels of coverage in mixed gender primary races in 2000. Furthermore, where female politicians continue to be underrepresented by the press, there are strong arguments to suggest that differences which do persist result from women's wider exclusion from politics than gendered media bias. For example, looking at appearances of congresswomen and men on US talk shows, Baitinger (2015) suggests that it is essential to account for journalistic imperatives to feature particular types of representatives. These include those holding leadership positions, those opposed to the president, and those with the most ideologically polarised positions, all of which exacerbate the already substantial imbalance in the pool of female and male representatives. Therefore, although women obviously feature less often than men in this format, "gender differences can be explained, for the most part, by women's underrepresentation in the political professions from which guests are selected" (Baitinger 2015:587).

Regarding scholarship on minorities, single-axis US research on racial patterns of campaign coverage show that although African American candidates are often represented unfavourably, they are not disadvantaged in terms of the quantity of coverage they receive. While some of the earliest studies showed a racial gap in

candidate visibility (Reeves 1997, Payne 1988, Canon 1999, Entman 1994) recent US race and politics literature consistently suggests that African American candidates tend to garner equal or greater levels of coverage than their white counterparts (Barber and Gandy 1990, Terkildsen and Damore 1999, Zilber and Niven 2000, Sylvie 1995, Graber 1984, Jeffries 2002, Schaffner and Gadson 2004, Chaudhary 1980, Tolley 2015b). Again, this literature is descriptive rather than explanatory, however.

Single-axis findings regarding the frequency of coverage of Latina/o candidates and representatives are mixed, and difficult to generalise from because they constitute case studies of individuals rather than designs which employ larger samples to investigate overall trends across groups. For example, Cuban-born Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL 18th District) defeated incumbent white, male Gerald Richman (R-FL 18th District) to win a House seat in 1989 although her coverage was “fairly minimal” (Larson 2006:249), and Loretta Sanchez (D-CA 46th District)⁵ won her 1996 bid for California’s 46th District seat, despite “virtually no press coverage” (ibid:238). However, the same year Henry Bonilla (R-TX 23rd District), the first Hispanic Republican elected to the House of Representatives from Texas in 1992, received more frequent coverage than his white challenger (ibid:240). It is hard to say whether this was a result of his gender or his incumbency mitigating the possible effects of his ethnicity, or whether other factors were in play.

In the British context, there is greater consensus regarding women’s absence from political news both during and between elections (O’Neill, Savigny, and Cann 2015, Campbell and Childs 2010, Ross et al. 2013). This is partly because while US research is focused on House, Senate and gubernatorial campaigns, British scholarship has concentrated primarily on MPs and parliamentary candidates. Again, this does not necessarily constitute evidence of gendered bias rendering female politicians invisible. This is because purely descriptive approaches have been used (without sampling comparable groups of male and female candidates, for example) situating women’s

⁵ Sanchez served as Representative for California’s 46th District 1997-2003 and 2013-present. She served as Representative for California’s 47th District from 2003 to 2013.

invisibility in the news in the broader context of women's political marginalisation, but lacking power to isolate the effects of gender on campaign coverage. For example, Adcock's (2010) study of newspaper reporting of the 1997 general election revealed the 'structural marginalisation of women', who only featured in just over a third of coverage. Yet the visibility of female politicians "was shaped by a complex configuration of elements, including individuals' public profile, gender identity, professional rank and self-presentation, party communication strategy, journalistic news and narrative values, and newspapers' and commentators' ideological agendas and role conceptions" (Adcock 2010:150). Similarly, Ross et al. (2013) found that only 29 per cent of national newspaper articles covering the UK 2010 general election mentioned one or more female (including, but not limited to parliamentary candidates), and mentions of party leaders' wives accounted for 20 per cent of all mentions of women. However, the authors also note that women comprised just 21 per cent of all candidates in 2010, and therefore their relative invisibility in campaign news is at least partly attributable to their absence in the political arena more widely.

This highlights the necessity of analysis which accounts for contextual factors affecting coverage to provide analyses of the effects of gender and/or race on coverage, rather than a description of media marginalisation which is not necessarily attributable to media factors. This has also been underscored in a recent comparative analysis by Lühiste and Banducci (2016), who seek to differentiate the possible causes of women's invisibility in political news reporting. The authors point out that, "the underlying causes of the gender gap in coverage can be due to either bias in the media (a media logic) or to the selection and placement of candidates by political parties (a party logic)" (224). They argue, therefore, that, "to demonstrate gender bias in candidate coverage we need to compare female and male candidate who are alike in other characteristics" (224). This is important because addressing rival explanations opens up the possibility of identifying which racial and/or gendered patterns of coverage should be addressed at least in part by focusing on the wider political context (e.g. differences in the frequency of coverage of groups who are underrepresented *beyond* the media), and those which differences in coverage may be the result of systematic media bias (e.g. racial and/or

gendered differences in the tone of coverage which may persist even when other factors are accounted for).

A single US study has quantitatively analysed the *intersectional* effects of candidate race and gender on the frequency and tone of campaign coverage. No research on the British context has yet considered these dynamics. Employing quantitative content analysis, Gershon (2012) makes an important departure from existing single-axis literature on race and gender in this context by considering the *combined* effects of race and gender on coverage of minority women. The study compares local newspaper reporting of campaigns by minority female, minority male, white female and male House incumbents running for re-election in 2012. Gershon's results indicate that minority women received less coverage than all other groups. Specifically, compared to white women (the baseline category) minority female representatives received 16 fewer name mentions over the campaign period.⁶ The results therefore challenge single-axis findings regarding coverage frequency of coverage gained by predominantly white women and male African Americans.

Importantly, Gershon also emphasises the necessity of accounting for the possible effects of contextual factors beyond candidates' race and gender. Her design controls for candidate, campaign and media factors such as incumbency, race competitiveness and newspaper circulation size. Therefore, the results indicate that the infrequency and negativity of coverage of minority women does indeed result from intersectional media biases. Thus, Gershon's initial empirical test of the implications of intersectional theory with regards to political campaign coverage demonstrates an important difference among women of different racial identities. In local coverage, the existing single-axis US literature suggests that racial or gendered gaps in the amount of coverage candidates receive have diminished as numbers of successfully elected women and minorities and therefore perceptions of viability have risen. However, Gershon's initial intersectional findings suggest that the pace of change may have been slower for minority women in

⁶ Gershon (2012) does not report the average number of name mentions received by white women, but does report that the average for all candidates was 44 name mentions over the campaign period.

this respect. Therefore, drawing on these findings and reading the existing single-axis literature from an intersectional perspective, I formulate the following hypothesis regarding the frequency of coverage:

H1a: (US only) Minority women will receive the least local coverage.

Turning to national newspaper coverage, I anticipate that the opposite pattern will emerge, and that coverage of minority women will actually exceed that of other intersectional groups. These differing expectations are because, while US local coverage represents a contest between (usually two) local candidates, the dynamics of receiving national coverage are somewhat different. In national coverage, the entire pool of candidates and representatives compete for attention and reporters tend to single out a select few candidates whose actions, statements or identities form a journalistic 'hook'. Thus, I hypothesise that the novelty of minority women's intersectional racial and gendered identities is likely to result in a visibility advantage in this context. For example, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) note that 'first woman' frames are associated with increased frequency of coverage. For minority women then, I expect the newsworthiness of intersectional first frames, as well as partisan intersectional first frames (Mia B. Love (R-UT 4th District): "First Black Republican Woman"; Priti Patel (Con, Witham): "First Asian Conservative Woman") to result in greater national coverage than comparable white women, minority men and white men. Similarly, male and female parliamentary candidates were featured at almost equal rates in national newspaper coverage of Britain 2010 general election, despite the fact that only one in five were female (Ross et al. 2013). Furthermore, while local coverage focuses on individual races, the national press covers the election *as a whole*, which in 2010 in Britain and 2012 in the US was partially defined by the increasing diversity of candidates. So, while, descriptively, coverage is likely to focus on the highest ranking officeholders, this would suggest that when the effects of race and gender are isolated, minority women in both the US and Britain will receive more coverage than comparable minority male and white female and male counterparts. Therefore, my second hypothesis states:

H1b: Minority women will receive the most *national* coverage.

3.1.2 Tone of coverage

Shifting to consideration of the overall *tone* of coverage, research from the US consistently shows that female and minority politicians are covered more negatively than white men, during as well as between elections (Jeffries 2002, McIlwain and Caliendo 2009, Kahn 1994a, Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001, Kittilson and Fridkin 2008, Larson 2006, Chaudhary 1980). The overall tone of coverage is typically operationalised in these designs as a three point 'negative', 'mixed', 'positive' scale. In a rare analysis of both racial and gendered patterns of coverage, Niven's (2004) study of reporting of the 1992 US House banking scandal found that African American males and white females in the House both received more negative newspaper coverage than white men who bounced the same number of checks. Niven attributes this to a distribution effect, in which the conspicuousness of women and minorities means they are evaluated more harshly because of their gendered or racial otherness. If this is the case, we may expect to observe an additive effect for minority women whose racial and gendered identities render them especially conspicuous and therefore render them subject to greater scrutiny than other political actors.

Findings regarding the tone of coverage of Latina/o and Asian American candidates and representatives are again mixed and difficult to generalise. Employing qualitative and quantitative content analysis, Larson (2006) studied coverage of three Asian American candidates: two competing in House races and one in a gubernatorial contest. The results were extremely mixed: one candidate received less favourable coverage than his opponent, another's was comparable to his opponent, and one received more positive coverage. The latter was Chinese American Gary Locke (D), who in 1996 defeated white female Ellen Caswell (R) to become the first Asian American governor of a mainland state (Washington). Larson points out that this was in part due Caswell's "outsider' status as a politically inexperienced, female, religious conservative" (267). It is impossible to say whether Locke's coverage would have been as positive had he been

competing against a white male incumbent, but the mixed gender nature of the race in the context of Larson's study again highlights the limits of single-axis approaches.

In Britain, a growing body of work has documented hostile national newspaper representations of British women in politics. Several studies have detailed the disproportionately negative tone of coverage afforded to the 1997 intake of New Labour women MPs (Ward 2000, Childs 2004). However, it seems that the upward trend in women's descriptive representation at each subsequent election has done little to normalise women's presence within elite politics and alleviate these gendered coverage patterns. O'Neill, Savigny, and Cann (2015) suggest that in recent decades, not only have female MPs received more negative coverage than men, but that this trend actually appears to be worsening. Ross et al. (2013:15) note examples of coverage in the run up to the 2010 UK general election in which, even when female candidates were praised for their political aptitude, they were simultaneously undermined by commentary on their appearance. This echoes reporting of Margaret Beckett's 1994 Labour leadership bid, which criticised overt gender bias but simultaneously reproduced it covertly by, for example, addressing a reader who is implicitly gendered as male and frequently employing metaphors drawn from the private sphere in order to describe the female candidate (Walsh 1998). Furthermore, there has also been the suggestion by female MPs that their male counterparts' "own ambivalences toward increasing numbers of women politicians means that some 'women-bashing' copy may originate from deep within the party structure itself, on both sides of the House" (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996:105). Perhaps surprisingly, the effects of candidate race on patterns of coverage in Britain have not previously been subject to analysis. Therefore, this is among the key contributions made by the thesis.

Returning to Gershon's (2012) intersectional study, when comparing the tone of coverage of all racial, gendered groups, the results indicate no statistically significant differences in tone of coverage between white women (the baseline category) and either minority or white men. However, coverage is more negative in tone for minority women. In contrast to many of the single-axis findings presented here, minority women may

“face significant barriers in their effort to capture favorable coverage, even as the lot of their minority male and Anglo female colleagues has improved” (Gershon 2012:117). While it is important to note that the results of a single intersectional study only provide a limited challenge to single-axis work in this area, these findings certainly provide preliminary empirical evidence for the implications of intersectional theory, as well as the imperative for greater empirical investigation of these dynamics. On this theoretical basis, I expect that the tone of British and US national and US local coverage will be particularly negative for minority women.

H₂: Minority women’s press coverage is more negative than that of other groups.

Quantitative tests of these hypotheses provide a broad picture of possible systematic intersectional patterns. The models can control for candidate factors such as incumbency and partisanship. However, qualitative analysis of the focus of articles in which minority women appear is necessary in order to identify additional sporadic factors which are likely to affect the frequency and tone of coverage they receive. For example, by assessing the extent to which factors such as political scandal, celebrity, or specific events during the campaign period affect coverage received by particular individuals within each group. Furthermore, if the hypotheses regarding frequency and tone are supported, qualitative analysis will help to explore whether candidate identity is the driving force behind this increased visibility. For example, if minority women do receive more coverage in the national press, by considering whether these articles employ an intersectional novelty frame.

Secondly, while cases of minority and white, male and female candidates are sufficient in number for quantitative comparisons to be made, the comparative scarcity of minority female candidates means that observations will be too few for a quantitative analysis of variation by ethnicity among minority women. Theories of colourism suggest that differences in tone may arise among, for example, African American women and Latinas due to the effects of skin tone (Hunter 2007, Hochschild and Weaver 2007). Therefore, the qualitative analysis will attend to variation in coverage *among* minority

women as well as between minority women and other groups. In addition, the combination of intersectional identity and partisan affiliation may also result in variation in the tone of portrayals of minority women. For example, it is unclear how this will affect evaluations those on the political Right who confound expectations regarding partisan affiliation (discussed below). Therefore, qualitative analysis will also explore variation in the tone of coverage of minority women conditional on which political party they represent. Having considered the intersectional effects of minority women's race and gender on the frequency and tone of campaign coverage they receive, I now turn to its substantive content.

3.2 Viability versus substantive issue coverage

Discussion of the 'horserace' is a major feature of coverage of all candidates, regardless of their racial and/or gendered identity. Given the largely symbolic nature of some early campaigns by women and minorities, it is also unsurprising that in the past reporters have raised questions concerning their 'viability', or chances of winning. This aspect of coverage is important because voters' evaluations of candidates are influenced by assessments of viability (Abramowitz 1989, Abramson et al. 1992). In addition, the findings discussed below show that where campaign coverage focuses on the polls, it may, as a result, devote less attention to candidates' substantive issue preferences or policy positions. Thus, viability and issue coverage may constitute a zero-sum game.

There is also evidence that when minority and/or female candidates *do* receive substantive issue coverage, this tends to focus on policy areas stereotypically associated with minorities and women, such as race relations or childcare. So, in a mediated environment where politicians already compete for limited space to demonstrate their electability and expertise, white men appear to be advantaged in three ways. They are subject to less scrutiny regarding their ability to capture votes, they garner more space to put forward their ideas, and they face less limitation in terms of the areas of policy they are framed as capable of tackling.

Recent findings suggest that all of these racial/gendered patterns of coverage may be improving for minority male and white female candidates. However, the combination of historic underrepresentation and doubly othered racial-gendered identity raises the question of whether this is also the case for minority women seeking office, or whether they face compounded disadvantages regarding the content of campaign coverage they receive. The following discussion first reviews single-axis literature on gender, race and the quantity and quality of viability or horserace coverage, before considering rates of substantive issue coverage and the ways in which issues have been grouped as those stereotypically associated with women and/or minorities.

3.2.1 Viability or the horserace

Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) and Kahn (1994a) have set methodological precedents for the measurement of differential rates of horserace coverage among male and female candidates. Instances of references to candidates' viability are defined as "any consideration of a candidate's strength or chances of winning: strength of campaign organization, poll results, debate performance, and overall likelihood of winning" (Kahn 1994a: 162). Kahn's (1994a) analysis of local newspaper coverage of 26 senatorial and 21 gubernatorial races from 1982-1988 revealed that while no differences in levels of horserace coverage were observed for women and men running for governor, in senatorial races women's viability was discussed significantly more frequently than men's: in 27 per cent of articles compared to just 21 per cent.⁷ Furthermore, women running in Senate races received lower viability ratings than their male counterparts. Thus, they were subjected to greater scrutiny and portrayed as less electable.

However, as women's rates of electoral success and descriptive representation have improved over time, it seems that so too, have some patterns in this aspect of their coverage (Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003, Serini, Powers, and Johnson 1998). Khan's (1994) design has been replicated by Jalalzai (2006) to analyse coverage of senatorial and gubernatorial candidates between

⁷ Kahn's analysis does not account for why this difference in senatorial and gubernatorial coverage emerges.

1992 and 2000. The findings show that in this later time period, no statistically significant gendered differences in the frequency of references to viability were observed in coverage of campaigns for either level of office. Although Jalazai's findings also show that while women running for governor between 1992 and 2000 received less positive viability ratings than men overall, their "lower viability ratings are in line with their decreased success rates between 1992 and 2000" (2006:621). Furthermore, viability coverage of Senate races was actually slightly more positive for women than men. Thus, when contextual factors are accounted for, Jalalzai's findings indicate an improvement in gendered coverage patterns regarding both the frequency and tone of viability assessments. However, the effect of success rates on the tone of viability coverage may present a problem for minority female candidates. Due to their historical descriptive underrepresentation, minority women enjoy lower rates of incumbency than all other intersectional groups (discussed in Section 4.3). This means that they may be empirically less likely to win their races, creating a troublesome circular effect in terms of perceptions of electability.

While promising trends do seem to be emerging in gendered patterns of viability coverage for predominantly white women, there remains substantial gendered variation in patterns of coverage at the highest levels of office. Falk (2008) found that in US presidential races over the last century, male candidates polling at the same level as their female opponents typically received three times the number of positive viability mentions, and women received more overall horserace coverage, to the detriment of coverage of policy positions. Although Heldman, Carroll, and Olson (2005) found that reporting of Elizabeth Dole's bid for the Republican presidential nomination was no more likely to mention viability than that of George Bush, the tone of her viability coverage was consistently unfavourable in comparison to that of her opponent. The authors raise concern at this differential treatment, asking:

Would Dole have stayed in the race longer had her media coverage been more equitable? Probably, as perceived viability and ability to raise money are closely related, and rumours which circulated in the media about her withdrawal eroded her image as a serious candidate (Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005:332).

More recently, Lawrence and Rose (2010:4) identify the phenomenon of ‘exit talk’: including explicit calls for candidates to leave a race, denials that the candidate would withdraw, and “speculation about the possibility of withdrawal and descriptive or speculative discussion of a candidate’s continued viability and/or his or her reasons for remaining (or not remaining) in the race”. Analysing coverage Hillary Clinton’s 2008 Democratic nomination campaign, they find that she was subject to greater levels of exit talk than that of her historical predecessors, yet with so many other factors in play and so few comparators, this cannot be purely attributed to gender. This is important for minority women running for the US and UK lower houses because, like female presidential candidates, their historical and continued underrepresentation means they continue to be perceived as trailblazers, and therefore improvements in this aspect of white women’s coverage may not yet extend to their minority counterparts.

The importance of accounting for contextual factors has also been highlighted in studies of the effects of candidate race on viability coverage. For example, in a study of parliamentary campaigns in Canada, Tolley (2015b:969) notes that white candidates are more often incumbents and more senior, and “as a result, by a number of measures, they simply are more politically viable than their visible minority competitors. It is thus necessary to compare similarly qualified candidates”. However, when both race and incumbency are accounted for, her results indicate that “some degree of racial mediation is occurring, with journalists making choices and judgements about the potential of candidates based partly on their race” (2015b:979). This underlines the methodological concerns and considerations noted in the previous section on the overall frequency and tone of coverage. As I show in Chapter Four, there are substantial intersectional differences in the viability of US and British⁸ lower house candidates of varying racial and gendered identities. I therefore employ a matching strategy in order to control for these differences and isolate the effect of racial-gendered intersectional identity on representations of their viability.

⁸ Northern Irish seats in the UK parliament are excluded from the sampling frame.

US studies focusing on candidate race and viability coverage have not been conducted on the same scale as those focusing on candidate gender. However, Jeffries' (2002) case study of Douglas L. Wilder's (D-Virginia) 1989 gubernatorial bid shows that despite his strong chance of winning, and the eventual electoral success which made him Virginia's first black state-wide official, he received disproportionately negative coverage and his "campaign was portrayed in a manner that was not consistent with his credentials and standing" (694). Similarly, Sylvie (1995) found that in the course of four mayoral races taking place between 1967 and 1990, although black candidates received less viability coverage than their white counterparts, this coverage was also less positive. While these case studies are limited in their generalisability, a recent analysis of print media reporting of campaigns by 68 white and visible minority candidates in the 2008 Canadian federal elections provides some of the most robust and up-to-date findings in this area. Employing both manual and automated content analysis, Tolley (2015b) finds little evidence of differential treatment of minority and white incumbent candidates, but that minority challengers face considerable disadvantages in that they are much less likely to be portrayed as political insiders or as politically viable.

Qualitative analyses have also identified news frames which racialise candidate viability. Reeves (1997) and Traugott, Price, and Czilli (1993) note that contests which include minority and white candidates have been promoted in terms of their potential for racial conflict by highlighting the ethnicities of candidates and their voters, ensuring that this is a salient feature of the competition. For example, by focusing on the assumed advantages or disadvantages associated with the demographics of the district, or competing interests among various groups within the local electorate. In addition, Caliendo and McIlwain (2004b:13) have identified what they describe as a 'competitive value frame': "race as a basis for commenting on the value of competition in Black vs. Black campaigns". For example, this can be observed in coverage which renders racial identity a salient feature of the horserace by espousing the positive value of electoral competition between multiple minority candidates.

These findings together therefore highlight the need for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the presence, tone and framing of viability coverage in reporting of campaigns by minority women. British studies have not yet systematically tested for racial or gendered differences in horserace coverage. This is unsurprising for two reasons. Firstly, British elections have historically been less candidate-centred than those in the US, and therefore coverage is likely to focus on competition at the party rather than the individual level. Secondly, differences in national media markets mean that British scholarship has focused on national rather than local newspapers, which only pay limited attention to individual constituency races such as the most competitive, or those deemed newsworthy due to some other perceived novelty. However, some gendered patterns and frames have emerged which suggest the utility of further analysis in this area. For example, Ross (1995:503) argues that in coverage of the 1994 Labour leadership contest, “headlines and aggregated statistics disguised significant differences in voter preference across specific groups” arguably exaggerating [Margaret] Beckett’s disadvantage; she eventually only lost by nine percentage points”. More recently, Childs (2004:66) notes that in interviews conducted in 2000 with the 1997 intake of female New Labour MPs some felt they were framed as choosing not to seek re-election due to their gender.

The quality and quantity of viability coverage afforded to minority women in the 2010 UK context is particularly interesting because it was such a breakthrough year in terms of their increase in numbers, yet there was also a great degree of controversy regarding the progressive measures that the Conservative Party in particular had employed in order to place them in winnable seats (Hill 2013). For minority women in both countries, their novelty value and the possibility of intersectional ‘firsts’ means that references to the horserace and assessments of viability are likely to be particularly prominent in their coverage. Furthermore, their historical underrepresentation is likely to lead to enhanced scrutiny of their chances of winning. Therefore, I formulate the following hypotheses:

H3: The frequency of references to viability is highest in coverage of minority women.

H4: The tone of references to viability is most negative in coverage of minority women.

While single-axis literature has identified racial or gendered frames in relation to candidates' campaign strategies or likelihood of electoral success, this also raises questions regarding if and how intersectional frames arise in discussion of minority women's viability. Specifically, whether they are viewed as being advantaged or disadvantaged by their identity, and what tone emerges regarding discussion of measures such as Cameron's 'A-list' or 'priority list' to diversify political parties by placing minority women in winnable seats. Related is whether such measures are linked to descriptions of minority women's political expertise: are they seen as less qualified due to the use of progressive measures in candidate recruitment or is their presence taken as a positive sign of political progress? Therefore, qualitative analysis will consider the extent to which and how intersectional identity is explicitly linked to discussion of minority female candidates' viability, including their relationships with political parties, and voters.

3.3 Issues and substantive policy coverage

Regarding issue and substantive policy coverage, two patterns emerge from the literature, and apply similarly to both female and minority candidates. Firstly, research has suggested that while reporters may devote particular attention to the viability of women and minority candidates, they simultaneously receive less policy coverage than white men. Secondly, that when female or minority candidates do receive substantive policy coverage, it tends to focus on issues stereotypically associated with women and minorities, rather than 'masculine' policy areas. Furthermore, this difference in the type of issues featuring in coverage of different groups does not appear to be a reflection of candidates' gendered self-presentations or campaign strategies (Dolan 2005). Thus, scholars argue that where these differences in coverage exist, they are a reflection of media bias rather than contextual candidate factors. This is important because masculine issues carry more prestige: voters rank them as more important and associate them with higher levels of electability and higher political office (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, Kahn 1992, Meeks 2012).

However, as with other aspects of coverage, recent evidence suggests that gendered patterns of coverage may be waning, at least for white women and in the US (Lavery 2013, Fowler and Lawless 2009, Jalalzai 2006, Devitt 2002, Smith 1997). What then, for minority women? The salience of their intersectional identity and status as ‘intersectional firsts’ may be to the detriment of their ability to garner levels of policy coverage comparable to other racial, gendered groups; and this combined with the substantial overlap in ‘female’ and ‘minority’ issues may result in an especially narrow focus in issue coverage that they do receive.

3.3.1 Frequency of issue coverage

Early and oft-cited studies of US senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns find women to be at a consistent disadvantage in garnering coverage of their issue stances and policy preferences at election time. Kahn (1994a:164) found that coverage of women contained, on average, 22 paragraphs focusing on substantive issues per week, compared to 28 for men, and this was despite women being more likely than men to refer to issues in their campaign advertisements: 65 per cent compared to 58 per cent (see also, Kahn and Goldenberg 1991). Kahn has therefore argued that “there is considerable incongruity between what the candidates are saying and what the newspapers are reporting” (1994a:167). Similarly, Devitt’s (1999) analysis of six state-wide races found that coverage of male gubernatorial paid more attention to positions and priorities. More recently, a rare comparative analysis found that national newspaper coverage 2006 Canadian, 2004 Australian, and 2006 US elections consistently devoted less space to substantive policy when covering female candidates across all three countries (Kittilson and Fridkin 2008). However, no candidate matching strategy was used in this comparative study. This may mean, therefore that these differences are likely to be exacerbated by racial and gendered hierarchies within parties. For example, due to white male representatives holding more seniority and being positioned in leadership roles which correspond with masculine policy areas. Therefore, again, this points to the importance of accounting rival explanations in order to pinpoint racial and/or gendered *effects* on coverage rather

than providing mere description which also reflects racial and gendered political institutions and therefore does not necessarily identify media bias.

More recent single-axis analyses of local US print and television coverage point to a more positive trend for women, who in the aggregate appear to be closing the gap in policy coverage (Lavery 2013, Fowler and Lawless 2009, Jalalzai 2006, Devitt 2002, Smith 1997). For example, Lavery (2013:896) finds that in television news, only incumbent males receive more coverage than female representatives, and then differences are slight. Similarly, Fowler and Lawless (2009:523-525) find that across 27 gubernatorial races from the 1990s, women overall received slightly more issue coverage than male contenders. However, among incumbents, men were 3.7 percentage points more likely to receive coverage on their positions.

Research considering race and substantive issue coverage is much more limited. Caliendo and McIlwain (2004b) have investigated the relationship between the presence of racial frames and discussion of substantive policy issues in election campaign coverage. The authors call this the 'issue authenticity' frame, in which African American candidates' policy positions are evaluated on the degree to which they conform to "traditional norms of black political ideology" (2004:16). Thus, they find that, perhaps contrary to expectations, racial frames do not *replace* discussion of substantive policy references. So, while viability versus substantive policy coverage may be a zero-sum game, candidates' identity and policy references may also be textually linked. This suggests that, whatever the level of issue coverage minority women receive, when it does appear it is likely to be inflected with reference to their identity and intersectional stereotypes. This will therefore be addressed by my qualitative analysis.

Just as research into the effects of candidate race on issue coverage is somewhat scarce, the policy content of coverage of female politicians in Britain has not been subject to any large scale quantitative analysis. There is however plenty of evidence of newspapers' emphasis on women's 'sex and couture' (Ross et al. 2013:3), which may replace substantive policy coverage and therefore mirror trends already observed in the US.

Although single-axis results are mixed, I expect that the novelty of minority women as intersectional ‘firsts’ and resulting focus on their viability and will leave little space for consideration of their policy preferences. Therefore, my next hypothesis states:

H5: The frequency of references to substantive issues or policy is lowest in coverage of minority women.

3.3.2 Masculine, feminine and minority issues

In addition to the relationship between race, gender and the frequency of issue coverage, scholars have also investigated links between candidate identity and the *types* of issues featured. Put simply, single-axis scholarship suggests that women’s issue coverage tends to focus on ‘feminine’ policy areas, and minority candidates’ issue coverage is likewise dominated by references to ‘racial’ or ‘minority’ issues. Research shows that voters account for candidate identity in their evaluations of issue competency, for example, “as supposed caretakers, female candidates are culturally viewed as better at handling ‘compassion issues,’ such as health care and education, while, as supposed protectors and breadwinners, male candidates are viewed as better equipped to handle national security and the economy” (Meeks and Domke 2015:6, see also, Herrnson et al., 2003; Lawless, 2004; Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009). Interestingly, there is “substantial overlap between Black and women politicians with regard to the issues they are seen as capable of handling” (Schneider 2009:21). Reviewing the literature on race, gender and the content of policy coverage, I find that there is also substantial overlap in the types of issues featured in female and minority candidates’ policy coverage, as the Table 3.1 demonstrates. While some issues are uniquely associated with women, all of the issues which are stereotypically associated with minorities feature prominently in coverage of both (male) minority and (white) female candidates. I anticipate therefore that this overlap will result in an especially narrow focus on of ‘feminine’ and ‘minority’ issues in coverage of minority women. This is a matter of concern because in the voters tend to rank masculine issues such as the economy as most important, as well as associating masculine issues with positive

evaluations of viability and higher levels of political office (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, b, Kahn 1992, Meeks 2012)

Table 3.1 Stereotypical issue association by candidate identity

Masculine	Feminine	Minority & Feminine
Economy / Business / Taxes / Trade Police / Crime Foreign Policy / National Security Defence / Military Jobs / Globalisation Gun Control Agriculture	Healthcare Reproductive rights / Abortion Education Unemployment / Pay equity Elderly / Family Issues / Childcare Government spending Environment Women's Rights / Women in Politics	Poverty/ Welfare/ 'The Poor' Civil rights / Affirmative Action/ Race Equal Opportunities Social issues
(Alexander and Andersen 1993, Lavery 2013, Lawless 2004, Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009)	(Alexander and Andersen 1993, Schaffner 2005, Kahn 1996, Hutchings et al. 2004, Lavery 2013, Woodall and Fridkin 2007, Gordon and Miller 2005, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, b, Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009)	(Schneider 2009, Jalalzai 2006, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, Kinder and Sanders 1990, Schaffner and Gadson 2004, Niven and Zilber 1996, Terkildsen 1996, Barber and Gandy 1990, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b, Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003)

While findings regarding other aspects of coverage have shown a progressive trend towards parity in representations of women and men, the evidence regarding gendered issue coverage leaves less room for optimism. Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) and Kahn (1994a) identify clear gendered patterns in print coverage of campaigns for state-wide office. For example, between 1982 and 1988, "Female' issues are mentioned 40% of the time for female candidates, but less than one-third of the time (30%) for male candidate" (Kahn 1994a:166). Several recent studies suggest that these trends have continued in subsequent elections. Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson (2003:672) find similar patterns in Senate and gubernatorial elections in 2000, and furthermore "the association of male candidates with the category of masculine issues significantly increased from the primary to the general elections". This therefore suggests that effects increased as the likely impact of coverage became more critical (see also, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001).

While some studies do present contradictory results, indicating parity in the type of issue coverage women and men receive (Smith 1997, Lavery 2013, Fowler and Lawless 2009, Jalalzai 2006), these come with several significant caveats. For example, Smith (1997:78) asserts he that “found no broad-scale issue stereotyping on a par with that reported by Kahn”, yet he also notes that his results show that among the four most frequently mentioned issues by gender ‘welfare’ replaced ‘economic concerns’ in female candidates’ coverage. Shifts in political landscape and methodological developments also confound evaluation of the extent to which conflicting findings may represent progress. For example, the political context of the 1980s focused greatly on foreign policy conflicts and economic troubles, while in the 1990s a variety of ‘female’ issues came to the fore such as health-care reform at both the state and national level, and this is reflected in the high proportions of ‘female’ issue paragraphs relative to ‘male’ Jalalzai (2006:623).

Although this evidence is inconclusive, I suspect that gains made by white women may not reflect the experiences of minority female candidates. This is partly because findings regarding differences in the content of issue coverage for minority and white candidates are less equivocal. There is a substantial body of evidence to suggest that reporters emphasise issues stereotypically associated with minorities when covering African American candidates and representatives (Schaffner and Gadson 2004, Niven and Zilber 1996, Terkildsen 1996, Barber and Gandy 1990). For example, television news coverage of African Americans in Congress has been found to focus largely on race-related issues, and as a result “constituents are left with the impression that the legislator’s work in Washington is focused narrowly on those topics” (Schaffner and Gadson 2004:613). Thus, “local television news stations may be partially responsible for the prevailing stereotype of African-American House members who are narrowly focused on race-oriented issues” (Schaffner and Gadson 2004:605). In addition, Niven and Zilber (1996) found that news coverage of African Americans tends to emphasise local rather than national issues. There has been little large-N analysis of minority candidates of other ethnicities, but case studies suggest similar patterns. Following Latina candidate Nydia M. Velazquez’s (D-NY 7th District) election, media coverage of her work as a legislator

painted her as an outsider, a foreigner and focused more on issues to do with Puerto Rico than New York (Larson 2006:246). This is problematic because experimental studies show that the stereotyping of Black and Hispanic politicians as more liberal than their white counterparts means that “even in ‘high information’ environments that provide details of a legislator’s record, partisan and ideological stereotypes of non-White politicians can distort perceptions of what they have done in office and skew their approval” (Jones 2014:285, see also McDermott, 1998).

The story is not entirely negative however. For the few minority and/or female Republican candidates, these racial effects can moderate partisan perceptions: the liberal stereotype can actually make minority Republicans appear more moderate (Jones 2014, Koch 2000). Yet, Meeks and Domke (2015:18) find that “Republican women candidates need to cultivate an image that effectively balances both party and gender ownership”. They theorise that is because although Republican voters prioritise the importance of ‘masculine’ issue competency, they also expect female candidates to demonstrate ‘feminine’ traits by embracing stereotypically ‘feminine’ issues. As a result, “Republican women may be less likely to benefit from issue competency stereotypes among Republican voters than Democratic women do among Democratic voters” (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009:490). Thus, issue stereotyping may actually prove a double-edged sword for the cohorts of Conservative and Republican minority women in 2010 and 2012.

While US research has focused on the possible negative effects of being associated with ‘women’s’ or ‘minority’ issues, studies of British press coverage have focused more on debates regarding getting women’s issues on the agenda in a context in which female politicians and commentators have risked generating a backlash by lamenting the marginalisation of women in the process (Campbell and Childs 2010:761).

I expect however, that the extent of the breakthrough in descriptive representation for minority women in 2010 will lead to heightened salience of their intersectional identity, and therefore speculation regarding the degree to which they will provide substantive

representation, which will in turn lead to narrow focus on 'female' and 'minority' issues in coverage of their campaigns. I therefore hypothesise the following:

H6: The frequency of references to stereotypically 'feminine' and 'minority' issues will be highest in minority women's policy coverage.

H7: The frequency of references to stereotypically (white) 'masculine' issues will be lowest in minority women's policy coverage.

Again, while these tests provide a broad picture of intersectional patterns, a more detailed qualitative analysis is necessary to investigate the extent to which policy priorities, positions or expertise are explicitly linked to minority women's intersectional identity. For example, are minority women framed as possible substantive representatives of female and/or minority interests, and does this corroborate or contradict their own statements regarding policy priorities? This is particularly significant given that there may be conflicts between the interests of parties and individual candidates in this respect. While there is an imperative for parties to demonstrate their modernity via their diversity, 'diverse' candidates may prefer to emphasise their broad based appeal, focusing on stereotypically (white) 'masculine' policy areas for example. The qualitative analysis will therefore help to disaggregate whether references to 'feminine' or 'minority' issues emanate from candidates, parties or other commentators.

3.4 Explicit and latent foregrounding of gender and race

The final aspect of coverage under investigation is the foregrounding of minority women's intersectional identity. Existing literature shows that candidates' race and gender are made salient in a number of explicit and latent ways. Firstly, and most obviously, ostensibly positive 'first' or 'novelty' frames applied to trailblazing candidates, as well as overt references to race and gender explicitly render these aspects of candidates' identity salient. Secondly, references to candidates' religion, background, appearance and family life constitute latent foregrounding of race and gender. Many of these frames are problematic because they contradict masculine leadership norms, but

without them, women and minorities risk perception as ‘unfeminine’ or failing to be ‘racially authentic’ (Terkildsen and Damore 1999, Caliendo and McIlwain 2004a). From an intersectional perspective, questions arise regarding whether minority women are represented primarily in terms of their race and gender, and how such references are used to frame their candidacies.

3.4.1 Explicit foregrounding of gender and race

‘First woman’ frames are one of the most obvious ways in which female candidates’ gender is foregrounded, and their frequent presence in campaign coverage is well documented (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005, Falk 2012, Ross et al. 2013). However, there is some debate around the effects of foregrounding women’s positions as political ‘firsts’. Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) suggest that the frame is associated with increased frequency of coverage, while Falk (2008:37) argues that despite this association, the frame’s emphasis on the “notion of women as out of place and unnatural in the political sphere may be longer lasting and have important political consequences”. Evidence of this can be seen in the effects of the moniker of ‘Blair’s Babes’ applied to the 1997 intake of female New Labour MPs:

Problems only really set in for the women when their novelty—the prime ingredient of their newsworthiness—wore off and newspapers, already spoiling for a chance to take the shine off New Labour, demanded within months that they justify Tony Blair’s boast that they would ‘transform the culture of politics’ (Ward 2000:25).

While gendered first frames may set up unreasonable expectations of the substantive changes women are able to contribute to the ‘culture of politics’, racial first frames often imply an element of risk associated with minority representatives, and do not need to express any overtly negative sentiment to do so. For example, in the case of L. Douglas Wilder’s 1989 gubernatorial campaign:

Although the overwhelming majority of references to Wilder’s race were positive, the media’s constant reminders that if Wilder won the election he would become the first Black governor in the United States may have inadvertently hurt him. This theme highlighted Wilder’s race, in effect saying,

'He's different; he's not like any governor Virginia has had.' Even though Wilder campaigned as the logical successor to Baliles and Robb, the news media's repeated references that Wilder would be the nation's first Black governor may have sent a different message to many White voters, the message that the election of a Black governor would signal a drastic change in the status quo (Jeffries 2002-692).

At the UK 2010 and US 2012 general elections minority women of diverse ethnicities and religious backgrounds made electoral gains, and both the Conservative and Republican parties were particularly keen to promote their candidates' 'diversity', for example by allotting prime conference speaking slots to minority candidates and ensuring that they were prominent in campaign materials. However, regardless of whether campaigns by female or minority candidates are deemed to constitute 'firsts', a substantial body of evidence demonstrates that explicit references women's gender and the ethnicity of African and Asian Americans and Latinos pervade their coverage (Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003, Walsh 1998, Ross et al. 2013, Niven and Zilber 1996, e.g., Clay 1992, Reeves 1997, Denis Wu and Lee 2005, Caliendo and McIlwain 2006, Larson 2006).

Meanwhile, the racial-gendered identity of white men running for office is unquestioned. For example, during mixed-gender senatorial and gubernatorial races in 2000, 10.5 per cent of general election articles referenced female candidates' gender, while none commented on that of their male opponents (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003:667). Similarly, in local television news coverage of the 106th Congress, 13 per cent of coverage of African American legislators was race oriented, compared to just three per cent for nonblack representatives (Schaffner and Gadson 2004:614). While existing research has tended to posit coverage of white males as a baseline, this pattern also extends to comparisons between white women and minority men: in Virginia's 2003 gubernatorial contest between a minority man and minority woman, coverage of the female candidate in question focused more on her gender while the minority candidate was framed predominantly in terms of his race (Major and Coleman 2008:315).

Consideration of racial emphases in the US is complicated however by the dynamics of majority minority districts. Caliendo and McIlwain (2004b) have built on the work of Terkildsen and Damore (1999) in identifying frames of “racial authenticity” deployed by African American seeking votes in majority minority districts. Similarly, Larson (2006) has documented that when Nydia M. Velazquez (D-NY 7th District) became the first Puerto Rican woman to serve as a US House Representative in 1992, beating a white male incumbent, she made her ethnicity central to her campaign and began her victory speech in Spanish. However, Bositis (2001) shows a generational split among African American representatives, in which the newly elected are less likely to foreground their race. This is unsurprising given that more recently elected representatives are also more likely to run in majority white districts and/ or represent the Republican Party. Similar patterns can be seen in Britain, in which until 2010 minority women in the Commons had solely represented the Labour Party, and that year won seats in a broader range of rural and urban constituencies than had previously been the case. This suggests then, that for minority female candidates in Britain and US, there may be limited incentive or utility in highlighting their intersectional identity.

Despite these limited incentives, a number of factors suggest that minority women’s race or ethnicity will be exceptionally salient in coverage of their campaigns. Firstly, Caliendo and McIlwain (2006) note that Latino candidates running against white opponents are more likely than African Americans to be framed in terms of their ethnicity due to the anomaly of this type of contest. Furthermore, this is despite the fact that Latino, Asian American and other minority candidates have been found to use racial frames in their political advertising less frequently than their black counterparts (McIlwain and Caliendo 2009:14). If this is indeed the case, the anomalous status of minority women, particularly those who additionally constitute partisan, religious or ethnic firsts, means that their references to race or ethnicity will be extremely frequent within their coverage. The increasing diversity of seats in which minority women have waged viable campaigns in recent years also points to a rise in racial framing beyond their control. This is because while African American House members’ legislative record on minority issues does not predict the level of racial focus within their coverage,

candidates in less diverse media markets (majority white districts) are more likely to be represented with reference to racial issues (Schaffner and Gadson 2004:616).

In addition to the US studies cited above, there is plenty of evidence that female politicians in Britain are represented first and foremost in terms of their gender, contradictory to their own intentions. For example, during Margaret Beckett's Labour Party leadership campaign, the media "ignored her attempt to construct herself first and foremost as an experienced politician, and only secondarily as a female politician" (Walsh 1998:203). Several election cycles later, in 2010 the frame continued to be used emphasise women's difference, ensuring "that the role of politician continues to be codified as male, with women politicians as 'other'" (Ross et al. 2013:7). Although there has been little British analysis of the electoral implications of this phenomenon, it has been argued that it leads to false comparisons, such as that of Beckett and Thatcher (Walsh 1998:204). This may be particularly problematic for minority women given that obvious comparators are individuals who have attracted controversy, such as Britain's longest serving black female MP, Diane Abbott. In Abbott's case, much of the controversy surrounding her has arisen in response to her comments on racial issues.⁹ Therefore, this may impact upon the way in which subsequent minority women are viewed if they speak out on racial matters.

The way in which trailblazing women's gender is highlighted also has lasting effects on the way in which successive cohorts of women are framed. Subsequent representations of women politicians in Britain have often been inflected with references to 'Blair's Babes' (Campbell and Childs 2010), exemplified by the 2012 British headline "Curse of

⁹ For example, in January 2012: Abbott's suggestion via twitter that "white people love playing divide and rule" led to widespread media attention and several members of the public contacted the Metropolitan Police about her comments: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/9001757/Diane-Abbott-will-not-face-police-action-over-racist-tweet.html>. Later that month, Abbott faced calls to resign again after citing difficulties in hailing taxis as an example of the racism black people in the UK continue to experience: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/8997510/Diane-Abbott-taxi-drivers-refuse-to-pick-up-black-passengers.html>

Cameron's cuties"¹⁰ referring to newly-elected and appointed Tory women, including profiles of first Asian Conservative woman MP, Priti Patel, and former Conservative Party Joint-chairman [sic] and first Muslim cabinet member, Baroness Warsi. Given these dynamics, I expect that references to minority women's race and gender will be especially frequent in their coverage. Yet, while previous research has focused on comparisons with white men, I am concerned with intersectional differences among women and among minorities. Therefore, I hypothesise that:

H8 Minority women's gender is explicitly foregrounded more frequently than that of white women.

H9 Minority women's race/ethnicity is explicitly foregrounded more frequently than that of minority men.

This matters because racial resentment has been shown to affect political opinion-formation regarding both candidates and policies (Kinder and Winter 2001, Hutchings 2009, Sears et al. 1997, Terkildsen 1993, Williams 1990), and racial priming in mediated communication can affect political decision making (Mendelberg 2001, Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002, Valentino, Traugott, and Hutchings 2002). Therefore, even without explicit reference to negative racial stereotypes, the consistent foregrounding of race (particularly in majority white districts) may hinder the success of minority candidates. Similarly, British studies have found that minority candidates, Muslims in particular, suffer a racial penalty in vote capture, (Curtice, Fisher, and Ford 2010, Fisher et al. 2011), and recent polling suggests that a third of Britain electorate remain uncomfortable with the idea of an ethnic minority prime minister.¹¹ Gendered stereotypes of male and female politicians also persist in the US (Sanbonmatsu 2002, Schneider and Bos 2013). Although they do not necessarily translate into an overall

¹⁰ "The Curse of Cameron's cuties: As Louise Mensch waltzes off, we look at the very mixed fortunes of Dave's other A-list women MPs", *Daily Mail*, 10.08.2012 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2186800/Curse-Camerons-cuties-As-Louise-Mensch-waltzes-look-mixed-fortunes-Daves-A-list-women-MPs.html#ixzz2F8jb1rIE>

¹¹ <http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/10/03/35-electorate-uncomfortable-with-ethnic-minority-/>

electoral disadvantage in either country (Smith and Fox 2001, Uhlaner and Schlozman 1986, Mackay 2004, Childs 2004, Lovenduski and Norris 2003), it is arguable that they may have effects on, for example, candidate ambition or selection processes.

However, it is arguably something of a leap to infer direct electoral effects from media references to candidates' race or ethnicity. Reviewing the extensive literature on the effects of racial priming, Caliendo and McIlwain (2006:50) are reluctant to posit a claim "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". In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, I would instead suggest that the importance of references to candidates' racial and/or gendered identities may also lie in their effects on legislative behaviour, and on women and minorities' political ambition and willingness to run in the first place (Dolan 2014). For example, Ward (2000) has noted that the effects of gendered media coverage of women MPs can be to make them wary of banding together and shame them into being less effective in providing substantive representation. This may result in a situation in which minority female MPs and congresswomen are expected to provide substantive representation to minority women in general while avoiding being narrowly typecast due to *possible* electoral effects. The qualitative analysis explores the content of frames which explicitly foreground candidates' race and/or gender, examining the tone and character of such frames, and what kind of assumptions and assertions are made regarding the descriptive and substantive representation of women and/or minorities, and measures to achieve this.

3.4.2 Latent foregrounding of gender and race

In addition to explicit references to minority and female candidates' race and gender, reporters also tend to refer to women's appearance and family more often than those of male candidates. I argue that these references, along with mentions of candidates' age and religion, constitute latent foregrounding of candidates' racial and gendered identity, and as the examples below show, further contribute to the problematic framing of political campaigns by minorities and/or women.

Media focus on the appearance of female candidates and representatives, relative to the absence of similar scrutiny of male politicians has been reported by studies from both the US and Britain (Bystrom 2006, Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005, Kittilson and Fridkin 2008, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, Ward 2000, Sones, Moran, and Lovenduski 2005, Stevens 2007, Webster 1990, Lavery 2013). Of particular concern are “spurious links made between outward appearance and ability to do the job” (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996:109). For example, this relationship was absent in coverage of male candidates Gordon Brown and David Cameron in 2010, whose description as “untidy and messy... apparently made them normal husbands, and in any case, did not detract from being good potential Prime Ministers” (Campbell and Childs 2010:774). Engaging with the politics of appearance (appearing in glossy photo shoots for example) “can also provide a limited means of image management and media attention for some women” (O’Neill, Savigny, and Cann 2015:19). However, ‘limited’ may well be the operative word in this context. This is because, as Murray (2010:13) notes when reviewing international literature on campaigns for executive office, demonstrates that female candidates consistently face a double bind in which they are “either trivialised for being pretty or ostracised for being plain”. For minority women, additional racial dynamics are manifestly present in coverage of their looks. Falk (2008) has noted that while references to white female presidential candidates’ appearance evaluated their clothing or attractiveness, references to African American candidate Carol Mosely-Braun’s appearance instead explicitly highlighted her race. It is likely to be the case therefore that for minority women, references to appearance simultaneously foreground their race and gender, and the tone of such references may convey attitudes about either or both.

Gendered stereotypes are also manifested in references to the personal lives of women in public life, and again form a double bind in which women are expected to conform to retrograde notions of domestic femininity which are in direct conflict with leadership norms (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, Ward 2000, Sones, Moran, and Lovenduski 2005, Stevens 2007, Murray 2010, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003).

Furthermore, reporting on female politicians' personal lives occasionally constitutes a direct challenge to their ability to do their job. For example, discussion surrounding work/life balance in coverage of New Labour women MPs created the impression that they were "unable to cope with the demands of family life and life in the House of Commons" (Childs 2004:65). Experimental research also shows that "[c]asting women in stereotypic roles leads voters to perceive female candidates as less able to fulfil the demands of public office and reduces support" (Bauer 2014:214).

Conversely, female candidates who defy gendered stereotypes by remaining unmarried or child-free are frequently subjected to scrutiny of their sexuality, and I would argue, by implication, their gender (McGregor 1996, Comrie 2006, Trimble and Treiberg 2010). Thus, this creates incentives to employ the risky strategy of highlighting their conformity with gendered expectations, despite the conflict between these and leadership stereotypes (Ross and Comrie 2012). For example, in 2012 Utah 5th District Congressional candidate, Mia B. Love (Rep.) made frequent references to being a 'mom' as well as a leader. For a black woman such as Love to highlight family life (which in her case, includes marriage to a white husband) is also to contradict racial stereotypes about absent fathers and 'welfare queens' (Hancock 2004).¹²

While women running for office have attempted to turn stereotypical focus on appearance and family to their advantage, a similar dynamic emerges in minority candidates' somewhat paradoxical use of racialised personal histories to position themselves as members of an in-group. We know that coverage of minority candidates and representatives references their backgrounds more often than that of white politicians (Major and Coleman 2008, McIlwain and Caliendo 2011, Niven and Zilber 2001). For example, in his 2008 presidential campaign, Barack Obama "managed the dilemmas around his identity by actively crafting an in-group identity that was oriented to an increasingly socially diverse America—a diversity that he himself exemplified and embodied as a leader" (Augoustinos and De Garis 2012:564).

¹² (for a characterisation of these dynamics in Michelle Obama's self representations, see Meyers 2013)

There has however, been less scholarly attention to whether and how latent references to candidate race or ethnicity are manifested in press coverage of political campaigns. While one study has noted that Asian American candidates are more likely to be described as embodying the ‘American dream’ than whites (Denis Wu and Lee 2005:235), this may not apply to other ethnicities and is US specific. I would suggest that one way in which latent references to race could be captured in a quantitative scheme is by employing religion as a proxy. The links between religion and racial-gendered identity in the US 2012 and British 2010 contexts are particularly interesting given the number of minority women’s candidacies which were notable in part because of the candidates’ faiths. These include Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI 2nd District) and Mia B. Love in the US (Hindu and Mormon, respectively) and several Muslim women in Britain. In addition, preliminary reading of the texts selected for analysis indicated that references to age were also highlighted candidate identity. Therefore, my final hypothesis states:

H10 The frequency of personal coverage (references to appearance, family, age or religion) is highest in coverage of minority women.

The literature shows that references to appearance and family are framed in a variety of ways, and that minority and/or female candidates have sometimes attempted to turn personal coverage to their advantage. This raises questions about the distinct ways in which such references may be framed in coverage of minority women compared to other candidates. Thus, in addition to testing whether intersectional differences arise in the level of personal coverage received by candidates from each racial, gendered group, I will also qualitatively analyse how the framing of such references varies depending on candidate identity. The qualitative analysis will explore, for example, whether references to minority women’s appearance focus on their perceived attractiveness– as has often been the case for white women– or if such references focus primarily on their racial identity, as well as whether and how such references are linked to competency and ideology. Similarly, looking qualitatively at references to spouses and care-giving responsibilities from an intersectional perspective provides the opportunity to assess

not just whether white and minority women's family lives are framed differently, but how, for example, fathers of varying racial identities are framed on the campaign trail. With regards to religion, we know nothing of the framing of Muslim women as political candidates in Western democracies, and whether, for example, references to these individuals' religious identity challenge or subvert stereotypes around Muslim women more generally. Although age has not been discussed in previous studies, this has also included as an indicator of latent foregrounding of identity as its presence was apparent in a preliminary reading of the text samples.

3.5 Summary

Having reviewed the extant literature on race, gender and press coverage of political campaigns, I have identified six key aspects of coverage which consistently vary depending on candidate gender or race. These are its frequency and tone, references to viability and substantive issues, and explicit and latent foregrounding of candidate identity. Reading this predominantly single-axis scholarship from an intersectional perspective, I have formulated ten quantitatively testable hypotheses concerning the combined effects of candidate race and gender on these aspects of coverage. Together, tests of these hypotheses will provide a test of intersectional theory regarding the *additive* effects of race and gender for minority women as political candidates. Collectively, the quantitative hypotheses anticipate that—with the exception of an expected visibility advantage in the *national* press—coverage of minority women will be less favourable than that of all other intersectional groups.

Looking at the qualitative findings generated by existing scholarship, regarding, for example, how candidate race and gender is framed in relation to viability, ideology, policy preferences and capability, I have identified several areas for qualitative exploration of how these frames may be applied to minority women as a specific group. Analysis of variation in the qualitative frames applied to minority women and other groups provides a test of the *multiplicative* effects of race and gender on minority women. This is because, while the quantitative hypotheses test whether particular coverage patterns are stronger or weaker in coverage of minority women relative to

other groups, the qualitative analysis investigates what *unique* frames arise in coverage of minority women. In the following chapter I outline the data and methods to conduct these analyses.

Chapter Four

Data and Methods

4.1 Overview

In this chapter I outline an observational design comprised of two complementary elements. The first is quantitative and explanatory, analysing broad patterns in coverage of candidates, conditional on their race and gender. I have first identified six aspects of coverage which may vary along racial and gendered lines, as discussed in the literature review. A quantitative content analysis is performed on local and national newspaper coverage of matched samples of minority women, minority men, white women and white men running for office. The aspects of coverage captured by the quantitative coding scheme become the dependent variables in statistical models which test the effects of candidates' intersectional identities on these outcomes, controlling for additional factors, discussed below.

The second aspect of the design is qualitative, providing a descriptive analysis of news frames applied to minority female candidates. The qualitative component of the analysis provides a rich contextual description of each of the aspects of coverage under investigation and adds nuance to the quantitative findings. For example, while the quantitative analysis tests whether minority women and other candidates receive comparable *amounts* of substantive policy or 'viability' coverage, the qualitative analysis investigates the extent to which and how this coverage links minority women's intersectional identity to their policy preferences or the strength of their campaigns. While the development of the quantitative coding instrument has drawn singularly from the extant literature on race, gender and coverage of election campaigns, the qualitative coding process has been more iterative, drawing on both the literature reviewed previously and reflections during the capture of quantitative data. Together, these address the question: *What are the intersectional effects of race and gender on news coverage of political campaigns by minority women?*

By performing both a large-N quantitative analysis—comparing minority women to other groups—as well as a smaller N qualitative analysis investigating intersectional frames specific to minority women, I aim to both explain broad differences between groups, as well as provide a detailed description of representations of the group at the centre of this study.

In this chapter I first discuss the rationale for case selection, before outlining the candidate sampling and matching strategies, text sampling and the quantitative coding scheme, including tests of inter-coder agreement. I then specify the explanatory models, control variables and hypothesis tests which constitute the quantitative analysis. Finally, I detail the qualitative coding scheme and process.

4.2 Case selection

The design comprises a two-country case study. The intellectual gains to be made from an analysis of campaigns for the US and UK lower houses are due to four empirical developments which firstly render intersectional analyses possible, and secondly suggest increasing similarity between both country contexts.

Firstly, recent sharp rises in the number of minority female candidates contrast with their historical exclusion from elite politics in each country. In both cases minority women's historical descriptive underrepresentation is despite large minority populations and substantial gains in the numbers of white women and minority men seated in the respective lower houses. For example, in 2012, the number of minority women elected to the House of Representatives rose by a fifth, from 24 to 29, (see Table 4.1) and included several religious and partisan 'firsts'. Yet, following that election, there remained nearly two minority men for every minority woman in the House. In Britain, recent developments are even starker. Prior to 2010, only three black women had ever been elected to the House of Commons: Diane Abbott (Hackney North and Stoke Newington) in 1987, Oona King (Bethnal Green and Bow) in 1997 and Dawn Butler (Brent Central) in 2005; all from the Labour Party. Table 4.2 shows that the 2010 general election saw a breakthrough, as seven minority women joined their ranks, including two

Conservatives, as well as the first Asian and Muslim women elected to Parliament. Therefore, although minority women’s numbers remain low in both houses, neither quantitative nor qualitative intersectional scholarship on the combined effects of race and gender on US and British election coverage is no longer entirely prohibited by a small-N problem.

Table 4.1 Descriptive representation in the House of Representatives by intersectional identity (excluding delegates)

Year	2010 (112 th)		2012 (113 th)		2014 (114 th)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	307	70.6	297	68.3	293	67.4
White female	47	10.8	52	12	52	12
Minority male	57	13.1	57	13.1	58	13.3
Minority female	24	5.5	29	6.7	32	7.4

(Sources: CAWP, 2011, 2013, 2015; Manning, 2011, 2014, 2015, own calculations.)

Table 4.2 Descriptive representation in House of Commons by intersectional identity

Year	2005		2010		2015	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	509	78.3	489	75.2	438	67.4
White female	126	19.4	134	20.6	171	26.3
minority male	13	2	16	2.5	21	3.2
minority female	2	0.3	11*	1.7	20	3.1

(Sources: Audickas et al., 2016; Keen & Cracknell, 2016, own calculations.)

*Nine minority women were elected at the 2010 general election, and a further two were elected at subsequent by-elections.

Secondly, while US elections have long been highly candidate-centred, recent research has noted similar developments in Britain. The country “has undergone a rapid process of partisan dealignment [...and] there is evidence that elections are becoming

increasingly localised, with various candidate characteristics becoming more important” (Campbell and Cowley 2013:1, see also, Stewart and Clarke, 1992). Therefore, while the framing of candidate identity has long been important in the US, its effects may be becoming increasingly significant in Britain as characteristics beyond partisan affiliation play a greater role in vote choice.

Thirdly, the Republican and Conservative parties are catching up with Labour and the Democrats in terms of candidate diversification. Both have been keen to promote this, evidenced by the invitation of black Republican woman Mia B. Love (R-UT 4th District) to speak at the 2012 Republican National Convention, and publicity surrounding David Cameron’s ‘A-list’ or ‘priority list’ in 2010. Indeed the ‘diversification’ of the Conservative Party was a key part of Cameron’s 2010 election strategy (Hill 2013). Rising inter-party competition to ensure that candidates are increasingly diverse provides the impetus to examine press responses to parties’ deployment of this strategy to generate broad appeal.

Finally, both countries have seen numerous recent campaigns by civil society organisations and political actors specifically aiming to improve media coverage of women in politics. These include the Women’s Media Center’s ‘Name It, Change It’ campaign in the US, and the Fawcett Society’s ‘Views Not Shoes’ campaign in Britain.¹³ In the UK, the All Party Parliamentary Group for Women in Parliament’s 2014 report on creating a more representative House has also put forward recommendations for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee and Independent Press Standards Organisation to review sexism in traditional and social media, including

¹³ In addition, in the UK although Women 50:50 focuses primarily on women’s descriptive representation, the group has also touched on the issue of female politicians; representation by the media. For example, <https://women5050.wordpress.com/2016/07/04/the-tiresome-sexism-in-our-media/>

coverage of parliamentarians.¹⁴ However, in neither case have such campaigns yet considered representations of minority women in this context.¹⁵

These developments point to several relevant similarities between the US and Britain regarding the historical underrepresentation of minority women, recent gains in the number of lower house representatives elected from this group, the importance of candidate identity to electoral outcomes, party strategy regarding candidate diversification, and the concerns of civil society actors regarding press representations of female candidates. Furthermore, recent comparative work indicates that there is good reason to expect that gendered patterns of coverage are consistent in cross-national contexts, even when controlling for additional factors. For example, Lühiste and Banducci (2016:248-9) analyse television and news coverage of MEP candidates from 25 EU member states, finding that, even when additional factors are controlled for, “there is still a persistent, albeit small, gender gap in the amount of coverage”.

This is not a strictly comparative design however, primarily because numerous confounding factors render a comparative analysis problematic. These include huge cross-country differences in media structure (Blumler and Gurevitch 2001) and racial integration (Peach 1996), as well as differences in the candidate-centred nature of elections and minority women’s former descriptive under-representation. For example, an existing comparative analysis of gendered national newspaper coverage of Australian, Canadian and US campaigns suggests that candidate-centred elections

¹⁴ To my knowledge, based on searches of IPSO’s news and rulings, and the Select Committee’s 2010 and 2015 parliament inquiries, neither of these have yet been taken up.

¹⁵ The US ‘*Name It. Change It.*’ campaign run by the Women’s Media Center and She Should Run focuses particularly on gendered coverage of women candidates, but has on occasion highlighted examples of coverage of simultaneously racialising and gendered coverage of female politicians. For example, Kate McCarthy, “What’s The Most Offensive Thing About FishBowlDC’s Poll on Rep. Corrine Brown Wig?”, *Name It. Change It.*, 27th March 2012, <http://www.nameitchangeit.org/blog/entry/whats-the-most-offense-thing-about-fishbowlDCs-poll-on-rep.-corrine-brown-w>. / Kate McCarthy, “Zainab Al-Suwaij Does More than Wear Make-Up & Perfume”, *Name It. Change It.*, 11th July 2012, <http://www.nameitchangeit.org/blog/entry/zainab-al-suwaij-does-more-than-wear-make-up-perfume>.

increase gendered differences in coverage, but women’s historical descriptive under-representation decreases such differences (Kittlison and Fridkin 2008).

Therefore, extrapolating these single-axis findings to an intersectional analysis—given that the US is more candidate-centred than Britain, and minority women are historically better descriptively represented in the US—it would be difficult to isolate the effects of these contextual factors on coverage outcomes between the two countries and deduce which country-specific factors result in cross-national variation. However, since the inception of this research, rises in the descriptive representation of minority women in a wider range of Western democracies—for example, Canada and Sweden—provide greater analytical leverage for future comparative intersectional variation in racial and gendered patterns of campaign coverage (see Table 4.3). Therefore, this design will generate findings from Britain and US to be considered in parallel, and aims to contribute to the foundations for emergent comparative work in this area.

Table 4.3 Minority women’s descriptive representation in Canada and Sweden

Country	First session	Minority women	Second session	Minority women
Canada	2011 - 2013	4 (1.3 %)	2015 - 2017	15 (5.3 %)
Sweden	2010 - 2012	5 (1.4 %)	2014 - 2016	10 (2.9 %)

(Sources: macleans.ca/shape-of-the-house; Swedish MPs’ parliamentary biographies at riksdagen.se, all own preliminary calculations.)

4.3 Candidate sampling and matching

For each country, several data sources¹⁶ were merged in order to create a sampling frame from which matched samples of minority female, minority male, white female and white

¹⁶ For the US sample, the Federal Election Commission Database provided a full list of major and minor party candidates and vote capture; candidate gender was taken from The Center for the American Women in Politics at Rutgers University; candidate race/ethnicity from the National Journal; seniority rankings and year first elected from the Seniority List of the 112th Congress; and leadership positions from the Congressional Directory of the 112th Congress. To address campaign factors, race competitiveness was taken from Cook’s Political Report; and geographical regions and divisions from the US Census. For the UK sample, I merged three datasets: Pippa Norris’ *2010 UK General Election Constituency Results*; *The Guardian’s Full General Election Results 2010* to calculate placement; and year elected from data provided by Parliamentary Candidates UK. In addition, data on select committee

male candidates could be generated. The historical underrepresentation of women, minorities and minority women in the US and Britain has led to some substantial differences in the attributes of political candidates from different racial and gendered groups, for example in terms of seniority and incumbency. Therefore, it is necessary to isolate the intersectional impact of race and gender in order to provide an explanatory analysis and identify possible mediated bias, rather than simply describing intersectional differences in campaign coverage which may be attributable to additional candidate, campaign and media factors (Lühiste and Banducci 2016, Gershon 2012). I aim to achieve this by employing a non-random sample and detailed matching strategy to analyse coverage of *comparable* minority women, minority men, white women and white men running for office in each country. In constructing the sampling frame, several exclusions were made to remove additional confounding factors before employing the matching strategy. Each of these are outlined below.

Firstly, only major party candidates are included in the sample, primarily for the sake of being able to compare broad intersectional trends in coverage while controlling for partisan affiliation. In the US these are defined as the Republican and Democratic Parties, and in Britain, Labour, the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. This makes very little difference to the US sample as no seats were won by independents, and minor parties only placed second in seats where just one major party candidate stood. Table 4.4 shows that in total, 421 Republican and 419 Democratic candidates ran in the general election. The cohort included 568 white men, 119 white women, 107 minority men and 46 minority women. In Britain, while minor parties have a growing electoral impact, none fielded viable minority women as candidates in 2010.¹⁷ Table 4.4 below

chairs and the 2010 Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrats' frontbench teams was added from *Dods Parliamentary Companion 2010*.

¹⁷ The nearest was Salma Yaqoob (Respect, Birmingham Hall Green) who placed second in a safe Labour seat.

shows that across England, Wales and Scotland,¹⁸ 1318 white men stood for major parties, compared to 439 white women, 95 minority men and 38 minority women.¹⁹

Table 4.4 US and British major party candidates by intersectional identity

US	White male		White female		Minority male		Minority female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Republican	340	80.76	38	9.03	33	7.84	10	2.38
Democrat	228	54.42	81	19.33	74	17.66	36	8.59
Total	568	67.62	119	14.17	107	12.74	46	5.48
Britain								
Conservative	447	70.95	139	22.06	31	4.92	13	2.06
Liberal Democrat	465	73.81	124	19.68	32	5.08	9	1.43
Labour	406	64.44	176	27.94	32	5.08	16	2.54
Total	1,318	69.74	439	23.23	95	5.03	38	2.01

In some US seats only a single major party candidate was fielded, and in others, more than one Republican or Democrat ran following primaries.²⁰ Only 390 of 435 races featured at least one Republican and one Democrat, while 20 featured no Democrats and 25 featured no Republicans.²¹ Minority women were particularly likely to compete in districts which were not contested by both major parties, comprising 15 per cent of their candidacies, compared to between three and eight per cent among other groups (see Table 4.5). This is significant because single party races and unopposed candidates may garner less coverage than competitive contests. However, because the population of minority women is already small, rather than exclude these seats, this is identified as a campaign factor to be addressed in the matching strategy. This is achieved by pairing

¹⁸ Northern Ireland is excluded as there were no viable minority female candidates for Northern Irish seats in the Westminster Parliament.

¹⁹ Buckingham is excluded as the seat of the Speaker, not traditionally contested by major parties. The constituency of Thirsk and Malton is excluded due to its delayed election following the death of the UKIP candidate.

²⁰ This is because in certain states, all primary candidates from all parties appear on a single ballot and then the two who secure the most primary votes, regardless of party, then compete in the general election.

²¹ I have one less Democrat woman than CAWP's data as I did not include Vick Slater (Dem, MS-3) because she withdrew after winning the primary.

unopposed candidates, and matching them with those in the most uncompetitive races where an exact match on opposition is not possible.

Table 4.5 US Race type by intersectional identity

Group	Unopposed		Single party		Two party	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	26	4.58	8	1.41	534	94.01
White female	1	0.84	2	1.68	116	97.48
Minority male	6	5.61	2	2.8	98	91.59
Minority female	4	8.7	3	6.52	39	84.78
Total	37	4.4	16	1.9	787	93.69

In Britain, major party candidates ran in all seats, but in constituencies where minor party candidates placed first or second, both they and their competitors garnered additional coverage. For example, Caroline Lucas, (Green, Brighton Pavilion) won her seat gaining a historic first for her party, and appeared in 163 national newspaper articles between the dissolution of parliament and the week following the election. Her major party rivals appear to have benefited significantly from this: Nancy Platts (Lab) appeared in 14 of those articles but only a single further article alone; Charlotte Vere (Con) appeared in 7 articles, and Bernadette Millam (LD) appeared in two articles, all of which also mentioned Lucas. No constituency where a minor party placed first or second featured a minority female major party candidate. Therefore, these seats could be excluded from the sampling frame, ensuring that no sampled candidate would receive additional coverage due to a minor party opponent, without excluding any of the already small population of minority women.²²

While previous intersectional studies have focused only on incumbents running for re-election (Gershon, 2012; 2013), I include both incumbents and challengers. This allows for the analysis of a greater number of cases (especially in Britain), and the inclusion of

²² The five constituencies excluded as a result are Brighton Pavilion; Wyre Forest; Castle Point; Birmingham Hall Green and Blaenau Gwent.

the intersectional firsts which were so characteristic of the US 2012 and UK 2010 general elections. Thus, I aim to provide a more comprehensive and representative analysis of coverage of minority women than has previously been attempted. However, challengers with little chance of success were excluded from the frame, given both the likelihood that they would receive little or no coverage, and that women and minorities among this group may reasonably be framed as ‘symbolic’, exacerbating racial and gendered differences in coverage patterns. It is important to note, therefore, that selection effects may result in the underestimation of any media biases which are observed. For example, while minority women are expected to receive less coverage than *comparable* candidates from all other groups in US local newspapers, the extent of the effect might be greater than that observed if minority women were to be compared with the population of candidates from other groups. Yet by restricting the frame to individuals least likely to receive differential coverage, and by controlling for additional factors, the strongest possible case can be made to argue that variation in coverage is indeed the result of intersectional bias.

Separate measures of viability—a candidate’s chance of winning their race—are used for each country because of differences in the number of parties contesting each seat. For the US, building on Khan (1994), a simple measure of vote capture is sufficient because this is generally split between two candidates. Excluding those candidates who did not capture at least 40 per cent of the general election vote reduces the sampling frame to 389 white males, 77 white females, 70 minority males and 34 minority females.²³ For Britain, a measure of vote capture is too simplistic due to multi-party contests. Instead, viable British candidates are defined as incumbents, successful challengers, and challengers who placed second in ‘fairly marginal’ or ‘ultra-marginal’ seats. These

²³ I have also experimented with measuring viability using Cook’s Political Report House Ratings (downloaded from cookpolitical.com), which define competitiveness as: 1 “Solid; 2 “Likely: These seats are not considered competitive at this point, but have the potential to become engaged.”; 3 “Lean: These are considered competitive races, but one party has an advantage.”; 4 “Toss Up: These are the most competitive; Either party has a good chance of winning.” I found however that simple measure of percentage of eventual vote capture is preferable as it a) produces larger samples of all groups other than white men and b) these groups are more comparable in terms of likelihood of winning than ranking using Cook’s measures.

distinctions are based on the categorisation of 2005 margins in Norris's (2010) dataset. 'Fairly marginal' is defined as a seat in which the incumbent has a majority of 5-9.99 per cent; 'ultra-marginal' is defined as a seat in which the incumbent's majority is 4.99 per cent or less. Challengers include candidates representing the party that previously won the seat in constituencies where the incumbent has stepped down. Excluding non-viable candidates using this measure reduces the sampling frame to 562 white men, 195 white women, 29 minority men and 15 minority women.

The final exclusion to the sampling frame is of candidates holding leadership positions. This is because of the lack of minority women in these roles and the additional coverage that is likely garnered by such representatives. In the US, these include the Speaker, Majority/Minority Leaders, Majority/Minority Whips, Policy Chairs, Standing Committee Chairs, Select Committee Chairs, Joint Committee Chairs, and Caucus Chairs. In Britain, they include the Cabinet, Shadow Cabinet, Liberal Democrat frontbench team and Select Committee chairs. In both countries, leadership positions were overwhelmingly held by white men: 33 of 38 in the US, and 86 of 103 in Britain (see Table 4.6 and Appendices 1-4).²⁴

²⁴ While the classification of US House Representatives is straightforward, the numbers for the UK reflect some deliberation. These include Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet members, as well as those 'also attending' or 'attending when their ministerial business is on the agenda, based on Dodd's 2010 Parliamentary Companion. While there were near-equal numbers of frontbenchers from all the three major parties, each group was comprised of a slightly different variety of positions. Thus, for example, the Liberal Democrat Shadow Minister for Europe attends the Liberal Democrat Shadow Cabinet. However, the Labour Minister for Europe does not attend Cabinet. Therefore, I have chosen not to code cases where opposite numbers attend cabinet/shadow cabinet at frontbenchers for two reasons. Firstly, there are slight variations in naming of roles, and not all actually exist for each party, for example, policy review chairs. Secondly – and more importantly – it seems excessive and inconsistent to remove, for example, a Minister for Europe who is only a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State from the sampling frame, on the grounds that he is classed as frontbencher because a Liberal Democrat Shadow Minister for Europe attends Liberal Democrat shadow cabinet meetings. This would result in higher ranking ministers remaining in the frame on the basis that their opposite numbers do not attend either of the shadow cabinets, while lower ranking ministers would be removed. The likely effects for a low ranking minister of having an opposite number attending the Liberal Democrat Shadow Cabinet are slim. And while, for example, a Conservative Shadow Minister for Employment might have more to gain from having an opposite number in Labour's Cabinet, the majority of coverage is likely to be devoted to the Secretary of State for Work & Pensions and their opposite numbers in any case. See appendix (*) for complete list of Cabinet/ Shadow Cabinet/ frontbench members by party.

Table 4.6 US & UK leadership roles by intersectional identity

Group	US		UK	
	N	%	N	%
White male	33	86.8	86	83.5
White female	3	7.9	16	15.5
Minority male	1	2.6	1	1.0
Minority female	1	2.6	0	0
Total	38	100	103	0

(Source: *Dod's Parliamentary Companion 2010 & House Seniority Report*. Own Calculations)

Among incumbent minority women in the US, only Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL 18th District),²⁵ then Chair of the US Foreign Affairs Standing Committee, was therefore excluded from the sample. Of the two incumbent minority women in Britain, Dawn Butler served as Shadow Minister for Young Citizens and Youth Engagement, and Diane Abbott did not hold a shadow ministerial role at that time. Because the effect on coverage is not expected to be particularly large for ministers who were not members of the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet, Butler remains within the frame. In Britain, no minority MPs were included in the Cabinet, Shadow Cabinet or Liberal Democrats' frontbench team. Among Select Committee Chairs, minority women were entirely excluded and only one minority man held this role.²⁶ Given the likelihood that at least some select committee chairs receive greater levels of coverage than other members as a result of their position, these have also been removed from the sampling frame. The exclusion of candidates holding leadership positions therefore preserves much of the population of minority and female candidates, and does little to reduce variation in other variables among the large numbers of white male incumbents.

The eventual population of viable major party candidates who did not hold leadership roles or compete against successful minor party candidates is as follows: 532 US candidates, comprising 356 white men, 74 white women, 69 minority men and 33

²⁵ Following redistricting, Ros-Lehtinen was in 2012 elected as House Representative for Florida's 27th District.

²⁶ Keith Vaz (Lab, Leicester East) served as Chair of the Home Affairs Select Committee at the time.

minority women; and in Britain, a total of 696 candidates which included 475 white men, 178 white women 28 minority men and 15 minority women

4.3.1 Intersectional variation within the sampling frame

In addition to large differences in the numbers of candidates from each intersectional group within this population, there is also substantial intersectional variation in candidate attributes, and there are some similarities in this variation cross-nationally. Full summary statistics for each country case are provided in Appendices 5 and 6. Firstly, minority women are far more likely than other candidates to represent left leaning parties: 94 per cent are Democrats and 80 per cent represent Labour. Secondly, in Britain, minority women are much less likely to be incumbents (13 per cent compared to 50 per cent of all candidates), but in the US they are more likely to be incumbents (67 per cent compared to 53 per cent of all candidates). Thirdly, in both countries and regardless of their status as incumbent or challenger, minority women ran in markedly less competitive races than candidates from other racial gendered groups. This is reflected in minority women's high vote capture (for example, in the US, 75 per cent on average for incumbent minority women compared to 65 per cent for all incumbents, and 48 per cent for minority women in Britain compared to 46 per cent for all incumbents). Among US incumbents, minority men and women had also served more terms on average than white members of the House of Representatives, (6.8 and 5.5 on average respectively, compared to 5.1 for white men and 4.9 for white women on average). The geographic distribution of candidates also shows intersectional variation, with minority women most likely to run in the West in the US (52 per cent compared to 25 per cent of all groups), and in London (33 per cent compared to 12 per cent of all groups) in Britain.

Finally, as Table 4.7 shows, in the US, there is also gendered variation in the ethnicity of minority candidates. Proportions of Asian American candidates are similar, constituting 16 per cent of minority men and 18 per cent of minority women. However, African Americans constitute 52 per cent of minority women, compared to just 41 per cent of minority men within this group. Conversely, Latinos constitute 41 per cent of minority men, while Latinas make up just 27 per cent of minority women. In addition,

one Assyrian American woman and two Native American men are represented within the sample.

Table 4.7 Ethnicity and gender among US minority candidates

Ethnicity	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
African American	28	40.6	17	51.5	45	44.1
Asian American	11	15.9	6	18.2	17	16.7
Assyrian American	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	1.0
Latino/a	28	40.6	9	27.3	37	36.3
Native American	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	2.0

Similarly, in Britain, there is more ethnic diversity among minority male than minority female candidates, including one British Greek Cypriot and one British Iraqi (both of whom self-define as minority ethnic).²⁷ However, proportions of other minority ethnicities are similar among women and men (see Table 4.8). It is not possible however to match minority candidates on ethnicity because the numbers are so low, especially in Britain. However, the eventual aggregate numbers in the matched samples are similar, and this is also something that is addressed descriptively in both the subsequent quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Table 4.8 Ethnicity and gender among British minority candidates

Ethnicity	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black British	7	25.0	5	33.3	12	27.9
British Asian	19	67.9	10	66.7	29	67.4
British Greek Cypriot	1	3.6	0	0.0	1	2.3
British Iraqi	1	3.6	0	0.0	1	2.3

4.3.2 Matching strategy

Ethnicity aside, the starkest intersectional differences therefore emerge in terms of status, partisanship and race competitiveness, all of which have been shown by existing scholarship to impact on the quantity, tone and content of campaign coverage

²⁷ Source: Lester Holloway, "Labour's New Generation", *Operation Black Vote*, 22nd December 2009, : <https://operationblackvote.wordpress.com/2009/12/22/labours-new-generation/>

candidates receive (Kahn and Kenney 1999; Vinson 2003; Brandenburg 2006; Schaffner 2006; Gattermann and Vasilopoulou 2015). Thus, these were prioritised as variables to be exactly matched where possible, or to match the nearest case otherwise. In addition, the number of previous terms served was matched for incumbents in order to control for the possible effects of seniority, as senior members may receive more coverage than junior colleagues (Gattermann and Vasilopoulou 2015). Although regional variation has not been addressed by previous literature, this might interact with partisanship in US local coverage, given that such publications often take partisan editorial lines. Therefore, region was additionally matched where possible (see Table 4.9).

In the US, the distribution of candidates from each racial gendered group makes it possible to match each of the population of 33 viable minority female candidates with a comparable white male, white female and minority male, generating a total sample of 132 candidates. In Britain, the population of viable minority women in 2010 is much smaller at just 15, meaning that a single match with a candidate from each other group would generate a sample of just 60 cases, limiting the power of subsequent statistical analyses. While the populations of white women and men are large enough to provide multiple matches for each minority woman, this is not possible among the population of 28 minority men. Therefore, for the British sample, each minority woman was matched with two white men, two white women and a single minority man, generating a total of 90 cases.

Overall, the quality of matches is very high. For the US, 30 of 33 minority female candidates are exactly matched with a white female, white male and minority male on a minimum of party, status, and race competitiveness (see Table 4.9). Remaining matches are generated by removing region as a matching variable or relaxing race competitiveness or terms served to nearest rather than exact. However, for Republican challenger, Mia B. Love, the only comparable white women and minority men were Democrats. Ann Kirkpatrick (D-AZ 1st District) and Ami Bera (D-CA 7th District) were selected as both are Democratic challengers in seats ranked as “tossup” by the Cook Political Report, and in the same region as Love. They also achieved similar eventual

vote capture, and like Love, were both competing against white men. Similarly, for Democratic incumbent, Karen Bass (D-CA 37th District), the only comparable white women were Republicans, so Marta Roby (R-AL 7th District) was chosen as a fellow incumbent in a solid seat with one term’s previous service, and similarly high vote capture.

Table 4.9 US Matches

Matched variables	White male		White female		Minority male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
All races						
party status competitiveness race-type region <i>exact</i> terms	22	66.7	12	36.4	18	54.6
Unopposed/Single party races						
party status competitiveness region <i>exact</i> terms	3	9.1	1	3	3	9.1
party status competitiveness region nearest terms	3	9.1	2	6.1	2	6.1
party status competitiveness <i>exact</i> terms			1	3	1	3
party status competitiveness nearest terms			2	6.1		
Opposed/Two party races						
party status competitiveness race-type region nearest terms	5	15.2	7	21.2	3	9.1
party status competitiveness race-type <i>exact</i> terms			2	6.1	3	9.1
party status competitiveness race-type nearest terms			2	6.1	2	6.1
status competitiveness race-type <i>exact</i> terms			4	12.1	1	
Total	33	100	33	100	33	100

For the British sample, all 30 white male, 30 white female and 7 of 15 minority male exact matches were generated on party, status and competitiveness (see Table 4.10). Of the remaining minority male matches, three were generated by relaxing competitiveness to within one degree on a 1-5 scale. So, for example, by matching a candidate in an ‘ultra-marginal’ seat with one in a ‘fairly marginal’ seat where an exact match on race competitiveness was not possible. The final five minority male matches were generated by removing status and matching only on party and competitiveness. Therefore, these men were unavoidably more senior than their minority female counterparts.

Table 4.10 British Matches

Matched variables	White male		White female		minority male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
party status competitiveness region	23	76.7	16	53.3	4	26.7
party status competitiveness	7	23.3	14	46.7	3	30

party status competitiveness <i>within one degree</i>					3	20
party competitiveness					5	33.3
Total	30	100	30	100	15	100

Additionally, two of the fifteen minority women in Britain were incumbents, Diane Abbott and Dawn Butler. After selecting the best possible matches on party + status + competitiveness + region, the candidate elected in the nearest year was selected from this pool. Even when prioritising these four variables, good matches on year elected are possible for both candidates (see Table 4.11).

Table 4.11 Matches on year elected among British incumbents

Name (year elected)	W.M. 1	W.M. 2	W.F. 1	W.F. 2	M.M.
Diane Abbot (1987)	1983	1986	1987	1989	2000
Dawn Butler (2005)	1997	2001	2005	2005	2005

Overall, the matching strategy greatly improves the comparability of candidates from each intersectional group on these key variables. Full summary statistics for each of the matched samples are provided in Appendices 7 and 8. In the US matched sample, the proportion of Democrats rises to 93 per cent overall, compared to 94 per cent of minority women. Of all matched US candidates, 66 per cent are incumbents, compared to 67 per cent for minority women. The mean terms served is 5.7, compared to 5.5 among minority women. While it has not been possible to generate similar numbers of exact matches on whether or not candidates are unopposed or in single party races, competitiveness and vote capture are extremely similar across intersectional groups. Region is also more evenly distributed, with 43 per cent of all candidates in the matched sample running in the West, compared to 52 per cent of minority women. Although minority candidates were not matched on ethnicity, the sample features very similar numbers of African American men and women, at 16 and 17 respectively. The sample does, however, include more Latinos than Latinas, and fewer Asian American men than women. This is unavoidable given the small populations of minority candidates.

Intersectional groups are also substantially more comparable within the British matched sample than the population. However, the very small numbers of minority men mean that matches among this group are not quite as high quality as those among white women and men. For example, while 13 per cent of matched minority women, white women and white men are Conservative, this unavoidably rises to 40 per cent among matched minority men. Similarly, while only 47 per cent of matched minority men represent Labour, this rises to 80 per cent among all other groups. Rates of incumbency are however constant across all groups at 13 per cent, and race competitiveness is also consistent among intersectional groups, for both incumbents and challengers. Among minority candidates, there is a good degree of similarity in proportions of different ethnicities among men and women: six Black British men and five Black British women, and seven British Asian men and ten British Asian women. Therefore, although it is not possible to match on this variable, the eventual samples feature similar numbers of each ethnicity.

Once matched samples of candidates were generated for each country, the next step was to sample media coverage of each individual.

4.4 Text sampling

Three sets of media coverage are analysed: local US newspapers, and national US and British newspapers. This allows for a comparison of local and national coverage in this US, as well as a cross country comparison of national coverage. While this is not a strictly comparative analysis due to numerous country-specific considerations—as evidenced by necessary differences in matching strategies and variable measurement—the results will provide preliminary indications of the existence or otherwise of cross-national trends in coverage patterns, as well as providing an empirical test of the implications of intersectional theory beyond a single country case. It has not been possible to analyse local British newspaper coverage because this is not fully available digitally and time constraints on data collection made sourcing hard copies unfeasible.

4.4.1 Local US newspapers

The selection of local US newspaper coverage reflects several empirical considerations. Kahn (1994b:158) argues that local newspapers contain more information about campaigns than local television news, and that voters receive more information about races from newspapers than television. Similarly, Terkildsen and Damore (1999:686) note that newspapers are more likely than television to give free campaign coverage to congressional contenders, and to assist readers in identifying candidate assets and liabilities. Kittilson and Fridkin (2008:379) add that newspaper articles are preferable to television coverage because of their impact on other news sources.

The highest circulating local US newspaper published within each of the 132 sampled candidates' districts was identified employing the strategy developed by Lawless and Hayes (2014). Circulation figures and place of publication were downloaded from the Alliance for Audited Media, and congressional district maps from govtrack.us. In ten cases where no local newspaper was published within a candidate's district, the highest circulating newspaper published in an adjacent district was used. Table 4.12 shows that within the sample there is wide variation in the circulation sizes of local publications, ranging from 6749 to 552896.²⁸ However, pairwise comparisons of mean circulation size by candidate identity are not statistically significant. A full list of local newspapers with circulation sizes and relevant candidates, as well as those which were sourced from adjacent districts is provided in Appendix 11.

Table 4.12 Newspaper circulation by intersectional group:

Group	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
White male	152673	153753	11208	552896
White female	193127	184577	6749	552896
Minority male	190721	136287	4472	552896
Minority female	196500	162212	15118	552896
Total	183256	159311	4472	552896

(Pairwise comparisons of means between all groups insignificant at $p > .05$)

²⁸ The maximum circulation is the same for each row because candidates from all intersectional groups were covered by the highest circulating local paper in the sample, *San Jose Mercury News*.

4.4.2 National newspapers

Large congressional districts and media markets mean that US scholarship has primarily focused on local newspapers. However, studies of British media in this context have uniformly analysed national newspaper coverage. Analysis of national print media is preferable to local or national television news because national leadership contests receive far greater coverage than local races in television news (Gidengil and Everitt 2003). In addition, studies which rely on local television news abstracts are only able to capture limited details of coverage (Schaffner and Gadson 2004). National newspapers were also selected for analysis due to their continued ability to reach immense audiences in digital form despite the long term decline print circulation (UK Audit Bureau of Circulation Report, 2016), as well the opinionated and partisan nature of election coverage by the press in comparison to more highly regulated television news broadcasts in Britain (Brandenburg 2006). In addition, newspapers devote attention to a comparatively broad range of candidates, while time constraints confine television news more closely to the activities of party leaders. For example, the 2005 general election party leaders accounted for 75 per cent of all speaking time devoted to politicians and party spokespeople on BBC and ITV evening news (Scammell and Semetko 2008:83).

For the US national sample, the three highest-circulating dailies and their respective Sunday editions, where applicable,²⁹ are included: *The Wall St Journal*, *USA Today*, and *The New York Times*, in addition to *The Washington Post*, which ranks eighth nationally in terms of circulation but provides extensive and influential political coverage.³⁰ The nineteen British newspapers sampled comprise all major national newspapers, including both broadsheets and tabloids, weekday and weekend titles, and a broad spread of partisan affiliations and editorial positions (see Table 4.13). There is less variety in the US sample in terms of editorial positions and the fact that all titles are broadsheets, reflecting cross-country differences in political spectrum and national print media markets.

²⁹ *The Wall Street Journal* and the *USA Today* do not publish Sunday editions

³⁰ Source: Audit Bureau of Circulations

Table 4.13 Sampled US and British national newspapers

US	Britain		
Broadsheet	Tabloid	Mid-Market	Broadsheet
<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Daily Star</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>
<i>USA Today</i>	<i>Metro</i>	<i>Express</i>	<i>Financial Times</i>
<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	<i>Guardian</i>
<i>Washington Post</i>	<i>The Sun</i>	<i>Sunday Express</i>	<i>Independent</i>
	<i>Sunday Mirror</i>		<i>Independent on Sunday</i>
	<i>Sunday Sun</i>		<i>Observer</i>
			<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>
			<i>Sunday Times</i>
			<i>The Times</i>

The timeline for each of the samples is from eight weeks prior to the general election to the polling day. For the US, this is from 11th September 2012, to 6th November 2012. Similarly, for Britain, the timescale runs from 11th March 2010 to 6th May 2010. Articles were downloaded from Nexis, Access World News, Newsbank or Gannett where possible, and directly from newspaper website archives in four cases.³¹ For each candidate, the search term “first name” AND “last name” was used within the date range, generating a sample of 1754 local US articles, 175 national US articles, and 467 articles from national British newspapers. The strikingly small US national sample reflects the fact that the vast majority of candidates for the US House of Representatives received no coverage at all in the national press. The reasons for this are discussed in Section 5.2. It is important to note at this stage though that the small sample size means that the subsequent models for the effects of candidates’ identity on various aspects of coverage are somewhat underpowered with regards to the US national press. A full breakdown of national articles by newspaper is provided in Appendices 21 and 22. These included

³¹ The relevant publications were: *Forum* (Pam Gulleon, D-ND 26th District), *Napa Valley Register* (Yvette D. Clarke, D-NY 9th District), *Orlando Sentinel* (Corrine Brown, D-FL 5th District), *U-T San Diego* (Juan Vargas, D-CA 51st District, and Susan A. Davis, D-CA 53rd District).

news reports and op-ed columns in order to reflect the full variety of coverage represented within each publication. Published letters to the editor were also included given that, although they may not be representative of the publication's editorial line, the analysis focuses on the content of outputs rather than editorial intent

4.5 Quantitative content analysis

The quantitative coding scheme captures variation in six key aspects of coverage: its frequency, overall tone, references to viability and substantive issues, explicit foregrounding of racial and gendered candidate identity, and latent foregrounding via personal coverage. These six aspects of coverage become the dependent variables in the explanatory statistical models, testing the effects of candidates' race and gender on the way in which they are covered by news media. Each of the aspects of coverage are outlined below, and further details of indicators, examples and coding notes are provided in the appended coding instrument (Appendices 14 and 15).

The *frequency* of coverage is measured both as the number of articles featuring each candidate, and the total number of name mentions each candidate receives. This means both the breadth and depth of coverage can be measured. For example, two candidates may both appear in twenty articles, but a comparison would be misleading if one is briefly featured twenty times whereas the other receives many more name mentions due to more in depth coverage. Similarly, while two candidates may both receive equal numbers of name mentions, one may briefly appear repeatedly over a wide spread of publications while the other may be covered in depth in a single feature article.

The overall *tone* of coverage is measured on a three-point scale: 'negative', 'mixed' and 'positive'. The article is the unit of analysis. Where discussion of a candidate is solely positive, or positive references outweigh negative references, the text is coded as 'positive' and vice versa for texts coded as 'negative'. For example, a profile of Rushanara Ali (Lab, Bethnal Green and Bow) describing her as "politically rated, beautiful, [and] eloquent" is coded as 'positive', while an article focusing solely on Kerry McCarthy's "stupidity" for breaking election rules is coded as negative. Where positive and negative references are read as equal, the tone of a text is coded as 'mixed'. For example, a text

commenting that Mia B. Love “is young and relatively inexperienced, but her charisma and personal story are both unusual and appealing”. While there is an undeniably subjective element to evaluating the overall tone of a text, the reliability of the instrument has consistently been verified by previous studies (e.g. Kahn, 1994) and the scheme has also been subjected to a test of inter-coder reliability, discussed below.

Coverage of *viability* is defined as “any consideration of a candidate’s strength or chances of success: strength of campaign organization, poll results, debate performance, and overall likelihood of winning” (Jalalzai, 2006:619, building on Kahn, 1994) and is coded as a binary variable, 0= ‘not present’, 1= ‘present’. Where viability coverage is coded as present within an article, it is also coded on a three point ‘negative’, ‘mixed’, ‘positive’ scale. For example, a text commenting that “Rushanara Ali could well take Bethnal Green” is coded as ‘positive’, a description of candidates as “neck and neck” is coded as mixed, and a statement that a candidate is “realistic about her underdog status” is coded as negative.

Substantive policy coverage is indicated by any reference to a candidate’s position regarding a particular policy area. For example, if a candidate is quoted as saying: "Obamacare is a disaster" ‘healthcare’ is coded as present in a text. Because of the substantial overlap between issues stereotypically associated with minorities and women these are grouped together, distinct from issues stereotypically associated with (white) men, as shown in Table 4.14. Other/miscellaneous issues are categorised as ‘white/male’ as this tends to be the default, whereas ‘minority/female’ issues tend to reflect an association made on the basis of a salient racial or gendered identity.

Table 4.14 Substantive policy areas grouped by stereotypical association

‘Minority’/‘Female’ Issues	‘White’/‘Male’ Issues
health / NHS** / ‘Obamacare’* / hospitals	economy / inflation / prices /deficit
immigration	jobs / (un)employment / industry
education / schools	Afghanistan/ defence / foreign affairs / terrorism
family life / morality / gay marriage	politicians / government
pensions / benefits / welfare / social security	energy /gas / fuel
women / feminism / childcare	tax / national insurance**

civil rights / race relations / immigration

abortion*

guns*

drugs*

Europe / Euro**

crime / police /law

environment**

other/ miscellaneous issues

* Indicates US only issues and **indicates UK only issues

These issue categorisations are derived from the literature reviewed in Section 3.3, and updated to reflect the most important issues at the US 2012 and UK 2010 general elections (such as gay marriage or Europe), as identified and categorised by relevant poll data in each country (see Appendices 12 and 13) as well as the pilot test for inter-coder agreement.

References indicating the explicit *foregrounding of race and gender* are also coded as 0= 'not present', 1= 'present'. There is little precedent in the existing literature for coding the foregrounding of maleness or whiteness, only minority racial or female status. Whiteness and maleness are rarely explicitly mentioned due to their position as default categories, and are therefore extremely difficult to capture in an analysis of this nature. Instead, I compare the foregrounding of gender among minority and white women, and the foregrounding of race among male and female minority candidates. Indicators of the foregrounding of race include reference to skin colour, parentage, heritage, position as a minority candidate, the race or ethnicity of supporters, members of the district or constituency, and comparisons between minority candidates. Similarly, indicators of the foregrounding of gender include explicit reference to a candidate's gender, as well as that of supporters, and gendered comparisons with other candidates. Mentions of progressive measures aiming to increase the descriptive representation of minorities and/or women, such as Cameron's 'A List' or 'Priority List', Labour's All Women Shortlists, and the activities of organisations such as EMILY's List are also coded as foregrounding candidates' race and/or gender where appropriate.

Personal coverage includes references to candidates' spouse or caregiving responsibilities, age, religion, or appearance. These constitute latent foregrounding of candidates' gender, ethnicity, or both. For example, both 'religion' and 'family/spouse'

would be coded as present in an article featuring the following statement: “Ann Romney's endorsement of a fellow member of the LDS [Latter Day Saints] Church could be an attempt to address any concerns among voters about Love running for Congress as the mother of young children”.³² Similarly, ‘appearance’ (as well as explicit race and gender) is coded as present in an article which comments that Mia B. Love is “a tall black woman with braided hair”.³³

4.6 Inter-coder agreement

Subjecting the coding instrument to a test of inter-coder agreement is crucial to establish that the content of coverage is analysed in an objective (or at least inter-subjective) manner (Neuendorf 2002:141). This is especially important given that analyses of the tone of various aspects of these texts consider latent as well as manifest content.

Krippendorff's Alpha is employed over other measures of agreement for two reasons. Firstly, its capacity for application to nominal, ordinal and interval data, and secondly, its appropriateness for small sample sizes (Hayes and Krippendorff 2007). The critical alpha is set at .8 and calculated using the ‘krippalpha’ package for Stata 13. Simple per cent agreements have also been calculated for comparison.

The consensus is that where possible, ten per cent of texts to be coded should be sampled, with a minimum of 30 (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken 2002:601). Only national coverage was included in the sample as local coverage had not yet been sourced.³⁴ Therefore, of an estimated total of 300³⁵ US national texts, 32 were sampled. The precise number reflects the stratification of texts by the race and gender of

³² Lisa Riley Roche, “Ann Romney endorses Mia Love as an ‘example for Washington’”, *Deseret Morning News*, 29th June 2012.

³³ Krissah Thompson, “From Utah, with an eye toward history”, *Washington Post*, p.1, 26th June 2012.

³⁴ US local coverage was sourced from databases in multiple locations, including Gannett which was only accessible from New York Public Library, during to a visit to the US which was unavoidably scheduled some time after the test of intercoder agreement had been completed.

³⁵ Total numbers of articles were estimated at this stage because they were based on initial searches prior to the removal of void and duplicate articles.

candidates: eight from each intersectional group. After one was removed as void, the final sample was 31 texts. From Britain, of an estimated total of 850 texts, 88 were sampled: 22 from each racial, gendered group. Four were removed as void, and the final sample was 84.

The coding and review procedure was completed in two stages. First myself and the second coder coded all sampled articles according to the instrument and compared results. Then, where agreement on certain variables did not meet the specified alpha and there were instances of ambiguity resulting in disagreement, the coding scheme was amended and clarified. The texts were re-coded in accordance with the amended scheme, generating the second round of results.

The results were very similar for both the British and the US samples. The first round of coding showed high per cent agreement for both samples, ranging from 71.9 per cent to 87.5 per cent for scale variables, and above 90 per cent for almost all binary variables (see Appendices 16 and 17). However, agreement on few variables reached the specified alpha level on the first round. This was primarily because for many of the 'issue coverage' variables such as 'health' or 'education', the issue is only mentioned once or twice in the sample of texts. If that text is only coded positive by one coder, the overall per cent agreement may be above 90 per cent yet there is zero agreement on the single text coded positive for that variable. Some ambiguities in the coding scheme were also addressed at this stage.³⁶

³⁶ *Racial foregrounding* was clarified to include comparisons with foreign leaders of same ethnicity. For example, comparing Black male candidates (in both the US and UK) to Barack Obama, or US Hispanic candidates to Latin American leaders. Similarly, *Reference to economic issues* was clarified to include references to both micro- and macroeconomic issues. For example, household budgets as well as the state of the economy as a whole. Several new policy issue variables were also identified. For the US sample, several 'other issues' had been coded present by both coders for references to drug or gun policy. In addition, 'politicians / government / political reform' was added to the scheme, given that both coders identified this in multiple texts.

Following the review and amendment of the coding instrument, agreement was above 90 per cent for all variables except character within the British sample (80.5 per cent on a five-point scale and 88.5 per cent on a three-point scale). In some cases, there is only a small change in the per cent agreement, yet the Krippendorff alpha rises substantially to one because of a change from disagreement to agreement over a single text coded as 'present' for an issue. For example, the agreement for 'race foregrounded' in Britain sample was 90.6 with a critical alpha of just .1 in the first round of coding, and 93.6 with a critical alpha of 1 in the second round of coding. Full results from the second round are presented in Appendices 18 and 19.

For the ordinal scale variables (the overall tone of an article, and the overall tone of viability coverage where present in an article) the texts were initially coded on a five-point scale ('very negative', 'somewhat negative', 'mixed', 'somewhat positive', 'very positive'). Results were then analysed both on a five point and collapsed three-point scale. Collapsing to a three-point scale improves the alpha (and therefore reliability of the instrument) in seven out of eight cases. However, in the US sample 'overall tone' reached .8 on a five-point scale and only .6 on a three-point scale, with 90.3 per cent agreement for both. Yet, for the British sample, the same variable reached 1.0 using both scales, with 95.4 per cent and 98.9 per cent on five and three point scales respectively. Therefore, the US tone alpha was accepted given the high per cent agreement, low sample size (which increases the difficulty of achieving an acceptable coefficient), and better results for the larger British sample using the same scheme. Once the reliability of the coding scheme had been confirmed, the three samples of texts could be analysed, and the hypotheses tested with a series of explanatory multivariate models.

4.7 Explanatory models

The multivariate models used here build on those developed by Gershon (2012), which test the effect of candidates' combined racial, gendered identity on patterns of coverage. The dependent variables are therefore the aspects of coverage captured by the preceding quantitative content analysis. The basic model is as follows: Y, the relevant aspect of coverage, is a function of the racial gendered identity of the candidate, which enters the

model as three dichotomous variables: X_1 for white male, X_2 for white female, X_3 for minority male. Minority women are the baseline category, placing them at the centre of the analysis and allowing for comparisons with all other intersectional groups. Control variables—discussed in detail below—include party, incumbency, seniority and race competitiveness in all models. Whether the candidate is in the racial majority within their district is controlled for in the US models. Additionally, the models for US local coverage include newspaper circulation size, and the models for US national coverage include publication. It is not possible to include publication in the UK national models because of the number of newspapers sampled.

4.7.1 Control variables

Drawing on Gershon's (2012) design, control variables relate to the candidate, the campaign and the media factors. They apply to all variations of the model (i.e. US local and US and British national coverage) except where otherwise stated. While variation in candidate attributes and therefore sample bias is addressed by the matching strategy, the following controls refine the precision of the estimates and address variation within intersectional groups as well as across them.

Three candidate factors are controlled for: incumbency, seniority and partisan affiliation. US findings show that challengers tend to receive less coverage than incumbents (e.g. Schaffner 2006) and research into the visibility of Members of the European Parliament suggests that longstanding incumbents receive more coverage than less established peers (Gattermann and Vasilopoulou 2015). Challengers are the baseline category to which incumbents are compared. Seniority is measured as the number of previous terms served: 0 for challengers, +1 for each previous term up to ten terms, with a truncated scale applied to a small number of candidates who had served more than ten terms in the US.³⁷ Party affiliation is also likely to affect the quality, quantity and content of coverage because of newspapers' partisan editorial lines.

³⁷ This was because the vast majority (126 of 132) candidates served ten terms or less. While 13 candidates served 10 terms, the numbers then drop off to three who served 11, two who served 12 and one who served 15 terms.

Republicans are the baseline category in US models and Conservatives are the baseline in the British model.

The greater the *competitiveness* of a campaign, the greater the expected frequency of coverage, and the more negative the expected tone of coverage (Kahn and Kenney 1999, Vinson 2003, both cited in Gershon, 2012a). In more competitive races the foregrounding of gender may be increased by the campaign tactics of opponents, or by candidates themselves, resulting in increased likelihood of the frame. The competitiveness of each race is measured as a binary variable. In the US ‘solid’ and ‘likely’ seats are the baseline category, to which ‘lean’ and ‘tossup’ races are compared, drawing on categorisations from Cook’s Political Report. In Britain ‘ultra-safe’ to ‘fairly-safe’ constituencies are the baseline, to which ‘fairly-marginal’ or ‘ultra-marginal’ seats are compared, employing definitions from Pippa Norris’s UK 2010 election data.

For US local coverage, an additional media factor is controlled for. Lawless and Hayes (2014) have shown that larger *circulation* decreases the frequency of overall coverage as larger papers covering more than one district or constituency are likely to devote less coverage to individual members. Circulation is measured as a continuous variable.

4.8 Hypotheses and Estimation

The frequency of coverage (total articles and total name mentions per candidate) is estimated with a negative binomial model, while all binary outcomes are estimated with probit models, and all scale variables with ordered probit models. For the frequency of coverage and all binary variables, coefficients are reported in addition to marginal change in the dependent variable given a fixed change in the independent variable from its minimum to its maximum value, holding all other variables constant at their means. This provides a comparison of the average difference in the number of articles, name mentions, or per cent of articles referring to viability, substantive issues, race or gender for each group, controlling for the candidate, campaign and media factors discussed above. For the overall tone of coverage, and the tone of campaign coverage, predicted probabilities for each point on the tone scale are also reported by intersectional group

in order to show the likelihood of negative, mixed and positive coverage conditional on candidate identity, controlling for other factors.

Each hypothesis states the expected outcome for minority women compared to all other intersectional groups. Table 4.15 summarises the hypotheses, relevant models and expected direction of effect for minority women. Together, these hypotheses anticipate that—aside from an expected visibility advantage in the national press—minority women’s coverage will be less favourable than that of candidates from all other intersectional groups. Therefore, the overarching prediction is that, while minority men and white women face continued, but gradually improving disadvantages compared to white men, the intersectional effects of race and gender will result in coverage which is least favourable to minority women, compared to all other intersectional groups.

Table 4.15 Hypotheses, models and expected effects for minority women

Hypothesis	Model	Effect
H1a: (US only) Frequency of local coverage	Negative binomial	-
H1b: Frequency of national coverage	Negative binomial	+
H2: Overall tone of coverage	Ordered probit	-
H3: Frequency of viability coverage	Probit	+
H4: Tone of viability coverage	Ordered probit	-
H5: Likelihood of substantive issues coverage	Probit	-
H6: Likelihood of references to stereotypically (white) ‘masculine’ issues	Probit	+
H7: Likelihood of references to stereotypically ‘feminine’ and ‘minority’ issues	Probit	-
H8: Likelihood of explicit references to gender	Probit	+
H9: Likelihood of explicit references to race	Probit	+
H10: Likelihood of personal coverage	Probit	+

In each of the negative binomial models, the candidate is the unit of analysis (N=132 for the US, and 90 for Britain), and the total number of articles and name mentions in coverage throughout the campaign are the dependent variables. In the local coverage models estimating the effects of candidates’ racial and gendered identity on the frequency of coverage that they receive, coefficients are expected to be positive and significant for all intersectional groups, indicating that minority women receive the least coverage. However, in national coverage, the coefficients are expected to be

negative and significant for all other groups, indicating that minority women receive most coverage.

In the probit and ordered probit models, the article is the unit of analysis (N=1754 for US local coverage, 175 for US national coverage, and 467 for British national coverage).

In the probit models, where the frequency or likelihood of an aspect of coverage is predicted to be highest for minority women, coefficients are expected to be negative and significant for all other groups, indicating, for example, that they receive less viability coverage, their race is explicitly foregrounded less frequently, and reporting on their campaigns is less likely to feature latent foregrounding of their identity via personal coverage featuring their age, appearance, family/spouse or religion. Where the frequency of an aspect of coverage is predicted to be lowest for minority women, coefficients are expected to be positive and significant for all other intersectional groups, indicating that they are more likely to receive substantive policy coverage, and that their policy coverage is more likely to feature stereotypically white/male issues.

Ordered dependent variables are measured on a three-point scale from -1 to +1. In these models, coefficients are expected to be positive and significant for all other intersectional groups, indicating that these aspects of their coverage are more likely to be positive on average than that of minority women.

4.9 Qualitative content analysis

The second element of the design is a qualitative content analysis. This provides a detailed, descriptive examination of the *framing* of minority women's viability, policy positions and ideology, explicit references to race and gender, and latent references to identity via personal coverage which includes religion, age, appearance and family lives. So, while the quantitative analysis tests whether the frequency of references to these items varies conditional on candidates' intersectional identity, the qualitative analysis explores whether and how these topics are uniquely framed in coverage of minority

women. Entman (1993:51) argues that framing “essentially involves selection and salience”, stating:

To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recognition* for the item described [Entman’s italics].

For example, Caliendo and McIlwain (2004a) have identified frames of ‘racial authenticity’ in coverage of (male) African American candidates’ campaigns, but prior studies have not considered the intersection of racial and gendered references in viability frames specifically applied to minority women. I therefore consider whether minority women’s racial, gendered identity is portrayed as an advantage or disadvantage in terms of viability; the salience and characterisation of the racial and gendered identity of voters; and press responses to progressive measures and party diversification. The use of open-ended qualitative content analysis to identify new frames builds on designs by Caliendo & McIlwain (2004a) and (Brown and Gershon 2016).

4.9.1 Qualitative coding process

The qualitative content analysis was conducted employing process of subsumption, as outlined by Schreier (2012:115-118). This is an iterative process in which each aspect of coverage is disaggregated into a series of primary and secondary frames during several rounds of coding.

Firstly, during the quantitative coding phase, all of the sampled texts were imported into Nvivo and coded against the categories from the quantitative instrument. Subsequently, all sections of text categorised as positive, negative, referring to viability, substantive issues, or constituting explicit or latent references to candidate identity could then be collated and exported for qualitative analysis. For example, all sections of sampled texts referring to candidates’ viability could be extracted as a subsample to be coded qualitatively.

In order to employ a process of subsumption, it is necessary to begin with a series of preliminary codes, categories, or frames, which can then iteratively be disaggregated into more specific units (Schreier 2012:116). Preliminary codes can be either concept-driven or data-driven. In this case, both types were used. The preliminary coding categories were developed in response to the review of existing literature, as well as reflections noted during the quantitative coding phase. For example, preliminary categories drawn from the relevant literature included ‘first framing’ (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005, Falk 2012, Ross et al. 2013), and the “spurious links made between [female politicians’] outward appearance and ability to do the job” (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996:109). Preliminary data-driven categories regarding viability included news frames regarding minority female candidates’ relationships with political parties and voters. Concerning explicit references to race and gender, these included the framing of debates surrounding descriptive and substantive representation. With respect to personal coverage, preliminary categories included distinctions between the advantageous and disadvantageous framing of references to candidates’ spouses, caregiving responsibilities, appearances and personal histories.

It is important to note that the sheer amount of data from the three samples meant that it was necessary to make some exclusions at this stage. The amount of viability coverage was so great that I focused only on a detailed analysis of intersectional viability frames which linked minority women’s racial, gendered identity with their chances of success. Regarding all other aspects of coverage, I compared frames applied to minority women with those applied to candidates from other racial, gendered groups.

Following first round of qualitative coding, in which segments of texts were assigned to these preliminary categories, the texts were subsequently collated and exported again for second-round coding. The segments of text assigned to each preliminary category were then iteratively assigned to a series of sub categories. For example, regarding minority women’s relationship with political parties, I noted two sets of competing frames which, interestingly, were similar cross-nationally. Minority women appeared to

be portrayed both as signs of positive political progress, and at the same time as co-opted by political parties and lacking in autonomy. With regards to substantive representation, I noted that male and female minority candidates were represented with the assumption that they either aimed or possessed the capacity to provide substantive representation to specific racial and/or gendered constituencies, but were also upheld as behavioural role models, implying that their salient identity embodied ideological positions.

Throughout this process, I paid specific attention to *assumptions* regarding racial and gendered identity, as well as what was absent from problem definitions and causal interpretations. For example, assumptions regarding identity as a *motivation* for minority women's candidacies, the absence of references to structural disadvantage in discussions of women's and minorities' underrepresentation in politics. In addition, I explored the frequent tension between cited statements made by candidates, party representatives, reporters and other commentators regarding minority women's intersectional identities. For example, candidates themselves often appeared far more reluctant to couch their campaigns in terms of their position as historic 'firsts' than were other sources.

In order to ensure the robustness of the qualitative findings, frames were compared across each of the coverage samples, and the degree to which they are consistent across local and national, US and British newspapers is reported along with anomalous or contradictory frames where these are present.

Chapter Five

A Double-edged Sword? The Frequency and Tone of Campaign Coverage

This chapter investigates the effects of candidates' intersectional racial, gendered identity on two key aspects of the coverage they receive: its frequency and its overall tone. Frequency is measured as a) the total number of articles covering each candidate over the campaign period, and b) the total number of name mentions received by each individual during that time. The overall tone of coverage is measured on a three-point 'negative', 'mixed', 'positive' scale. I present the results of tests of three hypotheses derived from the literature, which state that compared to candidates from all other intersectional groups, and controlling for additional candidate, campaign and media factors:

H1a: (US only) Minority women will receive the least *local* coverage.

H1b: Minority women will receive the most *national* coverage.

H2: Minority women's press coverage is more negative than that of other groups.

Therefore, in testing these three hypotheses, two sets of comparisons are made. Firstly, US local coverage is compared to US national coverage. Minority women are expected to receive least local coverage and most national coverage. This difference in the expected effects for minority women in local and national coverage is for several reasons. Firstly, the existing literature shows that in *local* newspapers' reporting of individual races—usually between two candidates—minorities and women are often disadvantaged by a perceived lack of viability which results in limited attention paid to their campaigns. We might expect this to be offset by the perceived novelty of minority women's intersectional identity. However, of the 33 sampled minority women, 22 were incumbents, and therefore their identity was not new to the district or its local

newspaper. Furthermore, of the 11 challengers, six were running in majority minority districts, of which two were already represented by a minority man and two were represented by a minority woman. Therefore, in these cases too, minority women's intersectional identity in the *local* context was less of a novelty than it might otherwise have been. Only six minority women in total ran as challengers in seats that neither had a minority majority electorate nor an incumbent minority representative. Thus, there were a very limited number of cases in which minority women's intersectional identity was likely to be employed by the local press as a journalistic 'hook', and possibly increase their visibility as a result. Furthermore, in four of these six cases, the minority woman in question was not elected, leading us back to the effects of perceived lack of viability.

Conversely, in *national* coverage I anticipate that reporters single out individuals from the entire population of candidates based on perceived novelties, including but not limited to intersectional identity, which constitute journalistic 'hooks'. These novelties feed into stories about the general election *as a whole*, which are typical of national, but not local coverage. For example, stories about the overall increase in candidates from historically underrepresented groups, and individuals who constitute 'firsts' in the national context. I therefore expect that minority women's intersectional identity, results in increased visibility on the national stage, relative to comparable white male, white female or minority male candidates.

The second comparison is between US and British national coverage. Although this is not a strictly comparative design, a comparison of the treatment of minority women by the US and British national press will test whether the empirical implications of intersectional theory are evidenced in in cross-national contexts. Gershon's (2012) study shows that intersectional differences arise in the amount of coverage US local newspapers afford to candidates of varying racial and gendered groups. I extend the analysis to the national press in both the US and Britain. Although it is not possible to attribute any cross-national differences which are observed to specific factors (i.e., media markets, candidate-centred elections, cultural differences), a cross national test

does provide a more robust test of the implications of intersectional theory, as well as laying groundwork for future comparative research.

For each hypothesis, descriptive statistics are presented first, followed by an explanatory analysis employing the models discussed in the previous chapter. Qualitative analysis of the content of coverage and consideration of contextual factors is then employed to help identify what, specifically, drives variation in the frequency and tone of coverage that candidates receive. In particular, the analysis focuses on a) understanding variation *within* each intersectional group and, b) interrogating the robustness of claims of variation in coverage *between* minority women and other intersectional groups. Finally, I employ both descriptive quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis to explore the possibility that colourism—“the process of discrimination that privileges light-skinned people of colour over their dark-skinned counterparts” (Hunter 2007:237)—may impact upon variation in the frequency and tone of coverage received by minority women of different ethnicities. For example, by resulting in stronger negative effects for African American and Black British women than their Latina, Asian American and British Asian female counterparts.

5.1 Frequency of local US coverage

The first hypothesis states that minority women will receive less US local newspaper coverage than candidates from all other intersectional groups, controlling for other factors. The initial descriptive statistics shown in Table 5.1 initially appear to support this. The sample of minority women appeared in just 354 articles and received 1321 name mentions in total, compared to 393 articles and 1719 name mentions for minority men, 481 articles and 1938 name mentions for white men, and 526 articles and 1749 name mentions for white women. The mean number of articles (10.7) and name mentions (40) received by each individual minority woman are therefore lower than for candidates from all other groups. However, a pairwise comparison of means for both measures shows all differences between groups to be insignificant at $p > .05$.

Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US local coverage by intersectional identity

Group	Articles					Name Mentions				
	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White male	482	14.6	13.1	0	49	1938	58.7	72.7	0	316
White female	525	15.9	14.8	0	71	1749	53	53.6	0	263
Minority male	393	11.9	25	0	141	1719	52.1	165.9	0	945
Minority female	354	10.7	11.5	0	43	1321	40	56.7	0	196
Total	1754	13.3	16.9	0	141	6727	51	97.7	0	945

(Pairwise comparisons of mean articles and name mentions between all groups insignificant at $p > .05$.)

Furthermore, there is also huge variation within each group. Firstly, certain candidates from all groups received no coverage at all. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this was least likely for white male candidates, with only a single white man not appearing in any articles, compared to two white women, nine minority men, and four minority women. The two white men who received no coverage or appeared just a single article were Jerrold L. Nadler (D-NY 10th District) and Sam Farr (D-CA 20th District) respectively. This is explained by the fact that both ran in districts with newspapers with particularly high circulation sizes of over half a million readers, and high circulating publications covering more than one district have less space to devote to individual members (Lawless and Hayes 2014). For comparison, the mean circulation size of local newspapers within the sample is 183,256 ($SD=159311$). The same was true for the three white women—Vivianne C. Falcone (D-NY 2nd District), Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY 4th District) and Carolyn B. Maloney (D-NY 12th District)—who also appeared in no more than one article. This was not the case for most minority men and women who received little or no coverage, however. Of the eight minority men who received no coverage, seven ran in districts covered by newspapers close to or well below the overall mean circulation size. Neither does their lack of visibility appear to be explained by poor viability: five were incumbents running in uncompetitive contests. Nor does this lack of competition entirely explain away local newspapers’ disinterest in their campaigns however, as the vast majority of white men who received high levels of coverage were also incumbents running in races which they were highly likely to win. Similarly, three of the four minority women who did not appear in a single article were also covered by

newspapers with circulation sizes well below the mean, and all but one were incumbents running in non-competitive contests.

Although minority men were therefore most likely to receive no coverage at all, their overall coverage was also increased by two very high outliers: Ami Bera (D-CA 7th District) with 39 articles and 232 name mentions and Raul Ruiz with 141 articles and 945 name mentions. Similarly, outliers among white women—Shelly Pingree with 54 articles and 152 name mentions, and Nicki Tsongas with 71 articles 263 name mentions—contributed substantially to the overall level of coverage afforded to the group. In contrast, Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-WA 3rd District), the highest outlier among minority women appeared in just 43 articles, and received only 144 name mentions, and Gloria Bromell Tinubu (D-SC 7th District) was covered in just 37 articles, receiving 161 name mentions.

Therefore, although white men did not receive most attention, they did receive the most consistent level of coverage and were almost guaranteed to receive at least a single mention. Meanwhile, white women and minority men's coverage was more varied, but the impact of candidates who received little attention was offset by those who achieved extreme prominence. Minority women's coverage, on the other hand, was both more likely to be low or non-existent, and was not offset as much by high outliers. So, although there was variation among all four groups, the results arguably point to a ceiling for minority women's visibility in US local news coverage. This is because, in addition to receiving fewer articles or name mentions on average, the highest outliers for both measures among minority women were also substantially lower than those for other groups, as Figures 1 and 2 show.

Figure 1. Total US local articles by intersectional group

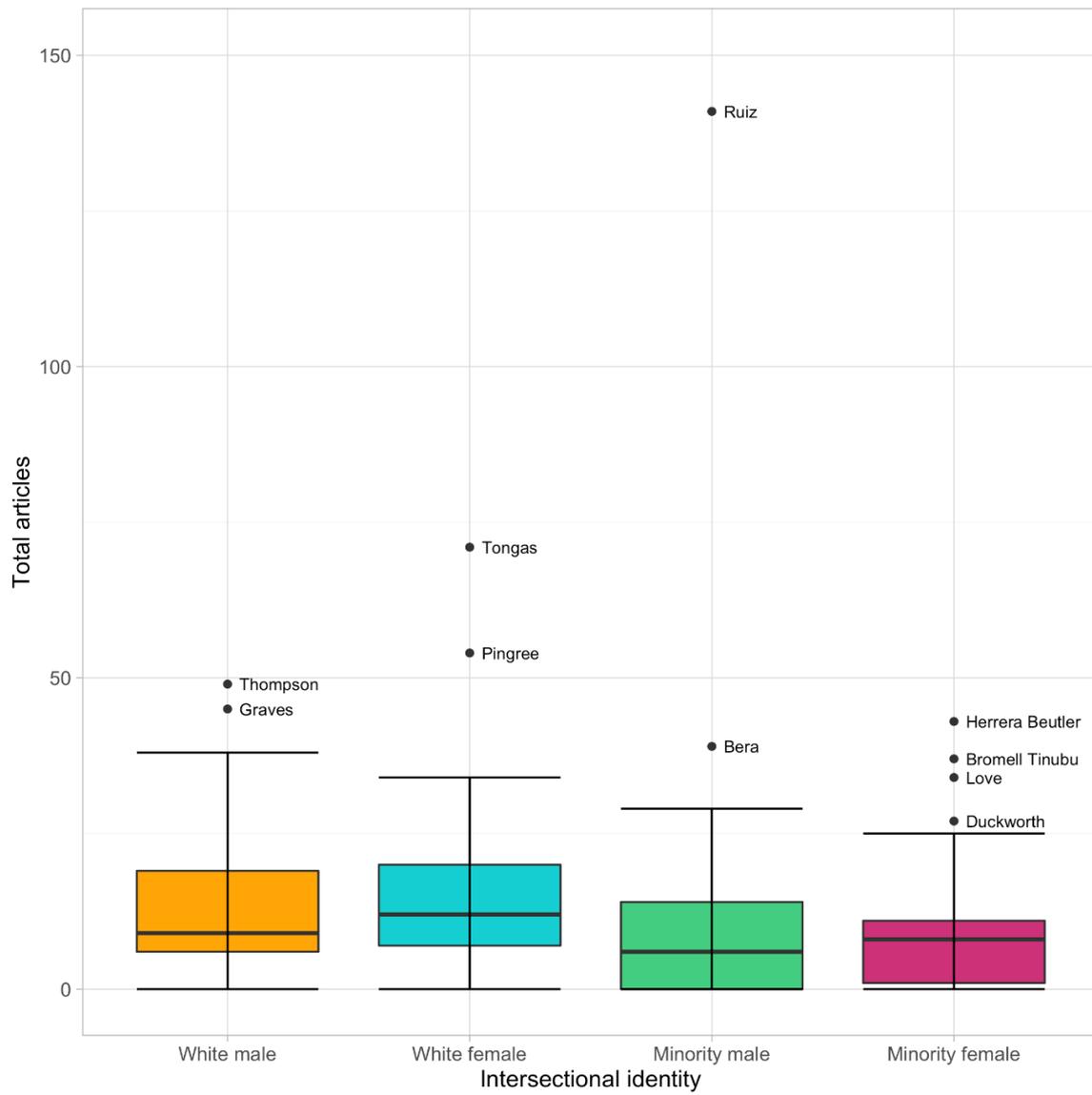
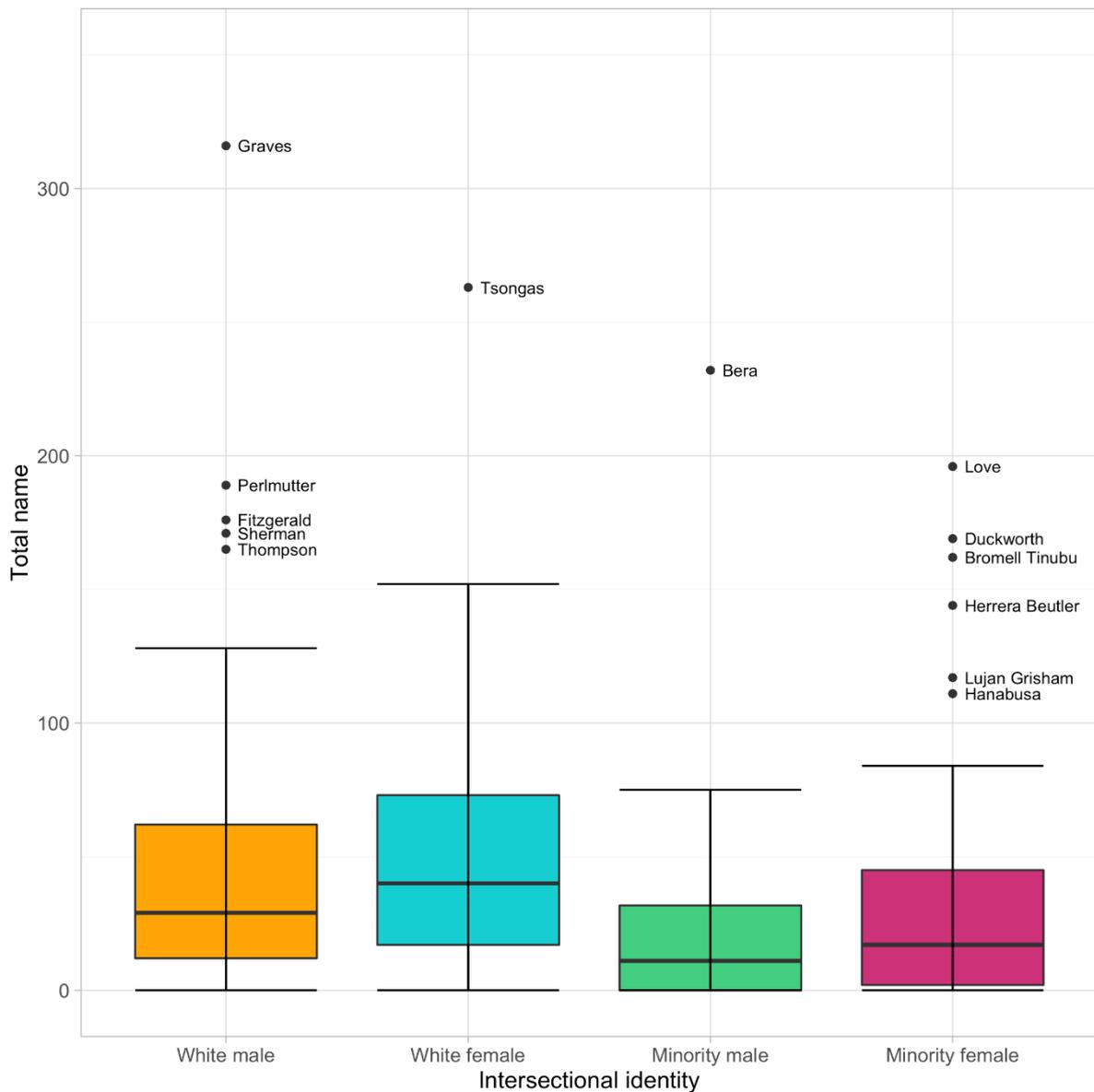


Figure 2. Total US local name mentions by intersectional group



Moving from a descriptive to an explanatory analysis of these effects, two negative binomial models were used to estimate the extent of the effects of intersectional identity on the average number of articles and name mentions received by candidates from each intersectional each group, controlling for additional candidate, campaign and media factors such as party, incumbency, seniority, race competitiveness and local newspaper circulation size. With minority women as the baseline category, the coefficients for white and minority male candidates are not significant (Table 5.2). Therefore, contrary to the expectations of the hypothesis, neither group receives significantly more coverage

than minority women when these additional factors are controlled for. However, the positive and significant coefficient for white women, (albeit only at the $p < 0.1$ level) in the model estimating the total number of articles received by a candidate from each group, indicates that white women do receive significantly more coverage than their minority female counterparts, and that this effect is indeed at least partially due to intersectional identity.

Coefficients are reported in addition to marginal change in the dependent variable given a fixed change in the independent variable from its minimum to its maximum value, holding all other variables constant at their means. Substantively, this is the average difference in the number of articles and name mentions afforded to minority women and members of each other representative group. The predictive margins show that when we control for these additional factors, white women appear, on average, in 14 local US newspaper articles and receive 46 name mentions over the campaign period, compared to just ten articles and 30 name mentions for minority women (Fig. 3). So while the hypothesis that minority women will receive less coverage than all other groups is not supported by the model, the results do suggest an important intersectional difference in the level of coverage afforded to women of varying racial identities.

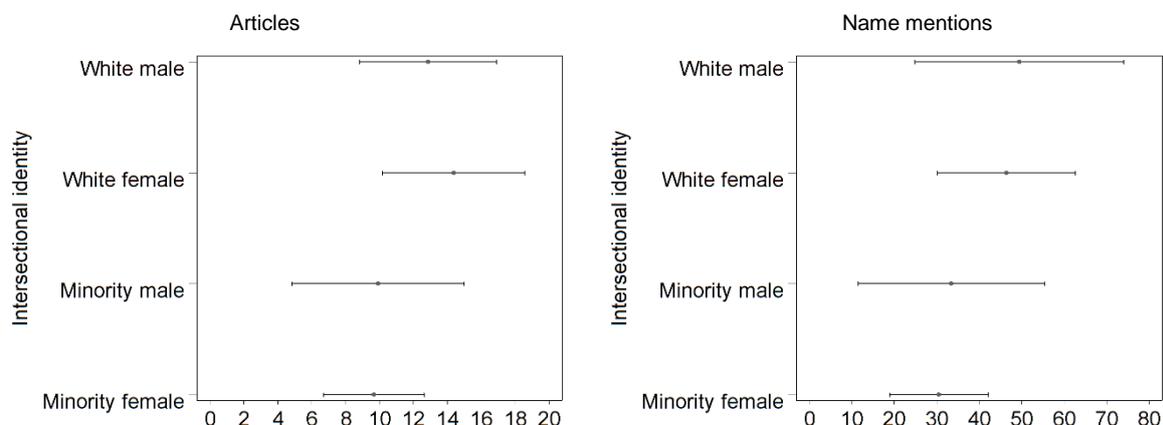
It is important not to overstate the robustness of this finding, however, considering the extent of variation within groups, and the effects of high outliers within each intersectional group on modelling outcomes. In the model estimating the average number of articles received by candidates from each intersectional group, the highest outlier among white women, Nicola S. Tsongas (D-MA 3rd District), appeared in 71 articles, compared to 43 articles for the highest outlier among minority women, Jaime Herrera Beutler. Therefore, the model was also run with Tsongas excluded. With Tsongas removed from the model, the positive coefficient for white women is no longer significant, suggesting that differences between white and minority women result primarily from a differential ceiling on coverage of outliers from each group.

Table 5.2: Negative binomial regressions: frequency of local US coverage

Characteristics	Total articles		Total name mentions	
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Marginal effects	Coefficient (S.E.)	Marginal effects
White male	0.29 (0.23)	3.21	0.48 (0.33)	18.92
White female	0.40* (0.22)	4.70	0.42 (0.26)	15.89
Minority male	0.02 (0.30)	0.24	0.09 (0.37)	2.93
Democrat	0.13 (0.29)	1.52	0.17 (0.41)	6.74
Incumbent	0.12 (0.28)	1.34	-0.20 (0.35)	-7.95
Seniority	-0.07** (0.04)	-0.84	-0.09* (0.05)	-3.41
Competitiveness	0.62 (0.42)	7.19	1.10** (0.51)	43.01
Racial majority	-0.12 (0.18)	-1.33	0.13 (0.23)	5.15
Circulation	-0.00*** (0.00)	0.00	-0.00*** (0.00)	0.00
Constant	2.84*** (0.39)		4.10*** (0.50)	
Observations	132		132	
chi-square test	53.50		72.54	
p	0.000		0.000	

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3. Predicted frequency of coverage by intersectional identity



Two control variables within the model are also significant. Firstly, local newspaper circulation had an effect in line with expectations informed by existing findings: the higher the circulation, the lower the coverage received by individual candidates. This is because high circulating publications covering more than one district have less space to devote to individual members (Lawless and Hayes 2014). However, seniority, contrary to expectations, appeared to assert a negative influence on the number of name mentions and articles candidates received. Yet, this is misleading, as the effect is not linear. It is instead longstanding and very recently elected incumbents and a select few challengers who receive most coverage, while medium term incumbents generally receive least.³⁸ For example, the two white men who received least coverage were Jerold L. Nadler and Sam Farr, who served 11 and ten terms respectively, and the two highest incumbent outliers were Brad Sherman (D-CA 30th District) and Mike Thompson (D-CA 5th District), who had served eight and seven terms respectively—all above the mean of 5.7 ($SD=3.6$).

There are several ways to interpret the non-linear effects of seniority. While it is tempting to posit the suggestion that longstanding incumbents either receive little

³⁸ Because of this, I also ran the model with a quadratic term, so terms (un-truncated) and terms squared. As expected this results in negative coefficient for terms and a positive coefficient for terms squared, but neither is significant. There are no substantive changes to the sign, significance or strength of any other coefficients as a result.

coverage due to their safe positions in relatively uncompetitive races which they have won many times previously, or a great deal of coverage due to the seniority that a select few have achieved during their terms, other, less systematic contextual factors are also in play. For example, Sherman's scrutiny resulted primarily from an incident occurring during a debate with his opponent, Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-CA 28th District): "During a heated exchange between the two over a federal immigration bill, Sherman got up close to Berman's face, threw his arm roughly around his shoulders and challenged 'You want to get into this?'"³⁹ This resulted in a slew of headlines such as "Politics, the new contact sport",⁴⁰ and raised subsequent interest in the contest. Secondly, this non-linear effect also appears to have resulted in part from the high levels of coverage devoted to certain minority challengers: three of the five most prominent minority men, and four of the five most prominent minority women were challengers, compared to just a single challenger among the five most prominent white women and white men respectively.

The extreme variation within groups, as well as a limited degree of systematic variation among them, raises several questions. Firstly, what specifically motivated the attention afforded to the highest outliers, and did this vary among groups? For example, did the most prominent minority women receive high levels of coverage for the same reasons as their white female counterparts? Secondly, why were certain minority, but not white challengers singled out for special attention? Was this tied to the 'novelty' of diversity among viable candidates, or can it be explained by less systematic factors?

Among white women, variation in the level of visibility seems to be attributable almost entirely to local newspaper circulation size. The five least visible white female candidates were all covered by the *New York Post*, with a circulation of 547,508, and the *Star Tribune*, with a circulation of 300,822, while the eight most prominent candidates—none of whom were in competitive races—were all covered by papers with circulations

³⁹ No byline, "Sherman, Berman get testy, physical at debate", *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, p.14, 12th October 2012

⁴⁰ No byline, "Politics, the new contact sport", *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, p.15, 15th October 2012

between 30,224 (*Asheville Citizen Times*) and 139,834 (*Charlotte Observer*). This is corroborated by the content of prominent white female candidates' coverage: it is almost uniformly focused on rather standardised reporting on the horserace. For example, analysis of polling, statements from endorsers of the candidate of her opponent, and relatively detailed coverage of debates. Importantly, this is despite the fact that none were actually running in competitive contests. Furthermore, there is scant use of identity as a journalistic hook. For example, among the entire coverage devoted to the eight most prominent white women (280 articles) only seven articles in total explicitly mention their gender (discussed further in Chapter Seven). There is also the complete absence of any sort of noteworthy scandal such as that attracted by Sherman, discussed above. It seems that for the most visible white women within the sample there was a relatively low bar to attracting the attention of their local newspaper: they simply had to be running in an area where the publication was small enough not to be spreading its reporting over a large number of races.

In comparison, there are several notable differences in both the context and content of coverage of prominent minority women. Admittedly, Jaime Herrera Beutler and Gloria Bromell Tinubu's visibility was, as with white women's, partially due to their local newspapers' extremely small circulation sizes: *The Columbian*, with a weekday circulation of 41220, and *Sun News* (Myrtle Beach) with a weekday circulation of 35524. This is where certain contextual similarities end, however. In total, 9 of 33 sampled minority women ran in majority white districts, and this included four of the minority women with the greatest coverage: Jaime Herrera Beutler, Gloria Bromell Tinubu, Tammy Duckworth (D-IL 8th District) and Mia B. Love (R-UT 4th District), who each received between 144 and 196 name mentions. Therefore, candidates in these districts are over represented among the most visible individuals within this group. Furthermore, all but Beutler were challengers, and both Bromell Tinubu and Herrera Beutler ran in highly competitive races, unlike highly visible white women. So, while the typical highly visible white woman was a longstanding incumbent running in an uncompetitive race, the minority women who received most coverage were typically challengers running in minority white districts.

Furthermore, the content of certain prominent minority women's coverage shows that, unlike white women's, identity was used as a journalistic hook, and therefore arguably partly motivated the attention they received. For example, there were explicit mentions of ethnicity in 15 per cent of articles featuring Asian American Tammy Duckworth, and in 17 per cent of articles mentioning African American Mia B. Love, both of whom constituted intersectional firsts. Tammy Duckworth was the first Asian American woman to enter Congress from Illinois, the first member of Congress born in Thailand, and the first disabled woman to enter the House of Representatives. Love on the other hand was the country's first viable African American female Republican candidate. Focus on Love as an intersectional first and fascination with her identity was also compounded by her Mormon religion, marriage to a white man, and the nationwide interest in her race, evidenced by numerous interventions and endorsements by the party leadership and her invitation to address the 2012 Republican National Convention.⁴¹ This was not *consistently* the case in local coverage of minority women, as Chapter Seven shows.

Therefore, while white women receive the most coverage, driven predominantly by newspaper circulation size, and focusing on analysis of their viability, a few exceptional minority women drew particular attention, but not enough to offset the relative invisibility of most individuals within this intersectional group. There is increasingly no 'typical' minority female candidate, but the possibility of an intersectional 'first' frame also appears the best indicator of which minority women are able to buck the trend of relative invisibility within their local press.

⁴¹ Among minority men, the only candidate who received high levels of coverage in a minority white district was Ami Bera (D-CA 7th District). Bera was unique as an Indian American elected to the House of Representatives that year, and only the third historically. In contrast to the pattern for minority women, most of the minority men who received the highest levels of coverage ran in majority minority districts but were also covered by papers with small circulation sizes: Raul Ruiz (D-CA 36th District) received the second most coverage among minority men with 141 name mentions from the *Desert Sun*, which has a weekday circulation of 36583; and Cedric Richmond (D-LA 2nd District) came third with 75 name mentions from *Times-Picayune* with a circulation of 31079.

I would also suggest that there is limited evidence consistent with theories of colourism which suggest that effects are likely to be stronger for darker skinned minorities than their lighter skinned counterparts (Hunter 2007, Hochschild and Weaver 2007). On average, Asian American women receive more local coverage than their African American, Assyrian/Armenian, and Latina counterparts. For example, the mean number of articles and name mentions received by African American women is ten and 39, this compares to 14 and 58 for Asian American women (Table 5.3). This suggestion is highly tentative for several reasons however. Firstly, the sample sizes are extremely small. Secondly, minority women of varying ethnicities are not matched on other politically relevant variables. Thirdly, pair-wise comparisons of mean article and name mention totals by ethnicity are not statistically significant.

Table 5.3 Mean total local US articles and name mentions for minority women by ethnicity

Group	Total articles					Total name mentions				
	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min	Max
African American	17	10.1	10.4	0	37	17	38.5	56.9	0	196
Asian American	6	14	11	1	27	6	57.7	68.1	1	169
Assyrian/Armenian	1	8		8	8	1	8	.	8	8
Latina	9	10	14.9	0	43	9	34.8	55.6	0	144

5.2 Frequency of national coverage in the US and Britain

The second hypothesis states that in the US and British national press, minority women will receive *more* coverage than all other intersectional groups, controlling for other factors. I expect that in national coverage, because the entire pool of candidates competes for attention, those whose actions, statements, or identities constitute a novelty will garner the most coverage. This will, therefore, result in increased visibility for minority women, compared to similar candidates from other intersectional groups.

Starting with the US national press, Table 5.4 shows that minority women appeared in 52 articles, compared to 48 for white men, 29 for white women, and 46 for minority men. While this is in line with the expectations of the hypothesis, only the difference in the level of coverage afforded to white and minority women is substantial when

employing this measure. However, the effect is much stronger when we look more closely at the depth of coverage received by candidates from each group, indicated by the number of times their names were mentioned. For minority women, the total is 206, compared to 159 for white men, 48 for white women, and 86 for minority men. Therefore, the descriptive statistics immediately highlight the utility of employing both measures, showing that minority women appear in more articles than other groups, and in addition those articles provide a greater depth of coverage.

Table 5.4: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US national coverage by intersectional identity

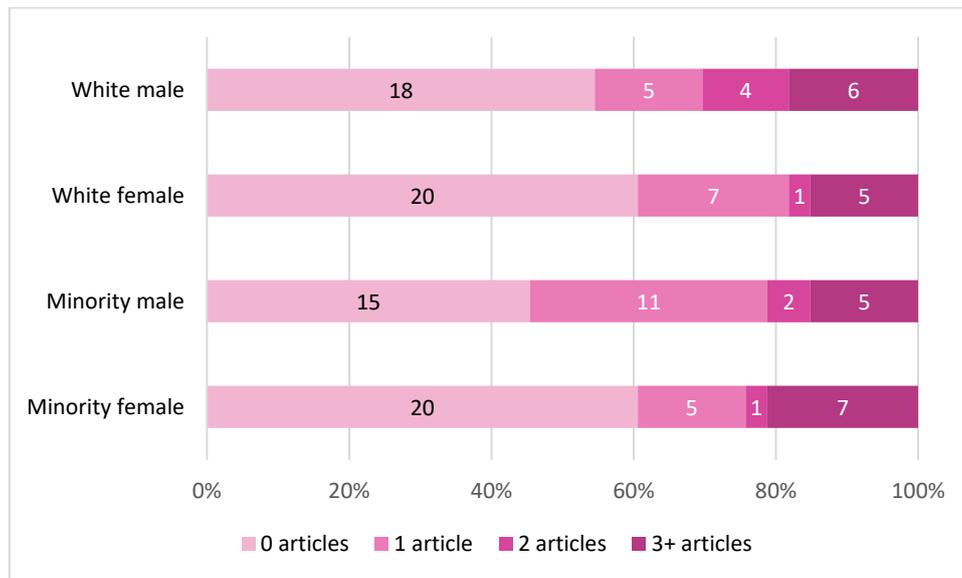
Group	Articles					Name Mentions				
	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White male	48	1.5	.5	0	15	159	4.8	2.2	0	57
White female	29	.9	.3	0	5	48	1.5	.4	0	10
Minority male	46	1.4	.5	0	15	86	2.6	.8	0	19
Minority female	52	1.6	.5	0	13	206	6.2	2.8	0	79
Total	175	1.3	.2	0	15	499	3.8	.9	0	79

However, the descriptive statistics also show that minority women do not *consistently* receive more national coverage than other groups. Instead, there is again a great deal of variation *within* groups, and the differences between groups result primarily from the extremely high level of attention received by a select few individuals. The mean number of articles in which a minority female candidate appeared, on average, was 1.6 ($SD=.5$), but 20 of 33 minority women were not covered in a single article. This was true for the majority of sampled candidates: of a total of 132 individuals 73 received no coverage at all, and a further 36 only appeared in one or two articles. The remaining 23 candidates were almost evenly split among intersectional groups: six white men, five white women and minority men, and seven minority women. It is only when we look at the highest outliers that substantial differences emerge, skewing the overall level of coverage upwards for minority women. These individuals are namely Tammy Duckworth (5 articles, 16 name mentions); Donna F. Edwards (D-MD 4th District) (8 articles, 30 name

mentions) Mia B. Love (10 articles, 33 name mentions); and Maxine Waters (D-CA 43rd District) (13 articles, 79 name mentions).

With this in mind, the results of the negative binomial model (shown in Table 5.5) must again be interpreted with caution. The coefficients indicate that in US national coverage – as with US local coverage – differences in the number of articles or name mentions between minority women and minority or white men were non-significant. However, a significant intersectional difference in the frequency of coverage received is again observed between minority and white women, even when controlling for additional candidate, campaign and media factors. In the model estimating the average number of name mentions received by candidates from each intersectional group, the coefficient for white women is negative and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. The result also remains significant when the high outlier for minority women is removed from the model (Maxine Waters, with 79 name mentions), although only at the $p < 0.1$ level. At first glance, the results indicate partial support for the hypothesis. The marginal effects predict that, controlling for other factors, white women received a single name mention on average, while minority women's names were mentioned five times on average over the campaign period. This is spurious however, given, as previously noted, that the majority of minority women in the sample received no coverage at all. The same applies to 15 minority men, 18 white men, and 20 white women (see Fig. 4). Fundamentally, the degree of variation in the sample of US national coverage means that it makes little sense to attempt to quantitatively compare 'average' treatment of candidates from each group in order to infer systematic intersectional differences. There simply was no meaningful average.

Figure 4. Distribution of total US national articles by intersectional group:



A qualitative analysis of the content of press coverage of outlier cases is more revealing. As previously noted, Tammy Duckworth, Donna F. Edwards, Mia B. Love and Maxine Waters dominated coverage devoted to minority women. Duckworth’s coverage resulted in part from national interest in her competitive race against Joe Walsh, noted for its “saturating quantities of rancor, negativity and outside cash”.⁴² Yet, it was also her identity as both a Democrat and a disabled war veteran, the “first women to fly combat missions in Iraq”⁴³ and possibly “the first combat-injured woman to serve in Congress”⁴⁴ that drew attention. Duckworth was almost never mentioned without reference to the fact that she had lost both legs in combat. Similarly, Love ran in a race ranked as a ‘tossup’ by the Cook Political Report—i.e. highly competitive—and was referred to exclusively in terms of the intersectional racial, gendered and partisan first that her candidacy constituted. Interestingly, both Duckworth and Love had prominent speaking roles at their party conventions in 2012, which contributed to their national profiles and enhanced subsequent interest in their campaigns from the national press.

⁴² No byline, "The Money Trail in Illinois", *New York Times*, p.30, 25th October 2012

⁴³ Ken Belson, Patricia Cohen, Steven Greenhouse, Peter Lattman, Ian Lovett, Robert Pear, Richard Pérez-Peña, Ray Rivera, John Schwartz and Stephanie Strom, "Northeast, South, Midwest, West", *New York Times*, p.16, 8th November 2012

⁴⁴ Jennifer Steinhauer, "Republicans Stand Firm In Congress", *The New York Times*, p.12, 7th November 2012

Although reporters' focus on Duckworth and Love appears to have been motivated by the use of intersectional first frames as journalistic hooks, Edwards and Waters attracted attention for other reasons. Edwards was frequently framed as having a reputation for "bucking the establishment"⁴⁵ following debates with her own party regarding gambling legislation, although she did also receive some mixed coverage of the viability of her campaign from what was also effectively her local newspaper, *The Washington Post*. Waters, on the other hand, who featured in the highest number of articles of all minority women in the sample, was featured almost exclusively in relation to her part in a long running ethics scandal, of which she was eventually cleared.⁴⁶ The only article featuring Waters which did not focus on the ethics scandal was an opinion piece entitled "The Price of a Black President",⁴⁷ arguing that African American members of Congress were unable to speak out against President Obama. Similarly, Grace Meng (D-NY 6th District), who only appeared in two articles but received 27 name mentions, received attention due to a bribe accusation levelled against her father.⁴⁸

In comparison, among white men, only Brad Sherman a received comparable level of attention (15 articles, 57 name mentions). This resulted from the aforementioned debate scandal turning into a national story.⁴⁹ It should also be noted that Joseph P. Kennedy III (D-MA 4th District) was also featured in two profiles totalling 48 name mentions, focusing on his position on his membership of the Kennedy family.⁵⁰ More typical among highly visible white male candidates were Jim Graves (D-MN 6th District) (five articles, 11 name mentions) and Jerrold L. Nadler (five articles, six name mentions).

⁴⁵ Miranda S. Spivack, "Edwards not afraid to go own way - against fellow Democrats", *Washington Post*, p.6, 31st October, 2012

⁴⁶ E.g., Eric Lipton, "Lawmaker Didn't Break Ethics Rules in Bank Case, Investigator Finds", *New York Times*, p.13, 22nd September 2012.

⁴⁷ Fredrick C. Harris, "The Price of a Black President" *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

⁴⁸ David W. Chen, "Bribe Accusation in the Family Hangs Over Bid for Congress", *New York Times*, p.19, 26th October 2012

⁴⁹ E.g., Ian Lovett, "Up In Arms: Heated End For California Debate", *New York Times*, p.13, 13th October 2012.

⁵⁰ E.g., Edith Zimmerman, "A Born Politician", *New York Times*, p.26, 26th September 2012

Graves' coverage focused solely on his competitive race against former, presidential candidate Michele Bachmann,⁵¹ and Manhattan Democrat Nadler received coverage exclusively from the *New York Times*, citing his comments on Ground Zero, civil liberties, and mentioning his appearances at Democratic fundraisers.⁵²

The only white woman to receive coverage approaching this level was Zoe Lofgren (D-CA 19th District) (five articles, ten name mentions). Four out of five articles focused on her authorship of a bill aimed at creating green cards for foreign science graduates.⁵³ Another referred to her previous activities as former Democratic ethics chairman. Therefore, reporting on Lofgren focused solely on her work in the House, and was focused neither on her identity nor her campaign for re-election.

Among minority men, only Elijah Cummings (D-MD 7th District) was highly visible in the national press (15 articles, 19 name mentions). One article focused on discussions within the Congressional Black Caucus, of which Cummings was a member, regarding same-sex unions.⁵⁴ Save for a handful of articles mentioning endorsements of candidates including Cummings by federal employee groups, as well as appearances on the NBC/WRC television show, *Meet the Press*, the majority of Cummings' coverage featured his activities his position as the ranking Democrat on the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee.⁵⁵ So, similarly to Lofgren, Cummings was represented primarily with reference to his work in Congress.

⁵¹ E.g., Mark Peters, "Election 2012: Bachman Fights For House Seat", Mark Peters, *Wall Street Journal*, 24th October 2012.

⁵² E.g., Charlie Savage, "Judge Rules Against Law On Indefinite Detention", *New York Times*, p.21, 13th September 2012.

⁵³ E.g., No byline, "Visas for Scientists, With a Catch", *New York Times*, p.28, 27th September 2012.

⁵⁴ Hamil R. Harris, "Black Caucus, pastors to discuss same-sex unions", *Washington Post*, p.3, 21st September 2012.

⁵⁵ E.g. Evan Perez, "GOP Lawmakers Laud Report Critical Of Justice Officials", *Wall Street Journal*, p.6, 21st September 2012.

Table 5.5: Negative binomial regressions: frequency of US and British national coverage

Characteristics	US				Britain			
	Total articles		Total name mentions		Total articles		Total name mentions	
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Min-Max	Coefficient (S.E.)	Min-Max	Coefficient (SE)	Min-Max	Coefficient (SE)	Min-Max
White male	0.03 (-0.46)	0.04	0.02 (-0.6)	2.94	-0.04 (-0.42)	-0.18	-0.21 (-0.48)	-1.52
White female	-0.58 (-0.41)	-0.57	-1.40*** (-0.52)	2.07	-0.43 (-0.34)	-1.53	-0.76* (-0.4)	-4.27
Minority / minority male	-0.05 (-0.43)	-0.07	-0.75 (-0.51)	2.15	0.39 (-0.35)	2.11	0.21 (-0.41)	1.85
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	-0.09 (-0.49)	-0.09	-0.99 (-0.67)	1.98	-0.26 (-0.86)	-0.57	-0.43 (-0.95)	-1.54
Labour					0.65* (-0.34)	2.29	0.46 (-0.41)	2.59
Incumbent	1.42*** (-0.43)	1.58	1.02* (-0.57)	1.69				
Seniority / Incumbent & Seniority	0.13** (-0.06)	0.15	0.16** (-0.07)	0.22	0.20* (-0.12)	0.81	0.20* (-0.12)	1.21
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	1.58*** (-0.48)	1.76	1.24** (-0.51)	1.46	-0.80** (-0.34)	-3.18	-1.00*** (-0.36)	-6.01
Racial Majority	-0.22 (-0.34)	-0.24	-0.01 (-0.38)	1.1				
Constant	-1.48** (-0.72)		0.62 (-0.92)		1.24*** (-0.34)		2.09*** (-0.39)	
Observations	132		132		90		90	
chi-square test	25.23		23.89		32.6		40.81	
p	0.001		0.002		0.000		0.000	

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Overall then, with the exception of Sherman, it seems that in US national coverage, a small group of white women and white and minority men received coverage motivated by interest in competitive campaigns or their day to day work in Congress. A select few minority women on the other hand were either framed as intersectional firsts, protagonists in scandal, or rebels within their own parties. Incumbent minority women did not however receive coverage comparable to Lofgren or Cummings for example, reporting on their day to day activities as House representatives. Therefore, rather than indicating that minority women consistently receive more US national coverage than all other groups, the results suggest that among the few candidates that achieve national prominence, minority women receive more coverage than other candidates because the unique frames that are applied to them are perceived as especially newsworthy. Furthermore, the findings highlight the idiosyncratic nature of national coverage, driven by a multitude of factors that have nothing to do with candidate identity. In addition, that the majority of candidates received no coverage at all in the national press highlights the fact that national newspapers in the US—as well as other media such as television news broadcasts—devote most attention to candidates running for the highest levels of office or holding leadership positions. Therefore, until minority women are better represented in these roles, they will descriptively remain relatively absent from national coverage of general elections.

National coverage in Britain

Turning to national coverage in the British context, minority women were again expected to appear in more articles and gain more name mentions than all other intersectional groups. The descriptive statistics show that the 30 white men in the sample appeared in 180 articles and received 297 name mentions in total, and the same number of white women appeared in just 85 articles and received 112 name mentions. There were only 15 minority men and 15 minority women in the sample, but if we double their numbers to make all four groups comparable, then minority men's coverage was equivalent to 218 articles and 350 name mentions, and minority women's was equivalent to 186 articles and 340 name mentions. Thus, descriptively, minority women did not receive most coverage overall, but—as was the case in the US—they did receive

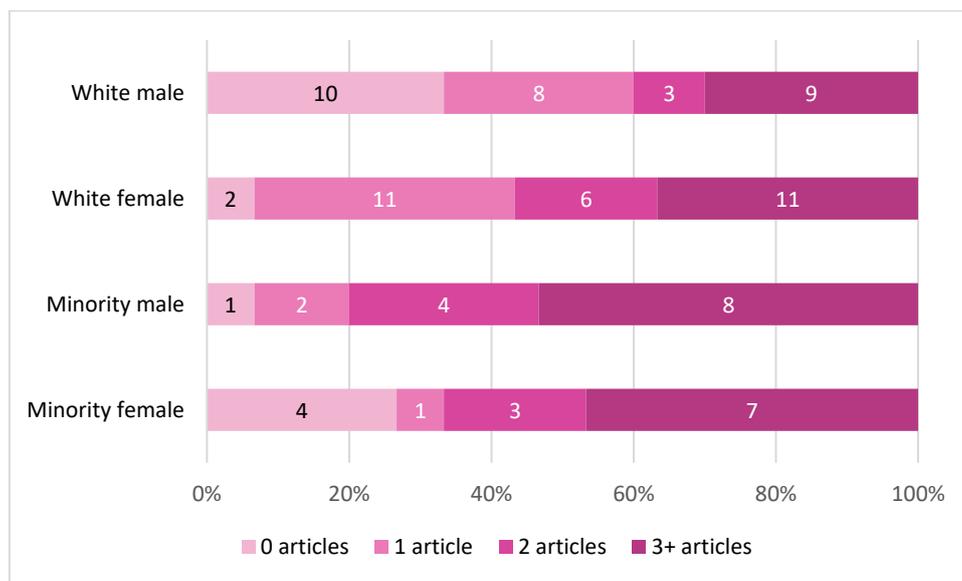
substantially more than comparable white women. The mean number of articles and name mentions received by minority female candidates is 6.2 ($SD=10.3$) and 11.3 ($SD=19.3$) respectively, compared to 2.8 ($SD=2.5$) and 3.7 ($SD=3.8$) for white women. However, it was minority men, contrary to expectations, who garnered the most visibility.

Table 5.6: Descriptive statistics: Frequency of US local coverage by intersectional identity

Group	Articles					Name Mentions				
	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Total	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White male	180	6	12.7	0	53	297	9.9	21.7	0	88
White female	85	2.8	2.5	0	9	112	3.7	3.8	0	16
Minority male	109 (218)	7.3	10	0	35	175 (350)	11.7	15.2	0	51
Minority female	93 (186)	6.2	10.3	0	41	170 (340)	11.3	19.3	0	75
Total	467	5.1	9.5	0	53	754	8.3	16.3	0	88

The sample of British national coverage was also less affected by outliers than the US sample. Only 17 of 90 sampled candidates received no coverage at all: ten white men, two white women, one minority man and four minority women. Of the remaining candidates, white women and minority men were more likely than other groups to be mentioned in just a single article, while minority men and women were most likely to be mentioned in three or more articles (see Fig. 5). Thus, it seems that coverage of white women is most consistent, and coverage of minority women is most polarised, with a relatively high proportions of candidates who either receive no coverage at all, or an unusually high level of coverage.

Figure 5. Distribution of total British national articles by intersectional group



Therefore, British national coverage is slightly different to US national coverage in that the degree of variation within groups is less and so it makes more sense to talk about the average press treatment of candidates across intersectional groups. This difference may be explained by the fact that US national newspapers must divide attention between House, Senate and gubernatorial races, as well as presidential races in some cycles. In contrast, the British national press is only covering contests for one level of office during general election campaigns, and therefore has more space to devote to individual candidates. This may explain why so many more individuals within the US sample received no coverage, and therefore why the degree of variation within groups was greater in the US than the British sample.

When additional factors are controlled for in the negative binomial models (Table 5.5), all coefficients for the effects of intersectional identity on the number of articles in which candidates are featured are non-significant, but in the model for name mentions the coefficient for white women is negative and significant, as was the case in the US national model. The marginal effects indicate that white female candidates received only four name mentions on average, half the coverage that minority women received, whose names were mentioned eight times on average, holding all other variables constant. Thus, the double novelty of racial and gendered identity in the context of

national newspaper reporting both the 2010 UK and 2012 US general elections appears to have resulted in something of a visibility advantage for minority women over comparable white female counterparts.

However, again, this is driven by differences among high outliers, such as Diane Abbott who appeared in 41 articles and received 75 name mentions, rather than *consistently* higher or lower coverage for all candidates within each group. Therefore, substantively, minority women's coverage is characterised more by focus on specific individuals than consistently receiving greater amounts of national press coverage than comparable white women. Furthermore, because of the effects of seniority and the nature of the sample of candidates, the most prominent white women (i.e. those holding leadership roles) undoubtedly receive more coverage than the most prominent minority woman, Diane Abbott. Therefore, without representation in frontbench teams for example, minority women remain relatively absent from election coverage, even if a few individuals from this group gain greater visibility than comparable candidates from other groups. Put simply, ensuring that the voices of women of all racial identities are present in press coverage of elections depends not just on editorial choices, but on the actions of political parties to ensure diversity within their leadership teams as well as their candidates.

The model for British national coverage shows that incumbency and seniority also has a significant and positive effect, in line with expectations, but being in a competitive race has a negative effect, contrary to expectations. This seems to be because, a) seniority is negatively correlated with race competitiveness – longer serving incumbents tend to have greater majorities, and b) many of the minority women who received most coverage drew attention because they had been selected for safe seats and therefore constituted highly likely 'firsts'.

Again, qualitative consideration of contextual factors provides a means to identify factors affecting variation in the amount of coverage individual candidates received, and assess the degree to which these factors were consistent across groups. Prominent white

male, white female and minority male candidates tended to receive high levels of coverage as a result of sporadic rather than systematic factors. For example, Sadiq Khan (Lab, Tooting), Kate Hoey (Lab, Vauxhall), and Tristram Hunt (Lab, Stoke-on-Trent Central) all received far more name mentions than other minority men, white women and white men (51, 16 and 88 respectively). This was primarily due to Kahn's position as a junior transport minister,⁵⁶ backbencher Hoey's alleged disapproval of then Speaker Bercow,⁵⁷ and Hunt's minor celebrity status as a broadcast journalist.⁵⁸ Individual coverage figures—articles and name mentions—are provided for all candidates in Appendices 31-34.

Among minority women, Diane Abbott's (Lab, Hackney North and Stoke Newington) position as an outlier (with 41 articles and 71 name mentions, as previously noted) was to be expected given her incumbency and prominent position as the first black woman elected to the Commons, as well as her media appearances. Importantly, if Abbott's coverage is removed from the British model, the negative coefficient for white women remains significant at $p < 0.05$. Part of her additional coverage is attributable to her appearances on the BBC's *Daily Politics*—which were subsequently covered by the national press—and writing for the *Observer Panel*.⁵⁹ However, similarly to the most visible candidates from other intersectional groups, two somewhat less predictable factors also contributed to her visibility. Firstly, a Twitter scandal in which Labour hopeful Stuart MacLennan was de-selected after tweeting a series of insults about Abbott and other colleagues;⁶⁰ and secondly, an independent challenge in her constituency from well-known newspaper columnist Suzanne Moore.⁶¹

⁵⁶ E.g., Chris Irvine, "Going green cars to run on grass cuttings", *Daily Telegraph*, p.9, 16th March 2010

⁵⁷ E.g., Quentin Letts, "Why Hoey's in a Huff About the Squeaker", *Daily Mail*, 10th April 2010.

⁵⁸ E.g., No byline, "The History Man: on the campaign trail with 'outsider' Tristram Hunt" *Times*, p.13, 26th April 2010

⁵⁹ E.g., Imogen Carter, Diane Abbott and Anastasia de Waal, "The Observer Panel: Is it good that women want to marry earlier?" *Observer*, p.39, 18th April 2010.

⁶⁰ E.g., Gemma Wheatley, "Foul-mouthed Labour Tweet Gets the Boot", *Daily Star*, p.6, 10th April 2010.

⁶¹ Kira Cochrane, "'Women: 'Vote for me - I'm flawed': She's the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP", *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

Coverage of other minority women in Britain, particularly challengers, tended to be far less varied. Abbott was followed by fellow Labour MP Dawn Butler (Lab, Brent Central) (11 articles, 16 name mentions), who featured in stories about women and minorities in general, the state of the Labour Party, and her competitive race with Sarah Teather, then Liberal Democrat spokesperson for housing.⁶² Also prominent were Conservative firsts, Helen Grant (Maidstone and The Weald) (eight articles, 13 name mentions) and Priti Patel (Witham) (nine articles, 26 name mentions), who featured almost exclusively in articles primarily concerned with women, minorities and the diversification of the Conservative Party.⁶³ Similarly, Rushanara Ali (Lab, Bethnal Green and Bow) (eight articles 17 name mentions) and Shabana Mahmood (Lab, Birmingham Ladywood) (three articles, three name mentions), were framed exclusively as ‘first Muslim women’ and compared to Respect candidate Salma Yaqoob (Birmingham Hall Green).⁶⁴ So, although there was wide variation in the visibility of individual minority women, their intersectional novelty does again appear to have been the primary reason for the increased coverage that they received. Although, in the US, this applied particularly to Mia B. Love as an African American Republican woman, in the context of the UK 2010 election, a wider range of minority women could be framed by the press as ‘firsts’ due to their more recent entrance to the lower house. Therefore, while many additional contextual factors play a role in determining candidate visibility, the results do show an intersectional difference in coverage of minority and white women which results at least in part from minority women’s apparently newsworthy racial, gendered identity. A detailed analysis of these explicit and latent references to minority women’s race and gender is provided in Chapter Seven.

Yet it is also important to note that in Britain three unsuccessful minority female challengers received no national coverage at all—Shas Sheehan (LD, Wimbledon), Sonia

⁶² E.g., Joseph Harker, “Inside story: Diversity: Minority candidates face defeat”, *Guardian*, p.21, 24th April 2010; No byline, “Election 2010: The battles to watch”, *Daily Telegraph*, p.6, 7th April 2010.

⁶³ E.g., Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won’t be mere lobby fodder” *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

⁶⁴ Madeleine Bunting “Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain’s first Muslim woman MP”, *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

Klein (Lab, Ilford North), Mari Rees (Lab, Preseli Pembrokeshire)—as well as Lisa Nandy (Lab, Wigan) who won her seat and became one of the first female MPs of mixed Asian heritage. While in the US national press, large numbers of candidates from all intersectional groups received no coverage, and minority women were no exception, other factors seem to explain the invisibility of certain British women of colour running for election. Shehan, Klein and Rees' invisibility is likely explained by the simple fact that they had less chance of winning their races than several minority women running for safe seats, and who were therefore more plausible intersectional firsts.

Lisa Nandy's curious exclusion from profiles of the 'first six Asian women' elected in 2010 may be explained by several factors which possibly render her racial identity less salient than that of others within this group. Firstly, she is of mixed Asian heritage, the daughter of an Indian father and a white British mother; and secondly, her name does not indicate her heritage in the same way as that of, for example, Priti Patel or Shabana Mahmood. Thirdly, although it is beyond the remit of this study to investigate minority women's own representation of their identity on the campaign trail, there is some anecdotal evidence that Nandy framed herself primarily in terms of her gender, and not in terms of her combined gender and ethnicity. For example, following her electoral success, she was quoted in her local paper stating that she was "very proud" to be the first woman elected to represent the constituency of Wigan, and that:

There are so many very strong women in Wigan who have supported their husbands through the years in the mining industry and heavy engineering and all the things that Wigan has every right to be proud of over the years and I think that my victory is also a victory for them.⁶⁵

However, it is important to note that Nandy's statement was made *after* the election, and that existing evidence regarding the utility of campaigning 'as a woman' is highly context dependent (Kahn 1996, Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003)

There is also some limited evidence that in both the US and Britain, the positive effect of minority female intersectional identity on levels of coverage received is stronger for

⁶⁵ No byline, "It was ladies day in the Wigan election", *Wigan Today*, 7th May 2010.

African American and Black British women than Asian American or British Asian women. For example, the high outliers among African American women, Maxine Waters, Mia B. Love and Donna F. Edwards appeared in 13, ten and eight articles and received 79, 33, and 30 name mentions respectively. In contrast the most prominent Asian American woman, Grace Meng, received 27 name mentions but only appeared in two articles. Similarly, in Britain, Diane Abbott received the most coverage among minority women with 75 name mentions, but the most prominent British Asian woman, Priti Patel, received only 26 name mentions, despite frequent framing as a pioneering female Asian Conservative. For the reasons stated previously, any inference made from this these findings must be extremely tentative. However, this mirrors the pattern observed in US local coverage, in which the negative effect is stronger for African American and Latina than Asian American women. Therefore, the fact that the pattern holds over three samples of coverage and two hypotheses is somewhat suggestive that effects are indeed stronger for darker skinned than lighter skinned minority women, and therefore consistent with theories of colourism.

Table 5.7: Coverage of minority women by ethnicity

US	Total articles					Total name mentions				
	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
African American	17	2.5	4	0	13	17	9.5	20.6	0	79
Asian American	6	1.2	2	0	5	6	7.2	11.6	0	27
Assyrian Armenian	1	0	.	0	0	1	0	.	0	0
Latina	9	0.2	0.4	0	1	9	0.2	0.4	0	1
Britain										
Black British	5	12.4	16.6	0	41	5	21.2	30.8	0	75
British Asian	10	3.1	3.4	0	9	10	6.4	8.8	0	26

In summary, several key points emerge from the analysis. Firstly, there is enormous variation in the amount of coverage afforded to individuals within intersectional groups, and contextual factors play a huge part in determining which individuals are singled out for attention. Secondly in none of the samples were hypotheses 1a or 1b fully supported. However, in all of the samples a significant intersectional difference was observed between *comparable* minority and white women, and the direction of the effect was in line with the original hypothesis. In US local coverage minority women appeared in

significantly fewer articles, and in the national press in both countries minority women received significantly more frequent name mentions than their white female counterparts.

Thirdly, although these results provide some empirical evidence of the implications of intersectional theory, and the US local results are consistent with Gershon's (2012) findings, they do not demonstrate that minority women *consistently* received more or less coverage than their white female counterparts. Instead, the results from the explanatory models are driven primarily by variation among high outliers. This is not inconsequential though. There is arguably evidence of a ceiling on the degree of attention afforded to the most prominent minority women by their local newspaper in the US. Conversely, in US and British national coverage, the high level of coverage devoted to specific minority women is explained by qualitative analysis of the primary content of this coverage, as well as consideration of contextual factors such as incumbency, viability and race competitiveness.

Together, the quantitative and qualitative analyses of US and British national coverage suggest that the framing of *certain* minority female candidates as intersectional firsts results in what might be described as a visibility advantage over even the most prominent comparable white women. Finally, although descriptive comparisons of minority women disaggregated by ethnicity are hindered by small sample sizes, there is some limited evidence to suggest that the effect was stronger on average for African American/ Black British women than their lighter skinned minority female counterparts. Although this finding is tentative, it is consistent with theories of colourism, and the pattern is observed over three coverage samples.

Having investigated the causes of variation in the frequency of coverage afforded to different intersectional groups, I now consider the effects of intersectional identity on the overall tone of coverage candidates received.

5.3 Tone of coverage

The second hypothesis states that the tone of coverage of minority women is expected to be more negative than that of all other intersectional groups. This applies to the US local press, and the US and British national press. The overall tone of coverage is operationalised as a three-point negative, mixed, positive scale applied to each article. I first compare the descriptive statistics for the three samples, followed by the results from the ordered probit models. Finally, I provide a qualitative and contextual analysis which considers the reasons for some similarities and differences between US local and national, and British national press coverage in this respect.

Table 5.8 shows the proportion of each intersectional group's coverage which was negative, mixed or positive, across the three samples. Starting with the US local sample, the proportion of each group's coverage which was negative was extremely similar, ranging from nine per cent for white women, ten per cent for white men, and 11 per cent for minority men and women. However, there was a marked difference in the proportion of each group's coverage which was positive: just 12 per cent for minority women, compared to between 21 per cent and 24 per cent for all other groups. This is compounded by the fact that minority women received less US local coverage overall than all other groups. In absolute terms, while minority men appeared in 90 positive articles, white women appeared in 112 and white men in 114, only 43 articles in total covered minority women positively overall. Furthermore, when we consider the depth of positive coverage each group received by looking at the total number of name mentions within positive articles, we see that minority women's names appeared just 197 times in positive articles, compared to 283 times for minority men, 364 for white women and 398 for white men. Therefore, the descriptive statistics strongly indicate that minority women received less explicitly positive coverage than other groups, but they did not receive more explicitly negative coverage. Instead, they were more likely to receive mixed coverage: 77 per cent of all articles in which they appeared, compared to between 66 per cent and 70 per cent for other groups.

Turning to US national coverage, few meaningful differences were observed. This is partly because the sample size of 175 articles, when split between four intersectional groups and then by the overall tone, becomes so small that positive or negative articles for each group are in single figures. Therefore, it makes little sense to analyse the percentage of coverage afforded to each group at each point on the scale. Minority women and men each appeared in six negative articles overall, compared to four for white women and five for white men. Similarly, minority women appeared in six positive articles, compared to between three and seven for other groups. The only evidence which appears to support the hypothesis is that in total, minority women received 44 negative name mentions, compared to 35 for white men, 9 for white women, and 19 for minority men. However, this is reflective of the increased coverage that minority women received. As a proportion of overall name mentions, the figure is similar for all groups, standing at between 19 and 22 per cent.

Table 5.8: Tone of coverage (articles and name mentions) by intersectional identity

	Articles						Name Mentions					
	Negative		Mixed		Positive		Negative		Mixed		Positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
US Local												
White male	47	9.8	320	66.5	114	23.7	176	9.1	1364	70.4	398	20.5
White female	47	8.9	367	69.8	112	21.3	173	9.9	1212	69.3	364	20.8
Minority male	44	11.2	259	65.9	90	22.9	241	14	1195	69.5	283	16.5
Minority female	37	10.5	274	77.4	43	12.2	143	10.8	981	74.3	197	14.9
US National	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	5	10.4	38	79.2	5	10.4	35	22	68	42.8	56	35.2
White female	4	13.8	22	75.9	3	10.3	9	18.8	36	75	3	6.3
Minority male	6	13	33	71.7	7	15.2	19	22.1	58	67.4	9	10.5
Minority female	6	11.5	40	76.9	6	11.5	44	21.3	131	63.6	31	15
British National	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	32	17.8	126	70	22	12.2	58	19.5	196	66	43	14.5
White female	8	9.4	62	72.9	15	17.7	12	10.7	76	67.9	24	21.4
Minority male	26	23.9	73	77	10	9.2	45	25.7	116	66.3	14	8
Minority female	19	20.4	57	61.3	17	18.3	59	34.7	76	44.7	35	20.6

Tone of articles: US local: $\chi^2 (6, N= 1754) =21.52, p < .001$ / US national: $\chi^2 (6, N= 175) =.98, p < .986$ / British national: $\chi^2 (6, N= 467) =11.14, p < .084$

A different pattern is observed in the British national press. In this case, it was minority men whose coverage was proportionally most negative: 24 per cent of articles covering this group were negative, compared to between 9 and 20 per cent for other groups. Minority men's coverage was also proportionally least positive: only 9 per cent of articles covering minority men were positive, compared to between 12 and 18 per cent for other groups. Coverage of minority women on the other hand was substantially less likely to be mixed than other groups: 62 per cent of minority women's articles compared to between 70 and 77 per cent of that of others'. Therefore, while minority women's coverage was proportionally not the most negative, it was most likely to be explicitly appraising and least likely to be mixed or balanced. This pattern emerges more starkly when we also consider name mentions: only 45 per cent of mentions of minority women's names appeared in articles which were balanced, compared to between 66 and 68 per cent of mentions of other candidates. The pattern arguably suggests that in the British national press, minority women may be subject to more explicit scrutiny—whether positive *or* negative—than individuals from other groups.

Proceeding to the explanatory models and starting with the US local press, the positive and significant coefficients for white women, white men and minority men indicate that compared to minority women, **coverage of all other groups** is more positive on average, holding all other variables constant (Table 5.9). Therefore, the US local results confirm the hypothesis that coverage of minority women is less positive than for all other groups, even when additional candidate, campaign and media factors are controlled for. The predicted probabilities for each point on the overall tone scale indicate that, controlling for additional factors, the **likelihood of US local articles being negative is .13**, (or 13 of every 100 articles) **when covering minority women**, compared to between .09 (or 9 of every 100 articles) **when covering** white women and men. Likewise, just 16 of every 100 articles are predicted to be positive **in coverage** of minority women, compared to 20 and 22 for **articles covering all** other groups, holding all additional variables constant. While these differences may initially seem small, it is important to consider that they are

exacerbated by the fact that minority women also receive significantly *less* coverage than white women.

Table 5.9: Ordered Probit Model: Overall Tone of US Local and US and British National Coverage

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	0.22* (-0.13)	0.16 (-0.37)	0.08 (-0.2)
White female	0.20* (-0.11)	0.04 (-0.41)	0.16 (-0.25)
Minority / minority male	0.20* (-0.11)	0.04 (-0.31)	-0.17 (-0.15)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.14 (-0.15)	-0.06 (-0.52)	-0.90*** (-0.23)
Labour			-0.2 (-0.15)
Incumbent	0 (-0.11)	-0.99*** (-0.37)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.01 (-0.02)	-0.07 (-0.04)	0.05 (-0.05)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	-0.52*** (-0.16)	-0.77 (-0.55)	0.95*** (-0.17)
Racial majority	-0.02 (-0.11)	-0.39 (-0.3)	
Circulation	0 (0)		
USA Today		0.05 (-0.21)	
Wall St Journal		0.76** (-0.34)	
Washington Post		0.69** (-0.29)	
Constant cut1	-1.08*** (-0.15)	-2.61*** (-0.74)	-0.91*** (-0.17)
Constant cut2	1.06*** (-0.16)	0.05 (-0.69)	1.22*** (-0.19)
Observations	1,754	175	467
chi-square test	61.7	17.21	44.38
p	0.000	0.102	0.051

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

While these findings indicate systemic intersectional differences in the tone of election coverage, substantial variation was again observed in the overall tone of coverage *among* each group, partly due to variation in other politically relevant characteristics. Republican Mia B. Love again proved to be an exception, receiving particularly negative coverage (24 per cent of all articles) and vary rare positive coverage (3 per cent of all articles). Removing Love from the model does not substantively alter the results, however. Qualitative analysis of her coverage reveals that criticisms primarily reflected either concerns over negative campaigning—unsurprising given the competitiveness of her race—or debates over whether her intersectional identity was congruent or in conflict with her conservative values. For example, with regards to the latter, her parents’ former immigration status was called into question, and she was accused by her opponent of being likely to raise taxes.⁶⁶ Similarly, Jaime Herrera Beutler, who appeared the greatest number of articles among minority women, was covered positively overall in just five per cent of these. Positive and negative coverage of Beutler differed from that of Love in two ways however. Firstly, it was dominated by letters to the editor rather than bylined editorial. Secondly, the content of these letters argued on the one hand that that Herrera Beutler failed to “make herself available”⁶⁷ and voted “against the wishes of her constituents,”⁶⁸ and on the other that she was a representative “of integrity”⁶⁹ who “listens to her constituents and is always fighting for South Washington”.⁷⁰ Thus, there was little implicit or explicit linking of her identity to these criticisms or compliments, and they were somewhat distanced from the editorial line due to their articulation by readers rather than reporters.

⁶⁶ E.g., Robert Gehrke, “Matheson says Love’s record shows she would raise taxes”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26th September 2012; Robert Gehrke, “Love’s story of immigrant parents called into question”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26th September 2012

⁶⁷ “Our readers’ views”, *The Columbian*, p.6, October 31st, 2012.

⁶⁸ “Our readers’ views”, *The Columbian*, p.16, September 16th 2012.

⁶⁹ “Our readers’ views”, *The Columbian*, p.16, October 13th 2012.

⁷⁰ “Our readers’ views”, *The Columbian*, p.6, September 15th 2012.

Table 5.10: Predicted probabilities tone of coverage by intersectional Identity

Group	US Local			US National			British National		
	Neg	Neut.	Pos.	Neg.	Neut.	Pos.	Neg.	Neut.	Pos.
White men	0.09	0.69	0.22	0.08	0.81	0.11	0.15	0.71	0.13
White women	0.09	0.7	0.21	0.09	0.82	0.09	0.14	0.71	0.15
Minority men	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.09	0.82	0.09	0.22	0.69	0.09
Minority women	0.13	0.71	0.16	0.1	0.82	0.08	0.17	0.71	0.12

On the whole, candidates who received higher levels of coverage were subject to more explicit scrutiny, and this was also linked to campaign factors. For example, in a highly competitive race such as Gloria Bromell Tinubu’s, it is unsurprising that the candidates drew substantial criticism from one another, as well as complaints of negative campaigning from their local newspaper. This resulted in highly polarised coverage: only 62 per cent of articles covering Bromell Tinubu were coded as mixed, compared to an average of 77 per cent among minority women. Tinubu was represented positively more often than negatively overall (24 per cent compared to 14 per cent), and part of the negative coverage that she received may also be attributed to her position as a Democrat running in a highly Republican district. Yet, the narrative framing of her campaign was extremely personalised and arguably corresponds with the negative stereotype of the ‘angry black woman’, as identified by Hill Collins (1990) and others. For example, the *Myrtle Beach Sun News* viewed her behavior as “belligerent” and argued that this outweighed the benefits of her “economist background,” instead supporting a white male competitor (Republican Tom Rice) whom they believed to possess a “calmer temperament”.⁷¹ Thus, the publication represented the acrimonious contest as the “true personality” or nature of an irrational angry black woman. Racial, gendered framing of the horserace and explicit and latent foregrounding of race and gender are subject to more detailed analysis Chapters Six and Seven.

⁷¹ ⁷¹ No by-line, “Rice for U.S. House,” *The Myrtle Beach Sun News*, November 2nd, 2012

The rare occasions when minority women received relatively high levels of coverage of which a substantial portion was positive occurred only when incumbents ran uncompetitive races in majority minority districts and were endorsed by their local paper—for example, in the cases of Evelyn Madrid Erhard (D-NM 2nd District) and Corrine Brown (D-FL 5th District). However, both only appeared in ten articles each—the mean among this group. This highlights the fact that the results are again driven somewhat disproportionately by outliers, and therefore raises the question of whether the most prominent minority men, white women and white men received especially positive or negative coverage, and whether this was for similar reasons as minority women.

Of the 15 men who were covered in ten or more articles by their local newspaper, four received no negative coverage at all, eight received coverage that was at or below the mean of ten per cent negative, and Kurt Schrader (D-OR 5th District) and John Wade Douglass' (D-VA 5th District) was just above at 11 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. The only prominent white male to receive exceptionally negative coverage was Brad Sherman, at 45 per cent, for the reasons stated previously. Conversely, the group was disproportionately likely to be covered positively. Only Keith Fitzgerald (D-FL 16th District) received no positive coverage, but 90 per cent of his articles were mixed overall. Six were at or below the group's mean of 24 per cent, and coverage of the remaining eight was above the mean, including Jared Huffman (D-CA 2nd District) (82 per cent positive), Eric Salwell (63 per cent positive), John Wade Douglass (36 per cent positive), and the most prominent among the group, Mike Thompson (43 per cent positive). There is little consistency in the type of races in which these men ran. They were a mix of challengers and incumbents, running in both competitive and non-competitive races, covered by publications with circulations ranging from 14,000 to 223,000. Therefore, the positive coverage they received is not explained by, for example, being incumbents in non-competitive races.

These patterns were also similar for minority men and white women. For example, among white women, only five of the fifteen who appeared in ten or more articles received coverage of which the proportion that was negative was over ten per cent (the mean for the group), and the proportion of their coverage which was positive was at or above the mean in half of these cases. This included Patsy Keever (D-NC 10th District), who appeared in 33 articles, half of which were positive overall, and only one of which was negative. The most prominent white woman and minority man, Nicola S. Tsongas and Raul Ruiz, who appeared in 43 and 141 articles respectively, both received coverage of which one in four articles was explicitly positive. Therefore, in US local coverage, all highly visible candidates are subjected to greater levels of explicit appraisal than those who appear only occasionally and are generally referred to in mixed terms. However, highly visible minority women are more likely to be represented especially negatively, while for the most prominent members of other groups, greater levels of coverage are more likely to also result in better quality coverage. It is therefore arguable that in addition to receiving less US local coverage over all, minority women tend to be singled out for criticism, while members of other groups are singled out for positive attention.

Furthermore, intersectional differences were also observed in the tone of coverage among minority women of different ethnicities. The small sample size only allows for descriptive analysis (Table 5.11), but this shows that among Latinas and African American women, 12 per cent and ten per cent of articles were negative, whereas among Asian American women, eight per cent of articles were negative. However, Latinas and African American women's coverage was also more likely to be positive, at 11 per cent and 15 per cent of articles respectively, while eight per cent of coverage of Asian American women was positive. Given that these differences are slight, and not statistically significant, this observation must again be treated with caution. However, if representations of Latinas and African American women are more polarised than their Asian American female counterparts,⁷² this would support theories of colourism (Hochschild and Weaver 2007, Hunter 2007) and the stereotype of the model Asian

⁷² Anna G. Eshoo (D-CA 14th District), of Assyrian/Armenian descent, featured in eight articles, seven of which were mixed and one of which was negative.

American minority (Ho and Jackson 2001, Wong et al. 1998, Yee 1992). This data is too limited to make any robust claims to this effect, but does suggest scope for further enquiry regarding differences among minority women—especially as greater numbers have been elected and promoted at subsequent elections.

Table 5.11 Tone of US local coverage of minority women by ethnicity

Group (N candidates)	Negative		Mixed		Positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
African American (17)	18	10.5	128	74.4	26	15.1
Asian American (6)	7	8.3	70	83.3	7	8.3
Assyrian / Armenian American (1)	1	12.5	7	87.5	0	0.0
Latina (9)	11	12.2	69	76.7	10	11.1
Total (33)	37	10.5	274	77.4	43	12.2

$\chi^2(6, N=354) = 4.66, p < .588$

Turning to the explanatory models for US and British national coverage, none of the coefficients for intersectional groups are significant (Table 5.8). Therefore, the results from the ordered probit models do not support the H2 when applied to the national press in either country. In both the US and British national samples, it was a small number of minority females who accounted for the majority of negative coverage received by the group. Explicitly negative US national coverage of minority women was primarily a result of the exceptional focus on African American Representative Maxine Waters, featured in the long running ethics scandal mentioned previously. Of the 44 negative name mentions received by minority women, 41 were of Waters, who also received 38 mixed name mentions, but whose name was not mentioned in a single positive article by the national press throughout the campaign. Although a similar effect was observed in the case of white men, due entirely to the negative coverage received by Brad Sherman, no white women or minority men were singled out in the same way. Among white women, of a total of nine name mentions in explicitly negative coverage, these were split between four candidates, and among minority men, 18 name mentions in explicitly negative coverage were split between six candidates.

In Britain, Labour incumbents Dawn Butler and Diane Abbott were especially likely to receive negative coverage, both in absolute terms given that they featured in the most

articles among minority women, and a proportion of the articles in which they appeared (27 per cent and 24 per cent respectively). There were also similarities in the content of negative coverage negative coverage afforded to the most prominent black British women representing Labour. Both Diane Abbott and Dawn Butler were accused of taking their constituencies for granted,⁷³ and criticised in terms of their character: Abbott as a “left wing firebrand”,⁷⁴ representative of an “unprogressive, tribal and sectarian”⁷⁵ Labour Party, and Grant as “patronising”,⁷⁶ compared to her “saintly”⁷⁷ opponent. Three of the nine articles which featured Conservative challenger Priti Patel were also negative. One questioned whether ‘Cameron’s Cuties’—including Patel—were really up to the job,⁷⁸ and two mentioned her links to lobbying firms.⁷⁹

Among minority men, there were some similarities between the treatment of Patel and fellow Tory challenger Sam Gyimah (Surrey East). Of the ten articles featuring Gyimah, four were negative, and focused on the apparent contradictions inherent in the modernisation of the Conservative party. The two key arguments were that the party’s actions were a) cosmetic and tokenistic rather than substantive, and b) against the wishes of its grassroots members. Controversies surrounding Gyimah were taken as exemplary of these developments. In an article titled “Blue candidates show their true colours” *The Independent* reported on claims that a hundred members of Gyimah’s constituency party had signed a petition opposing the selection of “a 33-year-old black entrepreneur” but that he was “just the sort of candidate that Tory HQ is keen to

⁷³ Moore, S., “Cleggama and me- witnesses at the birth of this new coalition of hope”, *Mail on Sunday*, 25th April 2010; Bates, S., “Diary: First principle of turfing out a celeb-saint with a 15,000 majority? Make friendly with the locals”, *The Guardian*, p.37, 15th April 2010

⁷⁴ O’Flynn, P. “On mother Kelly’s new doorstep - an elite state school”, *The Express*, p.12, 27th April 2010

⁷⁵ Toynbee, P., “Election 2010: Lib Dems: Lib-Lab rocket crashes back to earth in a cloud of confusion” *The Guardian*, p.6, 12 May 2010

⁷⁶ Bates, S., “Diary: First principle of turfing out a celeb-saint with a 15,000 majority? Make friendly with the locals”, *The Guardian*, p.37, 15th April 2010

⁷⁷ Price, K. & Curle, J., “‘Saint’ Sarah a top bet”, *The Mirror*, p.10, 1st May 2010

⁷⁸ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

⁷⁹ Nick Mathiason, “Embarrassment for Cameron over Tory Hopefuls’ links to industry”, *Observer*, p.47, 14th March 2010; Michael Savage, “Cameron fears candidates’ links to lobbying industry”, *Independent*, p.10, 24th March 2010.

promote in glossy magazines [...] to symbolise the party's makeover".⁸⁰ These debates are analysed in detail in Chapter Seven. Highly visible minority male Labour incumbents were subject to less personal criticisms, however: Higher Education Minister David Lammy (Lab, Tottenham) with regards to debates over Labour's policy on university tuition fees,⁸¹ and Sadiq Kahn following accusations that he had used Commons stationery to promote his record to constituents in his marginal seat just days prior to the dissolution of parliament.⁸²

In contrast, the two most prominent white women, Julie Morgan (Lab, Cardiff North) and Kate Hoey, weren't covered in a single article that was negative overall, and over half of Hoey's coverage was positive—primarily because she won plaudits for her "brave" pro-hunting stance despite the Labour party's official opposition to the sport.⁸³ Similarly, of the five white men who appeared in ten or more articles, two received no negative coverage (Gareth Thomas (Lab, Harrow West) and Martin Linton (Lab, Battersea)), two received coverage of which the proportion that was negative was below the mean for the group (Tristram Hunt and Jon Cruddas (Lab, Dagenham and Rainham), with 17 per cent and 11 per cent respectively), and only the most visible, Jack Dromey (Lab, Birmingham Erdington) received frequent criticism. A quarter of the 53 articles featuring Dromey were negative. This resulted from dislike of Dromey's former position as deputy general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, exemplified by headlines denouncing "Union Dinosaurs"⁸⁴ and "Red Barons".⁸⁵

However, it is also the case that in the British national press, minority women received more *positive* coverage than other groups as well. For example, apart from Butler and Abbott, all other minority women who featured in more than a single article were

⁸⁰ Andrew Grice, "Blue candidates show their true colours", p.18, *Independent*, 3rd April 2010.

⁸¹ E.g., Jack Grimston, "Labour revolt over tuition fees", *Sunday Times*, p.17, 11th April 2010.

⁸² E.g., James Kirkup, "'Minister 'broke Commons stationery rules'", *Daily Telegraph*, p. 8, 14 April, 2010.

⁸³ Richard Moore, "Vote for fair votes", *Independent on Sunday*, p.18, 2nd May 2010.

⁸⁴ Tim Shipman "New age of the union dinosaur", *Daily Mail*, 17th March 2010.

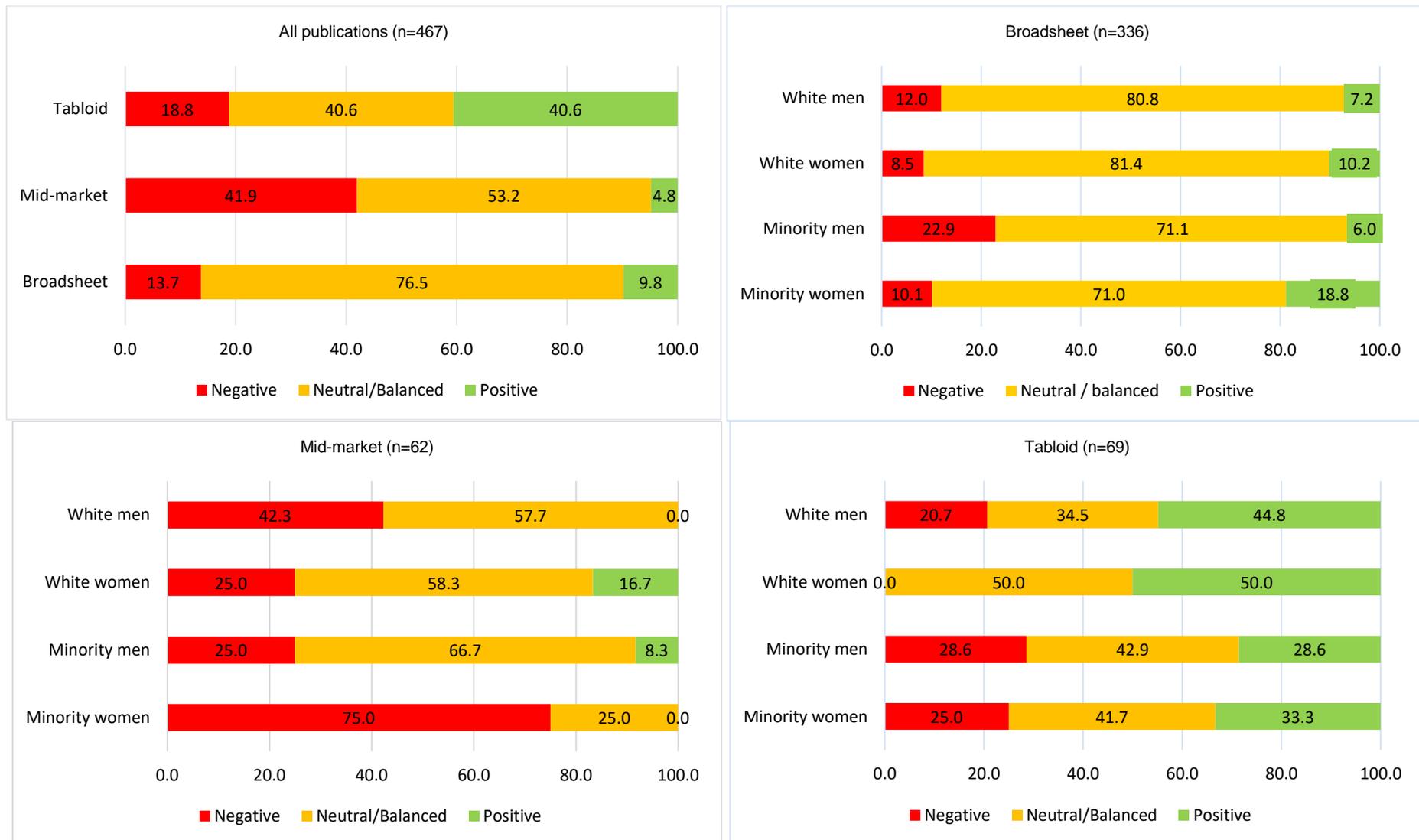
⁸⁵ Ross Clark, "The new red barons", *Express*, p.18-19, 18th March 2010.

described positively just as often as negatively. This is why differences were not significant in the model despite substantial variation between white and minority women. The bottom line, it seems, is that in absolute terms, minority women received more explicit scrutiny *and* appraisal than other candidates, and were less likely to receive dispassionate or mixed coverage.

In considering the effects of such coverage, while coverage of minority women was, overall, characterised by polarisation rather than overwhelmingly negative bias, the two most prominent minority women—Diane Abbott and Dawn Butler—were, like Waters in the US, singled out for an unusual degree of criticism. Furthermore, high circulating mid-market publications were far less likely to portray minority women positively than broadsheets with smaller readerships. The mid-market press (*Mail*, *Express* and Sunday editions), was most likely to describe all candidates negatively: 42 percent of sampled articles from this market segment were negative, compared to 19 per cent of tabloid articles and 14 per cent of broadsheet articles (Fig. 6). However, this figure rose to 75 percent when looking at mid-market coverage of minority women.

Two similarities appear between US and British national coverage in this respect. Firstly, it is arguable that although negative coverage of minority women was concentrated on these specific individuals, it presented them as representatives of their intersectional groups. This is because, as indicated by the findings on foregrounding of candidate identity in Chapter 7, in addition to being highly critical, coverage rendered the racial and gendered identities of minority women highly salient. Secondly it was African American and Black British women (Waters, Butler and Abbott) that received the brunt of press criticism relative to minority women of other ethnicities such as Grace Meng and Priti Patel.

Figure 6. Tone of coverage by market segment and intersectional identity



5.4 Discussion

Taking each hypothesis in turn, the results presented in this chapter firstly indicate that H1a was not supported. Minority women did not receive less local newspaper coverage than all other groups, controlling for additional factors. Similarly, across US and British national coverage, minority women did not receive more coverage than all other groups, and therefore H1b was also not supported by the findings. However, in all three coverage samples, a significant intersectional difference does appear to be evident in the amount of coverage afforded to minority and white women. In line with the direction of the effects expected by the H1a, minority women seem to face a disadvantage relative to white women in securing local US coverage. Similarly, in line with H1b, in the US and British national coverage, the double novelty of minority women's intersectional identity renders them more newsworthy than comparable white women. However, this finding must be treated with caution as variation is driven primarily by differences in press treatment of the most prominent individuals within each group, rather than consistent differences across groups. A more accurate analysis appears to be that minority women descriptively occupy a position of invisibility in the local and national press, and a select few are rendered hypervisible, often due to the novelty of their intersectional identity.

Regarding H2, in the US local press, the ceiling on the amount of coverage afforded to minority women is compounded by the fact that the local coverage they do receive is also more negative than that of all other intersectional groups. Therefore, H2 is supported, and the results are in line with similar findings regarding the frequency and tone of coverage of local newspaper coverage of incumbent Latina and Black Congresswomen at the 2006 midterms (Gershon, 2012). Thus, although research increasingly suggests that unfavourable gendered patterns of local campaign coverage may be diminishing for female candidates in the aggregate, the findings in this chapter constitute further evidence that minority women continue to face disadvantages in this context due to their multiply subordinated racial and gendered identities.

Regarding the national press, neither the results from the US nor Britain supported H2. However, although the ordered probit models do not confirm that minority women's coverage was more negative than other candidates' overall, the descriptive analyses suggest that they were subject to greater levels of explicit positive *and* negative appraisal compared to white men, white women and minority men. Therefore, minority women's increased visibility on the national stage, compared to white women, is not necessarily an advantage when this comes with enhanced scrutiny. Although this is of course an equation that all politicians must contend with, it comes with particular dynamics for those whose race and gender are rendered highly salient, and who are therefore posited as representative of candidates who share their intersectional identity. For example, individuals such as Mia B. Love or Priti Patel who are perceived as particularly anomalous by virtue of their intersectional identity and partisan affiliation garner far greater attention than a "typical" minority or minority woman running for office. Meanwhile, others within that group struggle to receive recognition. This point is foregrounded further by the findings in the following chapter.

These findings have several important implications. Foremost, they demonstrate that intersectional approaches which consider multiple identity categories are necessary to provide nuanced analyses of press coverage of political actors, given that there is consistent variation in coverage of women of different racial identities. Furthermore, when considered in the light of similar findings from the US (Gershon, 2012) and Canada (Tolley, 2016), they suggest that patterns of coverage specific to minority women on the campaign trail are not country specific. Just as comparative single-axis studies have demonstrated that female politicians in the aggregate face gendered bias by the press internationally (Ross 2002, Kittilson and Fridkin 2008), there is growing evidence that systematic variation in coverage *among* women goes beyond national borders. However, while Hypotheses 1a and 2 anticipated that coverage would be least favourable to minority women compared to all other groups, the results indicate that this is not the consistently the case. **Articles in the US local press were not least likely to feature minority women, nor was national newspaper coverage in the US or UK significantly less likely to cover minority women positively compared to other candidates.** Therefore,

although minority women may face some specific disadvantages on the campaign trail, this is not ubiquitously the case.

It is important to note that the use of a matching strategy to test whether differences are indeed the result of candidates' intersectional identity, rather than additional factors, comes with certain limitations. The uneven distribution of characteristics such as incumbency, seniority and partisan affiliation among candidates of varied racial and gendered identities means that the population of minority women in each country is compared with a somewhat atypical sample of candidates from other groups. For example, while minority women receive more national coverage than *comparable* white women, even the most visible minority women almost certainly received far less coverage than the most visible among the *population* of white female candidates. This is because within this population, three white women in the US and 16 in Britain served in leadership roles (as defined in Section 4.3) in 2012 and 2010 respectively. Until future cohorts of minority female candidates are more comparable to those of other intersectional groups, it is impossible to simultaneously address the *effects* of intersectional identity while also providing an accurate descriptive picture of typical coverage of candidates from each group.

Having considered intersectional variation in the overall quantity and quality of coverage that candidates receive, I now focus on its content. The next chapter examines the degree to which coverage of each group focuses on either the horserace or substantive policy.

Chapter Six

A Zero-Sum Game? Viability and Issue Coverage

This chapter analyses the effects of candidates' racial, gendered identity on two further aspects of campaign coverage: references to 'viability' and substantive issues. Viability coverage includes, for example, discussion of the strength of a candidate's campaign, their campaign finances, relevant poll data, and endorsements from third parties. References to substantive issues include any mention of a candidate's position regarding substantive policy or legislation. Drawing on existing single-axis findings, I have formulated five hypotheses regarding the effects of candidates' intersectional identity on viability coverage and substantive issue coverage. These hypotheses test the *additive* effects of racial and gendered identity on press coverage of political campaigns. In order to investigate the *multiplicative* effects of intersectional identity in this context, the qualitative analysis explores whether and how minority women's viability and issue positions are uniquely framed by local and national newspapers.

The first two hypotheses concern the frequency and tone of viability coverage, conditional on candidates' intersectional identity. Compared to candidates from other intersectional groups, and controlling for additional factors, I hypothesise that:

H3: Minority women's coverage is most likely to include reference to viability.

H4: The tone of references to viability is most negative in coverage of minority women.

Viability coverage is important because voters' evaluations of candidates are influenced by assessments of their chances of winning (Abramowitz 1989, Abramson et al. 1992). In addition, where campaign coverage focuses on the polls, it may devote less attention to candidates' substantive issue preferences or policy positions (Kahn and Goldenberg 1991).

The presence of viability coverage is coded as a binary variable, with the article as the unit of analysis. H₃ is then tested employing probit models to estimate the likelihood of viability coverage being present in an article dependent on candidates' intersectional identity and controlling for additional factors. Predicted probabilities for intersectional groups are interpreted substantively as the average percentage of articles which include viability coverage for each intersectional group, controlling for additional factors. If viability coverage is present in an article, it is coded on a three-point scale as 'negative', 'mixed' or 'positive'. H₄ is then tested using an ordered probit model to estimate the average percentage of articles mentioning viability that are negative, mixed, or positive, conditional on intersectional identity and controlling for additional factors.

Qualitatively, minority women's viability coverage is analysed to identify specific frames which link minority women's intersectional identity to their chances of winning, relationships with political parties, voters and opponents. These frames include the collectivisation of minority women in discussions of their chances of success, debates regarding parties' motives and means to ensure minority women's viability, and depictions of minority women's perceived advantages and disadvantages on the campaign trail.

The subsequent three hypotheses relate to the proportion of candidates' coverage which focuses on substantive issues, and the type of issues which are mentioned. Substantive issues are divided into those which are stereotypically associated with (white) males, and those stereotypically associated with women and/or minorities, drawing on the literature discussed in Chapter Three. Again, compared to candidates from other intersectional groups, and controlling for additional factors, I hypothesise that:

H₅: Minority women's coverage is least likely to include reference to substantive issues.

H₆: Minority women's substantive issue coverage is least likely to include reference to 'white/male' issues.

H₇: Minority women's substantive issue coverage is most likely to include reference to 'minority/female' issues.

The presence of any issue coverage, coverage on ‘white/male’ issues, and coverage on ‘minority/female’ issues are all coded as binary variables, similar to viability coverage. The three hypotheses are then tested employing probit models. For each hypothesis, results from the three samples of coverage are presented in parallel. Descriptive statistics are reported first, followed by examination of the explanatory models, and complementary qualitative analysis. Detailed data on viability and substantive issue coverage at the individual candidate level is provided in Appendices 22-34. The qualitative analysis of substantive issue coverage then focuses on the specific issues on which minority women’s positions are featured, in what contexts, and the tone of responses.

6.1 Viability coverage

6.1.1 Frequency of viability coverage

The first hypothesis anticipates that minority women’s coverage is more likely, on average, to include references to viability than that of all other intersectional groups. Taking a first glance at the descriptive statistics presented in Table 6.1, the results are somewhat mixed. In the US local sample, differences between groups are negligible: viability mentions were present in approximately half of articles for each of the four groups. They appeared to be slightly more likely for minority women than minority and white men (49 per cent of articles, compared to 44 and 45 per cent respectively) but less likely than for white women, who received the most viability coverage (56 per cent of all articles). Although these differences are small, the chi-squared test indicates that they are statistically significant at $p < .0001$.

There is more support for the hypothesis in the US national sample, in which 48 per cent of minority women’s coverage contained viability mentions, compared to between 21 per cent and 44 per cent for other groups. The chi-squared test shows that these differences are again statistically significant. However, this support is constrained by both sample size and within-group variation. The results from the previous chapter show that a) sampled candidates only appeared in 175 US national articles during the time-frame, and b) the distribution this coverage was limited to a small number of

individuals within the sample. For example, only 13 of 32 minority women received coverage in the US national press. At the extremes, four of these appeared in between one and three articles, all of which mentioned viability, but coverage of Maxine Waters (D-CA 43rd District), the most visible minority woman in the sample, only mentioned viability in two of 13 articles because stories instead focused on her alleged ethics violation (discussed in Chapter Five).

Furthermore, in British national coverage, the pattern is the complete opposite of that expected: minority women's coverage is actually *less* likely to contain viability mentions than that of all other groups (38 per cent compared to between 41 and 58 per cent), and these differences are significant at $p < .03$. While this appears counter-intuitive at first glance, it is explained by the fact that coverage of Diane Abbott (Lab, Hackney North and Stoke Newington) comprised 41 of 93 articles featuring minority women. Given that Abbott was an incumbent in a safe seat, it is not surprising that only six articles within her coverage mentioned her viability given that her contest was not competitive.

Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics: Proportion of viability coverage by intersectional identity

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	218	45.3	263	54.6	27	56.3	21	43.8	107	59.4	73	40.6
White female	296	56.3	230	43.8	23	79.3	6	20.7	36	42.4	49	57.7
Minority male	172	43.8	221	56.2	34	73.9	12	26.1	63	57.8	46	42.2
Minority female	174	49.2	180	50.9	27	51.9	25	48.1	58	62.4	35	37.6
Total	860	49.0	894	51.0	111	63.4	64	36.6	264	56.5	203	43.5

US local: χ^2 (3, N= 1754) =17.62, $p < .0001$ / US national: χ^2 (3, N= 175) =9.37, $p < .025$ / British national: χ^2 (3, N= 467) =8.93, $p < .03$

When additional candidate, campaign and media factors are controlled for in the probit models, below, no statistically significant differences emerge between minority women and other groups (Table 6.2). Incumbency, seniority and race competitiveness all have significant effects in line with expectations. Incumbency and seniority (terms previously served) reduce the likelihood of viability being mentioned in an article, while running

in a competitive race unsurprisingly increases the likelihood, in both the US and Britain.

86

Table 6.2 Probit Model: Likelihood of viability coverage

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	0.14 (0.18)	0.22 (0.56)	-0.11 (0.20)
White female	-0.15 (0.14)	-0.31 (0.30)	0.20 (0.22)
Minority / minority male	0.02 (0.25)	-0.53 (0.32)	-0.15 (0.31)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.46 (0.43)	-0.26 (0.46)
Labour			-0.30 (0.30)
Incumbent	-0.77*** (0.18)	-2.06*** (0.52)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.21*** (0.04)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.73*** (0.22)	0.02 (0.46)	0.41** (0.18)
Racial majority	0.26** (0.13)	0.46 (0.29)	
Circulation	-0.00** (0.00)		
USA Today		-0.08 (0.47)	
Wall St Journal		0.06 (0.31)	
Washington Post		-0.29 (0.23)	
Constant	0.41** (0.21)	1.73*** (0.65)	0.29 (0.35)
Observations	1,754	175	467
chi-square test	135.9	68.08	69.77
p	0.000	0.000	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

⁸⁶ More puzzling is that in US local coverage, for a candidate running in a district in which they are the racial majority (e.g., a white candidate in a majority white district or a minority candidate in a majority minority district), the likelihood of viability coverage was increased. This cannot be explained by a positive correlation between race competitiveness and being a candidate in the racial majority, because sampled racial majority districts were actually *less* likely to be competitive (7 per cent compared to 18 per cent). It may be because candidates in racial majority seats got slightly less coverage overall (13 articles compared to 12) and viability mentions therefore constituted a greater proportion.

Overall, H₃ is not supported. Minority women's coverage is no more likely to focus on viability than that of comparable candidates from other intersectional groups. There at least two possible explanations for this. Firstly, regarding local US coverage, the most recent US literature has shown a waning in the gender gap in viability coverage between women and men (Serini, Powers, and Johnson 1998, Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2003, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart 2001, Jalalzai 2006). This may well extend to both minority and white women, suggesting that in this area of coverage, minority women do not suffer an intersectional disadvantage in comparison to their white female counterparts or other groups. Secondly, regarding US and British national coverage, with the exception of Mia B. Love (R-UT 4th District), it tends to be the most longstanding incumbent minority women who receive the overwhelming majority of coverage. It stands to reason therefore, that there would be little reason for reporters to focus on viability, considering the near certainty that they would be re-elected, and the fact that these women—as is shown later in this chapter—are often go-to sources for comments on national debates surrounding race relations, civil rights and women's equality. Therefore, it is attention these topics rather than their near non-existent horserace that constitutes a greater proportion of their coverage.

Table 6.3 Predicted probabilities: Viability coverage as per cent of all coverage

Group	US Local	US National	British National
White male	57	47	40
White female	45	27	52
Minority male	52	21	38
Minority female	51	39	44

In summary, the findings from this section indicate that variation in the *frequency* of viability coverage candidates receive—at least in newspaper reporting of campaigns for the US and UK lower houses—may no longer be a cause for concern. Furthermore, although the high likelihood of mentions of viability across all intersectional groups and coverage samples suggests that the press arguably focuses excessively on the viability of

all candidates, this cannot be extrapolated to the population as the sample of candidates was necessarily atypical.

6.1.2 Tone of viability coverage

Turning to the quality of viability coverage, the descriptive statistics provide some support for H₄, that the tone of references to viability is most negative in coverage of minority women. However, this comes with several important caveats. Firstly, despite the statistically significant associations observed in US local and British national coverage (*p* values for chi squared tests are < .0001 and < .033 respectively) these results must be interpreted with caution. This is because the analysis is limited to the subsamples of articles which mentioned candidates' viability, and these are then divided by four intersectional groups, resulting in a clear small-N problem. For example, in Table 6.4, showing the distribution of the tone of coverage by intersectional group, there are cells populated by single figures across all three of the coverage samples.

Bearing this in mind, in the US local press, viability coverage of minority and white women initially appears to be more likely to be negative than that of minority and white men (7 per cent for women of either racial group, two per cent for white men and one per cent for minority men). Meanwhile, in the US national press, viability coverage of minority women and men was more likely to be negative than white men and women (8 per cent for minorities, five per cent for white men, and 0 per cent for white women). So while in both cases, although minority women's coverage was among the most negative, it was no more so than white women's in US local coverage and on par with minority men's in US national coverage. In the British national press, a much more substantial difference emerges, and in line with the hypothesis. A full 17 per cent of minority women's viability coverage was negative, compared to just four per cent for minority men and ten per cent for white women and men. Therefore, although the hypothesis emerged primarily from US literature, it actually finds most support within the British sample.

Table 6.4 Descriptive statistics: tone of viability coverage

Group	Negative		Mixed		Positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
US Local						
White male	4	1.5	208	79.1	51	19.4
White female	16	7.0	169	73.5	45	19.6
Minority male	3	1.4	181	81.9	37	16.7
Minority female	12	6.7	116	64.4	52	28.9
US National						
White male	1	4.8	17	81.0	3	14.3
White female	0	0.0	5	83.3	1	16.7
Minority male	1	8.3	8	66.7	3	25.0
Minority female	2	8.0	14	56.0	9	36.0
British National						
White male	7	9.6	31	42.5	35	48.0
White female	5	10.2	31	63.3	13	26.5
Minority male	2	4.4	29	63.0	15	32.6
Minority female	6	17.1	12	34.3	17	48.6

US local: $\chi^2 (6, N=894) = 26.86, p < .0001$ / US national: $\chi^2 (6, N=64) = 5.39, p < .495$ / British national: $\chi^2 (6, N=203) = 13.75, p < .033$

However, in all three coverage samples, minority women's viability coverage was also most likely to be positive: 29 per cent in US local press, compared to between 18 and 20 per cent for other groups, 36 per cent in US national coverage, compared to between 14 and 25 per cent for other groups, and 49 per cent in British national coverage, compared to 27 and 48 per cent for other groups. So while the results from all three samples do partially support the hypothesis that minority women's coverage is most likely to be negative, a more accurate analysis is that it is more likely to be explicitly negative or positive, and least likely to be mixed.

Unsurprisingly therefore, in the ordered probit models shown in Table 6.5, none of the coefficients for the effect of **covering a candidate from** a particular intersectional group are significant. The increased likelihood of negative coverage is effectively cancelled out by the increased likelihood of positive coverage which is also observed. A qualitative analysis of the specific intersectional frames present in minority women's viability coverage provides some explanation for this apparent contradiction (Section 6.1.3).

The models do however indicate that several control variables had significant effects which were in line with expectations. In the model for US local coverage, the positive and significant coefficient for incumbency shows that the tone of viability coverage was more positive for incumbents than challengers, controlling for additional factors. This is unsurprising given incumbents' advantage in gaining re-election. Of 87 incumbent candidates within the sample, 86 eventually won their races, compared to 19 of a total of 45 challengers. In US national coverage, candidates running in districts in which they were in the racial majority also received significantly more positive coverage than white candidates competing in minority-minority districts and vice versa. Again, this is unsurprising given that candidates running in districts in which they were in the racial majority won their races more often than those in districts where they were the racial minority: 82 per cent ($n=33$) compared to 73 percent ($n=99$).

Finally, the tone of viability coverage in articles featuring Democrats in the US and both Liberal Democrat and Labour candidates in Britain was more positive than in articles featuring their respective Republican and Conservative counterparts. In the US, this is explained by the fact that ten of 15 articles in the national press which mentioned Republican candidates' viability featured Mia B. Love, who was running in a race ranked as a 'tossup' by the Cook Political Report. In the UK, the effect is explained by an important imbalance within the sample of candidates due to the matching strategy. Because the only incumbent minority female MPs both represented Labour, *all* of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat candidates within the sample were challengers, while the majority of sampled Labour candidates were incumbents. Therefore, it seems that to a substantial degree, the tone of candidates' viability coverage simply reflected their likelihood of winning. This suggests some positive progress regarding the conduct of the press, which previous scholarship has shown to be historically unfavourable to women in this respect. The results of the quantitative hypothesis tests reported here indicate the increasing parity in male and female candidates' viability coverage extends to both minority and white women. However, what remains to be explained is why minority women's coverage was still less likely to be mixed than that of all other groups. The following qualitative analysis helps to elucidate this matter.

Table 6.5 Ordered probit Model: Tone of viability coverage

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	-0.24 (0.28)	-0.24 (0.37)	0.17 (0.39)
White female	-0.43 (0.33)	-0.32 (0.44)	-0.25 (0.27)
Minority / minority male	-0.04 (0.26)	-0.13 (0.41)	-0.19 (0.29)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	-0.28 (0.24)	-1.44*** (0.46)	-0.66* (0.38)
Labour			-0.42* (0.25)
Incumbent	0.69*** (0.25)	-0.70 (0.60)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	-0.33 (0.27)	-0.34 (0.38)	-0.04 (0.33)
Racial majority	0.20 (0.25)	0.83** (0.39)	
Circulation	0.00* (0.00)		
USA Today		-0.27 (0.34)	
Wall St Journal		0.44 (0.42)	
Washington Post		0.39 (0.37)	
Constant cut 1	-1.79*** (0.30)	-2.54** (1.19)	-1.74*** (0.33)
Constant cut 2	1.01*** (0.28)	-0.06 (1.05)	-0.15 (0.29)
Observations	894	64	203
chi-square test	59.18	61.63	-
p	0.000	0.000	-

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6.6: Predicted probabilities tone of viability coverage by intersectional Identity

Group	US Local			US National			UK National		
	Neg.	Neut.	Pos.	Neg.	Neut.	Pos.	Neg.	Neut.	Pos.
White men	0.03	0.79	0.17	0.05	0.76	0.19	0.06	0.46	0.47
White women	0.05	0.82	0.13	0.06	0.77	0.17	0.13	0.55	0.32
Minority men	0.02	0.75	0.23	0.04	0.74	0.22	0.12	0.54	0.34
Minority women	0.02	0.74	0.24	0.03	0.71	0.26	0.09	0.50	0.41

6.1.3 Intersectional viability frames

An exploration of the qualitative content of intersectional viability frames in coverage of minority women reveals several frames which were often—although not always—consistent across the three press samples, and applied to minority women of all ethnicities and partisan affiliations. These frames can be divided into those which are primarily concerned the *candidates* themselves, their relationships with *political parties*, and the role of *voters and constituents*. Regarding minority female *candidates*, intersectional viability frames include the collectivisation of minority women, despite an attendant silence around structural racial, gendered or intersectional disadvantage. Secondly, regarding the relationship between minority female candidates and their *political parties*, there were repeated concerns around external influence in the form of gerrymandering and outside cash (for example, from political action committees, ‘PACs’) in the US, and ‘parachuting’ or progressive measures in Britain. Minority women were frequently positioned as rising stars or darlings of their parties. However, this role also linked them to the entrenchment of political elites, and simultaneously characterised minority women as lacking autonomy on the campaign trail due to parties’ interest in promoting them as symbols of modernisation. Thirdly, in relation to *voters*, minority and/or female voters were consistently framed as an advantage for minority women. Conversely, white voters in their constituencies were sometimes characterised as neglected or in need of being won over, but never explicitly as a disadvantage.

A key limitation of this aspect of the study is that the sheer amount of viability coverage received by candidates means that it was not feasible to conduct a detailed qualitative analysis of this aspect of coverage for all four groups. Therefore, although this section

provides a detailed analysis of the framing of minority women's race and gender in the context of their viability, it does not compare this with frames applied to—for example—white women and minority men. However, the frames which are observed diverge from those identified in the single-axis literatures on race, gender and the framing of candidates' viability. Therefore, this suggests that such frames are—at least to some degree—unique to minority women, and result from the multiplicative effects of their racial, gendered identity.

6.1.4 Candidates

Looking first at intersectional viability framing pertaining specifically to candidacies by minority women, a key feature of this coverage was collectivising frames which grouped them together either as a specific group—particularly 'first Muslim women' in Britain—or with women or minorities as a whole. This collectivisation is not necessarily inherently problematic, and is unsurprising given the intra-party competition in both countries to 'diversify', as well as norms of equality which give rise to positive commentary on increasing numbers of female and/or minority candidates as signs of progress. However, what is concerning about this frame is that it groups minority women together regardless of major ideological differences among them. In addition, the frame arguably underplays historical descriptive underrepresentation and its structural causes. For example, regarding ideological differences, Mia B. Love's unique candidacy was posited as evidence that the 2012 election was "not all a Democratic women's game".⁸⁷ In Britain, Labour's Shabana Mahmood (Lab, Birmingham Ladywood) and Yasmin Qureshi (Lab, Bolton South East) were grouped with Respect candidate, Salma Yaqoob, as "a small group who have a good chance of making history as the first British Muslim women MPs".⁸⁸ Similarly, Labour minister Dawn Butler (Lab, Brent Central) was grouped with "women on the Lib Dem frontline"⁸⁹ and "Tory

⁸⁷ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, "Women Take Their Case to the Ballot", *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

⁸⁸ Madeleine Bunting, "Campaign 2010: Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain's first Muslim woman MP. The hijab-wearing Question Time star and candidate for the Respect party talks to Madeleine Bunting", *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

⁸⁹ Jackie Ashley, "National: Campaign 2010: Inside story: Female candidates: The gender gap: where are the women in Clegg's top team?", *Guardian*, p.17, 1st May 2010.

minority candidates who were previously on course to be elected [but] are now in danger of losing out”,⁹⁰ while Priti Patel (Con, Witham) is compared to former “Blair’s Babes”⁹¹ due to her position as a member of David Cameron’s ‘A-List’ or ‘Priority List’.

By clustering minority women regardless of partisan affiliation, this frame arguably foregrounds their intersectional racial-gendered identity at the expense of their ideological stance. This is undesirable because, firstly, it stands in direct contrast to many minority women’s own campaign strategies—evidenced, for example, by Mia B. Love’s assertion that “the only history I’m making is getting our country back on track”⁹² (attempting to position herself first and foremost as a Republican, regardless of her race or gender), and Rushanara Ali’s (Lab, Bethnal Green and Bow) comment on the campaign trail that “I take my courage from the confidence that the community gives me—people from different backgrounds, men, women, white, Bangladeshi, Somali”.⁹³ Maryam Khan (Lab, Bury North) was a very rare exception, saying that she stood because, “I noticed in Westminster there are few young people, few minorities and few women: people will get more engaged in politics if they see people they can relate to”.⁹⁴ She was not, however, successfully elected as the seat eventually went to David Nuttall for the Conservatives. The second reason is that this is problematic is that it may conceivably also contribute to ideological stereotyping which leads voters to assume that women and minorities are more liberal than white male political figures (Jones 2014; McDermott 1998).

⁹⁰ Joseph Harker, “National: Campaign 2010: Inside story: Diversity: Minority candidates face defeat”, *Guardian*, p.21, 24th April 2010.

⁹¹ Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won’t be mere lobby fodder, the candidates tell Eleanor Mills”, *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

⁹² Jennifer Steinhauer, “Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney’s Star Power, Lift Her to the House”, *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

⁹³ Libby Brooks, “Campaign 2010: Labour faces tough task to regain seat lost to Respect: Galloway has stepped aside, but contest between four Bangladeshi candidates is as fierce as in 2005”, *Guardian*, p.20, 20th April 2010.

⁹⁴ Nick Woolf, “National: Election 2010: First-time candidates: Faces of the political future: We may still be in the dark about the nature of a new government, but one thing is certain: after a record number of resignations, Westminster will see a huge intake of new members from all parties. Here we profile three hopefuls”, *Observer*, p.24, 25th April 2010.

Thirdly, news frames which collectivise minority female candidates—either as a specific group or with women or ethnic minorities—have a tendency to underplay their historic descriptive underrepresentation and its causes. In Britain there was plenty of trumpeting about “a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before”.⁹⁵ Similarly, in the US Tulsi Gabbard’s (D-HI 2nd District) expected victory was framed as “part of the continuing diversification of House Democrats that most believe will leave their House caucus of close to 200 members with a majority of women and minorities”.⁹⁶ Yet such statements, a) almost ubiquitously treat women and minorities as mutually exclusive unless referring to Mia B. Love in the US or various ‘first Muslim women’ in Britain, and b) rarely make any reference to the low baseline for these perennial rises. The only time this baseline was mentioned was in relation to criticism of David Cameron, which again grouped together Labour and Conservative women, and made no reference to the racial identity of these women:

David Cameron has made much of the changes he has wrought to his party, boasting of trebling the number of female Tory MPs if he wins power. That's all very well, but it will be trebled from an amazingly low base—at present there are only 18 female Conservative MPs; he hopes to have at least 60 after May 6. By comparison, in 1997, 101 so-called Blair Babes were elected to parliament in the new Labour landslide.⁹⁷

Only a single article in the British press noted that Diane Abbott was for many years unique as a minority woman in the Commons—and even then only in the context of positioning her as a member of the establishment and arguing that “no-one should be

⁹⁵ Julian Glover, “Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before”, *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

⁹⁶ Paul Kane, “Republicans maintain a solid hold on majority”, *Washington Post*, p.31, 7th November 2012.

⁹⁷ Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder, the candidates tell Eleanor Mills”, *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

unassailable”.⁹⁸ The longstanding work of organisations such as the Centre for American Women and Politics in the US, and Women2Win in Britain was barely mentioned—appearing in just a single national newspaper article within the samples from each country. Instead, in the US, it was noted that women, along with “feminists, liberals, pro-choice middle-of-the-roaders, [and] conservatives—got off the sidelines and stepped up to run for office”,⁹⁹ while members of Cameron’s A-list had been “chosen for the wrong reason”.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the implication is that the lack of women in Congress and the Commons is attributable to their own disinterest or lack of political ambition.

Another way in which historical descriptive underrepresentation was indirectly minimised was the grouping together of minority women with other ‘novelty’ candidates who did not share a history of structural disadvantage. For example, one US commentator noted, “This unusually diverse group includes a professional wrestling entrepreneur, a leftist consumer advocate, a lesbian, a former police chief and the first black female Republican to run for the House”.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, in Britain, female Conservative candidates were assembled as “PR girl” (Priti Patel), “chess tutor”, “brownie leader”, “entrepreneur”, “banker with a conscience”, “surfing brainbox”, “football coach”, “handbagger”, “farmer’s daughter”, “chick lit author”, “rap fan”, “Labour convert” and “magician’s assistant”.¹⁰² Thus, parallels were drawn between minority women and an assortment of individuals who did not share specific racial, gendered barriers to being selected as candidates. While these frames ignore structural disadvantage they also have a tendency to overplay the degree to which progress has been made in this respect. For example, in the US, it was said that “Republicans are busily recruiting and training female candidates” and “scores” were signing up to run,¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Kira Cochrane, “‘Women: ‘Vote for me - I’m flawed’: She’s the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP”, *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

⁹⁹ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

¹⁰¹ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

¹⁰² Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

¹⁰³ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012

while in Britain, Tim Montgomery, the creator of the ConservativeHome website, was cited claiming that “if there is a ‘woman’ problem, it will go away after the election” due to a “bumper intake of women Tory MPs”.¹⁰⁴

6.1.5 Parties

The second theme in the framing of minority women’s viability concerns their relationship with political parties. Bearing in mind that a greater proportion of minority women’s viability coverage than that of other groups was positive, it was illuminating to explore what this likely success was attributed to. Overall, it was rarely the case that minority women’s individual efforts on the campaign trail elicited praise. Instead, commentators credited their success to the efforts of party leaders, outside cash, redistricting and progressive measures. This was problematic because of course all of these means to improve the substantive representation of women and minorities were highly controversial, and—in addition to minimising candidates’ own achievements—were sometimes viewed as anti-democratic. For example, Tammy Duckworth (D-IL 8th District) “had to fend off [her opponent’s] suggestions that she is a tool of powerful democratic leaders who, he says, redrew the district specifically for her”;¹⁰⁵ Donna F. Edwards’ (D-MD 4th District) constituents were said to be “treated as pawns” and “moved for purely political reasons”;¹⁰⁶ Val Demings’ (D-NY 9th District) ability to “eke out a slim win” was seen to be made possible by “a strong turnout for president Obama”¹⁰⁷ and “big-money help from the Democratic Congressional Committee”;¹⁰⁸ Mia B. Love’s fundraising was “previously anaemic and disorganised, has been greatly

¹⁰⁴ Jean Eaglesham, “Theresa who? Tory women fail profile test”, *Financial Times*, p.3, 20th April 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Natasha Korecki, “Joe Walsh and Tammy Duckworth’s 8th District fight could help determine the balance of power in Congress”, *Courier News*, p.6, 21st October 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Phil Edwards, “A chance to squash the Maryland gerrymander”, *Washington Post*, p.4, 23rd September 2012.

¹⁰⁷ Ed O’Keefe, “Presidential race may skew results in Disney World’s district”, *Washington Post*, p.4, 24th October 2012.

¹⁰⁸ Mark K. Mathews, “Conservative group’s attack ad targets Val Demings”, *Orlando Sentinel*, 23rd October 2012.

accelerated by her growing celebrity since the convention”¹⁰⁹ and she was accused of picking up on the “coattails”¹¹⁰ of Mitt Romney.

Measures such as re-districting and outside cash can be controversial regardless of the identity of the candidate, and negative framing of these perceived advantages is by no means limited to minority women. However, it is particularly prominent in minority women’s coverage because of two contextual factors. Firstly, viable minority candidates are rare outside majority-minority districts. They comprised 76 per cent of minority men and 73 per cent of minority women in the sample. Secondly, and more specific to minority women, parties’ interests in pouring outside cash into certain contests as a means to ensure diversity among their representatives, for example, in the cases of Gloria Bromell Tinubu (D-SC 7th District) and Mia B. Love, means that the individuals whose campaigns are in receipt of these funds are subject to intense scrutiny regarding their legitimacy.

In Britain, the frame was less prevalent, but again resulted from contextual factors specific to women, minorities and minority women in particular. For example, commentators asserted that Conservative minority women had been “parachuted”,¹¹¹ “promoted”,¹¹² “selected”,¹¹³ “handpicked”¹¹⁴ and “fast-tracked”¹¹⁵ into certain seats. Although Labour women did not come in for the same direct criticism, the legacy of responses to ‘Blair’s Babes’ was still clearly apparent in questions surrounding the merit of minority women who had benefited from progressive measures. As one columnist put it: “As Tony Blair discovered with his all-women shortlists and the record number

¹⁰⁹ Jennifer Steinhauer, “Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney’s Star Power, Lift Her to the House”, *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Chris Gourlay, Georgia Warren and Robin Henry, “Tories’ old school tie still rules”, *Sunday Times*, p.14, 9th May 2010.

¹¹² Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Chris Gourlay, Georgia Warren and Robin Henry, “Tories’ old school tie still rules”, *Sunday Times*, p.14, 9th May 2010.

¹¹⁵ Janet Street-Porter, “Business as usual: very few women, far too many men”, *Independent on Sunday*, p.10, 9th May 2010.

of hapless female MPs he got elected in 1997 (most of whom have sunk without trace), politics is a hard business".¹¹⁶ In defence of Cameron's use of an 'A-List', Priti Patel was cited contesting comparisons with AWS, but accepting the premises of many critiques:

The new Tory women will be different [...] We will have got there on merit. We aren't the result of women-only shortlists, we were chosen because we were the best. We won't just be lobby fodder. Many of the women who got in 1997 were never meant to be there, no one ever thought they'd win.¹¹⁷

While minority women were framed by the press as highly dependent on external forces in order to form viable campaigns, they were also posited as darlings of their parties. The phrase "rising star" was applied particularly frequently and emphatically to "most luminescent"¹¹⁸ Mia B. Love, as well as to Donna F. Edwards¹¹⁹ and "star recruit"¹²⁰ Val Demings. The same phrase was used in Britain to describe Priti Patel¹²¹ and Dawn Butler.¹²² This narrative applies more to Republican and Conservative minority women, belying the fact that their parties had greater imperatives to shed their image as male, pale, and stale, and attract support from wider selections of the electorate in the face of shifting demographics. For example, while Eric Cantor was cited describing Love as "uniquely placed to be a leader in Congress [...] She has a tremendous voice and will join us in pursuing that so many Americans have of seeing our country get back on track",¹²³

¹¹⁶ Amanda Platell, "Have Cameron's Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics", *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

¹¹⁷ Eleanor Mills, "The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder, the candidates tell Eleanor Mills", *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

¹¹⁸ Jennifer Steinhauer, "Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney's Star Power, Lift Her to the House", *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

¹¹⁹ Miranda S. Spivack, "Edwards not afraid to go own way - against fellow Democrats", *Washington Post*, p.6, 31st October 2012.

¹²⁰ Ed O'Keefe, "Presidential race may skew results in Disney World's district", *Washington Post*, p.4, 27th October 2012.

¹²¹ Julian Glover, "Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before. From the chick-lit author to the black farmer, Nadav Kander photographs them", *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

¹²² No byline, "Election 2010 Swingometer, Political ups and downs", *Telegraph*, p.4, 7th April 2010.

¹²³ Robert Gehrke, "Cantor raises money for LOVE ; Matheson touts bipartisan support", *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27th October 2010.

the Conservatives were mocked for “proudly parading their latest clutch of female candidates in a glossy photo shoot”,¹²⁴ and it was similarly asserted that they had been chosen “to carry David Cameron’s message that the Tories have changed”.¹²⁵

In Britain, the foregrounding of the mutual dependency between minority women and political parties, and minority women’s associate lack of autonomy was usually confined to Conservative women. There was only one example of a parallel among minority female Labour candidates. It was noted that noted that Rushanara Ali was, “clearly on something of a tight leash and was the only candidate to insist that the *Independent’s* questions were emailed in advance of an interview”.¹²⁶ This was similar to an incident in which a reporter was bemused to find that while following Priti Patel on the campaign trail, “curiously, given her experience in PR, Tory Central Office has dispatched a minder to police our conversation”.¹²⁷ Again, the specificity of intersectional viability frames applied to minority women, and in this case Conservatives in particular, results in part from the unique contexts in which they ran their campaigns.

Ironically, although parties sought to demonstrate the extent to which they had changed by promoting minority female challengers, incumbent candidates from this group were often tied to the establishment and criticised for their perceived entrenchment. In Britain it was asserted that Abbott had “been around too long, she’s too tied to Westminster”.¹²⁸ Similarly, in the US, Barbara Lee’s (D-CA 13th District) local newspaper argued: “A generation of Californians has reached voting age knowing no representation in Congress other than the familiar names that again will grace the ballot

¹²⁴ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Jerome Taylor, “Respect, Religion, Race and the Battle for Tower Hamlets”, *Independent*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

¹²⁷ Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won’t be mere lobby fodder, the candidates tell Eleanor Mills”, *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

¹²⁸ Kira Cochrane, “‘Women: ‘Vote for me - I’m flawed’: She’s the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP”, *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

Tuesday [...] With entrenchment comes power in Washington”.¹²⁹ Likewise, the *Dallas Morning News* stated, “this Dallas County district is long overdue for a change of congressional representation, but for now, incumbent Rep Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX 30th District) is the best choice voters have [...] As stated in previous elections, her party needs to groom a successor and get serious about a transition”.¹³⁰ Paradoxically, given their term lengths, it is the most trailblazing minority women who are most tied to Washington and Westminster, while more recent cohorts are then positioned as antidotes to voters’ apparent distaste for these elites.

6.1.6 Voters

Attention to the concerns of voters in relation to campaigns by minority women was more prevalent in the US than Britain, due in part to the fact that US districts are larger and local reporters have access to real-time district-level polling data disaggregated by ethnicity and gender. In the US, female voters were posited as an advantage for minority women, regardless of their party affiliation. For example, Donna F. Edwards’ “advocacy on issues important to low income women” was seen as “part of her appeal”;¹³¹ Michelle Lujan Grisham (D-NM 1st District) “staked out a stronger advantage among women voters, with 54 per cent saying they prefer the Democratic in a race where women’s health care services, such as access to contraception, have been a focal issue”;¹³² Colleen W. Hanabusa (D-HI 1st District) was said to be “enjoying energetic support from women and union households”.¹³³ Similarly, the *Salt Lake Tribune* also reported that in Utah’s 4th District, “Matheson is trailing badly among women, who favor Love—Matheson’s first female challenger—by a 54 percent to 38 percent margin”.¹³⁴ Love herself was cited claiming that “All of the same issues that are important to other women are important

¹²⁹ Carolyn Lochhead, “Young guns can’t get past old guard”, *San Francisco Chronicle*, p.1, 1st November 2012.

¹³⁰ No byline, “We Recommend”, *Dallas Morning News*, p.14, 6th November 2012.

¹³¹ Miranda S. Spivack, “Edwards not afraid to go own way - against fellow Democrats”, *Washington Post*, p.6, 31st October, 2012

¹³² James Monteleone, “Lujan Grisham Leads In 1st Dist. - Luján, Pearce also lead in House races”, *Albuquerque Journal*, p.1, 30th October 2012.

¹³³ No byline, “Hanabusa tops Djou in survey”, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 29th October 2012.

¹³⁴ Robert Gehrke, “Tribune poll: Matheson trails LOVE 52 percent to 40 percent”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3rd November 2012.

to me”¹³⁵ downplaying both her racial and partisan differences with the predominantly white and Democratic female electorate in her district.

Discussion over the perceived minority voter advantage for minority female candidates in the US was much more heated however. For example, in Corrine Brown’s district (D-FL 5th District), the 50 per cent black electorate was said to comprise “an edge for Brown, who is black, over Kolb, who is white”.¹³⁶ This was controversial because “preserving the seat was such an imperative for Brown that she fought the new Fair Districts Amendment designed to prevent gerrymandered districts such as hers”.¹³⁷ Brown herself defended this stating that “Before 1992, Florida had no African-Americans in Congress. I want to make sure we don’t go back”.¹³⁸ However, while Brown framed this as an issue of minority descriptive representation, early-voting limitations in Ohio were framed as a “partisan controversy”¹³⁹ by the local press rather than a racial one. The debate was regarding the Republican-controlled state-legislature’s decision to reduce in-person early voting hours—a move which opponents argued was likely to disproportionately affect black voters. Representative Marcia L. Fudge (D-OH 11th District) and other “local black elected officials”¹⁴⁰ marched in protest against the measures. Yet her Republican opponents were cited minimising the matter, claiming “We don’t need to stand out in the rain today and make a show of it [...] It’s a complete non-issue and an absolute ruse”.¹⁴¹ There was also the implication that minority women were indebted to minority voters. For example, the *New York Times* reported that Maxine Waters had told a “largely black audience in Detroit” that “If we go after the president too hard, you’re going to go after us”.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ Robert Gehrke, “Matheson or Love? It’s up to Utah women in November”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15th October 2012.

¹³⁶ Mark K. Matthews, “Brown appears to have a big edge”, *Orlando Sentinel*, 30th October 2012.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Harlan Spector and Michael Sangiacomo, “Start of early voting becomes rally for Democrats, black officeholders Marchers converge on Board of Elections downtown”, *Plain Dealer*, 3rd October 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Fredrick C. Harris, “The Price of a Black President” *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

In contrast, minority voters in Britain were rarely mentioned. However, in Maryam Khan's race, reporters noted that within her constituency she "is followed everywhere by red-shirted activists (slogan "Yes we Khan") handing out literature, stickers and balloons"¹⁴³ demonstrating the influence of recent US political history on British political discourse in this respect. Khan also, highly unusually, informed newspapers that she had experienced "a few incidents of racism"¹⁴⁴ on the campaign trail. The ethnicity of voters in the tight race in Tower Hamlets also attracted attention, with reporters asserting in this context that "crucially"¹⁴⁵ Rushanara Ali is of Bangladeshi heritage, but noting that "Ali is more circumspect", citing her comment that "This is a really diverse community and, broadly speaking, people try and get along and respect each other's' backgrounds".¹⁴⁶

While minority voters in minority women's constituencies in both countries were framed as an advantage, white voters were framed not as an explicit disadvantage but often instead as 'neglected' by these candidates and in need of being reassured that their prospective representatives would attend to their concerns. For example, in the US, Gloria Bromell Tinubu's campaign was praised for turning out "more than the minority vote. They organized retired union workers here and had a good turnout of white voters as well [...] I am encouraged...she can attract some middle-of-the-road and independent voters".¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the onus is on Tinubu to attract white voters, rather than any consideration of why white voters might be a disadvantage. Furthermore, by associating

¹⁴³ Andrew Bounds, "Labour heartlands in the balance as parties shop for votes", *Financial Times*, p.3, 6th May 2010.

¹⁴⁴ Nick Woolf, "National: Election 2010: First-time candidates: Faces of the political future: We may still be in the dark about the nature of a new government, but one thing is certain: after a record number of resignations, Westminster will see a huge intake of new members from all parties. Here we profile three hopefuls", *Observer*, p.24, 25th April 2010.

¹⁴⁵ Jerome Taylor, "Respect, Religion, Race and the Battle for Tower Hamlets", *Independent*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Libby Brooks, "Campaign 2010: Labour faces tough task to regain seat lost to Respect: Galloway has stepped aside, but contest between four Bangladeshi candidates is as fierce as in 2005", *Guardian*, p.20, 20th April 2010.

¹⁴⁷ Steve Jones, "7th District candidates agree that jobs is top issue", *Myrtle Beach Sun News*, 15th September 2012.

white and “middle-of-the-road”, minority voters are by implication positioned as somehow extreme.

Although discussion of racial bias among white voters was taboo, it was referred to indirectly in terms of their level of comfort with a minority female candidate. In order to avoid discussing race explicitly, descriptions of constituencies as “urban”, “suburban” or “rural” often formed proxies. For example, Gwen Moore (D-WI 4th District) was cited commenting, “The district is now more suburban, but I think the North Shore and Milwaukee have a level of connectedness, and constituents have a level of comfort in contacting my office”.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in the case of Tulsi Gabbard, another commentator noted “I really believe that the electorate in CD2 had to feel comfortable with [her], and I think over time that was building”.¹⁴⁹ The implication that minority women were stretched to provide representation to constituents of all racial identities was also present in discussions of Marcia L. Fudge’s possible future role as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus: “Fudge’s pace will only get more hectic if she achieves her latest goal [...] When asked about the demands of the job she’s seeking, Fudge acknowledged she’d probably have to travel outside the Cleveland area more often”.¹⁵⁰ The idea that minority women are sometimes neglectful of their prospective constituents was also not limited to incumbents. For example, challenger Tami Duckworth was accused of being “absent from the district” and “too afraid to listen to her constituents”.¹⁵¹ While candidates of all intersectional groups are assessed on the degree to which they attend to the concerns of constituents, in all the instances above, minority women’s racial identity was either explicitly or implicitly linked to their ability to do so.

¹⁴⁸ Georgia Pabst, “Sebring tries again to oust Moore”, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, p.9, 7th October 2012.

¹⁴⁹ Rebecca Ward, “‘In political polling, we’re not trying to predict an outcome. We really are reflecting thinking at the time,’ says Rebecca Ward, President of Ward Research, Inc.”, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 12th October 2012.

¹⁵⁰ Sabrina Eaton, “Fudge sets sights on chair of prestigious Black Caucus She has backing of leaders in group, Congress”, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 22nd September 2012.

¹⁵¹ No byline, “Letters to the editor” *Elgin Courier News*, p.8, 5th October 2012.

Albeit not as racialising as those in the US, these themes of neglect were also present in coverage of several campaigns in Britain. Helen Grant (Con, Maidstone and The Weald) was accused of “taking voters a tad for granted”¹⁵² after failing to appear at a candidates’ meeting hosted by a local sixth form. The national press reported that her competitors had signed a statement “reminding Grant that she’s not above either of them, or the people she’s hoping shortly to represent”.¹⁵³ Similarly, Diane Abbott’s team was accused of taking her constituency “for granted, and clearly don’t like being challenged in any way. Still they have the money to do wham-bam-thank-you-mam campaigning”.¹⁵⁴ Dawn Butler was also caught out in a “gaffe of the day” after she tweeted a picture of herself “resting after door knocking” having declined to attend a Stop the War Meeting on account of an “important engagement elsewhere”.¹⁵⁵

The suggestion that white voters may lack substantive representation from a minority female candidate in Britain was less prevalent than in the US, but it was occasionally apparent in coverage of Rushanara Ali’s campaign. It was reported that, for “older, white working-class tenants, the early throes of the parliamentary election campaign have been underwhelming”.¹⁵⁶ Two constituents were subsequently cited saying “the unsayable”: “This is supposed to be a multicultural area but all the candidates are Asian, I don’t feel they represent my views” / “This borough has a proud history of taking in different people over the years, but we feel we’re being squeezed out”.¹⁵⁷ The fear in Tower Hamlets was that “the intricacies of Bengali community politics [...] will dominate the campaign, to the exclusion of all others”.¹⁵⁸ While explicit reference to these dynamics was in the context of a constituency were the politics of religion and

¹⁵² Stephen Bates, “Diary: First principle of turfing out a celeb-saint with a 15,000 majority? Make friendly with the locals”, *Guardian*, p.37, 15th April 2010.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Suzanne Moore, “Cleggama and Me- Witnesses at the Birth of this New Coalition of Hope, *Mail on Sunday*, 25th April 2010.

¹⁵⁵ John Higginson, “Lib Dems lead Metro voting poll”, *Metro*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

¹⁵⁶ Libby Brooks, “Campaign 2010: Labour faces tough task to regain seat lost to Respect: Galloway has stepped aside, but contest between four Bangladeshi candidates is as fierce as in 2005”, *Guardian*, p.20, 20th April 2010.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

ethnicity have been highly salient (in part due to the politics of former MP George Galloway), the fact that the reporter describes them as “unsayable” implies that they may be present but unspoken in other contexts.

Overall, the quantitative and qualitative findings tell slightly different stories regarding minority women’s viability coverage. While the lack of support for the quantitative hypotheses suggests increasing parity in coverage of *all* groups in this respect, the qualitative analysis reveals continued hostility and scepticism regarding the progressive measures that are so often necessary to ensure that women and/or minorities are on the ballot in the first place. Such views appear to be bolstered by the lack of attention which is paid to structural racial and/or gendered disadvantage, as well as the differential treatment of minority voters: the former as an advantage but the latter never as an explicit disadvantage. In summary, it appears that reporting on viability constitutes a substantial element of all candidates’ coverage, regardless of identity. Yet, while the press does not represent minority women as less likely to succeed in being elected than other candidates, it often undermines the measures which make this possible.

Having both quantitatively and qualitatively explored the relationship between intersectional identity and viability coverage, I now turn to substantive issue coverage.

6.2 Substantive issue coverage

The second part of this chapter presents the results of the three hypotheses concerning the frequency and type of substantive issue coverage received by candidates, conditional on intersectional identity. The complementary qualitative analysis explores the specific types of issues on which candidates from each intersectional group received coverage, as well as the tone and character of press responses to minority women’s policy positions.

6.2.1 Frequency of substantive issue coverage

Just as coverage of minority women was expected to focus more on viability than that of other candidates, it was also expected to focus less on substantive issues given the

zero-sum game between the two aspects of coverage. The descriptive statistics reported in Table 6.7 show that in US local coverage, this is not the case. Just as differences in the proportion of viability coverage in this sample were negligible, so too are differences in the proportion of articles which refer to substantive policy issues: 41 per cent for minority and white women, 44 per cent for minority men, and just 38 per cent for white men. The p-value for the chi squared test also shows that these differences are non-significant. Therefore, the descriptive results for this sample do not support the hypothesis that minority women will be least likely to receive substantial policy coverage.

Table 6.7 Descriptive statistics: Proportion of substantive issue coverage by intersectional identity

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	299	62.2	183	37.8	22	45.8	26	54.2	134	74.4	46	25.6
White female	308	58.6	217	41.4	14	48.3	15	51.7	62	72.9	23	27.1
Minority male	220	56.0	173	44.0	21	45.7	25	54.4	50	45.9	59	54.1
Minority female	209	59.0	145	41.0	38	73.1	14	26.9	71	76.3	22	23.7
Total	1,036	59.1	718	40.9	95	54.3	80	45.7	317	67.9	150	32.1

US local: $\chi^2(3, N=1754) = 3.51, p < .319$ / US national: $\chi^2(3, N=175) = 10.58, p < .014$ / British national: $\chi^2(3, N=467) = 31.83, p < .000$

However, turning to national coverage, both the descriptive results from the US and British samples do appear to support the hypothesis. In the US national sample, only 27 per cent of articles featuring minority women referred to substantive issues, compared to between 52 and 54 per cent for other groups. In the British national press—which was least likely to focus on substantive issues overall—the pattern was the same but differences were not as great: 24 per cent of articles covering minority women mentioned substantive issues, compared to between 26 per cent and 54 per cent for other groups. The p-values for each of the relevant chi squared tests show that the differences are statistically significant in both samples.

It is also the case that in both national samples minority women's issue coverage is less dispersed across individuals within that group than it is for candidates of other

intersectional identities. For example, in the US national press, 13 sampled white men appeared in 26 articles which mentioned them in relation to substantive issues, and this was split between one and four articles each. However, only seven minority women appeared in articles mentioning substantive policy, and nine of the total of fourteen such articles featured Tammy Duckworth and Donna F. Edwards. In the British national press, outliers were present in among men: Jack Dromey's (Lab, Birmingham Erdington) coverage constituted 21 of the 46 articles featuring white men and substantive issues and Sadiq Khan's (Lab, Tooting) constituted 24 of 59 for minority males. Dromey's prominence resulted from his involvement in discussions over the effects on workers of a deal between Kraft and Cadbury, due to his trade union background.¹⁵⁹ Khan's substantive issue coverage meanwhile referred primarily to his input in debates relevant to his position as a junior transport minister.¹⁶⁰ However, this pattern was much stronger for minority women. Diane Abbott's coverage comprised the overall majority of articles featuring members of her intersectional group in relation substantive issues: 16 of a total of only 22. This means that, in the national press in both countries, in addition to receiving less issue coverage *as a group*, minority female candidates' positions on substantive issues are also only represented by a select few *within that group*. This means that most minority women actually received far less substantive issue coverage than the descriptive statistics for each intersectional group would initially suggest.

However, when additional campaign, candidate and media factors are controlled for in the probit models for each sample (Table 6.8), all coefficients for intersectional groups are non-significant, except for minority men in British national coverage, which is positive and significant at $p < 0.01$, indicating that **coverage of minority men was more likely to include reference to substantive issues than articles covering minority women**. Bearing in mind that Sadiq Khan was a very high outlier among minority men, the model

¹⁵⁹ E.g., Phillip Inman, "Unions call for 'Cadbury law' merger curbs", *Guardian*, p.26, 7th April 2010.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., Angela Jameson, "Tube Lines looting London, says Mayor", *Times*, p.49, 11th March 210.

was also run with his coverage excluded. The coefficient remains positive and significant at the same level.

Table 6.8 Probit Model: Likelihood of issue coverage

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	-0.16 (0.12)	0.41 (0.44)	0.28 (0.25)
White female	-0.08 (0.12)	0.41 (0.43)	0.39 (0.24)
Minority / minority male	0.03 (0.16)	0.50 (0.43)	1.20*** (0.27)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.00 (0.12)	0.55 (0.64)	0.57 (0.41)
Labour			0.45* (0.26)
Incumbent	0.20* (0.11)	0.10 (0.45)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.10* (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.09 (0.17)	-0.92 (0.70)	-0.13 (0.24)
Racial majority	0.15 (0.09)	-0.21 (0.39)	
Circulation	-0.00* (0.00)		
USA Today		0.02 (0.50)	
Wall St Journal		0.16 (0.30)	
Washington Post		-0.30 (0.20)	
Constant	-0.26* (0.15)	0.07 (0.83)	-1.54*** (0.31)
Observations	1,754	175	467
chi-square test	23.03	20.02	30.88
p	0.006	0.045	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In both the US and British national samples, the predicted probabilities of mentions of substantive policy are lower in minority women's coverage than that of other groups

(Table 6.9). However, the models indicate that these differences are not statistically significant. The predicted probabilities also highlight that when additional factors are controlled for, minority women are far less likely to receive issue coverage in the national than local press. This is primarily due to US local newspapers' in depth coverage of debates between House candidates, discussed later in this chapter. However, the size of the sample in US coverage (175 articles), and the within-group variation and small size of the differences in British coverage limits the power of the models. In the US local model, incumbency was positive and significant, and newspaper circulation size was negative and significant, both in line with expectations. Similarly, in the US and British national models, incumbency and seniority were positive and significant, as anticipated. Additionally, the coefficient for Labour, compared to Liberal Democrat and Conservative candidates was positive and significant in the British national model. This is explained by the fact that Liberal Democrats were only covered 7 articles in total, and Conservative candidates' coverage was dominated by Helen Grant, Sam Gyimah (Surrey East) and Priti Patel, all of whom rarely received substantive policy coverage.

Table 6.9 Predicted probabilities: Issue coverage as per cent of all coverage

Group	US Local	US National	British National
White male	0.37	0.48	0.24
White female	0.40	0.48	0.28
Minority male	0.44	0.51	0.59
Minority female	0.43	0.32	0.17

Returning to the idea of viability and issue coverage as a 'zero sum game', it seems that this is less the case in the local than the national press. Looking at Figure 7, it is clear that in US local newspapers there was significant overlap between articles which mentioned candidates' viability and substantive policy. This pattern is consistent regardless of candidates' intersectional identity, and results primarily from the focus on campaign debates, mentioned previously. However, turning to Figures 8 and 9, these illustrate that the overlap is far smaller in articles from either US or British national newspapers. It seems that in the national press, candidates are more likely to receive coverage which focuses solely on their viability *or* substantive issues, and therefore more focus on one results in less focus on the other. However, perhaps more striking is the

fact that in both national coverage samples, articles which reference neither viability nor substantive policy form a greater proportion of minority women’s coverage than that of any other group. This reflects the fact that it is minority women’s intersectional novelty which so often drives the attention they receive on the national stage. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Figure 7. US local: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity

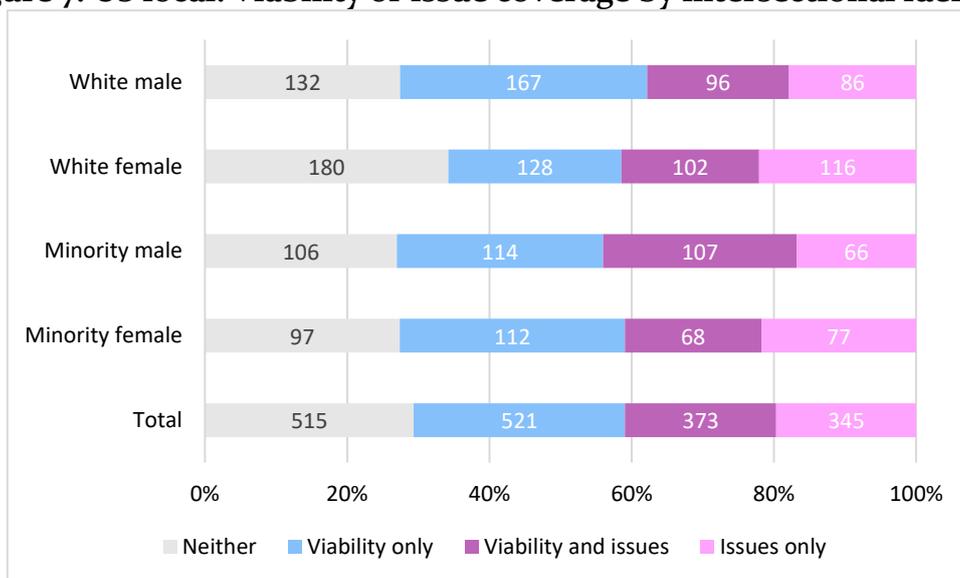


Figure 8. US national: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity

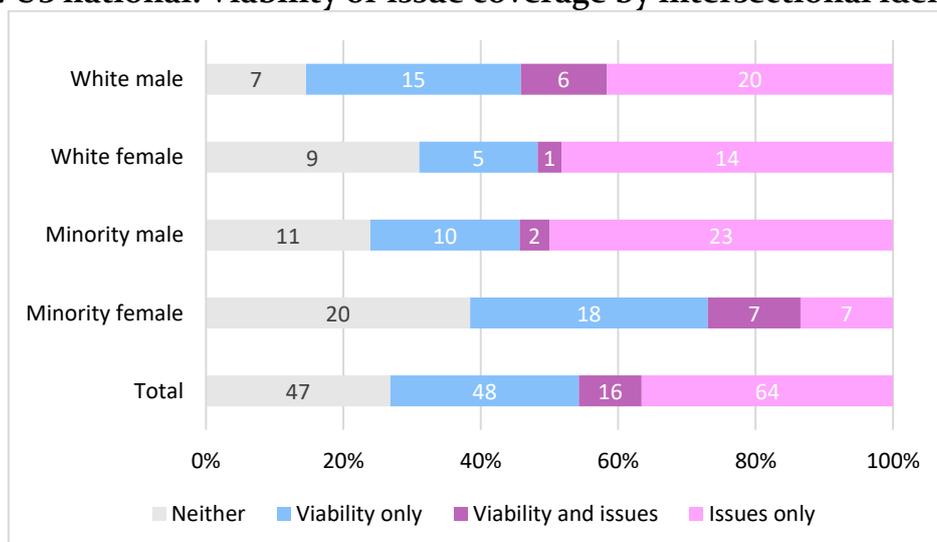
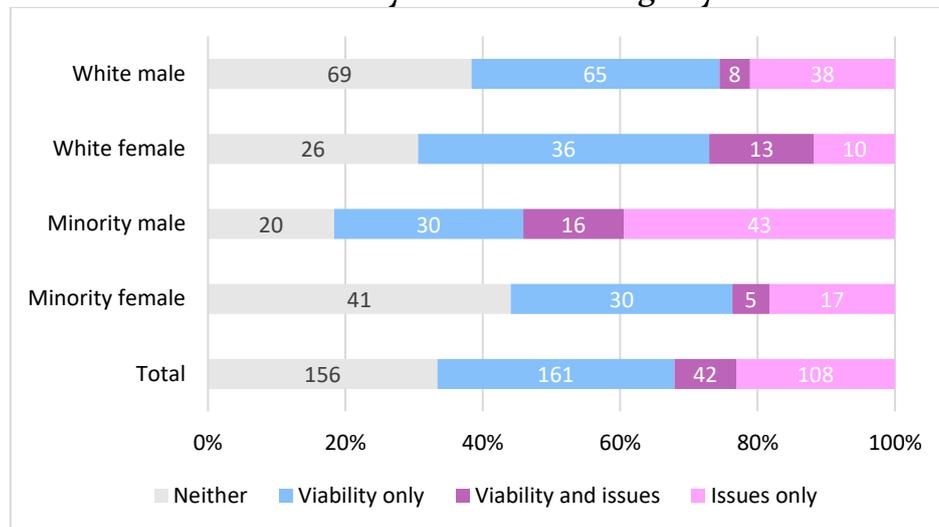


Figure 9. British national: Viability or issue coverage by intersectional identity



In addition to the amount of issue coverage received by each intersectional group, the existing literature also raised questions regarding the *type* of issues candidates' coverage features, depending on their racial, gendered identity. The following sections focus firstly on issues stereotypically associated with (white) men, and secondly on those associated with women and/or minorities.

6.2.2 'White/male' issue coverage

Proceeding to consideration of the type of issues featured within the subsamples of texts which featured any substantive policy coverage (718 US local articles, 80 US national and 150 British national) minority women's issue coverage was expected to be less likely than other groups' to focus on 'white/male' issues such as the economy or defence, and more likely to focus on 'minority/women's' issues, such as race relations, abortion or health care.

Looking at 'white/male' issue coverage first, in US local newspapers, only 61 per cent of minority males' and 70 per cent of minority females' issue coverage focused on 'white/male' issues, compared to 84 per cent of white males' and white females' (Table 6.10). Therefore, although minority women's issue coverage is not least likely to focus

on these policy areas, it is substantially less so than white candidates of either gender, and these differences are statistically significant. In addition, because minority women receive less overall US local press coverage than other groups in absolute terms, they were only featured in 76 articles which mentioned their stances on debates regarding ‘white/male’ issues, compared to 87 for minority men, 146 for white women and 114 for white men.

In the US national press, minority women’s and men’s issue coverage was slightly less likely than white men’s to refer to ‘white/male’ issues, with 86, 84 and 92 per cent respectively focused on these topics. Yet white women’s issue coverage only focused on ‘white male’ issues in just over half of all instances (53 per cent of articles). Although these differences are statistically significant, inferences must necessarily be slightly tentative given the small sample size. Seven individual white women were mentioned in relation to issues spanning the economy, taxes, jobs, energy, and politicians and government, but in total, only 70 articles within the sample mentioned ‘white/male’ issues: 24 featuring sampled white males, eight for white females 21 for minority males and 12 for minority females.

The US national coverage that minority women did receive regarding these issues was clustered around a few individuals and a very limited set of topics. Of the total of twelve articles, four featured Tammy Duckworth in relation to military/defence matters by noting her status as an Iraq veteran and noting her position as “a former top Veterans’ Affairs official”.¹⁶¹ There was no further discussion of her views on other matters, and the articles in question were primarily focused on the horserace. Donna F. Edwards fared slightly better, appearing in five articles in which she was featured in relation to a wider range ‘white/male’ issues: a short profile piece which cited her views on the economy, taxes and jobs,¹⁶² and several articles covering debates about whether to allow extended gambling and a casino in her district.¹⁶³ In addition, Mia B. Love, Marcia L.

¹⁶¹ No byline, “As the polls close, watch the drama unfold”, *USA Today*, p.6, 6th November 2012.

¹⁶² No byline, “U.S. House of Representatives”, *Washington Post*, p.18, 1st November 2012.

¹⁶³ E.g., Jonathon O’Connell, “Milton Peterson’s Gamble”, *Washington Post*, p.21, 24th September 2012.

Fudge and Maxine Waters were featured in a single article each which referenced their positions regarding politicians and government, law enforcement and the economy respectively. Given that the economy consistently topped the list of issues which US voters viewed as most important during the 2012 general election (see Appendix 13), it is somewhat concerning that only two articles from the entire sample featured minority female House candidates' perspectives on this issue, and even then, only fleetingly: Edwards was cited stating, "The economy is recovering, but we must invest to upgrade our crumbling infrastructure and take bold action to rebuild the manufacturing base to help American workers",¹⁶⁴ while Waters' involvement in the controversial bailout of OneUnited Bank—in which her husband owned stock—was criticised despite her claim that she and her team were "acting on behalf of all minority-owned banks".¹⁶⁵

The results from the British national press provided the strongest support for the hypothesis, with white men's issue coverage referring to 'white/male' issues in 96 per cent of relevant articles, compared to 70 per cent for white women, 59 per cent for minority men and just 46 per cent for minority women. These differences are significant at $p < .000$. Far more striking though is that, despite receiving more coverage overall, British minority female candidates only appeared in ten articles throughout the entire campaign which mentioned their positions on the substantive policy areas which dominated the election.

Furthermore, six of these ten articles featured Diane Abbott. The only other minority women to gain coverage on 'white/male' issues were Priti Patel, Shabana Mahmood and Yasmin Qureshi. Patel appeared in two articles—one in which she was cited stating that voters were "fed up with politics and politicians [...] The scepticism out there is huge. I don't think anyone can overestimate that"¹⁶⁶ and another in which discussion of her

¹⁶⁴ No byline, "U.S. House of Representatives", *Washington Post*, p.18, 1st November 2012.

¹⁶⁵ Eric Lipton, "Lawmaker Didn't Break Ethics Rules in Bank Case, Investigator Finds", *New York Times*, p.13, 22nd September 2012.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Peel, Kiran Stacey and Matthew Kennard, "Rookies are rich in traditional Tory traits", *Financial Times*, p.2, 6th April 2010.

views on crime extended to the simple statement that "criminals should be punished".¹⁶⁷ Qureshi was mentioned briefly in relation to foreign policy, with a note that in 2005 "the human rights lawyer launched a strong attack on the Iraq war",¹⁶⁸ and Mahmood was cited stating that voters were uninterested in the merits of different electoral systems stating "I mean, why would they care about that? [...] This seat has the highest unemployment rate in the country. People are worried about real things, like jobs and keeping their houses".¹⁶⁹

As with Edwards and Waters in the US, Abbott was also the only one of the entire population of minority women whose views on the economy were featured, and then in only a single article, compared to 9 articles for 32 of 475 viable white men within the sampling frame. Additionally, rather than news reporting or commentary, this was a published letter to the editor with multiple signatories, entitled "Frail economy needs another stimulus".¹⁷⁰ The majority of Abbott's coverage in relation to 'white/male' issues was instead in relation to defence, noting her opposition to the Iraq war. However, contrary to expectations, this was framed as either as either a female or minority issue. For example, instances in which Abbott's vote on the 2003 invasion were mentioned were under the headlines "Black Politics",¹⁷¹ "If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?",¹⁷² and "The future of politics lies with women".¹⁷³ It was argued that "with the exception of Abbott", minority MPs' voting records on the Iraq war and

¹⁶⁷ Eleanor Mills, "The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder" *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

¹⁶⁸ Jonathan Oliver, Robin Henry and Jamie McGinnes, "Look out, here come the red barons. Labour is poised to swing left as the unions pack safe seats with their candidates", *Sunday Times*, p.19, 14th March 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Tom Baldwin, "Local coalition 'is no model for beast of Westminster'; Birmingham, seat of the final leaders' debate, offers its own lessons in power", *Times*, p.12, 29th April 2010.

¹⁷⁰ Colin Burgon MP, Jon Cruddas MP and others, "Letter: Frail economy needs another stimulus", *Guardian*, p.35, 11th March 2010.

¹⁷¹ Marc Wadsworth, "Reply: Letter: Black politics", *Guardian*, p.39, 28th April 2010.

¹⁷² Afua Hirsch, "Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last", *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

¹⁷³ Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "The future of politics lies with women" *Independent*, p.28, 22nd March 2010

terrorism laws “have badly let down Muslims and black people in general”.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, although one commentator suggested that although the influx of Labour women in 1997 “helped get through some progressive ideas”, citing Abbott’s work on “human rights, equality and freedom of information”, they argued that “there have been disappointments too. New Labour women allowed Blair to indulge the rich; they supported his disastrous war in Iraq”.¹⁷⁵ Thus, Abbott’s stance on the war was praised as the substantive representation of female and minority interests. This highlights the fact that although defence/foreign policy was coded as a ‘white/male’ issue, this depends entirely on the *framing* of such references. While the framing of the Iraq war as a women’s or minority issue is unusual, it highlights the limitations of a quantitative scheme which aims to disaggregate substantive policy analysis in this way, and the usefulness of an open-ended qualitative approach.

While white men’s coverage was dominated by attention to Jack Dromey’s involvement in the Kraft/Cadbury Merger, Jon Cruddas (Lab, Dagenham and Rainham), Jeremy Corbyn (Lab, Islington North) and Gareth Thomas (Lab, Harrow West) were also prominent in debates around defence, the economy and jobs. Similarly, although Sadiq Khan enjoyed visibility due to his position as junior transport minister, a further eight minority men also appeared in articles focusing primarily on jobs and the economy, and ten white women appeared across 16 articles mentioning them in relation to these issues, none of whom was dominant. It is important to note that ‘white/male’ issue’ coverage is partially driven by incumbency: appearing in 18 percent of challengers’ coverage compared to 30 percent of incumbents’. However, no other intersectional group’s was as focused on a single individual as minority women’s was on Abbott. This also raises a wider point about the paucity of substantive policy coverage in the sample more widely. However, this cannot be extrapolated to campaign coverage more generally given that the most senior candidates (for example, members of the Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet) are excluded from the sample and are likely to the highest levels of substantive policy coverage in line with their briefs.

¹⁷⁴ Marc Wadsworth, “Reply: Letter: Black politics”, *Guardian*, p.39, 28th April 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, “The future of politics lies with women” *Independent*, p.28, 22nd March 2010

Table 6.10 Descriptive statistics: ‘White/male’ issue coverage by intersectional identity

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	30	16.5	152	83.5	2	7.7	24	92.3	2	4.4	44	95.7
White female	35	16.0	183	83.9	7	46.7	8	53.3	7	30.4	16	69.6
Minority male	67	38.7	106	61.3	4	16.0	21	84.0	24	40.7	35	59.3
Minority female	44	30.3	101	69.7	2	14.3	12	85.7	12	54.6	10	45.5
Total	176	24.5	542	75.5	15	18.8	65	81.3	45	30.0	105	70.0

US local: $\chi^2(3, N=718) = 15.14, p < .002$ / US national: $\chi^2(3, N=80) = 10.07, p < .018$ / British national: $\chi^2(3, N=150) = 29.93, p < .000$

Moving from a descriptive to an explanatory analysis, few of the differences observed are statistically significant when additional factors are controlled for in the probit models shown in Table 6.11. In the US local sample, the differences between coverage of minority women and coverage white women and men are significant. The predicted probabilities indicate that the proportion of substantive issue coverage which includes reference to ‘white/male’ issues, stands at 70 percent in articles featuring minority women and compared to 84 per cent of relevant articles covering white women and men (Table 6.12). Therefore, although the hypothesis is not confirmed, a significant intersectional difference is again observed between women of differing racial identities, as well as between minority women and white men. In the US national sample, none of the coefficients for intersectional identity were significant. This is unsurprising given the sample size. In the British national sample, only the coefficient for white men is significant. The predicted probabilities indicate that, of white men’s coverage, 96 per cent of articles containing substantive issue coverage contain reference to ‘white/male’ issues, compared to just 58 per cent for minority women. However, when the model was run with white males as the baseline, the coefficients for *all* other intersectional groups were negative and significant at $p < 0.05$. Thus, looking at the effect of candidates’ race and gender, this seems to be best interpreted as an intersectional *advantage* for white males over other groups, rather than an intersectional *disadvantage* specific to minority

women. Yet, it is also important to recall that, descriptively, viable minority women's perspectives on 'white/male' policy only appeared in a *total* of ten articles during the election campaign, while the numbers for candidates from other groups were only small samples of the total amount of coverage white men, white women and minority men received in this area.

Table 6.11 Probit model: Likelihood of issue coverage referring to 'white/male' issues

Characteristics	'White/ male issues'		
	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	0.45** (0.21)	0.61 (0.58)	1.55*** (0.53)
White female	0.46** (0.19)	-1.02 (0.65)	0.32 (0.50)
Minority / minority male	-0.18 (0.21)	0.05 (0.67)	-0.06 (0.68)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	-0.26 (0.23)	-	-0.45 (0.96)
Labour			0.02 (0.64)
Incumbent	0.51** (0.21)	-0.43 (0.65)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.17 (0.11)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.42 (0.29)	-	-0.18 (0.49)
Racial majority	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.19 (0.50)	
Circulation	-0.00 (0.00)		
USA Today		-	
Wall St Journal		0.19 (0.57)	
Washington Post		0.74* (0.44)	
Constant	0.67** (0.28)	1.18 (0.94)	0.50 (0.64)
Observations	718	71	150
chi-square test	33.10	14.18	23.58
p	0.000	0.077	0.001

Table 6.12 Predicted probabilities: ‘white/male’ issue coverage by intersectional identity

Group	‘White/male’ issues		
	US Local	US National	British National
White male	0.84	0.94	0.96
White female	0.84	0.46	0.70
Minority male	0.64	0.83	0.56
Minority female	0.70	0.82	0.58

6.2.3 ‘Minority/female’ issue coverage

Contrasting these findings with those observed regarding the proportion of issue coverage referring to ‘minority/female’ issues depending on candidates’ intersectional identity, the opposite pattern emerges (Table 6.13). In US local coverage, minority women and men’s issue coverage appeared to be marginally more likely to refer to ‘minority/female’ issues, than that of white candidates, and these differences were statistically significant. Yet, it was minority men rather than minority women whose issue coverage was most dominated by these matters: 68 per cent compared to 59 per cent. It was also the case that over half of white male and white female candidates’ issue coverage referred to ‘minority/female issues: 52 and 56 per cent respectively. While this might seem surprising, it is explained by the typical format of issue coverage in local US newspapers. This tends to be reporting of local debates between competing congressional candidates in which they are taken through a series of questions which cover a wide range of policy areas. A typical introduction to this format includes statements such as “The candidates disagreed on a number of topics ranging from how to save Social Security and what to do about skyrocketing college costs to the best way of putting people back to work”.¹⁷⁶ Minority women and men’s additional coverage on these areas then comprises relatively rare instances in which they mention ‘minority/female’ issues beyond the realms of such debates. Typically, this was with reference to concerns over alleged minority vote suppression via redistricting or identification laws. For example, Evelyn Madrid Erhard (D-NM 2nd District) was cited arguing that “Voter ID discriminates against the poor, who may not have a bank account

¹⁷⁶ Tyler Graf, “Haugen, Herrera Beutler spar at forum”, *Columbian*, p.1, 23rd October 2012.

or transportation to the library”,¹⁷⁷ reports noted that Frederica S. Wilson (D-FL 24th District) had “alerted federal authorities to political operatives who are preying on older immigrants in an attempt to manipulate their votes”,¹⁷⁸ and Marcia L. Fudge was at the centre of debates around measures in her district which she argued “may curtail access to the ballot box”.¹⁷⁹

Table 6.13 Descriptive statistics: ‘Minority/female’ issue coverage by intersectional identity

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	88	48.4	94	51.7	23	88.5	3	11.5	43	93.5	3	6.5
White female	96	44.0	122	56.0	7	46.7	8	53.3	15	65.2	8	34.8
Minority male	55	31.8	118	68.2	18	72.0	7	28.0	30	50.9	29	49.2
Minority female	59	40.7	86	59.3	10	71.4	4	28.6	6	27.3	16	72.7
Total	298	41.5	420	58.5	58	72.5	22	27.5	94	62.7	56	37.3

US local: χ^2 (3, N=718) =10.85, $p < .013$ / US national: χ^2 (3, N=80) =8.35, $p < .039$ / British national: χ^2 (3, N=150) =34.03, $p < .000$

In US national coverage, analysis is again hindered by the limited sample of only 70 US national articles focusing on substantive policy. In total, only 22 of these articles focused on ‘minority/female’ issues: three featuring white men, eight featuring white women, seven featuring minority men and four featuring minority women. Despite the sample size, the association is statistically significant. However, white male candidates’ issue coverage did focus least on ‘minority/female’ issues: just 12 per cent of relevant articles compared to 53 per cent for white women and 28 per cent for minority candidates of either gender. That white women’s issue coverage would be most likely to focus on these areas was unexpected, but qualitative analysis, discussed below, does provide some explanation.

¹⁷⁷ No byline, “Sound Off!”, *Las Cruces Sun-News*, 14th September 2012.

¹⁷⁸ Charles Rabin, “Feds to monitor early voting in Miami”, *Miami Herald*, 3rd November 2012.

¹⁷⁹ Harlan Spector and Pat Galbincea, “Ohio Democrats stage events to mark start of early voting ‘Sleepover’ set at elections board”, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, p.1, 2nd October 2012.

The findings from British national coverage were again most in line with the expectations of the hypothesis. Only 7 per cent of white male candidates' issue coverage focused on 'minority/female' issues, compared to 35 per cent of white women's, 49 per cent of minority men's, and 73 per cent of minority women's, and these differences were statistically significant. However, it is also important to note that although the *proportion* is highest for minority women, because minority men received more overall issue coverage than minority women, the same number of candidates from each group appeared in 29 compared to just 16 relevant articles respectively.

Returning to the idea of the type of issue coverage candidates receive as a 'zero sum game', this again appears to be the case in national coverage in both countries, but not in the local press. Fig. 10 shows that in local newspaper reporting, there was a considerable overlap between articles which focused on 'white/male' and 'minority/female' issues. Therefore, devoting space to one set of policy areas does not appear to preclude doing so for the other. In contrast Figs. 11 and 12 show that in the US and British national press, there was little overlap and articles tended therefore to focus either on 'white/male' issues or 'minority/female' issues. Furthermore, in the US local press, relatively similar amounts of coverage were devoted to both sets of issues. In both samples of national coverage however, reporting on substantive policy was dominated by references to 'white/male' issues, and the lack of overlap in discussions of these and 'minority/female' issues left precious little space to be devoted to the latter.

Figure 10. US local: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity

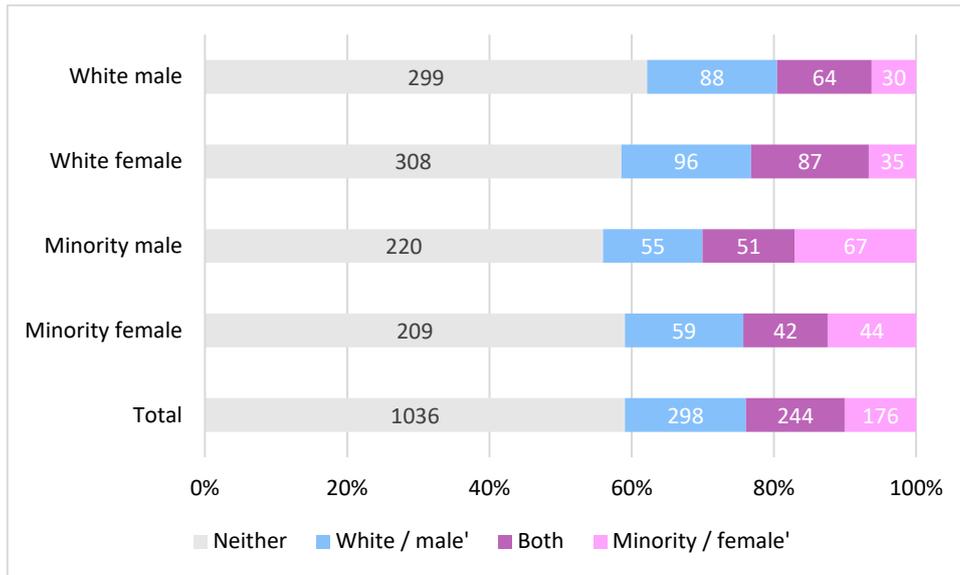


Figure 11. US national: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity

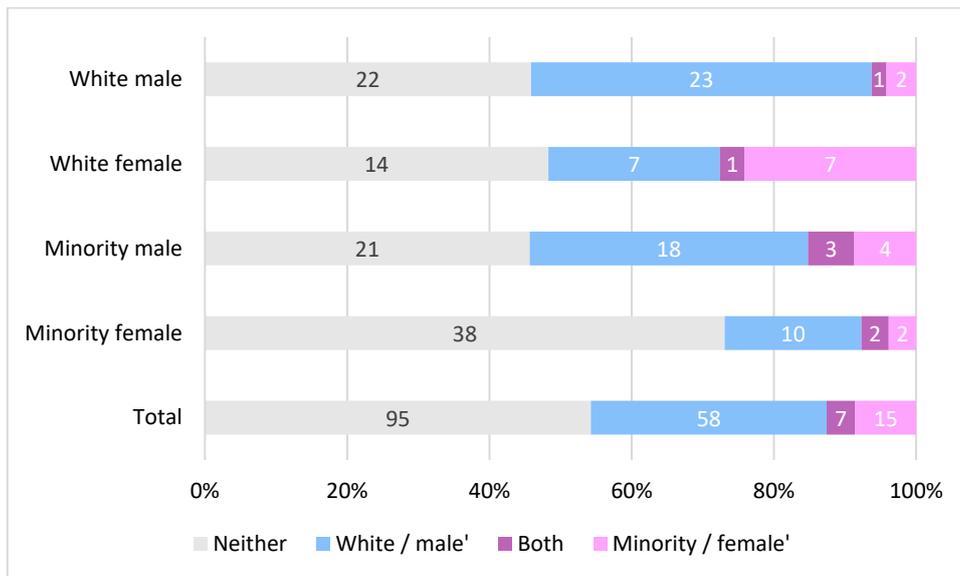
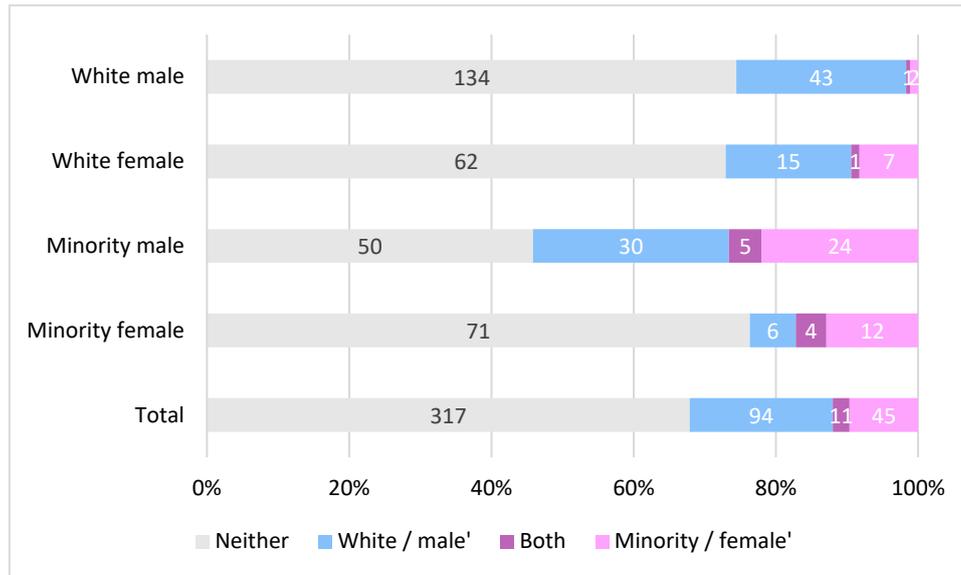


Figure 12. British national: Type of issue coverage by intersectional identity



Turning to an explanatory analysis, the limitations of the data mean that the probit models shown in Table 6.14 are highly constrained and barely extend the findings beyond what is observable from the descriptive statistics. None of the coefficients for candidates' intersectional identity are significant for the US local sample. Therefore, the differences in this aspect of coverage remain negligible when additional factors are controlled for. In the US national sample, just the coefficient for white women is significant, and then only at the $p < 0.1$ level. However, this is spurious given the small sample size and the fact that the constant is not significant. In the British national sample, the positive and significant coefficient for white men is significant, but as both the descriptive statistics and predicted probabilities in Table 6.15 show, this is best interpreted as a difference between **coverage of** white men and **that** of all other groups, rather than an effect resulting from minority women's specific intersectional identity. Furthermore, the British national model must also be interpreted with caution as the constant is again non-significant.

Table 6.14 Probit Model: Type of issue coverage

Characteristics	'Minority / female' issues		
	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	-0.15 (0.17)	-0.50 (0.43)	-1.74*** (0.56)
White female	-0.02 (0.17)	1.11* (0.60)	-0.67 (0.48)
Minority / minority male	0.07 (0.27)	0.24 (0.45)	-0.19 (0.60)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.24 (0.19)	-	-0.50 (0.96)
Labour			-0.70 (0.59)
Incumbent	-0.92*** (0.22)	-0.15 (0.65)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	0.04	-0.06	0.19*

	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.11)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.15	-	0.40
	(0.31)		(0.48)
Racial majority	0.11	-0.20	
	(0.15)	(0.35)	
Circulation	-0.00		
	(0.00)		
USA Today		-	
		-	
Wall St Journal		-0.54	
		(0.57)	
Washington Post		-0.84**	
		(0.35)	
Constant	0.45**	0.40	0.54
	(0.22)	(0.77)	(0.53)
Observations	718	71	150
chi-square test	40.29	21.35	28.79
p	0.000	0.006	0.000

Table 6.15 Predicted probabilities: Type of issues as per cent of all issue coverage

Group	'Minority/female' issues		
	US Local	US National	British National
White male	0.55	0.11	0.07
White female	0.60	0.64	0.34
Minority male	0.63	0.31	0.52
Minority female	0.61	0.23	0.60

While the explanatory models are insufficient to provide a satisfactory analysis of this aspect of coverage, qualitative exploration the specific types of 'minority/female' issues on which members of each minority group received coverage reveals several interesting cleavages. In US national coverage, sampled white men appeared in only three relevant articles. One noted that Jerold L. Nadler (D-NY 10th District) "proposed investing the 1990s Social Security surpluses in the stock market";¹⁸⁰ a second reported Peter Welch's (D-VT At-large District) opposition to cuts to food stamps within the Farm Bill;¹⁸¹ and finally a wide-ranging profile of Joseph P. Kennedy III (D-MA 4th District) included a reference to his support of "gay marriage, a woman's right to choose, [and] the new

¹⁸⁰ Holman W. Jenkins Jr., "Hey, Mitt, Voters Aren't the Obstacle", *Wall Street Journal*, p.13, 22nd September 2012.

¹⁸¹ Lis Rathke, "Dairy farmers hurting as Congress stalls on bill", *Washington Post*, p.13, 22nd October 2012.

health care law”.¹⁸² All of these mentions were extremely brief and in no cases were they the focus of the article. Thus, this coverage of white male candidates’ positions on these issues was cursory to say the least.

Of the eight articles in which white women were featured regarding relevant issues, half mentioned Zoe Lofgren (D-CA 19th District) and included discussion of immigration, specifically her sponsorship of a bill to allow visas for foreign graduates from the STEM sector.¹⁸³ Three mentioned health: two which featured Diana DeGette (D-CE 1st District) in her role as a member of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, commenting on a meningitis outbreak caused by a contaminated drug,¹⁸⁴ and one cited Janice D. Schakowsky’s (D-IL 9th District) criticisms of behaviour by health insurance company, WellPoint.¹⁸⁵ Finally, a published letter to the Editor from Carolyn B. Maloney (D-NY 12th District), co-chairwoman of the anti-sex-trafficking caucus in Congress, argued in favour of ending the demand side of prostitution.¹⁸⁶ So in the case of all white women except Janice Shakowsky, this coverage resulted from their congressional activities—bill sponsorship, committee and caucus membership. While institutional frameworks play a role in the gendered division of these labours (Frisch and Kelly 2003, Carroll and Reingold 2008, e.g. Friedman 1996, O’Brien 2012) there is little here to suggest that white women within *this* sample were targeted for press coverage on these issues simply because they were female.

Of the seven articles featuring minority men and ‘minority/female’ issues, four mentioned civil rights. Drugs, immigration, family values and education also featured briefly. In an article which suggested that minority representatives were less able to provide substantive representation to minority communities under President Obama,

¹⁸² Edith Zimmerman, “A Born Politician”, *New York Times*, p.26, 26th September 2012

¹⁸³ E.g., No byline, “Visas for Scientists, With a Catch”, *New York Times*, p.28, 27th September 2012.

¹⁸⁴ E.g., Sabrina Tavernise, “Lawmakers Focus on Oversight of Small Drugmakers as Meningitis Death Toll Rises”, *New York Times*, p.15, 10th October 2012.

¹⁸⁵ Holman W. Jenkins Jr., “The Day Health Insurance Died”, *Wall Street Journal*, p.13, 12th September 2012.

¹⁸⁶ Carolyn B. Maloney, “Ending the Demand Side of Prostitution”, *New York Times*, p.26, 1st October 2012.

Emanuel Cleaver (D-MO 5th District) was quoted referring to the 14 per cent unemployment rate among minorities, stating that in response “if we [black politicians] had a white president we’d be marching around the White House”.¹⁸⁷ Meanwhile, attacks on American diplomatic outposts in Libya and Egypt led to two articles featuring comments by “first Muslim elected to congress”¹⁸⁸ and “go to person for Muslim Americans”¹⁸⁹ Keith Ellison (D-MN 5th District), one of which was an extensive interview regarding a range of “Islam-related stories in the news”.¹⁹⁰ Finally, vice chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Rubén Hinojosa’s (D-TX 15th District) “concern with the lack of Hispanic representation”¹⁹¹ in the Kennedy Honors was also reported. Henry Cuellar (D-TX 9th District) appeared in two articles concerned with immigration, one which cited former Webb County sheriff, Rick Flores’ accusation that Cuellar’s position on immigration suggested he was “more dedicated”¹⁹² to the President of Mexico than his own constituents, and another noting Cuellar’s sponsorship of a Bill to allow foreign science graduates stay in the US.¹⁹³ Finally, family values appeared in a story reporting discussions around same sex marriage at the Congressional Black Caucus annual legislative conference, attended by Elijah Cummings (D-MD 7th District).¹⁹⁴ Thus, while minority men were sometimes go-to sources for comments on issues explicitly referring to racial or religious minorities, those sampled were not frequently cited on broad ‘compassion’ issues such as health, education or social security.

In comparison, only a single minority woman, Terri Sewell (D-AL 7th District), was mentioned with reference to civil rights, and even then, as one of a group of black

¹⁸⁷ Fredrick C. Harris, "The Price of a Black President" *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

¹⁸⁸ Laurie Goodstein, “Muslim American Leaders Condemn Attacks”, *New York Times*, 13th September 2012

¹⁸⁹ Michelle Boorstein, “Muslim Americans can explain to the rest of the world how free expression works”, *Washington Post*, p.14, 5th October 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ David Montgomery, “Are The Kennedy Honors Baised?”, *Washington Post*, p.1, 7th October 2012.

¹⁹² Julian Aguilar, “A Familiar Face Returns, Heating Up the Sheriff’s Race in Webb County”, *New York Times*, p.39, 30th September 2012.

¹⁹³ Julia Preston, “Republicans Push Bill to Help Foreign Science Graduates Stay”, *New York Times*, p.20, 19th September 2012.

¹⁹⁴ Hamil R. Harris, “Black Caucus, pastors to discuss same-sex unions”, *Washington Post*, p.3, 21st September 2012.

politicians who have “de-emphasized race” and “like Mr. Obama, have Ivy League degrees and rarely discuss the impact of racism on contemporary black life”.¹⁹⁵ Two minority women were referred to with regards to explicitly gendered policy concerns: Donna F. Edwards, “been tapped by the Obama campaign to be a surrogate speaker, and [...] recognized as a leader on health care and women's issues”,¹⁹⁶ and Grace Meng (D-NY 6th District), said to be “focused on women's issues” and taking “very seriously her role as a representative of an underrepresented community.”¹⁹⁷ The only other article which mentioned minority women in relation to ‘minority/female’ issues was a piece which mentioned Mia B. Love’s “Tea party-infused politics” citing her advocacy of “large cuts to student loan programs”.¹⁹⁸ Love was also the sole sampled Republican candidate to receive relevant coverage.

Thus, while all of these articles were coded as containing reference to ‘minority/female’ issues, the content varied markedly between each of the four intersectional groups of sampled candidates. Perhaps unsurprisingly, white candidates are not mentioned in relation to civil rights, but more interestingly, the bulk of coverage on this issue goes to minority men rather than women. Therefore, it seems that among minority candidates, it is those who are privileged by their gender are typically cited speaking out on civil rights on behalf of the group as a whole. The only time a minority woman is mentioned, it is actually in terms of her not providing substantive representation to minority communities, paradoxically, because of a black president. Furthermore, while civil rights and women’s rights both received some, albeit very limited coverage, the specific concerns of minority women were never addressed explicitly.

In the British national press, some similar patterns emerged. For example, sampled white men’s coverage on ‘minority/female’ issues was again confined to just three

¹⁹⁵ Fredrick C. Harris, "The Price of a Black President" *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

¹⁹⁶ Miranda S. Spivack, "Edwards not afraid to go own way - against fellow Democrats", *Washington Post*, p.6, 31st October, 2012

¹⁹⁷ David W. Chen, "Bribe Accusation in the Family Hangs Over Bid for Congress", *New York Times*, p.19, 26th October 2012

¹⁹⁸ Jennifer Steinhauer, "Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney's Star Power, Lift Her to the House", *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

articles, all featuring Jon Cruddas and focussing on immigration rather than concerns specific to women and/or minorities. The *Times* notes that “neither party wants to make it a national issue”, and lauds Cruddas for being, “as brave about fighting racism as he is about talking about immigration”.¹⁹⁹ He is later cited, “poetically” stating that “to live in the parts of Britain that have experienced migration is sometimes to feel as if ‘where there was once a neighbour there is often transience; a sense of people passing through ... to live here is to experience the raw, frightening turbulence of globalisation and industrial decline’”.²⁰⁰ The *Independent* further contextualises Cruddas’ stance, that “globalisation [is] ripping through a small community” noting that the threat from the BNP in his constituency may be sufficient “in a worst-case scenario, to eat enough into his vote to let the Conservatives in”.²⁰¹ In a similar vein, the *Mirror* describes Cruddas as “the conscience of the [Labour] party’s left” noting his backing of a proposed “pardon” for illegal immigrants and arguing that “It isn’t racist to worry about immigration, but we must be aware of racists exploiting prejudice for political gain”.²⁰²

White women’s coverage on ‘minority/female’ issues is primarily focused on discussions of women and feminism, as well as fleeting references to health, the environment, family values and pensions. References to women’s equality were largely confined to the subject of women in politics: Julie Elliot (Lab, Sunderland Central), Bridget Phillipson (Lab, Houghton and Sunderland South) and Joan Ruddock (Lab, Lewisham Deptford) appeared in three pieces entitled “Blair babes’ reign in the north-east”,²⁰³ “Don’t call us cuties Female candidates aim to show style can equal substance”,²⁰⁴ and “Women candidates upstaged by wives: Presidential-style campaign is focusing attention on

¹⁹⁹ James Purnell, “Talking about it loses votes nationally, but on the doorstep it is vital”, *Times*, p.11, 12th April 2012.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Donald Macintyre, “His legacy may be a party never again able to rule alone”, *Independent*, p.6, 5th May 2010.

²⁰² Kevin Maguire, “Pardon is Race Winner”, *Mirror*, p.10, 21st April 2010.

²⁰³ No byline, “Blair babes’ reign in the north-east”, *Metro*, p.4, 15th April 2010.

²⁰⁴ Anita Singh, “Don’t call us cuties Female candidates aim to show style can equal substance”, *Daily Telegraph*, p.7, 13th April 2012.

leaders, their spouses - and motherhood”.²⁰⁵ Phillipson also appeared in a piece about *Honey Money: The Power of Erotic Capital*, a book by Catherine Hakim, sociologist at the London School of Economics:

Last week, as if to underline Hakim's point about the value of erotic capital, young female parliamentary candidates were given a makeover for *Grazia*, the women's magazine. "As in life, women are judged in ways that men are not," Labour's Bridget Phillipson told the magazine, looking va-va-voom in a curve-enhancing little black dress with a Sex and the City-style corsage. "It should be about what you can achieve, not about being glam or pretty”.²⁰⁶

Thus, an attempt to gain visibility using gendered frames and at the same time referring to gendered inequality was met with a substantial degree of scepticism. The gendered risks that women encounter under these circumstances have also been elucidated by van Zoonen and Harmer (2011).

Although white women's coverage on 'minority/female' issue coverage was focused on women in politics, minority men's was focused primarily on education, family values, and the explicit concerns of minority communities. Of the total of 29 articles, 17 featured then junior education minister David Lammy's (Lab, Tottenham) engagement with debates over university funding, student loans and tuition fees.²⁰⁷ Lammy's position in this role and overall coverage therefore contributed substantially to the amount of and content of 'minority/female' issue coverage minority men received. He also appeared in two further articles which linked together the concerns of minority communities and family values. Lammy himself authored a piece titled "Mothers need the support of a loving partner. Just ask mine", stating "I worry at figures showing 59 per cent of Black Caribbean and 44 per cent of Black African children grow up in single parent

²⁰⁵ Amelia Gentleman, "Campaign 2010: On the ground: Women candidates upstaged by wives: Presidential-style campaign is focusing attention on leaders, their spouses - and motherhood", *Guardian*, p.20, 21st April 2010.

²⁰⁶ Kate Spicer, "I'm counting up erotic capital; Catherine Hakim, the academic with a knack for upsetting feminists, has done it again, claiming that sex appeal is as important as brains", *Sunday Times*, p.7, 18th April 2010.

²⁰⁷ E.g., Jack Grimston, "Labour revolt over tuition fees", *Sunday Times*, p.17, 11th April 2010.

households”.²⁰⁸ The following day, an article entitled “The boys are too feminised: More than racism, the absence of fathers is the main problem holding back black kids in school” by-lined by charity director and author of *Generating Genius: Black Boys in Search of Love, Ritual and Schooling*, Tony Sewell, stated that Lammy “is aware, as I am, of the devastating consequences of absent fatherhood within the black community”.²⁰⁹

Wilfred Emmanuel-Jones (Con, Chippenham), Sam Gyimah, and Sadiq Khan also appeared in articles referring specifically to minority communities, but with a decidedly more partisan flavour. When the Conservative Party was accused by Simon Woolley, the national co-ordinator and founder of Operation Black Vote, of “airbrushing” minority candidates out of campaign literature in constituencies where the BNP posed a threat, Sadiq Khan was cited saying “If everything is as it appears, this is very worrying. David Cameron talks of open politics and a changed Conservative party, but here it looks as though they are scared of acknowledging their own candidates”.²¹⁰ Meanwhile, Conservatives Emanuel Jones and Gyimah appeared promoting proposed Tory mentoring scheme for minority entrepreneurs. One article entitled, “We’ll change black Britain: Conservatives will tackle racial inequalities by giving people what they want: a start in business”²¹¹ was authored by party leader David Cameron. The piece linked descriptive and symbolic representation, proffering both minority men, as well as minority female Conservative candidate Helen Grant, as role models to “Black Britain”:

...increasing the diversity of our parliamentary candidates is not just about getting our house in order. It too is also about role models. We’ve selected successful black entrepreneurs—people like Sam Gyimah, Wilfred Emmanuel

²⁰⁸ David Lammy, “Mothers need the support of a loving partner. Just ask mine”, *Independent*, p.30, 15th March 2010.

²⁰⁹ Tony Sewell, “The boys are too feminised: More than racism, the absence of fathers is the main problem holding back black kids in school”, *Guardian*, p.30, 16th March 2010.

²¹⁰ Toby Helm and Anushka Asthana, “Tories deny airbrushing minority candidates from campaign literature: Cameron’s diversity agenda called into question as party presents an all-white front against the BNP”, *Observer*, p.7, 21st March 2010.

²¹¹ David Cameron, “We’ll change black Britain: Conservatives will tackle racial inequalities by giving people what they want: a start in business”, *Guardian*, p.20, 17th March 2010.

Jones and Helen Grant—as our candidates [...] They'll help inspire a new generation of black people to take on the world.²¹²

The theme of minority entrepreneurship was also seen in reporting of Sadiq Khan's keynote speech at the Eastern Eye Asian Business Awards, but without discussion of its content.²¹³ So while Lammy's role as a junior education minister meant that sampled minority men received coverage on a broader spectrum of issues in the British national press than minority men in the US, it does seem that tactical deployment of individuals from this group by the Conservative party in particular led to additional coverage which featured them in relation to these issues, but as the embodiment of relevant Conservative policy rather than articulators of it.

While relevant coverage of minority men was dominated by David Lammy, minority women's coverage on 'minority/female' issues was even more so by Diane Abbott, who was matched to Lammy in the candidate sampling strategy. Abbott's coverage in this area focused primarily on the political representation of women and minorities, and was somewhat polarised in tone. While some commentators asserted that "Female MPs like the gutsy Diane Abbott tirelessly fight for human rights, equality and freedom of information",²¹⁴ others criticised her as linked to an entrenched elite: "it rather looked as though Abbott's definition of 'diverse' was her, and any other MPs, who had come up through similar channels, and therefore 'knew what they were talking about'".²¹⁵ One particularly scathing sketch described a video posted on a political blog showing an event at a primary school in her constituency:

This featured a group of young children who had been instructed by their teacher to chant a rap song eulogising the local Labour MP, the highly controversial Left-winger Diane Abbott. In this nauseating performance the pupils sang of Diane Abbott's wonderful achievements, including her campaigns for equality and women's rights.²¹⁶

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Catherine Boyle, "Asian entrepreneurs present best way to succeed", *Times*, p.71, 27th March 2010.

²¹⁴ Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "The future of politics lies with women" *Independent*, p.28, 22nd March 2010

²¹⁵ No byline, "MPs are in no position to sneer at anyone, Diane", *Observer*, p.13, 28th March 2010.

²¹⁶ Leo McKinstry, "How Labour are trying to brainwash us all", *Express*, p.12, 29th March 2010.

Criticism of Abbott's commitment to furthering equality also centred on the decision of "the supposedly ardent Left-winger sent her son to a £10,000-a-year private school"²¹⁷ rather than "the type of Local Education Authority 'bog standard' comprehensive [the Labour] party has imposed on the majority of UK families".²¹⁸ These critiques were not confined to the right-wing press. Guardian columnist Susanne Moore—who challenged Abbott as an independent candidate—simultaneously praised "her advocacy for young black men" while being "incensed" by this decision regarding her own son's education.²¹⁹

Despite the frequent framing of Abbott's behaviour regarding women, minorities and equality as hypocritical, when she was directly cited discussing these issues, her statements were positive about progress that had been achieved. On developments for women since entering parliament in 1987, she commented:

Things really have moved on. If you raised subjects like work-life balance or childcare 20 years ago, people would say, 'But that's not really politics'. Now the party leaders are all talking about it²²⁰.

Similarly, on the representation of ethnic minorities, Abbott stated: "It's a question of critical mass—the more the better".²²¹ Therefore, not only were such issues rarely mentioned in campaign coverage, when they were, minority women's voices other than Abbott's were rarely heard. Furthermore, Abbott herself faced significant criticism as well as applause for doing so. Substantively, the personalisation of criticisms of Abbott's

²¹⁷ No byline, "Hickey", *Express*, p.17, 18th March 2010.

²¹⁸ O'Flynn, P. "On mother Kelly's new doorstep - an elite state school", *The Express*, p.12, 27th April 2010

²¹⁹ Kira Cochrane, "'Women: 'Vote for me - I'm flawed': She's the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP", *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

²²⁰ Amelia Gentleman, "Campaign 2010: On the ground: Women candidates upstaged by wives: Presidential-style campaign is focusing attention on leaders, their spouses - and motherhood", *Guardian*, p.20, 21st April 2010.

²²¹ Afua Hirsch, "Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last", *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

stances on these issues may well serve to disincentivise other candidates and representatives from raising their heads above the parapet and speaking out on these matters.

6.3 Discussion

In summary, none of the five hypotheses stated at the beginning of this chapter is supported in any of the three text samples. There were no statistically significant differences in the likelihood of viability coverage or substantive issue coverage in US local, US national or US local coverage. While it was also hypothesised that minority women's viability coverage would be more negative than that of other groups, the pattern observed was that minority women's coverage was more likely to be positive or negative, and less likely to be mixed. Regarding the type of issue coverage candidates received, the most striking pattern was that white men were less likely than all other groups to feature in relation to 'minority' female issues, but this came as little surprise. It was only in US local coverage that any significant cleavage emerged between minority women and other intersectional groups: **namely that discussions of substantive issues in coverage of white women and white was more likely to include reference to 'white/male' issues than such discussions in coverage of minority women.**

While the lack of support for the hypotheses suggests progress towards parity in relation to these aspects of coverage, the constraints on the models also highlight the challenges of attempting quantitative, explanatory intersectional analyses from which to make robust inferences. Several findings from the qualitative and descriptive analyses suggest continued cause for concern. Regarding viability, the framing of minority women as a group, regardless of partisan difference; as party darlings, co-opted by an undemocratic elite; and advantaged by female and minority voters but failing to provide substantive representation to the white electorate, all suggest a degree of latent hostility or scepticism regarding their campaigns. While all candidates who benefit from

progressive measures are at risk of critique regarding ‘merit’,²²² minority women’s historic underrepresentation means such measures remain especially necessary to ensure their inclusion in national legislatures. Therefore, critique of such measures is particularly concerning if it decreases incentives for political parties to employ these tools.

In addition, the paucity of articles in which minority female candidates are cited or mentioned in relation ‘white/male’ issues in the national press in both countries is alarming considering the wider context. The matching strategy paired each of the entire population of viable minority female candidates with a comparable white male, white female and minority male individual. Therefore, the sampled articles actually represent *all* national newspaper articles featuring viable minority female candidates’ views on ‘white/male’ policy areas, compared to a small selection of instances in which candidates from other intersectional groups were mentioned. So, while the data shows that there was only a minor difference among, for example, minority women and sampled white men, we are comparing the *total* issue coverage of viable minority female candidates to that of just 33 of 389 viable white males running on major party tickets in the US, and 30 of 475 white male major party parliamentary candidates in Britain.

Descriptively, the absence of minority women’s voices in these policy areas is startling. In the national press, only 12 articles in the US and ten in Britain mentioned minority women’s perspectives on stereotypically ‘white/male’ issues over eight weeks of pre-election coverage. Furthermore, members of the population of candidates from other intersectional groups are—as the matching strategy demonstrated—more likely to be incumbents, more senior, and more likely to hold leadership positions. All of these characteristics will further enhance the likelihood of them receiving coverage overall, and issue coverage within that.

²²² This is despite the debunking of such arguments by recent research findings by Krook and Nugent (2016).

Additionally, in 2012, no minority women served in the Senate, and only three served in the Obama administration (Hilda Solis, Secretary of Labor; Lisa P. Jackson, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and Susan Rice, Ambassador to the United Nations). Similarly, in Britain in 2010, no minority female MPs were present among the Cabinet, Shadow Cabinet, Liberal Democrat frontbench team or Select Committee Chairs, although they did include two from the House of Lords: Sayeeda Warsi and Patricia Scotland. Thus, while the data doesn't support the hypothesis that minority women's issue coverage will be least likely to focus on 'white/male' policy areas, compared to similar candidates, it does show that descriptively, the voices of minority female politicians are all but absent from these debates, perhaps partly due to differential treatment by the press, but to a greater extent because of their extreme exclusion from elite politics more generally.

Having considered the effects of intersectional identity on viability and substantive issue coverage, I now explore both explicit and latent foregrounding of candidates' race and gender.

Chapter Seven

Signs of Progress? Explicit and Latent Foregrounding of Identity

This chapter explores the explicit and latent foregrounding of candidates' intersectional identity. The existing literature shows that these aspects of coverage are important because focus on gender may continue to position women as anomalous in the political sphere (Falk 2008), set up false comparisons between candidates united by little other than the fact that they are women (Walsh 1998), or lead to unrealistic expectations regarding political change or substantive representation (Ward 2000). Likewise, emphasis on race in the US context is sometimes associated with an implicit risk frame, portraying African American candidates as a drastic change to the status quo (e.g. Jeffries 2002), and there is evidence that it may also affect political decision making (Medelberg 2001; Valentino et al. 2002a & 2002b), and even incur a vote capture penalty (Curtice et al. 2010, Fisher et al. 2011).

Explicit foregrounding includes any mention of the race or gender of the candidate, their supporters, constituents and surrogates. Because explicit reference to maleness and whiteness are both unusual and under-theorised (Levine-Rasky 2011, Ringrose 2007), only references to female gender and ethnic minority racial identity are captured by the scheme. *Latent* foregrounding of candidate identity is captured via 'personal coverage', which includes references to candidates' spouses and care-giving responsibilities, religion, age and appearance.

The key questions addressed by this chapter are, firstly, whether minority women's racial, gendered identity is explicitly or latently foregrounded more than that of other groups? Secondly, how do references to minority women's race, gender, family lives, age religion and appearance *frame* their candidacies, compared to individuals from other intersectional groups? For example, are the frames previously identified in single-

axis analyses of race or gender and campaign coverage similarly present for minority women, or are new, *unique* intersectional frames observed in references to minority women's intersectional identity? If so, what is the tone and character of such frames?

The existing literature shows that women's gender is highlighted more often than male candidates, and likewise minority candidates' race is foregrounded more often than their white counterparts'. In addition, the single-axis literature on gender discussed in Section 3.4.2 indicates that women receive more 'personal' coverage than men. Given the theorised effect of race and gender with regards to coverage of minority women, the following three hypotheses were derived from the literature:

H8 Minority women's gender is explicitly foregrounded more frequently than that of white women.

H9 Minority women's race/ethnicity is explicitly foregrounded more frequently than that of minority men.

H10 The frequency of personal coverage (references to appearance, age, family or religion) is highest in coverage of minority women.

The descriptive statistics and probit models—similar to those used in the previous chapter—for H8 and H9 are presented for each of the three coverage samples in parallel. The complementary qualitative analysis then explores the content and context of explicit references to candidates' race and gender. The results indicate that explicit references to candidate identity are primarily manifested in the context of debates around the descriptive and substantive representation of women or minorities, but rarely with reference to minority women as a specific group.

I then present the descriptive statistics and explanatory models to test H10, regarding the frequency of personal coverage. The qualitative analysis is subsequently divided by local and national coverage. I find that US local coverage focuses primarily on candidates' spouses and care-giving responsibilities. While these frames do highlight candidate gender, they are for the most part politically advantageous, and appear more

frequently in coverage of white than minority women. In the national press, the qualitative analysis reveals the way in which, in the US, accusations of political malfeasance involving political spouses is disproportionately focused on a single minority woman, while in Britain, it was the feminisation of a white male that constituted the most noteworthy frame associated with mentions of candidates' families.

With regards to religion, I find that Muslim candidates' faith is highly politicised, while the religious identity of Jewish and Christian candidates garners little attention. Finally, the qualitative analysis indicates that references to the appearance of minority women convey ideas not just about candidates' gender and ethnicity, but also assessments of their competency and ideology. Importantly, while the results of this chapter show substantial differences in the frequency of explicit and latent differences to minority women's and other candidates' race and gender, there is only limited evidence of unique frames applied to minority women in this respect.

7.1 Explicit foregrounding: Gender

The first hypothesis anticipates that minority female candidates' gender will be explicitly foregrounded more frequently than that of white women. The descriptive statistics across all three samples appear to support this, although the association is non-significant in the US national sample (Table 7.1). In US local coverage, minority women's gender was foregrounded in seven per cent of articles in which they were mentioned, compared to three per cent for white women. In the US national sample, this rose to 17 per cent for minority women and seven per cent for white women. Explicit gender foregrounding was most prevalent in the British national press, present in 27 per cent of articles featuring minority women compared to 15 per cent for comparable white women. Therefore, in all three samples, the rate of gender foregrounding was approximately twice as high for minority female candidates in comparison to their white female counterparts.

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics: Explicit foregrounding of gender by racial identity

Group	US local				US national				British national			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White female	513	97.5	13	2.5	27	93.1	2	6.9	72	84.7	13	15.3
Minority female	331	93.5	23	6.5	43	82.7	9	17.3	68	73.1	25	26.9
Total	844	95.9	36	4.1	70	86.4	11	13.6	140	78.7	38	21.4

US local: $\chi^2(1, N=880)=8.73, p < .003$ / US national: $\chi^2(1, N=81)=1.72, p < .190$ / British national: $\chi^2(1, N=178)=3.55, p < .059$

These differences persist when controlled for in the relevant probit models for the US local and British national samples, in which the coefficients for white women are negative and significant (Table 7.2). Controlling for additional factors, the predicted probability of gender foregrounding **in articles** featuring minority women in the US national press is three times **as high as within coverage of white women**: six per cent compared to two per cent (Table 7.3). In the British national sample, the predicted probability of gender foregrounding is almost twice as high **in coverage of** minority women compared **to coverage of** white women, at 27 per cent compared to 14 per cent.²²³ Therefore, in both of these samples, the hypothesis is confirmed. However, in US national coverage, the coefficient for minority women is non-significant, and the predicted probabilities for both are 0 per cent of articles. With only 81 observations and ten control variables, the US national model is extremely constrained by the data, but while the null cannot be rejected for this sample, the consistency of the pattern in the descriptive statistics for three sets of coverage is strongly suggestive that the effect is present in all of these contexts.

²²³ The predicted probability of explicit references to gender in Table 7.3 is 0 for both minority and white women because this was the case for 21 of the 26 sampled women who appeared in the national press, and of the 11 articles that mentioned women's gender, six referred to Mia B. Love.

Table 7.2 Probit models: likelihood of explicit reference to gender

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White female	-0.51** (0.20)	0.65 (0.57)	-0.44* (0.26)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.22 (0.26)	-0.74 (1.02)	
Labour			-0.19 (0.28)
Incumbent	-0.18 (0.30)	-6.11* (3.13)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.51 (0.43)	-0.08 (0.06)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.61* (0.35)	-0.25 (0.96)	-0.41 (0.30)
Racial majority	0.30 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.72)	
Circulation	-0.00 (0.00)		
USA Today		-0.37 (0.50)	
Wall St Journal		1.33*** (0.42)	
Washington Post		0.15 (0.49)	
Constant	-1.74*** (0.29)	5.81 (4.21)	-0.22 (0.22)
Observations	880	81	178
chi-square test	23.58	60.71	9.465
p	0.001	0.000	0.050

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7.3 Predicted probabilities: Likelihood of explicit references to gender

Group	US Local	US National	UK National
White female	.02	.00	.14
Minority female	.06	.00	.27

7.2 Explicit foregrounding: Race

As with the explicit foregrounding of gender, coverage was expected to explicitly foreground minority women's race/ethnicity more frequently than that of minority men. Looking at the descriptive statistics in Table 7.4, the results from US local coverage

do not support the hypothesis: only eight per cent of articles featuring minority women mentioned this aspect of their identity, compared to 11 per cent of articles featuring minority men, and the difference is not statistically significant. In contrast, in both the US and British national press, the results do appear to provide weak support for the hypothesis, although differences between groups are relatively small. In US national newspapers, 33 per cent of articles in which minority women appeared foregrounded their racial identity, compared to 28 per cent for minority men. Similarly, in British national newspapers, the figures were 35 per cent for minority women and 28 per cent for minority men. However, in neither case is the difference statistically significant. The most striking pattern to emerge from the descriptive statistics is the difference between local and national newspapers in rates of references to candidates' race. The lower level of attention to this identity category in the US local newspapers is indicative of the fact that minorities are often less of a novelty in their local contexts (either due to incumbency or majority-minority districts, for example), whereas the national press singles out minority/and or female candidates for attention precisely because of their identity. This is therefore in line with the expectation that minority women's identity would constitute a journalistic 'hook', employed by national, but not local reporters.

Table 7.4 Descriptive statistics: explicit reference to race

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Minority male	351	89.3	42	10.7	33	71.7	13	28.3	79	72.5	30	27.5
Minority female	326	92.1	28	7.9	35	67.3	17	32.7	61	65.6	32	34.4
Total	677	90.6	70	9.4	68	69.3	30	30.6	140	69.3	62	30.7

US local: $\chi^2(3, N=747)=1.69, p < .193$ / US national: $\chi^2(3, N=98)=0.23, p < .635$ / British national: $\chi^2(3, N=202)=1.12, p < .29$

These results only hold for the British national press when additional factors are controlled for in the relevant probit models (Table 7.5). For the US model, the coefficient for minority men is non-significant, and the predicted probabilities show that, controlling for additional factors, the likelihood of explicit gender foregrounding

is equal **in coverage of** minority women and men, at .29, or 29 per cent of articles on average in coverage of both groups (Table 7.6). In the model for the British national press, the coefficient for minority men is significant, albeit only at the $p < 0.1$ level, and the predicted probabilities show a six-percentage point difference between these groups: 21 per cent of articles on average for minority men, compared to 27 per cent for minority women. Although only the British national sample confirms an intersectional difference among minority women and men, the results also show that the national press in both countries foregrounds candidate race and/or gender far more often than local newspapers. Less than a tenth of local newspaper articles do so, compared to nearly a third of US national articles and a quarter of British national articles featuring minority candidates, controlling for additional factors. The subsequent qualitative analysis (discussed in Section 7.3) provides some explanation for this difference, showing that the framing of these candidate characteristics is often in the context of discussions about the general election as a whole, rather than individual contests.

In both samples, the results were again driven by coverage of a small subset of individuals, and in the US, coverage was more dispersed across minority male than minority female candidates. For example, in US national coverage, the racial identity of nine individual men was mentioned in between one and three articles each, compared to six individual women, of which coverage of Mia B. Love's (R-UT 4th District) intersectional first constituted seven of 17 relevant articles. In Britain, the race of nine individual minority men was mentioned, and coverage of Sam Gyimah (Con, Surrey East) constituted a third of 30 relevant articles due to a "Tory race row"²²⁴ in his constituency following complaints that he had been "parachuted"²²⁵ in, and a subsequent "gagging order"²²⁶ prohibiting local party members commenting on the issue. Among minority women, eight individual candidates were mentioned, dominated

²²⁴ Time Shipman, "Tory race row over move to ditch black candidate", *Daily Mail*, 2nd April 2010.

²²⁵ Caroline Davies, "Campaign 2010: Conservatives: Views from the Tory heartlands: 'People power? Rubbish.' But I'll still vote for them': From Oxted to Beckenham, cynicism grows among the true-blue faithful", *Guardian*, p.13, 19th April 2010.

²²⁶ No byline, "Tory members gagged over race row", *Daily Mail*, 3rd April 2010.

by references to Diane Abbot as Britain’s “first black woman MP”²²⁷ (eight articles); Helen Grant, often in relation to Abbott²²⁸ (Lab, Hackney South and Shoreditch) (six articles); Rushanara Ali (Lab, Bethnal Green and Bow) as “first Muslim woman”,²²⁹ and Priti Patel (Con, Witham) as “first Asian Conservative woman”²³⁰ (five articles each). This highlights the fact that minority candidates’ race is not necessarily *consistently* a salient feature of the coverage they receive, but becomes so in certain contexts. Specifically, when minority women constitute intersectional firsts.

²²⁷ E.g., Kira Cochrane, “‘Women: ‘Vote for me - I’m flawed’: She’s the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP”, *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ E.g., Madeleine Bunting “Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain’s first Muslim woman MP”, *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010, which makes the same claim regarding Ali.

²³⁰ E.g., Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

Table 7.5 Probit models: likelihood of explicit reference to race

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
Minority male	0.02 (0.17)	0.02 (0.42)	-0.47* (0.26)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.10 (0.33)	-0.46 (0.34)	-1.19*** (0.40)
Labour			
Incumbent	-0.45* (0.25)	-0.15 (0.53)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	0.09** (0.04)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.58* (0.32)	0.31 (0.46)	0.39 (0.32)
Racial majority	0.36 (0.22)	-0.32 (0.47)	
Circulation	-0.00* (0.00)		
USA Today		-0.23 (0.54)	
Wall St Journal		0.09 (0.37)	
Washington Post		-0.34 (0.32)	
Constant	-1.46*** (0.34)	-0.00 (0.76)	0.66** (0.29)
Observations	747	98	202
chi-square test	15.60	26.17	38.04
p	0.029	0.001	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7.6 Predicted probabilities: Likelihood of explicit references to race

Group	US Local	US National	British National
Minority male	.09	.29	.21
Minority female	.08	.29	.27

7.3 Framing descriptive and substantive representation

While the quantitative analysis tests the additive effects of candidates' intersectional identity on the frequency of references to their race and gender, qualitative analysis is

necessary to examine the content and context of such references. For example, existing qualitative studies show that African American candidates' race has sometimes been framed as a 'risk' (Jeffries 2002), while the foregrounding of (predominantly white) women's gender arguably frames them as out of place in the political sphere (Falk 2008). I therefore aim to investigate the extent to which references to minority women's racial and gender constitute *unique* intersectional frames which have not been previously identified in existing literature, and what ideas, assumptions and arguments are conveyed by such frames. In addition, the qualitative analysis provides further explanation for the differences in rates of references to race and gender within local and national coverage, identifying the different contexts in which these references appear across the various coverage samples.

The framing of explicit references to candidates' gender and/or race can broadly be categorised as relating to what Pitkin (1967) terms *descriptive representation* (the presence of representatives of particular identities) and *substantive representation* (the advancement of the interests of constituents who share those identities). There are many similarities in the framing of race and gender in these contexts, hence they are considered together.

Key frames relating to the *descriptive* representation of women and minorities are relatively straightforward. They include the occasional articulation of concerns regarding the lack of women and minorities in elite politics, and even scarcer references to the historical lack of minority female representatives. More frequently however, descriptive representation was discussed in the context of narratives of progress regarding party 'diversification' and rising numbers of candidates from these groups, including copious 'first' framing, which was especially likely for minority female candidates. Yet, the motives and means to achieve this change did not escape critique, as was also discussed in relation to intersectional viability framing in Chapter Six.

Key frames found to relate to the *substantive* representation of women and minorities were more varied and contradictory. On the one hand, they often convey assumptions

that women, minorities, and minority women will provide substantive representation to these groups respectively. However, also present are critiques of the apparent failure of incumbent female, minority male and minority female representatives to provide racial or gendered substantive representation. Meanwhile, non-incumbent minority candidates are critiqued with regards to their representativeness of the minority electorate, particularly in relation to the intersection of race and class. For example, some black candidates were implicitly framed as ‘not black enough’, due to their elite educational backgrounds. In addition, the press gave occasional voice to fears that minority candidates may not provide substantive representation to white constituents. Alternatively, the explicit foregrounding of race was sometimes used to express the idea of minority male and female candidates as *role models* for the minority electorate. While this frame sometimes posited minority candidates as symbolic representatives, it also presented minority candidates more problematically as *behavioural* role models. Finally, minority candidates’ racial identity was also linked with their partisan politics, and this was assessed as either as congruent with or contrary to stereotypical expectations. However, this frame appears to have emerged partially in response to candidates’ own mythologising of their backgrounds—particularly working class immigrant backgrounds—as a way of communicating what voters might expect regarding substantive representation.

Before moving to a more detailed discussion of each of these frames, it is important to note that the analysis did not reveal *unique* racial, gendered frames applied to minority women. For example, it was not the case that minority women’s racial and/or gendered identity was discussed in relation to any particular topic that was absent from discussions around the race or gender of minority male or white female candidates. Instead, the frames previously identified in the existing single-axis literature on gender *or* race – such as, for example, ‘firsts’, tended to be applied with greater frequency to minority women and adapted to intersectional variations. For example, minority women were simply cited as examples of rising numbers of women *and* minorities, as well as being subject to ‘first minority woman’ frames. Similarly, although minority men and white women were framed in terms of their (in)ability to provide substantive

representation to female or minority voters, minority female candidates were also discussed on occasion in relation to whether they would do so for minority women as a specific section of the electorate. Therefore, this raises a wider set of questions about the theorised multiplicative effects of minority women's intersectional identity on the *specific* ways in which they are framed as political candidates. I will return to these questions in the discussion which concludes this chapter.

7.3.1 Descriptive representation

The state of women's, minorities' and minority women's descriptive representation was most often framed as the onward march of progress. Nowhere was this more evident than in the prolific use of first frames. They were observed across all three coverage samples, and in relation to (white) women, (male) minorities, and in particular, minority women. While, in the US, first framing was less common in local than national newspapers, local reporters did sometimes fashion journalistic hooks from trailblazers at the state level or in other contexts. For example, Colleen W. Hanabusa (D-HI 1st District) as the "first woman to serve as state Senate president";²³¹ Heather Beaven (D-FL 6th District) "one of the first ten female sailors to serve on a combat-ready vessel";²³² Raul Ruiz "first Latino general election challenger"²³³ faced by Mary Bono Mack in her 14-year tenure; and Joaquin Castro (D-TX 20th District) as "first Latino Democrat to give the keynote address"²³⁴ at the Party's national convention. The articulation of *intersectional* racial, gendered first frames in the local press was rare, as even Mia B. Love's local newspaper sometimes chose to frame her as "the first black representative from Utah"²³⁵ rather than "first black Republican woman".²³⁶ However, coverage of Joyce

²³¹ No byline, "Hanabusa tops Djou in survey", *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 29th October 2012.

²³² Heather Beaven, "Health care, education are core values", *Daytona Beach News Journal*, 21st October 2012. NB: Although Beaven authored the piece, the reference to her as a 'first' is an un-bylined editorial comment which concludes the article, not a statement by Beaven herself.

²³³ No byline, "Parties eye prize in growing Latino vote", *Desert Sun*, 12th October 2012.

²³⁴ Josh Baugh, "Birthday Bash; Castro's celebrate good times", *San Antonio Express News*, p.1, 11th September 2012.

²³⁵ Robert Gehrke, "Tribune poll: Matheson trails Love 52 percent to 40 percent", *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3rd November 2012.

²³⁶ E.g., Robert Gehrke, "Cantor raises money for Love; Matheson touts bipartisan support", *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27th October 2012.

Beatty (D-OH 3rd District) and Marcia L. Fudge (D-OH 11th District) also did note that “Ohio voters could elect two black women to Congress this fall for the first time”.²³⁷ Additionally, Colleen W. Hanabusa was compared to her forerunner, Patsy Mink, the “first Asian American woman elected to Congress in the 1960s”.²³⁸

In the US national press, in addition to the obvious case of Mia B. Love, Grace Meng (D-NY 6th District) was also mentioned by the *New York Times* as the “first Asian-American elected to Congress from New York City”.²³⁹ Similarly, Val Demings’ (D-FL 10th District) background as “the first female police chief of Orlando”²⁴⁰ was also highlighted. Campaign reporters in Britain had a greater selection of minority/and or female candidates to which the frame could be applied: Priti Patel as “the Conservative party’s first Asian female MP”;²⁴¹ Helen Grant (Con, Maidstone and The Weald) as “the Tories’ first black woman MP”;²⁴² Sajid Javid (Con, Bromsgrove) as the “party’s first Muslim MP”;²⁴³ and Maryam Khan (Lab, Bury North) “aiming [...] to become the first Muslim woman elected to the UK parliament”.²⁴⁴ The British national press also used local first frames in selected contests of interest, for example, Sam Gyimah as “first black MP for true blue Surrey East”,²⁴⁵ and the case of Rushanara Ali in Tower Hamlets, where voters were offered “the first all-Bangladeshi Muslim ballot”.²⁴⁶

Although first frames were consistently positive in the US, there were two cases in Britain where they were coupled with critique. “Wannabe” Labour MP, Bassam Mahfouz

²³⁷ Joe Guillen, “Ohio NAACP hasn’t endorsed Issue 2”, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, p.1, 1st November 2012.

²³⁸ No byline, “Trailblazing Mink is honored by trio of female lawmakers”, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 29th September 2012.

²³⁹ David W. Chen, “Bribe Accusation in the Family Hangs Over Bid for Congress”, *New York Times*, p.19, 26th October 2012

²⁴⁰ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

²⁴¹ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Andrew Pierce, “Just Don’t Mention the Great Leader”, *Daily Mail*, 21st April 2010.

²⁴⁴ Andrew Bounds, “Labour heartlands in the balance as parties shop for votes”, *Financial Times*, p.3, 6th May 2010.

²⁴⁵ No byline, “Black Dog Column”, *Daily Mail*, 18th April 2010.

²⁴⁶ No byline, “Campaign 2010: Bethnal Green and Bow”, *Guardian*, p.20, 20th April 2010.

(Lab, Ealing Central and Acton), appeared in the *Daily Mail's* "Gaffe of the Day" series after he "tried to ingratiate himself at a dinner for Britain's Lebanese community by urging them to vote for him so he could become 'the first Arab MP'".²⁴⁷ According to the *Mail*, "Hushed silence followed before a high profile Lebanese politician stood up and said: 'We are not Arabs. We are Lebanese'".²⁴⁸ While Mahfouz represented himself as a 'first' and this was therefore pertinent to the criticism being made, Diane Abbott's (Lab, Hackney North and Stoke Newington) lingering status as an intersectional first was on one occasion mentioned in relation to an entirely unrelated matter. An article entitled "How MP Diane Gags Staff with Public Money" accused "Britain's first black woman MP" of using parliamentary expenses to silence former staff members.²⁴⁹ This was not dissimilar to the way in which Maxine Waters' (D-CA 43rd District) status as a "member of the Congressional Black Caucus" was flagged up in the reporting of her alleged ethics violations.²⁵⁰ Therefore, although first frames are primarily employed in praise of progress, they can also be deployed against certain candidates, either implicitly or explicitly linking their identity to perceived failures. Furthermore, they are employed regardless of whether candidates' themselves define their contests in this manner. This is evidenced by Love's comment in response to the ubiquitous 'first black Republican woman' frame, that "the only history I'm interested in making is getting our country back on track".²⁵¹

In addition to first frames applied to individuals, candidates from underrepresented groups were also frequently framed collectively as signs of progress. This was less frequent in the US local press because of its focus on individual races rather than the election as a whole. However, such frames were abundant in US and British national newspaper reporting. For example, in a section entitled "Hispanics Rising", the *Wall Street Journal* commented:

²⁴⁷ Andrew Pierce, "Gaffe of the Day", *Daily Mail*, 13th April 2010.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Richard Kay, "How MP Diane Gags Staff with Public Money", *Daily Mail*, 18th March 2010.

²⁵⁰ Larry Margasak, "Panel plans a hearing on Waters allegations", *Washington Post*, p.20, 21st September 2012.

²⁵¹ Jennifer Steinhauer, "Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney's Star Power, Lift Her to the House", *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

Democrats are expecting that, however many new members of their party are elected, the representation of Latinos in the House Democratic Caucus will rise. Among the bumper crop of Latino candidates, party strategists point to three in California.²⁵²

Using similar language in Britain, the *Financial Times* commented on the “bumper intake of women Tory MPs”.²⁵³ While the US national press focused on “diversity breakthroughs”²⁵⁴ and compared 2012 to 1992, as a “potential new ‘year of the woman’”,²⁵⁵ British newspapers framed 2010 as a “breakthrough year for Muslim women’s political representation”²⁵⁶ as well as the year in which the Tories finally “upped their game on race”.²⁵⁷ Simon Wooley, national co-ordinator of Operation Black Vote was cited stating, “This is the biggest breakthrough for black communities in British politics”,²⁵⁸ and even Labour MP Chuka Umunna (Streatham) commented, “I think it’s entirely healthy that the Conservatives want to reflect the country they seek to represent [...] it’s in all our interests that all the political parties are putting forward candidates who look like modern Britain”.²⁵⁹ A photograph in which the Conservative leader’s wife, Samantha Cameron, was “flanked” by Helen Grant and another black Conservative candidate, Shaun Bailey (Hammersmith) was interpreted as a “visual signal that the party had changed [...] reinforced by Mr Cameron’s repeated emphasis on the ‘modern’ Conservatives”.²⁶⁰

²⁵² Janet Hook, “Campaign Journal- On the Stump: House Races Offer an Abundance of Campaign Color”, *Wall Street Journal*, p.4, 3rd November 2012.

²⁵³ Jean Eaglesham, “Theresa who? Tory women fail profile test”, *Financial Times*, p.3, 20th April 2010.

²⁵⁴ Janet Hook, “Campaign Journal- On the Stump: House Races Offer an Abundance of Campaign Color”, *Wall Street Journal*, p.4, 3rd November 2012.

²⁵⁵ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

²⁵⁶ Madeleine Bunting “Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain’s first Muslim woman MP”, *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

²⁵⁷ Afua Hirsch, “Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last”, *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Jean Eaglesham, “Parties trade jibes but no new ideas”, *Financial Times*, p.2, 7th April 2010.

The notion of progress is also found in comments on the treatment of minority female representatives which locate disadvantage firmly and safely in the past. For example, in the US local press, Colleen W. Hanabusa was compared to her forerunner, Patsy Mink, who “entered the law and politics in the 1950s during a time when women and Japanese-Americans faced discrimination”²⁶¹. Similarly, in Britain, Abbott was cited stating that “Things have progressed—perhaps not as much as I would have liked, but they have progressed”.²⁶² There were of course some exceptions to this. For example, a letter to the editor of Tammy Duckworth’s local newspaper highlighted the “sexist comments”²⁶³ and “misogynistic accusations”²⁶⁴ the candidate had faced from her opponent, exemplified by a comment that “The only debate Ms. Duckworth is actually interested in having is which outfit she’ll be wearing for her big speech”.²⁶⁵ Likewise, an article in the US national press noted that “dozens of white poll watchers”²⁶⁶ had descended on Sheila Jackson Lee’s (D-TX 18th District) district in the 2010 election and attempted to suppress the minority vote. In Britain, only Afua Hirsch, writing in the *Guardian*, pointed out that although it is “hard now to imagine the kind of overtly racist taunts”²⁶⁷ endured by black MP Bernie Grant following his election in 1987, Dawn Butler (Lab, Brent Central) had more recently experienced “being directed to the Commons public entrance in the building where she has worked as an MP for five years”.²⁶⁸ Another distancing strategy, in addition to locating disadvantage in the past, was to locate it elsewhere. For example, an article in the *Times* noted a series of racist and homophobic incidents in Washington and argued “While our own post-expenses mood toward

²⁶¹ No byline, “Trailblazing Mink is honored by trio of female lawmakers”, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 29th September 2012.

²⁶² Amelia Gentleman, “Campaign 2010: On the ground: Women candidates upstaged by wives: Presidential-style campaign is focusing attention on leaders, their spouses - and motherhood”, *Guardian*, p.20, 21st April 2010.

²⁶³ No byline, “Letters to the editor”, *Elgin Courier News*, 13th September 2012.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ No byline, “Voter Harassment, Circa 2012”, *New York Times*, p.22, 22nd September 2012.

²⁶⁷ Afua Hirsch, “Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last”, *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

politicians has soured into disgust, and the far Right has gained traction, it is hard to imagine David Lammy [Lab, Tottenham], Diane Abbott or Ben Bradshaw [Lab, Exeter]²⁶⁹ being railed at like that”.²⁷⁰

On the rare occasions that the press did address the historical exclusion of minority and female representatives, it tended to posit them as mutually exclusive groups. Of the 1754 US local articles sampled, only five made reference to the absence of minority or female representatives in the House, and none discussed minority women as a specific group. The *Dallas Morning News*, noting Marc Veasey’s likely win in North Texas, commented that Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX 30th District) remained “the only other black representative from the area,”²⁷¹ foregrounding only her racial and not her gendered identity. The *Orlando Sentinel* cited Corrine Brown’s (D-FL 5th District) reminder that “Before 1992, Florida had no African-Americans in Congress”.²⁷² Similarly, the *Plain Dealer*’s coverage of Marcia L. Fudge highlighted “concerns about future black political representation”²⁷³ but with no mention of black women. Regarding gender, the *Star Tribune*’s coverage of Betty McCollum (D-MN 4th District) noted that “Forty years after the modern American women’s movement blossomed, women have yet to reach the ‘significant’ level in Washington. The U.S. Congress is only 17 per cent female”,²⁷⁴ citing academic Jennifer Lawless; and the *Honolulu Star Advertiser* contended that although “Hawaii is unique in sending women to Congress [...] the number of women in the U.S. House and Senate has been relatively static and decreased in the last cycle”.²⁷⁵

In the national press, US newspapers made no comment at all on the historical lack of minority representation, and just a single article reported that “Over the past decade or

²⁶⁹ Ben Bradshaw is a gay man in a civil partnership.

²⁷⁰ Janice Turner, “The nastiness that lies beneath ‘have a nice day’; Americans are so polite, but in their politics rudeness reigns. Our medium-strength misanthropy is better”, *Times*, p.21, 27th March 2010.

²⁷¹ Gromer Jeffers Jr., “A rising star before votes are counted”, *Dallas Morning News*, p.1, 28th October 2012.

²⁷² Mark K. Matthews, “Brown appears to have a big edge”, *Orlando Sentinel*, p.10, 30th October 2012.

²⁷³ Joe Guillen, “Ohio NAACP hasn’t endorsed Issue 2”, p.1, 1st November 2012.

²⁷⁴ Lori Sturdevant, “‘Year of the Woman?’”, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, p.1, 23rd September 2012.

²⁷⁵ No byline, “Women in danger of losing important gains”, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 16th September 2012.

so, activists had watched the number of women in Congress stall and the number of women in state legislatures fall”,²⁷⁶ again making no mention of the race or ethnicity of the women concerned. In Britain, some national newspapers did occasionally raise the issue, taking a critical stance regarding minority underrepresentation, noting that although, following “the historic election of four minority MPs in 1987 [...] the number of minority MPs has risen to 15 after the 2005 election” progress has been “limited”.²⁷⁷ However, this was also inflected with partisan politics. For example, it was reported that the Liberal Democrat party “now has no black or Asian faces among its 63 MPs”;²⁷⁸ that “The Lib Dems’ poor record on minority representation has been noted by minority voters”;²⁷⁹ and in comparison, “the most visible change has been in the Conservative party – which is now fielding 44 candidates from minority backgrounds, with estimates that between four and ten are standing in winnable seats”.²⁸⁰ Concerning specific ethnicities among minority voters and representatives, one commentator stated that Rushanara Ali’s contest “will finally provide British Bengalis with a representative in Parliament (Bangladeshis remain one of the only significant ethnic communities without an MP)”.²⁸¹ With regards to gender, just one article in the sample mentioned “woeful lack of representation”²⁸² citing Harriet Harman (Lab, Camberwell and Peckham) arguing that “politics has always been male-dominated—that’s why we have

²⁷⁶ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

²⁷⁷ Afua Hirsch, “Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last”, *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

²⁷⁸ Joseph Harker, “Campaign 2010: Inside story: Diversity: Minority candidate face defeat”, *Guardian*, p.21, 24th April 2010.

²⁷⁹ Afua Hirsch, “Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last”, *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Jerome Taylor, “Respect, Religion, Race and the Battle for Tower Hamlets”, *Independent*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

²⁸² Amelia Gentleman, “Campaign 2010: On the ground: Women candidates upstaged by wives: Presidential-style campaign is focusing attention on leaders, their spouses - and motherhood”, *Guardian*, p.20, 21st April 2010.

much more work to do”²⁸³ but again, made no reference to the ethnicity of female representatives.

It is unsurprising that the press rarely took the long view when narrating the events of 2010 and 2012. Contemporary developments are far more newsworthy than historical exclusion; and importantly, positive coverage associated with progress narratives will likely incentivise parties to continue working to ensure that their candidates are more descriptively representative of the electorate. However, it is perhaps problematic that these frames were so rarely contextualised with reference to the low baselines for these rises, or the continued disadvantages that minority and/or female candidates may experience on the campaign trail. Furthermore, the unique instance across all three coverage samples in which minority women’s descriptive underrepresentation was directly addressed by the press was in the context of discussing whether or not white female columnist Suzanne Moore should challenge Diane Abbott, stating “Shamefully, there’s still only one other black woman in the Commons: fellow Labour MP, Dawn Butler”.²⁸⁴ Without reference to the structural disadvantages faced by these and other historically underrepresented groups, it is easier to mount a critique of the measures to achieve progress in this area.

Critiques of the motives and means to improve the descriptive representation of women and or/minorities have been touched on in the previous chapter, particularly in relation to political parties’ attempts at visibly ‘diversifying’, and debates regarding ‘gerrymandering’ and outside cash in the US and progressive measures in Britain. While some critiques of parties’ behaviour as cynical or tokenistic may not be entirely unjustified, and opposition to re-districting and outside cash may sometimes be purely partisan, it is also arguable that such criticisms can mask racial and/or gendered

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Kira Cochrane, “‘Women: ‘Vote for me - I’m flawed’: She’s the leftwing, feminist journalist who shocked her fans when she went to the Mail on Sunday. Now Suzanne Moore hopes to be an independent MP”, *Guardian*, p.18, 30th April 2010.

prejudice against candidates from underrepresented groups. This was especially prevalent in the British press, and in coverage of the Conservative Party in particular.

Reporters hinted at the parties' apparent cynicism by describing "the Tories proudly parading their latest clutch of female candidates", and noted how in Labour's campaign materials, "the women and ethnic minorities have been ushered front and centre, like a lovely parsley garnish on an otherwise exceedingly bland dish". Black journalist Dotun Adebayo was cited stating:

All the parties have played the race card in this election; they're all guilty of using race to get our votes [...] Before, the Conservatives didn't bother with us, and now they're using black media the way they use all other media. That represents progress.²⁸⁵

However, some commentators also went as far as to argue that Cameron's "A-listers" had been "chosen for the wrong reason: to carry Cameron's message that the Tories have changed. Not changed their principles, but their appearance",²⁸⁶ highlighting internal divisions within the party by suggesting that "this gilded intake is the product of much strong-arming by Cameron's team, desperate to show that the party has changed".²⁸⁷ There is likely some truth in accusations that the party treated candidates from underrepresented groups in a tokenistic manner for its own advantage, evidenced by one black Conservative's off the record complaints regarding "the persistent pressure to appear in photoshoots when they would rather be out on the doorstep".²⁸⁸ However,

²⁸⁵ Afua Hirsch, "Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last", *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

²⁸⁶ Amanda Platell, "Have Cameron's Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics", *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

²⁸⁷ Julian Glover, "Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before", *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

²⁸⁸ Afua Hirsch, "Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last", *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

criticisms of the party's actions to produce an "Obama army"²⁸⁹ also spilled over into criticisms of the candidates themselves. For example, female, minority and gay members of Cameron's "new Tory elite"²⁹⁰ were grouped with other "first-timers" including "sprinkling of media darlings whose only previous response to the words 'Conservative party' might have been to ask why they hadn't been invited".²⁹¹

Meanwhile, in Surrey East, where some members the local constituency party rebelled against the selection of Sam Gyimah ("just the sort of candidate that Tory HQ is keen to promote in glossy magazines [...] to symbolise the party's makeover"²⁹²), their subsequent "gagging order" was contextualised with reference to the fact that "The mainly white, middle class association was presented with a six-strong list that included three women, a gay man, and two ethnic minority candidates".²⁹³ Thus, reporting implied that the absence of a straight white man from the list somehow presented the electorate with a lack of choice—even if they were on one occasion described as "the sort of people who start sentences saying, 'I'm not racist but...".²⁹⁴ One local member was cited stating Gyimah was "thrust upon us. Unsited to the seat. Never lived in a provincial town. Not particularly representative".²⁹⁵

Critiques of the Conservative Party's actions to improve the descriptive representation of (white and minority) women also included a range of gendered naming strategies which undermined the legitimacy of these candidates. Such monikers included

²⁸⁹ Ibid, citing the *Daily Mail*.

²⁹⁰ Julian Glover, "Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before", *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Andrew Grice, "Blue candidates show their true colours", *Independent*, p.18, 13th April 2010.

²⁹³ Jonathan Oliver, "Row after bid to drop black Tory candidate", *Sunday Times*, p.19, 28th March 2010.

²⁹⁴ Jonathon Oliver, "Bid to deselect black candidate starts Tory race row", *Sunday Times*, p.7 28th March 2010.

²⁹⁵ Caroline Davies, "Campaign 2010: Conservatives: Views from the Tory heartlands: 'People power? Rubbish.' But I'll still vote for them': From Oxted to Beckenham, cynicism grows among the true-blue faithful", *Guardian*, p.13, 19th April 2010.

descriptions of “Dave’s Dolls”,²⁹⁶ “Dave’s Dollys”,²⁹⁷ “Cameron’s Cuties”²⁹⁸ and “The Girls in Blue”²⁹⁹—all obvious references to continued debates regarding ‘Blair’s Babes’ 13 years earlier. While Labour women appear to have been subjected to less of this sort of explicitly gendered representation than during the controversy surrounding All Women Shortlists in 1997, it was however noted that “Fury has broken out in the pretty Airdrie and Shotts constituency where fellows are enraged that Labour has imposed a lass, pretty Miss Pamela Nash”.³⁰⁰ Similar frames were not present in the US press, except in an isolated incident in which it was reported that Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-WA 3rd District) had been described by her opponent, Peter Haugen, as “her Ladyship”.³⁰¹

Taken together, these frames suggest that although the press ostensibly describes increases in women’s and/ or minorities’ descriptive representation in positive terms, it arguably continues to overstate the degree of progress that has been made. In addition, it firstly fails to take seriously the structural disadvantages faced by women, minorities and other historically excluded groups, and secondly conflates the possible cynicism of parties with the inadequacy of candidates. Consequently, on one hand the positive framing of these increases in descriptive representation may foster inter-party competition to become more truly representative in a descriptive sense. Yet, on the other, persistent scepticism around the merits of both progressive measures and the candidates that they benefit can both tarnish these candidates and create disincentives for parties to take the degree of action necessary to improve minorities’ and/or women’s descriptive representation. Furthermore, the lack of attention to *intersectional* disadvantage in this context means that measures to ‘diversify’ political candidates continue to focus on race *or* gender, sometimes to the detriment of minority women.

²⁹⁶ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

²⁹⁷ Andrew Pierce, “The stories the spin doctors don’t want you to read”, *Daily Mail*, 3rd May 2010.

²⁹⁸ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

²⁹⁹ Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won’t be mere lobby fodder” *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

³⁰⁰ No byline, “Hickey”, *Express*, p.17, 17th March 2010.

³⁰¹ Stevie Mathieu, “Dearth of debates angers Haugen”, *Columbian*, p.1, 25th October 2012.

7.3.2 Substantive representation

Regarding press framing of substantive racial and/or gendered representation, key questions for the qualitative analysis were a) the extent to which minority and/or female candidates were depicted as representatives of the interests of specific communities, b) whether this was grounded in evidence of substantive representation or *assumptions* about these candidates' priorities, and c) the tone and character of responses to the idea of minority and/or female representatives as substantive representatives.

Concerning points a) and b), minority and female representatives were very frequently framed as substantive representatives, and this was often grounded in evidence of their activities to further the interests of minorities and/or women. Such references typically focused on candidates' engagement with a variety of groups focusing on relevant issues. In the US these included the Congressional Black Caucus (Joyce Beatty, Sanford Bishop (D-GA 2nd District), Emanuel Cleaver (D-MO 5th District), Marcia L. Fudge, Henry 'Hank' C. Johnson (D-GA 4th District), Barbara Lee (D-CA 13th District), and David Scott (D-GA 13th District)), the Ohio Legislative Black Caucus (Marcia L. Fudge), the Congressional Women's Caucus (Gwen Moore (D-WI 4th District)), Association of Women Lawyers (Kathy Castor (D-FL 14th District)), Women Working Wonders³⁰² (Nicola S. Tsongas (D-MA 3rd District)), the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (Corrine Brown), and Congressional Hispanic Caucus, (Rubén Hinojosa (D-TX 15th District)). Similarly, in Britain, Diane Abbott's work in 1988 to form a "Parliamentary Black Caucus"³⁰³ was noted, along with Chuka Umunna's involvement in Labour's "Black Socialist Society".³⁰⁴ While such groups tended to focus on race *or* gender, Loretta Sanchez's (D-CA 46th District) work with the National Hispanic Business Women

³⁰² A group which provides leadership opportunities for women and girls.

³⁰³ Marc Wadsworth, "Reply: Letter: Black politics ", *Guardian*, p.39, 28th April 2010.

³⁰⁴ Kirsty Buchanan, "Is this next Blair?", *Sunday Express*, p.9, 18th April 2010.

Association³⁰⁵ and Marcia L. Fudge's role convening "a forum on breast cancer issues among black women"³⁰⁶ were both picked up by their local press.

US local coverage also paid ample attention to the promises of the substantive representation of particular groups which appear to have been central to some—although by no means all—candidates' campaign strategies. This was particularly true for Raul Ruiz (D-CA 36th District), who campaigned in both English and Spanish, asserting that his opponent, Mary Bono had "had 14 years to give (Latino voters) the attention they deserve",³⁰⁷ but had failed to do so, and "pledged to do more to help Latino students attend college".³⁰⁸ This was despite the publication of one letter to the editor of his local newspaper which argued, "a huge growing number of Latinos are not in sync with him. Many want to more quickly assimilate into the general population asking only for the opportunity to live a better life".³⁰⁹ Similarly, Joaquin Castro "reminded Latino voters of his support for the Dream Act".³¹⁰ Meanwhile, Nicola S. Tsongas stated, "I ran for Congress because I understood the value and necessity of women's voices, talents and expertise in conversations and decisions that shape our community and lives",³¹¹ and Joyce Knott (D-SC 5th District) argued that "Women should not have any men making decisions or making laws for them [...] Women are like snowflakes, none of us are alike".³¹² Similarly, in Britain, the national press covered Chuka Umunna and Diane Abbott's presence at the launch of Labour's national "Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Manifesto".³¹³

³⁰⁵ Martha Ramírez, "Tres latinas exitosas son honradas" *Orange County Register*, p.1, 5th October 2012.

³⁰⁶ Sabrina Eaton, "Fudge sets sights on chair of prestigious Black Caucus She has backing of leaders in group, Congress", *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 22nd September 2012.

³⁰⁷ No byline, "Raul Ruiz slams rival on Latinos", *Desert Sun*, 24th October 2012.

³⁰⁸ No byline, "Bono Mack, Ruiz take campaigns to east valley", *Desert Sun*, 30th October 2012.

³⁰⁹ Joe Stein, "Letter: many Latinos are not in sync with Dr. Ruiz", *Desert Sun*, 24th October 2012.

³¹⁰ John W. Gonzalez, "Joaquín Castro in Denver to boost Obama", *San Antonio Express-News*, 7th October 2012.

³¹¹ Hiroko Sato, "Many stories, one theme: They lead", *Lowell Sun*, 11th September 2012.

³¹² Jamie Self, "Democrat Knott leans on district ties in race for Congress", *Rock Hill Herald*, p.1, 14th October 2012.

³¹³ Miranda Sawyer, "Please, no leading questions!", *Mirror*, p.10, 1st May 2010.

It should be noted, however, that in the US national sample there is no discussion of gender and substantive representation, except for Love's statement, mentioned previously, that "The only history I'm interested in making is getting our country back on track",³¹⁴ suggesting that she didn't want her candidacy to be framed as representing the interests of specific racial or gendered groups. Similarly, in the British sample, less attention was paid to the substantive representation of either white or minority women than that to the links between race or ethnicity and substantive representation. This is likely because white female frontbenchers such as then Minister for Women and Equality, Harriet Harman, and her Conservative shadow, Theresa May (Maidenhead), were excluded from the sample because of their dissimilarity with the cohort of viable minority female candidates. Therefore, no attempt be made to extrapolate this particular finding to respective press coverage of these issues more generally.

While there was plenty of evidence that female/and or minority candidates were committed to the substantive representation of marginalised groups and this was generally framed in positive or mixed terms by the press, *assumptions* that such candidates would or should substantively represent such groups were somewhat problematic. This is firstly because—as the as both the existing literature and the example of Mia B. Love above demonstrates—this is not ubiquitously among the primary *intents* of representatives from under-represented groups. Secondly, these assumptions also include assessments of minority candidates' ideological positions as either congruent or in conflict with their racial identity. This is exemplified by the linking of racial identity to voting behaviour: Keith Ellison (D-MN 5th District) "an African American Muslim and one of the most liberal Democrats in the house"³¹⁵ or, conversely, Sanford Bishop as "one of the few Congressional Black Caucus members to back the Iraq War".³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Jennifer Steinhauer, "Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney's Star Power, Lift Her to the House", *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

³¹⁵ Thomas L. Friedman, "Minnesota Mirror", *New York Times*, p.23, 31st October 2012.

³¹⁶ Jim Gains, "Bishop, House offer differing approaches to grow jobs", *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 27th October.

Assumptions regarding racial substantive representation may also be disadvantageous on the campaign trail, particularly in contexts where minority candidates are competing in majority white districts. It was notable, for example, that Priti Patel's lines to reporters on the trail in Witham, Essex self-consciously contradicted possible stereotypes based on her intersectional identity. For example, claims that "I'm like a stick of Tory rock [...] Cut me in half and I'm true blue all the way",³¹⁷ criticisms of Labour's "patronising political correctness",³¹⁸ and concerns regarding "uncontrolled immigration".³¹⁹ Similarly, Maryam Kahn was careful to state that she was "committed to making a difference that's positive for everyone"³²⁰ as well as challenging stereotypes regarding Muslim women as submissive (Bilge 2010) by claiming "I'm no shrinking violet".³²¹

In addition, assumptions by the press that a candidate such as Joaquin Castro will "give voice to Latinos",³²² or the election of Rushanara Ali "will finally provide British Bengalis with a representative in parliament"³²³ often fail to account for significant barriers minority and/or female representatives encounter in attempting to achieve relevant legislative or policy outcomes. For example, even senior female MP Joan Ruddock (Lab, Lewisham Deptford) commented on the difficulties of being a woman "working in a male-dominated environment",³²⁴ describing the need to "present a confident face, even if you're feeling wobbly inside".³²⁵ Ruddock also noted the necessity of finding "support from other women MPs".³²⁶ The institutional challenges faced by certain minority

³¹⁷ Eleanor Mills, "The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder" *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ Nick Woolf, "National: Election 2010: First-time candidates: Faces of the political future: We may still be in the dark about the nature of a new government, but one thing is certain: after a record number of resignations, Westminster will see a huge intake of new members from all parties. Here we profile three hopefuls", *Observer*, p.24, 25th April 2010.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Josh Baugh, "From political matriarch, the sons also rise", *San Antonio Express-News*, p.1, 30th September 2012.

³²³ Jerome Taylor, "Respect, Religion, Race and the Battle for Tower Hamlets", *Independent*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

³²⁴ Lyndsay Baker, "How I make it work", *Sunday Times*, p.51, 11th April 2010.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

women may be particularly stark, given that despite being presented as ‘rising stars’ within their parties, those who are Conservative or Republican have few counterparts with whom to form racial and/or gendered coalitions and alliances; and minority women of all parties in Britain (with the exception of Diane Abbott) are among the most junior members of the Commons.

It is also problematic that assumptions that minority and/or female representatives will, can or should provide racial and/or gendered substantive representation are sometimes manifested in assertions of their apparent failure to do so. This frame was more prevalent in Britain, although it was noted that black members of Congress had “held their fire”,³²⁷ declining to criticise a black president on racial matters. Regarding the substantive representation of women, one commentator exemplified the weight of expectations placed on female MPs:

In 1997 a large cohort of Labour MPs arrived in parliament carrying handbags and briefcases. Things could only get better, we sang. Some things did. The partial feminisation of parliament has helped get through some progressive ideas like Sure Start to support children with poor life chances. [...] But there have been disappointments too. New Labour women allowed Blair to indulge the rich; they supported his disastrous war in Iraq and so on.³²⁸

Similarly, with regards to the representation of minority voters, another argued that:

The statements of black MPs on race issues have been invisible. And on the illegal Iraq war and draconian terrorism laws—with the exception of Abbott—their voting records have badly let down Muslims and black people in general. They should not be surprised if some of them are punished at the ballot box. After the election I hope the new intake will form, once more, a collective voice able to articulate the concerns and aspirations of black communities. They will remain irrelevant to black people’s politics if they do not.³²⁹

³²⁷ Fredrick C. Harris, "The Price of a Black President" *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

³²⁸ Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "The future of politics lies with women" *Independent*, p.28, 22nd March 2010

³²⁹ Marc Wadsworth, "Reply: Letter: Black politics", *Guardian*, p.39, 28th April 2010.

Such statements fail to account for the possible lack of influence held by female and/or minority members within a predominately white male parliamentary party, haunted by eighteen years in opposition and keen to maintain newfound favour among Britain's powerful right-wing press, not to mention the logic of the parliamentary whipping system and of processes of collective decision making within a party. Therefore, the degree of press criticism received by such members for their apparent failure to substantively represent women and minorities in this context is perhaps unwarranted. In addition, these critiques convey powerful assumptions about the homogeneity of minority and/or female representatives, and thus about what 'authentic' racial and gendered substantive representation might entail, particularly with reference to the highly controversial Iraq war.

Implied stereotypes about the homogeneity of female and/or minority voters were also conveyed via the manner in which minority male and female challengers in both countries were critiqued regarding their ability to represent these sections of the electorate. Again, this was less prevalent in the US than Britain, in part because of the greater number of intersectional 'firsts' among Conservative than Republican candidates. Mia B. Love faced harsh criticism regarding gendered representation from Congresswoman Karen Shepherd, however, who argued: "A Mia B. Love world would be bad for women, worse for children and, as a result, it undermines all of our futures. I can't imagine why any woman would vote for her".³³⁰

In Britain, criticisms of minority Conservative candidates' representativeness of the minority electorate often featured explicit discussion of the intersection of race and class. For example, commentators questioned "how deep the [Conservative] invention runs",³³¹ noting that "some of the new black candidates have enjoyed the same elite

³³⁰ Robert Gehrke, "Matheson or Love? It's up to Utah women in November", *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15th October 2012.

³³¹ Julian Glover, "Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before", *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

background as many of their white colleagues”.³³² Tim Montgomery, founder of the ConservativeHome website was cited asking, “Has the party just substituted white barristers for black barristers, and straight accountants for gay ones?”.³³³ Less explicitly, it was reported that ““Some Tory insiders admit privately that the candidates as a whole are ‘Thatcher’s children’ rather than a fresh crop of modernisers who have long since been weaned off the pure milk of Thatcherism””.³³⁴ Augustinos and De Garis (2012) have noted how, in 2008, Barack Obama’s candidacy was problematised as both ‘too black’ and ‘not black enough’, in part due to his mixed-race identity and lack of shared heritage with slave descendant African Americans. Although this frame was rarely present in coverage of African American candidates within this sample, it was noted (as mentioned previously, that several, “like Mr. Obama, have Ivy League degrees and rarely discuss the impact of racism on contemporary black life”.³³⁵

A similarly paradoxical frame appears to have emerged for several minority Conservative candidates in Britain. Kwasi Kwarteng (Con, Spelthorne)—“an old Etonian who was a member of the team from Trinity College, Cambridge, that won University Challenge in 1995”³³⁶—and Nadhim Zahawi (Con, Stratford-on-Avon)—who “helped found the successful polling firm YouGov and once worked for Jeffrey Archer”³³⁷—were cited as examples of the party’s failure to reflect “social and economic difference”.³³⁸ In addition, commentators questioned whether “[Sajid] Javid’s greatest challenge is that he’s a banker or a Muslim”.³³⁹

³³² Georgia Warren and Jonathan Oliver, “Cameron fights to ditch ‘toff’ image; Typical candidate is still public school-educated, middle-class, white and male”, *Sunday Times*, p.19, 28th March 2010.

³³³ Julian Glover, “Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before”, *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

³³⁴ Andrew Grice, “Blue candidates show their true colours”, p.18, *Independent*, 3rd April 2010.

³³⁵ Fredrick C. Harris, “The Price of a Black President” *New York Times*, p.1, 28th October 2012

³³⁶ Georgia Warren and Jonathan Oliver, “Cameron fights to ditch ‘toff’ image; Typical candidate is still public school-educated, middle-class, white and male”, *Sunday Times*, p.19, 28th March 2010.

³³⁷ Julian Glover, “Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before”, *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Gary Younge, “Campaign 2010: On the ground: Coming home to a different country”, *Guardian*, p.18, 1st May 2010.

Afua Hirsh, writing in the *Guardian*, summed up the complex nature of such assessments, contending that:

Mobilisation happens from the bottom up, and it's hard to imagine that privileged black MPs descending on the doorsteps of black people in deprived communities would represent fundamental change. On the other hand, the relationship between class and race is more subtle than that, and politics is about aspiration.³⁴⁰

In the same article, Abbott was cited stating, "I'm weary of people who are dismissive of me as a black person because I have a degree [...] Underlying that is the notion that you're not a real black person if you are educated and articulate".³⁴¹

This is not to say that the social class of white candidates escaped attention. For example, Tristram Hunt (Lab, Stoke-on-Trent Central) of was accused of being "too posh and intellectual"³⁴² for "hard-bitten"³⁴³ Stoke, suggesting that he may lack the capacity to substantively represent the interests of working class constituents. However, there was of course no suggestion that this rendered his racial or gendered identity inauthentic. Furthermore, while the intersectional racial and class identity of (Conservative) minority candidates was subject to a great deal of scrutiny regarding descriptive and substantive representation, parallel lines of argument were not present in assessments of female candidates of varying racial or class identities. For example, while references to "Blair's Babes"³⁴⁴ remained frequent in coverage of the 2010 general election, it was never pointed out that 99 of the 101 Labour women elected in 1997 were white. Indeed, minority women continued to be subsumed frames which figure 'women

³⁴⁰ Afua Hirsch, "Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last", *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Tom Baldwin, "Labour's outsider challenges BNP with his historic vision for Stokies", *Times*, p.9, 26th April 2010.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ E.g., No byline, "'Blair babes' reign in the north-east", *Metro*, p.4, 15th April 2010.

and minorities' as mutually exclusive groups, save for references to a handful of Muslim women as 'firsts', discussed previously. Thus, implied critiques of, for example, the descriptive underrepresentation of working-class minority voters, often appear to be motivated more by problematic notions of racial authenticity rather than genuine commitment to intersectional descriptive and substantive representation.

While the British national press focused on minority candidates' (in)ability to provide substantive representation to minority constituents, US local papers instead cited frequent accusations of their inability to represent whites. For example, reports that Henry Cuellar (D-TX 9th District) was "more dedicated to Mexico's president, Felipe Calderón, than to his own constituents";³⁴⁵ complaints that Andre D. Carson (D-IN 7th District) represented "just one minority and the labor unions";³⁴⁶ repeated references to Raul Ruiz being described by his opponent as "un-American",³⁴⁷ and a letter to the editor asking "If [Tammy] Duckworth [who is of Chinese ancestry] is too afraid to listen to her constituents here in the district, how will she stand up to the Chinese for unfair trade tactics".³⁴⁸ These frames appear to result in something of a multiple bind for such individuals, who must somehow share enough characteristics with existing the selectorate to gain the necessary acceptance to be selected in the first place (Durose et al. 2012), while at the same time as being 'racially authentic' (possibly by conforming to racial stereotypes), and be seen to provide substantive representation to all sections of their constituency while not neglecting the concerns of any particular group. These issues go beyond the scope of this discussion, but the examples discussed here highlight the contradictory nature of frames regarding race and substantive representation, and the complex and unresolved nature of relevant debates. They also suggest that there is little difference in the framing of minority male and female candidates in this respect,

³⁴⁵ Julian Aguilar, "A Familiar Face Returns, Heating Up the Sheriff's Race in Webb County", *New York Times*, p.39, 30th September 2012.

³⁴⁶ Don Parker, "Time for a leader for the entire district", *Indianapolis Star*, 30th October 2012.

³⁴⁷ No byline, "Bono Mack digs in the dirt instead of discussing issues", *Desert Sun*, 24th October 2012.

³⁴⁸ Allen Skillicorn and Heather Skillicorn, "Letters to the editor", *Elgin Courier News*, p.8, 5th October 2012.

in part because the substantive representation of minority women is almost never explicitly discussed.

In addition to debates regarding the substantive representation of minority and white constituents, minority candidates were also framed as *role models* rather than *representatives* of specific ethnic communities. Again, this frame was less prevalent in the US, in which the only example was the representation of Keith Ellison as “a go to person for Muslim Americans”.³⁴⁹ In Britain, use of the frame was abundant, and was employed by both Labour and Conservative candidates themselves, as well as reporters. As previously mentioned, Maryam Khan stated, “I noticed in Westminster there are few young people, few minorities and few women: people will get more engaged in politics if they see people they can relate to”,³⁵⁰ while, similarly, a commentator suggested that as a result of Rushanara Ali’s candidacy, “a lot of younger women will take part because they’re happy to see a female candidate”.³⁵¹ Simon Woolley of Operation Black Vote was also cited conveying expectations regarding the symbolic function for minority candidates: “they really do have the potential to shake up this centuries-old institution [parliament]. Not just internally, but externally – by telling our community this belongs to us too”.³⁵²

Although these frames were ostensibly positive, there were also instances in which role model frames conveyed highly problematic depictions of the minority electorate. For example, in a piece by-lined by David Cameron, the Tory leader stated:

³⁴⁹ Michelle Boorstein, “Muslim Americans can explain to the rest of the world how free expression works”, *Washington Post*, p.14, 5th October 2012.

³⁵⁰ Nick Woolf, “National: Election 2010: First-time candidates: Faces of the political future: We may still be in the dark about the nature of a new government, but one thing is certain: after a record number of resignations, Westminster will see a huge intake of new members from all parties. Here we profile three hopefuls”, *Observer*, p.24, 25th April 2010.

³⁵¹ Libby Brooks, “Campaign 2010: Labour faces tough task to regain seat lost to Respect: Galloway has stepped aside, but contest between four Bangladeshi candidates is as fierce as in 2005”, *Guardian*, p.20, 20th April 2010.

³⁵² Afua Hirsch, “Campaign 2010: My election: If Britain is really post-racial, why is the election so white?: In the latest in our series in which Guardian writers report on issues they feel passionately about, Afua Hirsch examines an election that flatters to deceive those hoping for real equality at last”, *Guardian*, p.28, 27th April 2010.

I've always believed that role models are incredibly important. You only have to look at how children copy their parents to see how big an impact role models can have. That's why I've worked so hard to get more black and ethnic minority ethnic Conservative candidates.³⁵³

Cameron also argued that: “successful black entrepreneurs, people like Sam Gyimah, Wilfred Emmanuel Jones and Helen Grant [... will] help inspire a new generation of black people to take on the world”.³⁵⁴ In the first statement he indirectly draws a parallel between the minority electorate and children. In the second, his language negates structural disadvantage by focusing on the ability of black people to individually “take on” the challenges they face with the help of “inspirational” examples, despite the fact that the majority of these “successful black entrepreneurs” benefited from elite backgrounds. While black voters were implicitly infantilised and made individually responsible for overcoming racial disadvantage by these frames, the positing of female Muslim candidates as role models represented Muslim women in general as passive victims. For example, it was claimed that Yasmin Qureshi (Lab, Bolton South East) and Rushanara Ali (along with Respect candidate, Salma Yaqoob (Birmingham Hall Green)) were “introducing British electoral politics to a constituency of Muslim women, many of whom don't speak English and who were in previous elections confined to the backroom, to private family areas of the house, whenever candidates came to the doorstep”.³⁵⁵ This is despite the fact that those struggling to speak English comprise only approximately six per cent of the Muslim population reflecting “a long-standing stereotype [...] that immigrants generally, and Muslims in particular, lack command of English” (Ali 2015: 35). In this context, a member of Rushanara Ali's constituency was compelled to remind a reporter that “Bangladesh has more women MPs than Britain, as well as a female prime minister”.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ David Cameron, “We'll change black Britain: Conservatives will tackle racial inequalities by giving people what they want: a start in business”, *Guardian*, p.20, 17th March 2010.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Madeleine Bunting “Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain's first Muslim woman MP”, *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

It should be noted however, that the framing of male and female minority candidates as role models rather than substantive representatives results in part from the tendency of such candidates and their parties to mythologise their personal histories and immigrant backgrounds. For example, in the US, Raul Ruiz “praised his parents’ work the fields. He talked about ‘sueno Americano’ (the American dream), which he said was the result of hard work, discipline and study [...] “This is the story of my life. Everything is possible”.³⁵⁷ Similarly, Val Demings highlighted the fact that “she came out of poverty—her mother was a maid, her father a janitor—to become the celebrated first female police chief of Orlando”;³⁵⁸ and Mia B. Love “told the story of her immigrant parents hundreds of times during the course of the campaign [...] The parable of how her family settled in the states with only \$10 in their pockets, working for a better life, serves as an inspirational tale of self-reliance and pursuit of the American Dream”.³⁵⁹ Likewise, José Moreno Hernández and Ami Bera (D-CA 7th District) talked about “being raised by immigrant parents who taught them to work hard and aim high”. Meanwhile in Britain, it was noted that Helen Grant “Started life on a tough Carlisle council estate—daughter of a white British mother and Nigerian father who split up when she was a child”,³⁶⁰ while Priti Patel’s parents “were driven out of Uganda by Idi Amin”³⁶¹ and “have run corner shops all over the southeast”.³⁶² In all of these cases, candidates’ ideology is communicated as embodied by model minority behaviour, therefore positioning them as role models rather than substantive representatives. The implication is then that structural racial and gendered disadvantage is overcome by personal exceptionalism

³⁵⁷ No byline, “Bono Mack, Ruiz take campaigns to east valley”, *Desert Sun*, 30th October 2012.

³⁵⁸ Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, “Women Take Their Case to the Ballot”, *New York Times*, 17th October 2012.

³⁵⁹ Robert Gehrke, “Love’s immigrant story may be true, but some questions linger”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 30th September 2012.

³⁶⁰ Amanda Platell, “Have Cameron’s Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics”, *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

³⁶¹ Julian Glover, “Tories 2.0: If the Conservatives win the election, most of their MPs will be first-timers, part of a new elite that includes more women, gay and non-white candidates than ever before”, *Guardian*, p.32, 20th March 2010. (The article originally stated ‘Kenya’ rather than ‘Uganda’ but was subsequently corrected).

³⁶² Eleanor Mills, “The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won’t be mere lobby fodder” *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

rather than political voice. Consequently, this again bolsters critiques of progressive measures to ensure women's and/or minorities' descriptive representation.

7.4 Latent foregrounding: Personal coverage

Having discussed the frequency and framing of explicit mentions of race and gender, I now consider latent references to these aspects of candidates' identity. While explicit mentions are relatively easy to capture, latent references are more nebulous and context dependent. For example, a reference to the 'urban' nature of one candidate's district may constitute a euphemism for a perceived minority voter advantage, while for another it may not contain racial undertones. The existing literature is relatively well developed with regards to the latent foregrounding of gender—for example via references to candidates' appearance, spouses or care-giving responsibilities—but this is less true regarding references to race. Although this has not been subject to much discussion in previous scholarship, it seems reasonable to assume that references to appearance may constitute an additional way of highlighting candidate ethnicity without necessarily mentioning it directly.³⁶³ I have additionally suggested that references to age and religion could plausibly form proxies for mentions of candidates' gendered and/or racial identity. In order to capture latent foregrounding of identity as a single variable which could be applied to candidates of *all* intersectional groups, references to age, appearance, spouses, caregiving responsibilities, and religion were coded together as a single binary outcome which was the presence or absence of any 'personal coverage' in each article. It was expected that, as with explicit references to race and gender, that latent foregrounding of identity via references to these additional characteristics would be most frequent in coverage of minority women due to the additive effects of their intersectional racial, gendered identity.

Beginning with the US local press, the first point to note is that, within this sample, personal coverage was relatively unusual for candidates of all intersectional groups, at just nine per cent of all articles ($n=149$, Table 7.7). Furthermore, references to

³⁶³ Falk (2008) makes a very brief reference to this regarding differences in coverage of white and minority female US presidential candidates' appearances.

candidates' age, religion and appearance were very rare and generally insubstantial. There were only three occasions where age was a substantive topic of discussion, and on no occasion did these form a discernible proxy for gender. Instead it was noted that "No member of the Bay Area delegation is less than 60 years old",³⁶⁴ that Cedric Richmond (D-LA 2nd District) had been honoured by *Time magazine* with a spot on its "40 Under 40"³⁶⁵ list, and that Joaquin Castro was, in his own self-deprecating words "getting old"³⁶⁶ with his hair "finally receding".³⁶⁷ Similarly, religion was barely mentioned. Despite being the first Hindu elected to congress, Tulsi Gabbard's (D-HI 2nd District) local newspaper did not mention her religion at all until after she was elected. Similarly, the *Deseret Morning News* did not refer to Mia B. Love's identity as a Mormon during the campaign period. The only candidates whose religious beliefs were referenced were "veteran Jewish politician",³⁶⁸ Janice D. Schakowsky (D-IL 9th District), who said "voters won't miss her phone calls or knocks on their doors during Yom Kippur",³⁶⁹ Mel Watt (D-NC 12th District), who a biography described as a member of "Mt. Olive Presbyterian Church",³⁷⁰ and Jennifer Roberts (D-NC 9th District), who addressed voters asking for "your vote, your prayers and your partnership".³⁷¹

³⁶⁴ Carolyn Lochhead, "Young guns can't get past old guard", *San Francisco Chronicle*, p.1, 1st November 2012.

³⁶⁵ No byline, "Election recommendations", *Times-Picayune*, p.2, 14th October 2012.

³⁶⁶ Josh Baugh, "Birthday Bash; Castro's celebrate good times", *San Antonio Express News*, p.1, 11th September 2012.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Melissa Silverberg and Madhu Krishnamurthy, "Suburban political campaigns pause to observe Yom Kippur", *Arlington Heights Daily Herald*, p.5, 25th September 2012.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ No byline, "Larry Kissell", *Charlotte Observer*, p.3, 1st November 2012.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

Table 7.7 Descriptive statistics: personal coverage by intersectional identity

Group	US Local				US National				British National			
	Not present		Present		Not present		Present		Not present		Present	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White male	441	91.7	40	8.3	40	83.3	8	16.7	154	85.6	26	14.4
White female	459	87.3	67	12.7	25	86.2	4	13.8	69	81.2	16	18.8
Minority male	372	94.7	21	5.3	39	84.8	7	15.2	98	89.9	11	10.1
Minority female	333	94.1	21	5.9	35	67.3	17	32.7	64	68.8	29	31.2
Total	1605	91.5	149	8.5	139	79.4	36	20.6	385	82.4	82	17.6

US local: $\chi^2(3, N=1754)=20.21, p < .000$ / US national: $\chi^2(3, N=175)=6.75, p < .080$ / British national: $\chi^2(3, N=467)=17.42, p < .001$

Discussion of candidates' appearance, rather than foregrounding women's gender and/or race, tended simply to illustrate particular activities on the campaign trail. For example, Raul Ruiz in a "white coat and a stethoscope"³⁷² at an emergency room, Jennifer Roberts "wearing plastic safety glasses"³⁷³ while touring a fabrication plant, Joaquin Castro sporting "a bold red silk tie"³⁷⁴ to a fashion event, or Marcy Kaptur (D-FL 23rd District) "who volunteered to put on jeans"³⁷⁵ and help rebuild a local Islamic Centre. There were, however, two exceptions to this. Firstly, in the only example of a remotely salacious reference to a woman's attire, Val Demings informed reporters that, "in her Dooney & Bourke handbag, she carries a 9 mm handgun that was a gift when she retired from the Orlando Police Department".³⁷⁶ Secondly, there were a number of instances in which the body of double amputee and Iraq war veteran Tammy Duckworth was

³⁷² No byline, "Ad blitz under way for district race", *Desert Sun*, 24th September 2012.

³⁷³ Jim Morrill, "Jennifer Roberts wants to become the first Democrat in 60 years to represent the 9th District", *Charlotte Observer*, p.1, 7th October 2012.

³⁷⁴ Michael Quintanilla, "Style; Fashion Week S.A. makes a red-hot start", *San Antonio Express-News*, p.6, 28th October 2012.

³⁷⁵ T.K. Barger, "Multifaith gathering advocates unity; 600 pray together week after arson at Islamic Center", *Toledo Blade*, p.1, 8th October 2012.

³⁷⁶ Mark Schlueb, "NRA endorses Webster for House seat, gives F to gun owner Demings", *Orlando Sentinel*, p.3, 5th October 2012

deemed worthy of attention. In addition to the frequent references to the fact that Duckworth had lost her legs in combat, reporters also described scenes in which “using only her left hand to move her wheelchair, Tammy Duckworth (D-IL 8th District) quickly whizzes past her staff, up an incline”.³⁷⁷ Duckworth also revealed her mother’s response to her military ambitions, saying ““She’d look at me and was like: ‘I used to dress you up in lace and petticoats — what is going on?’”³⁷⁸ Thus, in the cases of both Demings and Duckworth, descriptions of their appearance perhaps *challenged* stereotypes regarding femininity and disability rather than reinforcing them.

However, the descriptive statistics also show that while personal coverage was relatively infrequent for all candidates, the difference between minority and white women was relatively substantial, at three and 13 per cent of all articles respectively. Although there was little difference in the frequency of references to age, appearance or religion among minority and white women, there was a substantial racial gap among women in terms of references to spouses or care-giving responsibilities. White women’s coverage mentioned this in 47 articles (nine per cent of their total coverage), compared to just ten for minority women (three per cent of their total coverage). The size of the difference was primarily because 21 such articles referred to Donald Sussman, husband of Chellie Pingree (D-ME 1st District). The attention paid to Sussman was because he also happened to be both a major Democratic donor and the majority share owner of MaineToday Media which publishes the *Portland Press Herald*, Pingree’s local newspaper. However, mentions of spouses or children remain twice as frequent in coverage of white women (6 per cent of articles) even when Pingree’s coverage is discounted from the descriptive statistics. The reasons for this are addressed in the subsequent qualitative analysis.

Turning to national coverage, in both Britain and the US, the descriptive statistics support the hypothesis, and the differences in the frequency of personal coverage between minority women and other candidates are substantial and statistically

³⁷⁷ Natasha Korecki, “Election 2012- Opposites”, *Elgin Courier News*, p.6, 21st October 2012.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

significant. In US national newspapers, 33 per cent of articles featuring minority women contained personal coverage, compared to between just 14 and 17 per cent for other groups. Likewise, in Britain, minority women's coverage mentioned these characteristics in 31 per cent of articles, compared to between ten and 19 per cent for other groups. In each case, references to the age, appearance, religion and spouses/children were most likely for minority women. Therefore, the results are not skewed by one part of this composite variable.

Proceeding to the explanatory models shown in Table 7.8, for US local coverage the positive and significant coefficient for white women shows that the difference **in coverage of** women of varying racial identities holds when controlling for additional factors. Furthermore, the coefficient remains positive and significant even when coverage of Chellie Pingree is removed from the model. Thus, there is strong evidence not only that the hypothesis is unsupported, but that the opposite effect is observed. Although this is somewhat surprising, the subsequent qualitative analysis in section 7.4.1 shows that, in addition to the mention of children and spouses in basic biographical information (along with age, previous experience, and residence) typically provided about candidates of all intersectional identities, white women were more likely to be cited mentioning their husbands and children in ways that were likely to be politically advantageous. Thus, while previous studies have been concerned with mentions of families and spouses as latent ways of foregrounding candidate gender, to the detriment of women on the campaign trail, this analysis suggests that white women in particular have successfully adapted this frame to their own advantage.

In **the US national sample**, the difference between **the likelihood of personal coverage in articles covering** white and minority women was also significant (although only the $p < 0.1$ level) and in line with the expectations of the hypothesis. The predicted probabilities shown in Table 7.9 indicate that, controlling for additional factors, on average 33 of every 100 articles featuring minority women included personal coverage, compared to just nine of every 100 featuring white women. In Britain, differences between minority women and all candidates from all other intersectional were

significant, and the predicted probabilities show that 35 of every hundred articles featuring minority women included personal coverage, compared to between six and 18 for other groups on average, controlling for additional factors. Therefore, while the results from the US local sample directly contradict the hypothesis, those from the US national sample provide partial support, and in British national coverage the hypothesis is fully supported. The various reasons for these differences are explored in the qualitative analysis below in Sections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2. In the British national model, the coefficients for Labour and incumbency/seniority were also negative and significant. This is explained primarily by interest in the identities of A-list Tory challengers.

Table 7.8 Probit models: likelihood of personal coverage

Characteristics	US Local	US National	British National
	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (S.E.)	Coefficient (SE)
White male	0.17 (0.17)	-0.52 (0.46)	-0.71** (0.35)
White female	0.43*** (0.15)	-0.88* (0.53)	-0.53* (0.30)
Minority / minority male	-0.11 (0.18)	-0.78 (0.52)	-1.18*** (0.30)
Democrat / Liberal Democrat	0.34 (0.23)	-0.81 (0.64)	-0.55 (0.83)
Labour			-0.60** (0.29)
Incumbent	0.01 (0.25)	0.50 (0.56)	
Seniority / Incumbency & Seniority	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.17** (0.07)
Competitiveness / Marginal Seat	0.30 (0.24)	-1.04 (0.72)	-0.32 (0.28)
Racial majority	-0.02 (0.13)	-0.55 (0.43)	
Circulation	0.00 (0.00)		
USA Today		-0.46 (0.63)	
Wall St Journal		0.20 (0.28)	
Washington Post		0.03 (0.19)	
Constant	-1.88*** (0.26)	0.32 (0.72)	0.39 (0.28)
Observations	1,754	175	467
chi-square test	17.99	12.23	33.68
p	0.035	0.346	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7.9 Predicted probabilities: Personal coverage

Group	US Local	US National	British National
White male	.08	.17	0.14
White female	.13	.09	0.18
Minority male	.05	.11	0.06
Minority female	.04	.33	0.35

7.4.1 Husbands and children in US local news

The descriptive statistics showed that references to husbands, spouses or care-giving responsibilities were more prevalent in coverage of white than minority women in US local coverage, and the explanatory model confirmed that these differences were statistically significant even when additional factors were controlled for and Shellie Pingree was removed from the model. Qualitative analysis of the context in which references to white and minority women's families appeared in campaign coverage reveals that, far from contradicting women's attempts to present themselves as leaders, such references often emerged from candidates themselves. There were no intersectional differences in the frames applied to minority and white woman, save for a singular mention of Gloria Bromell Tinubu's (D-SC 7th District) husband's racial identity ("Soji Tinubu, a Nigerian-born U.S. citizen who received a master's degree in civil engineering"³⁷⁹). Instead, there were three positive frames in which husbands consistently appeared, regardless of racial identity. Yet, in each case, they were more likely to be applied to white than minority women.

Firstly, several husbands were well known in their respective districts, and contributed to their wives' name recognition. Among white women, Joyce Knott and her husband's "business representing manufacturers in the housewares and gifts industry since 1980"³⁸⁰ was repeatedly mentioned, along with Niki Tongas' position as "the widow of the favorite son of Lowell, Paul Tsongas"³⁸¹ (a former Senator), and Nita M. Lowey (D-NY 17th District), whose "joint assets with her husband [total] between \$14.3 million and \$65 million".³⁸² Among minority women, only Sheila Jackson Lee's husband, Elwyn Lee,

³⁷⁹ Brad Dickerson, "Tinubu seeks to help her birthplace- Tinubu deck here", *Myrtle Beach Sun News*, 3rd Noember 2012.

³⁸⁰ No byline, "Congressional race comes down to differences over competence vs. point of view", *Rock Hill Herald*, p.7, 2nd November 2012.

³⁸¹ No byline, "Tsongas pick hard to fathom", *Lowell Sun*, 4th November.

³⁸² Carl Campanile, "She's worth about \$14M But she still takes \$10K a year from taxpayers", *New York Post*, p.5, 17th September 2012.

who “once served on Riverside [General Hospital’s] board”³⁸³ was mentioned in this context.

Secondly, several white women received coverage in which they actively chose to frame themselves as wives and/or mothers. For example, Shelli Yoder (D-IN 9th District), who campaigned “on a platform of being a middle-class working mother who understands the plight of families”,³⁸⁴ even receiving an endorsement from former president Bill Clinton, “because as a working mother, she knows the country works better with a strong middle class”.³⁸⁵ Similarly, Martha Roby (R-Al 2nd District) who argued, “as a mom, I’m not immune to what’s important”,³⁸⁶ Jennifer Roberts who stated, “I’m a wife and mother and I’ve been honored to represent a common-sense, independent voice for North Carolina”,³⁸⁷ and Joyce R. Healy-Abrams (D-OH 7th District) who spoke of time out taken “to focus on raising her 7-year-old daughter and caring for her mother”.³⁸⁸ In contrast, among minority women, only Gloria Bromell Tinubu and Mia B. Love received coverage employing this frame. Like, Healy Adams, Bromell Tinubu told reporters how, in the past, she had “concentrated on being a wife and mother”.³⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Love made this status central to her campaign: “It has become a recurring theme for Mia B. Love during her congressional campaign appearances in recent weeks: ‘I’m a wife and mother, first and foremost’”.³⁹⁰ The reason for Love’s especially frequent use of the frame may have been because she was a minority woman running in a predominantly white district, and highlighting her gender was a way of minimising the salience of her racial

³⁸³ Terri Langford, “Medicare fraud case- Hospital’s CEO, son arrested”, *Houston Chronicle*, p.1, 5th October 2012.

³⁸⁴ Laura Lane, “9th’s Young, Yoder both upbeat as election nears”, *Bloomington Herald-Times*, 4th November 2012.

³⁸⁵ Dawn Hewlett, “Election briefs: Yoder gets two endorsements”, *Bloomington Herald-Times*, 1st November 2012.

³⁸⁶ No byline, “Rep. Martha Roby taking the stump for Mitt Romney”, *Montgomery Advertiser*, 21st September 2012.

³⁸⁷ No byline, “Larry Kissell”, *Charlotte Observer*, p.3, 1st November 2012.

³⁸⁸ Robert Wang, “Joining a Family Business - Healy-Abrams Seeks 7th Congressional District Seat”, *Canton Repository*, p.2, 3rd October 2012.

³⁸⁹ Brad Dickerson, “Tinubu seeks to help her birthplace- Tinubu deck here”, *Myrtle Beach Sun News*, 3rd November 2012.

³⁹⁰ Robert Gehrke, “Matheson or Love? It’s up to Utah women in November”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15th October 2012.

difference. For example, Love was cited stating: "All of the same issues that are important to other women are important to me, and I think that's important".³⁹¹

Thirdly, some women's family lives were linked directly to their policy positions, and again this was more common in coverage of white than minority women. For example, Zoe Lofgren (D-CA 19th District) "whose daughter earned an IB diploma [told] the editorial board of this newspaper, California corporations should fund some of these programs to support their future workforce"³⁹² and Patsy Kever (D-NC 10th District) "whose first husband served in Vietnam, said the nation needs to do more to help returning veterans".³⁹³ Among minority women, this frame was only present in the case of Evelyn Madrid Erhard (D-NM 2nd District), cited stating "My first-hand experience with the aging of my grandmother, mom and dad, and Husband, Tom, has led me to see that the U.S. is not prepared for the great expenses involved with caring for our seniors".³⁹⁴

It is difficult to determine whether this is the result of differences in white and minority women's campaign strategies, or because reporters were more likely to cite white women's use of these frames. A recent analysis of Congresswomen's websites biographies shows that minority women are more likely than white female representatives to reference their racial and gendered identities, as well as foregrounding their personal histories. For example, as "single mothers on welfare and as workers in the low wage, feminized, and overwhelmingly Brown and Black service sector of the economy" (Brown and Gershon 2016:102). However, it is notable that the only context in which references to minority women's personal lives were more frequent than those of white women was when such coverage constituted criticism. Uniquely in coverage of white female candidates, it was noted that during the 2004 cycle, a challenger pilloried Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL 23rd District) "for using a peach

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Kristine Bohnhoff, "International Baccalaureate program worth saving", *San Jose Mercury News*, 16th October 2012

³⁹³ No byline, "Kever, McHenry face off in TV debate", *Ashville Citizen Times*, 10th October 2012.

³⁹⁴ No byline, "Candidate Bio: Evelyn Madrid Erhard", *Las Cruces Sun-News*, 7th October 2012.

crayon to write at a forum and said she was ‘frazzled’”.³⁹⁵ Commentators noted that “the implication was that she had too much on her plate as a mom and politician”.³⁹⁶ However, in 2012 coverage of minority women, Evelyn Madrid Erhard’s local paper published a letter to the editor claiming she was “a housewife who picked up politics as a hobby and now thinks she should be in Congress”³⁹⁷ and Gwen Moore’s caring responsibilities were indirectly used to make her look less confident following a period when she had been present at fewer votes than usual after her sister had suffered a stroke. Her local paper did however publish a response from her campaign arguing, “She strives to make every vote as much as she can [...] Like every normal person, she’s got family crises and so forth”.³⁹⁸

7.4.2 Personal coverage in the national press

Although personal coverage in the sample of local US newspaper coverage was dominated by references to candidates’ spouses and caregiving responsibilities, personal coverage in the national press also framed religion, age and appearance as salient features of candidates’ identity. The following sections explore framing of each of these four characteristics in the national coverage from the US and Britain in parallel.

Beginning with references *spouses and family*, results from the qualitative analysis were contrary to expectations based on existing literature. In both the US and British national press the vast majority of references to spouses or family did not highlight female candidates’ gender. In the US, spouses were typically mentioned the context of alleged malfeasance. For example, a description of a campaign advert claiming that “Ed Perlmutter (D-CO 7th District) worked the system by going to Washington as a

³⁹⁵ Amy Sherman, “Wasserman Schultz faces determined opponent - Republican Karen Harrington thinks she has a better chance than in 2010, but the incumbent still is highly favoured”, *Miami Herald*, 26th October 2012.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ No byline, “Sound Off!”, *Las Cruces Sun-News*, 14th September 2012.

³⁹⁸ James B. Nelson, “Claim on Moore’s attendance on mark”, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, p.2, 8th October 2012.

congressman while his wife went as a lobbyist”;³⁹⁹ accusations that Sanford Bishop had sent “federal funds to a Georgia youth program that employed his stepdaughter and her husband”⁴⁰⁰ reports that Nita M. Lowey was among “73 lawmakers sponsored or co-sponsored legislation that could have benefitted businesses or industries in which either they or their families were involved or invested”;⁴⁰¹ and Cynthia M. Lummis’ (R-WY At-large District) admission that a bill she co-sponsored to lengthen federal grazing permits “could benefit her husband”.⁴⁰² However, ten of the 22 articles mentioning spouses or offspring featured Maxine Waters, due to “allegations the California Democrat helped steer federal bailout money to a bank in which her husband owned stock”.⁴⁰³ Thus, although the frames were not explicitly gendered or racialised, coverage of ethics scandals surrounding candidates and their partners does seem to have focused disproportionately on a single African American woman.

In Britain, while malfeasance did not feature, mentions of spouses due to the overlap of romantic and political connections were abundant. For example, Elizabeth Truss’ (Con, Norfolk South West) “fling with a married MP”,⁴⁰⁴ Emily Gasson (LD, Dorset North) and Liberal Democrat MP Ed Davey (Kingston and Surbiton) “husband and wife team”,⁴⁰⁵ Joan Ruddock’s marriage to Frank Doran, Labour MP for Aberdeen North,⁴⁰⁶ and Katrina Murray’s (Lab, Dundee East) former marriage to Glasgow councillor Steven Purcell.⁴⁰⁷

³⁹⁹ No byline, “The 5 worst political ads; Of thousands of commercials inflicted on voters, a handful stand out for their sheer awfulness”, *USA Today*, p.10, 2nd November 2012.

⁴⁰⁰ Dan Keating, Scott Higham, Kimberly Kindy and David S. Fallis, “Congress’s richest mostly shielded in deep recession”, *Washington Post*, p.1, 7th October 2012.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Kimberly Kindy, David S. Fallis and Scott Higham, “Personal interests, bills can overlap”, *Washington Post*, p.1, 8th October 2012.

⁴⁰³ Barrett Devlin, “U.S. News: House Ethics Panel to End Waters Case”, *Wall Street Journal*, p.5, 22nd September 2012.

⁴⁰⁴ No byline, “Black Dog”, *Mail on Sunday*, 2nd May 2010.

⁴⁰⁵ Mathew Taylor, “Campaign 2010: The candidates: White, male and in the know - party offers change, but not in candidates’ background”, *Guardian*, p.19, 29th April 2010.

⁴⁰⁶ Lyndsay Baker, “How I make it work”, *Sunday Times*, p.51, 11th April 2010.

⁴⁰⁷ Jonathan Brown, “The strange and sudden fall of Labour’s rising star; Tipped as a future first minister, Glasgow council’s leader has mysteriously quit amid lurid speculation. Scottish politics is in shock”, *Independent on Sunday*, p.20, 14th March 2010.

Furthermore, the individual whose spouse was most often mentioned was actually white male challenger, Jack Dromey (Lab, Birmingham Erdington), who featured in 20 of a total of 44 articles covering candidates' families. This was of course because of Dromey's marriage to then Deputy Labour Leader, Harriet Harman. The gender roles within the Harman-Dromey household appear to have elicited fascination among reporters. They detailed how, when their children were young and Harman had recently entered parliament "he did much of the shopping, cleaning and cooking",⁴⁰⁸ and if Harman was feeling the pressures of combining her responsibilities as a mother and MP, Dromey persuaded her not to throw in the towel, saying, "Nooo—I'll put the kids to bed tonight".⁴⁰⁹ In much of the coverage featuring both candidates Dromey was effectively feminised by being relegated to the position of political spouse. In an inversion of the typical pattern in which women are described in relation to their husband rather than their own role or accomplishments, he was regularly described first as "Jack Dromey, the husband of Labour's deputy leader Harriet Harman"⁴¹⁰ and only second as the Deputy Leader of the trade union, Unite. On one occasion a commentator went as far as to dub him, "Mr Harriet Harman".⁴¹¹ While obviously gendered, frames which question Dromey's masculinity also appear to have been exacerbated by the fact that he was selected for a safe Labour seat which had been expected to employ an All Woman Shortlist. This led to charges that "hypocrite"⁴¹² Harman's enthusiasm for the progressive measure was "conveniently set aside"⁴¹³ to benefit her husband.

⁴⁰⁸ Patrick Wintour and Aida Edemariam, "The election interview: 'Everybody knows who I am': With just weeks to go until the country decides Labour's fate, deputy leader Harriet Harman discusses the opposition, the leadership and why women have been largely absent from the election campaign", *Guardian*, p.28, 17th April 2010.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Andy McSmith, "BA cabin crew to strike after talks with airline break down; Airline Strike; Flights to be cancelled from next week - with more walkouts threatened", *Independent*, p.14, 13th March 2010.

⁴¹¹ Patrick O'Flynn, "The gang's all here with plans for a socialist economy", *Express*, p.14, 17th March 2010.

⁴¹² Trevor Kavanagh, "Meet the man doing the Whelan and dealing", *Sun*, p.6, 15th March 2010.

⁴¹³ Jonathan Oliver, Robin Henry and Jamie McGinnes, "Look out, here come the red barons. Labour is poised to swing left as the unions pack safe seats with their candidates", *Sunday Times*, p.19, 14th March 2010.

Despite the focus on Dromey and Harman, articles mentioning spouses or children still constituted a greater proportion of minority women's coverage than that of other candidates in Britain, (13 per cent of articles compared to between two and 12 per cent for other groups) as was the case in the US national press (27 per cent of articles covering minority women, compared to between four and ten per cent for other groups). There were also cross-national similarities in the framing of minority women's caregiving responsibilities as evidence that they were relatable to the broader female electorate. For example, the US the national press commented that Donna F. Edwards' (D-MD 4th District) experience as a single mother raising a young son while attending law school "is the story of so many women in our community, struggling to make ends meet".⁴¹⁴ Similarly, in Britain, Helen Grant, "now married with two children"⁴¹⁵ was cited drawing on the experience of a childhood brought up by a single mother on a council estate, arguing "you should never underestimate the determination of a single mum to do the best for her child. A lot of our work involves vulnerable families",⁴¹⁶ while Priti Patel chatted with a female reporter about "the minutiae of juggling kids and careers".⁴¹⁷

There was little evidence of the use of this frame among candidates from other intersectional groups, save for minority male candidate Keith Ellison in the US, who highlighted his role as a parent, stating "As fathers, we know that when young people pay too much for a car or become trapped in high-cost credit-card debt, they dig themselves into a financial ditch that can trap them for years".⁴¹⁸ Although this was not dissimilar to David Lammy's comments in Britain (cited previously), Lammy spoke specifically about black fatherhood rather than positioning himself as a representative

⁴¹⁴ Miranda S. Spivack, "Edwards not afraid to go own way - against fellow Democrats", *Washington Post*, p.6, 31st October, 2012

⁴¹⁵ Jenna Sloan, Mandy Appleyard, "Rap fan, burger chef, boxer ...meet the 2010 Tory women; How Dave's new wave have replaced blue rinse brigade", *Sun*, p.12, 5th April 2010.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Eleanor Mills, "The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder" *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

⁴¹⁸ Keith Ellison and Jim Renacci, "Bringing 'Credit Invisibles' Out of the Dark", *Wall Street Journal*, p.13, 21st September 2012.

of fathers in general. It should also be noted that, although not a parent herself, Joan Ruddock appeared in an interview series entitled “How I Make It Work” in which she submitted to questions such as: “How do you balance work and home life?” / “How does it work for your colleagues who are mothers?” / “Do you think if you’d had children you would have achieved as much?”.⁴¹⁹

Just as there are similarities in the positive wife/mother frames employed by minority women in both countries, there also appears to be some consistency in the way in which the US and British national press singled out a particular minority woman for criticism linked to her personal life. While Maxine Waters seems to have received a disproportionate amount of attention due to the ethics scandal involving her husband, Diane Abbott was unique among sampled women in Britain to receive critique regarding the relationship between her politics and her parenting. Several articles mentioned that “the supposedly ardent Left-winger sent her son to a GBP 10,000-a-year private school”⁴²⁰ despite the fact that this was no longer newsworthy, having taken place “a few years back”.⁴²¹ Abbott was also the only sampled candidate whose position as a parent was mentioned while she was receiving criticism for an entirely unrelated incident involving alleged mistreatment of parliamentary staff: “Diane, a mother of one, denies any impropriety”.⁴²² Critiquing the inherent contradictions between representatives’ policy positions and personal choices – i.e. Abbott’s decision to educate her son privately – is not the same as foregrounding a politician’s racial and/or gendered identity in the context of an unrelated criticism. For example, neither Waters’ status as an African American woman nor Abbott’s as a mother were relevant to discussions of alleged malfeasance or mistreatment of staff.

⁴¹⁹ Lyndsay Baker, “How I make it work”, *Sunday Times*, p.51, 11th April 2010.

⁴²⁰ No byline, “Hickey”, *Express*, p.17, 18th March 2010.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Richard Kay, “How MP Diane Gags Staff with Public Money”, *Daily Mail*, 18th March 2010.

Turning to the framing of candidates' *age*, this was rarely a substantive topic of discussion in either the US or British national press. In the US, it appeared in ten articles: five featuring white men and five featuring white women. In Britain, the total number of articles mentioning age was 35: four featuring white men, 9 featuring white women and minority men respectively, and 13 featuring minority women. Therefore, in both samples, minority women's age was most likely to be mentioned. However, on the few occasions where it was referenced beyond the insertion of a number next to a candidate's name, the focus was on the novelty of the youngest of candidates. For example, in the US, Joseph P. Kennedy III (D-MA 4th District), "the 31-year-old grandson of Robert F. Kennedy"⁴²³ described as "a young man in a dark suit, followed by an equally young and well-dressed entourage".⁴²⁴ Youth was also occasionally linked with modernity, or a break from the past. For example, Maryam Khan "a 27-year-old local councillor aiming to [...] become the first Muslim woman elected to Britain parliament"⁴²⁵ was cited stating: "I have pledged to be open and transparent with my expenses. I am a new candidate offering some youth and enthusiasm in a field that lacks both".⁴²⁶ While this statement tacitly posits both Khan's youth and status as a Muslim woman in contrast to an aged elite tainted by the expenses scandal, age was only explicitly linked to gender in a single article, which focused on Pamela Nash:

At 25, she's set to take over from a politician who's been Home Secretary, Defence Secretary, Health Secretary, Northern Ireland Secretary, Scottish Secretary, leader of the Commons and Labour Party chairman. I don't know Ms Nash and my criticism is not of her but of party desperation to pursue the elusive yooof vote. The local Labour Party chair resigned after her selection. It's too easy to blame the caveman corps for resenting Labour's all-women lists. Age, inexperience and payroll candidates are resented more than a candidate's sex.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Edith Zimmerman, "A Born Politician", *New York Times*, p.26, 26th September 2012

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Andrew Bounds, "Labour heartlands in the balance as parties shop for votes", *Financial Times*, p.3, 6th May 2010.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Dorothy-Grace Elder, "Political patsies will soon fill the UK's Parliament", *Express*, p.12, 13th April.

This shows how, on occasion, references to age can form a smokescreen to veil gendered criticism. However, this did not constitute a frame repeatedly applied to female and/or minority candidates within the sample.

References to *religion* were also relatively infrequent in both national press samples (appearing in 10/175 US national articles and 11/467 British national articles). In the US, the religious identities of several Jewish, Mormon and Muslim candidates were mentioned, but there were substantial differences in the way membership of each faith was framed. The foregrounding of Jewish candidates' religion was brief and apolitical. A single article covering an exhibition on "100 years of Hebraica at the Library of Congress" including "the first complete Hebrew Bible printed in the United States", noted, without further comment, that Debbie Wasserman Schultz and Brad Sherman (D-CA 30th District) "used that Bible for their ceremonial swearing-in".⁴²⁸

The presence of Mormon presidential candidate Mitt Romney garnered interest in candidates who shared his both his faith and his politics. For example, a profile of Romney featured Raúl Labrador (R-ID 1st District) as "a freshman, an outspoken Tea Party star and, like Romney, a Mormon".⁴²⁹ Mia B. Love's intersectional identity as "A Mormon black woman"⁴³⁰ was of course especially newsworthy in this context. Her campaign adviser was cited stating "we call it the trifecta"⁴³¹ and Love herself was cited implicitly comparing Romney's religion to Obama's race: "What is great about this country is the fact that people like Barack Obama, people like Mitt Romney, are able to run for president," said Love, wearing a 'Be Calm and Vote Rom' T-shirt. 'Anyone can serve, regardless of their race, religion, gender'".⁴³²

So although Jews within the sample attracted little attention, the Mormon faith was

⁴²⁸ Debra Rubin, "A celebration of the jewels of the Hebraic collection", *Washington Post*, p.10, 4th November 2012.

⁴²⁹ Robert Draper, "A Man of Many Minds", *New York Times*, p.26, 7th October 2012.

⁴³⁰ Jason Horowitz, "Relishing the 'Mormon Moment'", *Washington Post*, p.1, 6th November 2012.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

linked to tea party ideology and the possibility of a Mormon president was likened to gains in racial or gendered descriptive representation. However, the identity of Muslim Representative Keith Ellison was subject to far greater politicisation than that of colleagues of other faiths. Explicit attacks on Ellison's religious identity, for example, former congressman Virgil Goode's criticism of Ellison's use of a Koran for taking the oath of office, were widely condemned as having "offended many of his colleagues [...] and constituents".⁴³³ However, this did not stop the press framing Ellison as a spokesperson both for and to "Muslim America",⁴³⁴ as well as requesting that the candidate provide explanations of Islamic extremism in the Middle East. For example, in a lengthy *Washington Post* interview, he was asked to explain what the "attack on the U.S. mission in Libya and violence elsewhere in the Muslim world reflect", and, while "Americans are busy trying to translate what all this means about the Muslim world" whether "American Muslims are focused on it as well".⁴³⁵ The demarcation of "Americans" and "American Muslims" highlights Ellison's insider-outsider status, while references to "Muslim America" posit Muslim US citizens as a homogeneous group. This is challenged by Ellison who points out that, for example, the "Muslim American community is bifurcated in terms of age"; while younger people "want to talk Islamophobia [...] the older people are just glad to be here. Shut up and keep your head down".⁴³⁶ It is undoubtedly positive that the press provides Ellison with the opportunity to give wider voice to Muslim constituents, citing his comment that Muslims are "concerned about anti-Muslim hate as much as ever before".⁴³⁷ Yet, that the salience of his identity also results in the expectation that he explain terrorist attacks on US outposts abroad is highly problematic. It also leads to the framing of the Muslim community as divided between model citizens and others, exemplified by Ellison's comment that "American Muslims can explain to the rest of the world how free

⁴³³ Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "A Long-Shot Campaign Could Threaten Romney's Chances in Virginia", *New York Times*, p.22, 4th November 2012.

⁴³⁴ Michelle Boorstein, "Muslim Americans can explain to the rest of the world how free expression works", *Washington Post*, p.14, 5th October 2012.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

expression works".⁴³⁸ Finally, the focus on Ellison's religious identity is in stark contrast to what he reports people in his district most frequently ask him about: "Unemployment. Jobs. Livable-wage jobs".⁴³⁹

Turning to the British national press, it was uniquely Muslim candidates whose religion was mentioned: Sajid Javid and Rushanara Ali (three articles each), Maryam Kahn and Shabana Mahmood (Lab, Birmingham Ladywood) (two articles each), and Yasmin Qureshi (in a single article). As previously discussed, the dominant frame among Muslim women was of intersectional firsts in the context of a "breakthrough year for Muslim women's political representation",⁴⁴⁰ "a small revolution",⁴⁴¹ and the possible gendered and/or religious substantive representation this might entail. Coverage of male Muslim Conservative candidate, Sajid Javid, however, focused on the intersection of racial/religious identity and class, and the apparent differences between Javid and members of his constituency. With regards to class, it was on the one hand claimed that "David Cameron was delighted when Sajid Javid, 40, a bus driver's son, was chosen to fight Bromsgrove for the Tories".⁴⁴² Yet while the party was keen to promote Javid's working class roots, some commentators instead focused on more recent career as a banker:

Javid, at first sight, is not an obvious candidate to take over Bromsgrove. Not because the town is overwhelmingly white, and he is the Muslim son of parents who came to this country from Pakistan back in the 1950s. What marks him out as unusual is his CV, which documents a stellar career in investment banking.⁴⁴³

This echoes claims in the US national press that in Utah "one of the most racially and culturally homogenous states, the only uninteresting thing about Love is that she is

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Madeleine Bunting "Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain's first Muslim woman MP", *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Andrew Pierce, "Just Don't Mention the Great Leader", *Daily Mail*, 21st April 2010.

⁴⁴³ Jonathan Coe, "Review: A return to grass roots: With the election finally called and politicians on the road, writers revisit the constituencies where they grew up and recall their earliest political memories - from canvassing as a Communist in the Gorbals to a Tory party fete in a Wiltshire country house", *Guardian* p.2, 10th April 2010.

black”⁴⁴⁴ and a “healthy indifference to the fact that Love would be the first black Republican woman ever in the House”.⁴⁴⁵ Yet in Javid’s case, there was not even a facade of the supposed “healthy indifference” to Love’s candidacy. The British press instead reported that “Javid was selected from a six-strong shortlist imposed by party HQ. Despite strong protests, no local candidate was included”.⁴⁴⁶ It seems that just as age and claims of inexperience are sometimes employed as smokescreens to mask gendered bias against women running for office, class is used in the same way against black, Asian, and Muslim candidates. Yet, interestingly, this may lead to an intersectional advantage for minority women by virtue of the excitement around the novelty of *intersectional* firsts and gendered stereotypes as modifiers of racial and religious threat. This mirrors the Berjarano’s (2013) suggestion that Latinas’ success in gaining descriptive representation may be attributed to the perceived softening of racial threat due to gender, creating advantages compared to Latinos.

Proceeding finally to press coverage of candidates’ *appearance*, in the US, neither white women nor minority men within the sample were ever subject to assessments of their looks or attire. Among white men, as previously mentioned, a complementary profile of Joseph P. Kennedy III entitled “A Born Politician” described him as a “young man in a dark suit, followed by an equally young and well-dressed entourage”.⁴⁴⁷ In contrast, following Brad Sherman’s physical altercation during a debate with Howard Berman, the press commented that “neither [is] known for muscled machismo”.⁴⁴⁸ While coverage of white men’s appearance focused on their masculinity or lack thereof, descriptions of Mia B. Love’s looks appeared to highlight not her racial or gendered identity, but her competence. Commentators related how she “straight ahead, her face etched into the sort of camera-ready countenance that takes many politicians years to

⁴⁴⁴ George F. Will, “Will Utah send its Love?”, *Washington Post*, p.21, 23rd September 2012.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Andrew Pierce, “Just Don’t Mention the Great Leader”, *Daily Mail*, 21st April 2010.

⁴⁴⁷ Edith Zimmerman, “A Born Politician”, *New York Times*, p.26, 26th September 2012

⁴⁴⁸ Jonathan Weisman, “Races for House Offer Little Suspense but Lots of Odd Back Stories”, *New York Times*, p.11, 27th October 2012.

master"⁴⁴⁹ describing her as “elegant, poised and disciplined”.⁴⁵⁰ However, it could perhaps be argued that such descriptions of Love’s appearance as controlled as disciplined were tacitly linked to her image as a model minority and a role model. For example, in the same paragraph, it is reported that Love frequently tells audiences how her father once said “Mia, your mother and I never took a handout. You will not be a burden to society; you will give back”.⁴⁵¹

In Britain, the only references to male candidates’ appearance were depictions of “bearded Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn”⁴⁵² (Lab, Islington North) and “telegenic Cambridge-educated historian Tristram Hunt”.⁴⁵³ Apart a mention of Joan Ruddock’s comment that she “may even lose some weight” due to walking around canvassing, descriptions of white women’s appearance focused on two of the youngest Labour candidates—Pamela Nash and Bridget Phillipson (Lab, Houghton and Sunderland South)—and were clearly objectifying and undermining. For Nash, her appearance was linked to her gender and the perceived illegitimacy of her candidacy in reporting that, as previously mentioned, “fury has broken out in the pretty Airdrie and Shotts constituency where fellows are enraged that Labour has imposed a lass, pretty Miss Pamela Nash”.⁴⁵⁴ For Phillipson, her comments that “women are judged in ways that men are not”⁴⁵⁵ and ““It should be about what you can achieve, not about being glam or pretty”⁴⁵⁶ were, ironically, both undermined and confirmed by an attendant description

⁴⁴⁹ Jennifer Steinhauer, “Utah Mayor Hopes Star Turn, and Romney’s Star Power, Lift Her to the House”, *New York Times*, p.10, 31st October 2012.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Ephraim Hardcastle, “Ephraim Hardcastle”, *Daily Mail*, 9th April 2010.

⁴⁵³ Jonathan Brown, “Hunt’s selection sets up battle with former belly dancer for Stoke seat; Election Countdown; Choice of historian as Labour candidate provokes anger among activists”, *Independent*, p.20, 3rd April 2010.

⁴⁵⁴ No byline, “Hickey”, *Express*, p.17, 18th March 2010.

⁴⁵⁵ Kate Spicer, “I’m counting up erotic capital; Catherine Hakim, the academic with a knack for upsetting feminists, has done it again, claiming that sex appeal is as important as brains”, *Sunday Times*, p.7, 18th April 2010.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

of her “looking va-va-voom in a curve-enhancing little black dress with a Sex and the City-style corsage”.⁴⁵⁷

Bridget Phillipson, Lucy Powell (Lab, Manchester Withington) and Maryam Khan’s names were also mentioned in the caption for a photograph accompanying an article entitled “Don’t call us cuties: Female candidates aim to show style can equal substance”.⁴⁵⁸ The piece claimed that “The 1997 election had the ‘Blair babes’ but the latest generation of female candidates would rather be judged on their brains, not their beauty”,⁴⁵⁹ implying that the 1997 cohort of Labour women had actively courted attention to their appearance. Although it is easy to critique this implication as gendered bias, it is also important to note that the photograph was originally taken for a feature in women’s magazine, *Grazia*, in which “young female parliamentary candidates were given a makeover”.⁴⁶⁰ This highlights a bind for (white and minority) female candidates, who, as van Zoonen and Harmer (2011:94) note in their analysis of the *Grazia* piece, encounter “gender-specific risks” when engaging with celebrity media. Yet the challenges of gaining visibility (especially for white women), and the desire of parties to promote diversity (by foregrounding minority women in particular) provide powerful imperatives to do so.

There were just two occasions on which a direct reference was made to a minority women’s appearance which rated their attractiveness in the manner of the articles above. Firstly, a positive description of Rushanara Ali as being “politically rated, eloquent, beautiful and—crucially for this area of town—has Bangladeshi heritage”,⁴⁶¹ explicitly highlighted both her gender and ethnicity. Secondly, a brief article devoted to a photograph on Diane Abbott’s website featuring the MP against a backdrop of the English capital’s Olympics logo: “Unfortunately for the hapless Abbott, her ample figure

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Anita Singh, “Don’t call us cuties Female candidates aim to show style can equal substance”, *Daily Telegraph*, p.7, 13th April 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Jerome Taylor, “Respect, Religion, Race and the Battle for Tower Hamlets”, *Independent*, p.6, 28th April 2010.

has managed to block out the 'nd' in London, leaving the said backdrop to read 'Loon'".⁴⁶² These contrasting depictions of Ali and Abbott's appearance show how perceptions of attractiveness are linked to assessments of women's capability, but that the use of descriptions of appearance to foreground minority women's ethnicity is unusual. Similarly, while it was noted that Muslim Respect candidate, Salma Yaqoob's "headscarf at Westminster might prompt a few headlines"⁴⁶³ there were no references to the Labour and Conservative Muslim women's choices whether or not to cover their hair.

More common was the use of references to minority women's appearances as a way of conveying the Conservative Party's 'modernisation'. For example, "No twin sets and pearls here. Some blue blood, but not a blue rinse in sight, they are his new fighting force; the secret weapon with which he believes he will win the war"⁴⁶⁴ / "Cameron's claim to have changed his party is not just spin. The Tories I met were not scary Europhobe members of the blue-rinse brigade (although a few of their supporters were) but reasonable, moderate, modern types".⁴⁶⁵ This was especially evident of descriptions of Priti Patel: "Striding through the daffodils and blossom in her leopard-print flats, Patel looks the very model of a Cameroonian new Tory. And she is representative of a new generation of female candidates standing in this election who are hellbent on remaking the party".⁴⁶⁶ Patel's shoes are of course a nod to the trademark footwear of Tory frontbencher, and later Prime Minister, Theresa May, and the description is used to evidence a quote by a local party member that Patel is "one of us!"⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶² No byline, "Hickey", *Express*, p.17, 18th March 2010.

⁴⁶³ Madeleine Bunting, "Campaign 2010: Inside story: A small revolution: the British Muslim who could make history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain's first Muslim woman MP. The hijab-wearing Question Time star and candidate for the Respect party talks to Madeleine Bunting", *Guardian*, p.20, 24th April 2010.

⁴⁶⁴ Amanda Platell, "Have Cameron's Cuties Really Got What it Takes to Transform Politics", *Daily Mail*, 8th April 2010.

⁴⁶⁵ Eleanor Mills, "The girls in blue spoiling for a fight; The Tories want to triple their total of women MPs. And they won't be mere lobby fodder" *Sunday Times*, p.5, 11th April 2010.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Overall then, the qualitative analysis does not support the expectation that latent and explicit references to minority women's intersectional identity would be manifested in *unique* frames resulting from the multiplicative effects of their race and gender. On the contrary, intersectional first frames applied to minority women are similar to those applied to white women and minority men, and in debates regarding descriptive and substantive representation, minority women are typically subsumed within the references to 'minorities' and 'women'.

With regards to personal coverage, qualitative analysis also highlights the fact that a) references to spouses and appearance do not always indicate the latent foregrounding of gender, and b) even when they do, gendered frames are not ubiquitously unfavourable to minority or white women. There was, however, some variation in the tone of references to minority and white women's spouses and caregiving responsibilities in the US. In the local press, the positive framing of women's family lives appeared to be applied more readily to white women, while in national coverage, accusations of ethics violations involving Maxine Waters' husband gained more attention than similar stories involving candidates from other intersectional groups. In addition to positive frames regarding spouses and care-giving responsibilities, references to appearance were on several occasions employed to convey competency, rather than lack of it. However, although these frames are sometimes advantageous, female candidates who court such coverage encounter specific gendered risks by doing so.

7.5 Discussion

In summary, the quantitative findings reported in this chapter support the expectation that the additive effects of minority women's intersectional identity result in greater focus on their race and gender than that of minority men and white women respectively. H8, that minority women's gender is more likely to be explicitly referenced than that of white women, is confirmed in the results from the US local press and the British national press. H9, that minority women's race is more likely to be explicitly referenced than that of minority men, and H10, that minority women are most likely to receive personal

coverage, are both supported in the results from the British national press. However, contrary to expectations, white women received *more* personal coverage than their minority female counterparts in the US local press. The qualitative analysis revealed, however, that references to spouses and caregiving responsibilities in local US newspapers typically constituted advantageous frames, emerging from candidates themselves.

In contrast to the intersectional viability frames discussed in the previous chapter, no *unique* frames were identified in coverage which explicitly referenced minority women's race or gender, or within personal coverage. Therefore, this raises a wider set of questions about the theorised multiplicative effects of minority women's intersectional identity on the specific ways in which they are framed as political candidates. The results from this analysis suggest that in mainstream local and national newspaper campaign coverage in the US and Britain, there is relatively little qualitative difference in the gendered frames applied to minority and white women, and racialising frames applied to male and female minority candidates.

However, one existing study has identified a specific set of intersectional frames applied to former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Alexander-Floyd (2008) argues that, in a range of media, including newspapers, blogs and political cartoons, the dominant theme of Rice's 'closeness' to white male President Bush and his wife implicitly figures her as "intimately involved with and supportive of White male power" (440) and thus as a stereotypical 'mammy', "happily serving existing power arrangements and nurturing of White masculine authority" (441). While it might be tempting to read the framing of minority women as 'co-opted' in a similar way, I would suggest that there are several important reasons why minority women within this sample were not, on the whole, subject to the degree of overt intersectional stereotyping that appears to have been the case in representations of Rice.

I would suggest, therefore, that it is perhaps the case that unique intersectional frames associated with minority women of specific ethnicities—for example, the stereotype of

the ‘Mammy’ in coverage of African American women—are more likely to be identified in representations of the most high ranking minority female politicians, and in a wider range of media. This is because, even the most visible minority women in this sample did not receive enough coverage to paint detailed pictures of their character. Furthermore, as I argue in the concluding chapter, it may well be the case that the deployment of racial and gendered stereotypes in coverage of minorities and/or women increases in frequency and intensity in line with the degree of power and prominence they possess.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

This concluding chapter begins by summarising and discussing the main findings of the thesis, before outlining its contributions, limitations, and pathways for future research.

8.1 Key findings

The results from tests of each of the ten quantitative hypotheses are summarised in Table 8.1. Collectively, these hypotheses anticipated that—aside from the frequency of appearances in the national press—newspaper coverage of minority women would be less favourable than that received by comparable candidates from all other intersectional groups. This expectation was based on intersectional theory regarding the additive effects of race and gender for minority women, as well as existing single-axis findings regarding race, gender and press coverage of political campaigns.

The findings reported here indicate that although some significant intersectional differences in patterns of coverage are observed, many of the hypotheses are unsupported, and minority women do not *consistently* receive less favourable coverage than other candidates. Therefore, the additive effects of minority women's race and gender do not ubiquitously result in compounded disadvantages regarding the way that they are represented by the press. Yet, while findings indicating increasing parity in patterns of coverage of all intersectional racial, gendered groups suggest that progress has been made, some of the results suggest continued cause for concern regarding representations of minority female candidates. These include the frequency and tone of local coverage, the descriptive lack of national coverage received by minority women (despite a visibility advantage compared to *comparable* white female candidates), as well as some of the more pernicious frames regarding the use of progressive measures in particular. I argue however that future improvements in news coverage of minority and/or female candidates depend not just on the actions of reporters and editors, but also on the choices made by political parties.

Beginning with the frequency of coverage, the results indicate that minority women appear significantly less often in US local newspapers than their white female counterparts. Yet this is primarily due to a differential ‘ceiling’ on coverage of the highest outliers rather than a consistent difference in treatment of all candidates within each of the two groups. Therefore, the substantive effects of this visibility gap are likely to be somewhat limited. In US and British national coverage, minority women’s visibility advantage compared to white women results from the extreme attention paid to a select few individuals: namely Maxine Waters and Mia B. Love in the US, and Diane Abbott in the UK. Therefore, the key finding to have emerged regarding the frequency of coverage is that minority women occupy a paradoxical position of invisibility and hypervisibility on the national stage, resulting at least in part from the ‘novelty’ of their intersectional identity. By this, I mean that, descriptively, minority women lack visibility in the national press compared to the *population* of candidates from all intersectional groups. However, a select few are singled out for an unusual degree of attention.

This is evidenced by the fact that when the most extreme outliers among minority women are removed from the analyses, the group received barely any coverage at all in US and UK national newspapers—and even less so regarding the issues such as the economy which the electorate viewed as most important. Meanwhile, those minority women who do achieve unusual prominence are subject to enhanced scrutiny of their credentials and character, evidenced by, for example, the interrogation of Cameron’s ‘A-List’ and focus on Maxine Waters’ alleged ethics violations. Substantively, this means that the effect of certain individual minority women’s hypervisibility is that they are often framed as representatives of the group as a whole. Meanwhile, most candidates within this group struggle to achieve recognition.

Table 8.1 Review of results of hypothesis tests

Hypothesis	Model	Effect for minority women	US Local	US National	British National
H1a: (US only) Frequency of local coverage	Negative binomial	-	*	N/A	N/A
H1b: Frequency of national coverage	Negative binomial	+	N/A	*	*
H2: Overall tone of coverage	Ordered probit	-	✓		
H3: Frequency of viability coverage	Probit	+			
H4: Tone of viability coverage	Ordered probit	-			
H5: Likelihood of substantive issues coverage	Probit	-			
H6: Likelihood of references to stereotypically (white) 'masculine' issues	Probit	+	*		
H7: Likelihood of references to stereotypically 'feminine' and 'minority' issues	Probit	-			
H8: Likelihood of explicit references to gender	Probit	+	✓		✓
H9: Likelihood of explicit references to race	Probit	+			✓
H10: Likelihood of personal coverage	Probit	+	**	*	✓

✓ Hypothesis is supported.

* Hypothesis not supported but significant difference between minority and white women in line with expected direction of effect.

**Hypothesis not supported and significant difference between minority and white women *opposite to* expected direction of effect.

Concerning the *tone* of coverage, representations of minority women are less positive than those of all other groups in US local newspapers, even when additional candidate, campaign and media factors are controlled for. This indicates that some of the gains made by white women and minority men in this respect do not yet extend to their minority female counterparts, who appear to be subject to a degree of systematic intersectional bias in this context. However, as with differences in the frequency of local coverage, the substantive implications of this finding may be limited given that minority women so often compete in safe districts. In the US and UK national press, a different pattern emerges, in which coverage of minority women is likely to be explicitly positive *or* negative, and therefore more polarised than that of other groups. This again suggests a degree of paradoxical invisibility and hypervisibility: most minority women lack recognition, but those who do achieve prominence are subject to a greater degree of explicit appraisal (whether positive or negative) than candidates from other groups. While it may be some consolation that in the British national press, stark intersectional differences in the tone of coverage candidates are confined to Right-leaning mid-market newspapers; namely the *Express* and *Daily Mail*, they are among the highest circulating publications in the market, and therefore their possible influence should not be underestimated.

Turning to the *content* of coverage, many of the results from the quantitative hypothesis tests appear to suggest a good degree of parity in these regards. This in line with recent scholarship that suggests gradual reduction of a gender gap in several aspects of coverage (e.g., Lavery 2013, Fowler and Lawless 2009, Jalalzai 2006, Devitt 2002, Smith 1997). Indeed, the lack of intersectional difference in the frequency of viability coverage, substantive issue coverage, or likelihood of references to stereotypically 'feminine' or minority issues suggests that increasing parity in these aspects of campaign reporting is not confined to minority men and white women, but is also reflected in coverage minority female candidates. Perhaps unsurprisingly, as greater numbers of women and minorities, including minority women, are selected by parties to compete in winnable seats, concerns regarding their viability appear to have dissipated. Thus, these groups

no longer receive more viability coverage, nor viability coverage that is more negative in tone than of white men.

However, it is important to note that a purely quantitative analysis might obscure some of the more pernicious news frames which indicate continued hostility to the progressive measures necessary to improve minorities and/or women's descriptive representation. In particular, the qualitative analysis makes an important contribution by highlighting the continued legacies of racial history in the US (manifested, for example, in opposition to re-districting and early-voting) and backlash against the Blair years and MPs' expenses scandal in the UK (indicated by references to the disappointments associated with 'Blair's babes' and dislike of 'establishment' candidates, who are often the most senior minority women). These suggest that debates regarding legitimacy, merit, and the descriptive representation of women and/or minorities remain very much unresolved. Although race, gender and politics scholars have mounted strong cases regarding the necessity of progressive measures to ensure descriptive representation, these arguments continue to be met with scepticism and hostility by certain sections of the press. This is important because, although inter-party competition to 'diversify' is growing, more positive press responses could create greater incentives to employ stronger and broader measures to achieve this.

The results also indicate a degree of progress with regards to reporting on substantive issues: candidates' racial and/or gendered identity does not appear drive the level of substantive issue coverage that they receive. However, just as minority and/or female candidates' viability coverage is dependent on the actions of parties to ensure that they have a chance of electoral success, minorities and women must be positioned in leadership roles within parties and parliaments to ensure that their policy positions are heard. This is because political news reporting both during and between electoral campaigns tends to focus on the highest-ranking representatives. Thus, unless minority women are descriptively represented at all levels of office *within* parties and parliaments, their voices will remain relatively absent from debates on issues which electorates perceive as most important. Therefore, with regards to both viability

coverage and substantive policy coverage, I would argue that **the actions of both political parties and reporters are crucial** to determining continued progress in these areas. It is startling that only *ten articles* mentioned minority women's positions on 'white/male' policy areas in the UK 2010 election, six of which Diane Abbott. For this to improve at future general elections, a greater numbers of minority women will need to be included among all parties' leadership teams.

Looking at explicit and latent references to race and gender, in the US local press, although minority women's gender was most likely to be referenced explicitly, it was actually white women who received most personal coverage, comprised primarily of positive frames referencing spouses and care-giving responsibilities. In the US national press, the only significant difference observed regarding the foregrounding of candidates' identities was that minority women received more personal coverage than white women. This was chiefly due to focus on Maxine Waters' husband. Most support for this set of hypotheses was found in the British national press, in which articles featuring minority women were most likely to explicitly reference their race, gender, and include personal coverage.

Yet, although the results indicate some striking differences in the *level* of explicit and latent identity foregrounding in coverage of minority women compared to other groups, the qualitative analysis suggests such references are not *always* to the detriment of the relevant candidates. References to appearance were rarely objectifying, and were regularly employed to convey minority women's competence, rather than a perceived lack of it. Although there were examples to the contrary, these were infrequent and primarily confined to the British mid-market press. References to spouses and caregiving responsibilities were not posited as a challenge to women's leadership abilities, but were instead frequently deployed by candidates themselves with the apparent aim of appearing 'relatable'. In addition, although discussions of Muslim candidates' religious identity were highly politicised, intersectional stereotypes of Muslim women as alternately threatening or submissive were not reflected in depictions of these women as political candidates. Substantively therefore, increasing numbers of

Muslim female representatives may have an important symbolic role in challenging negative stereotypes of Muslim women in general.

The surprisingly positive character of personal coverage observed in this sample is likely to be due to many factors. Firstly, it may well be the case that minority and/or female candidates (as well as their political parties) have become increasingly shrewd with regards to the deployment of racial and gendered campaign strategies—for example, highlighting women’s caring responsibilities in order to feminise their campaigns and thus conform to gendered stereotypes. However, this is of course—as has been highlighted here and elsewhere—a strategy which comes with specific gendered risks (van Zoonen and Harmer 2011). Secondly, norms of equality mean it may simply be increasingly unacceptable for mainstream news media to *explicitly* challenge women’s leadership abilities on account of their caring responsibilities, or negatively appraise their appearance as a proxy for their political competency. The excesses of such coverage in this sample of British campaign reporting appear to have been relegated primarily to certain sections of the Right-leaning mid-market press.

However, these findings are also likely due to the nature of the candidate sample. A most cursory glance at coverage of Britain’s most high ranking female politicians tells a very different story. For example, in July 2014, a reshuffle of David Cameron’s Cabinet was framed by the *Daily Mail* as a “Downing Street Catwalk”,⁴⁶⁸ with lengthy discussion of the sartorial choices of new female members. Similarly, The *Sun* marked Theresa May’s first day in office as Britain’s second female Prime Minister with the front page headline “HEEL, BOYS”⁴⁶⁹ accompanied by a large image of May’s trademark leopard print kitten heels looming above the heads of six white male Tory frontbenchers. In the US, references to presidential candidate Hillary Clinton’s appearance have been so ubiquitous that the candidate herself took the unusual step of satirising them in her official Twitter biography, describing herself as a “pantsuit aficionado” and “hair icon”.

⁴⁶⁸ Chapman, James, “Now win election, PM tells new girls including Esther McVey, the queen of the Downing Street catwalk”, *MailOnline*, 15th July 2014.

⁴⁶⁹ Steve Hawkes, “Heel, Boys”, *Sun*, p.1, 12th July 2016.

The framing of Condoleezza Rice has invoked images of the stereotypical ‘mammy’ (Alexander-Floyd 2008:441), and Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn’s recent promotion of Diane Abbott to Shadow Home Secretary and Shami Chakrabarti to Shadow Attorney General resulted in the headline (again, from the *Mail*) “March of the Jezza-Belles”.⁴⁷⁰ While the moniker is obviously drawn from the party leader’s first name and the legacy of the Labour ‘Babes’, it additionally invokes the well known black female stereotype of the Jezebel (West 1995). Importantly, May, Clinton, Rice, members of Cameron’s 2014 cabinet and Corbyn’s 2016 shadow cabinet all have higher status roles than any of the candidates within this sample. Therefore, it is perhaps the case the norm of equality with regards to female politicians may work from the bottom up. Those women in lower ranking political roles attract less attention with regards to their race and gender, but as they rise up the ranks these characteristics become more salient and attract greater attention. Thus, the extent of negative racial and/or gendered frames applied to candidates may be conditional on their power and prominence. As the political stakes increase, so too may the danger of commentators exploiting negative racial and/or gendered frames in order to undermine women and/or minorities as candidates. This is likely to be particularly important in the US context, in which television news media is not as regulated as in the UK, and highly partisan paid-for television news becomes of greater importance as the size of the constituency increases.

Therefore, in summary, the results from this thesis indicate that minority women occupy a paradoxical position of invisibility and hypervisibility in the national press in both the US and UK, and that the actions of political parties are critical to ensuring that diverse women’s voices are represented on a range of issues both during and between elections. Secondly, debates regarding progressive measures (both to select and promote women and/or minorities in politics) remain unresolved. Therefore, the continued efforts of race, gender and politics scholars to make the public case for such measures remains crucial. Thirdly, and relatedly, the increasing parity in levels of

⁴⁷⁰ Tim Sulthorpe, “March of the Jezza-belles: Corbyn makes ex-lover Diane Abbott his new shadow home secretary and the lawyer who produced ‘whitewash’ report on anti-Semitism to attorney general as he promotes FOUR women in reshuffle”, *MailOnline*, 6th October 2016.

viability and issue coverage received by comparable candidates suggests important progress **compared to the findings of some earlier studies**. However, again, the improved descriptive representation of women and/or minorities at all levels of office is necessary (**although not, perhaps, sufficient**) to result in their descriptive representation in the press. Finally, while racial and/or gendered frames appear increasingly to be employed to candidates' advantage on the campaign trail, this raises important questions about the effects of such frames conditional on the level of office sought.

8.2 Contributions

The findings generated by this thesis make both substantive and methodological contributions to the literature on race, gender and political campaigns. The first contribution made by this thesis is an empirical test of intersectional theory regarding *additive* effects of candidates' race and gender on various aspects of the campaign coverage that they receive. The theory suggested that the combined effects of minority women's race and gender would result in stronger unfavourable patterns of coverage than all for other groups. In the US local sample, coverage was less positive for minority women than other candidates, and minority women received less overall coverage and less coverage on (white) masculine issues than their minority female counterparts. In US national coverage, minority women were more visible, and their likelihood of personal coverage was higher than that of white women. In British national coverage, minority women were more visible than white women, their gender was more often explicitly foregrounded than white women, their race more often than minority men, and they received more personal coverage than all other groups. Therefore, a number of significant intersectional differences to arise within each of the coverage samples, and there is clear evidence of variation in press treatment of white and minority women in particular.

However, the majority of the quantitative hypotheses were unsupported by the data, indicating that such variation is by no means ubiquitous. Across all three samples, there were no differences in the level of viability coverage, the likelihood of substantive issue coverage, or the likelihood of references to stereotypically 'feminine'/'minority' issues.

Furthermore, where intersectional differences were observed, they were not uniformly unfavourable to minority women. In particular, explicit references to race, gender and personal coverage are not *necessarily* damaging, and often emerge from candidates themselves. Therefore, the results of these tests of the additive effects of intersectional identity support two important theoretical points made by intersectional scholars.

Firstly, Crenshaw adopts the metaphor of intersection to highlight the ways in which “black women can experience discrimination in ways that are *both similar to and different* from those experienced by white women and black men” (2011:29, my italics). Thus, while Crenshaw highlights the importance of attending to variation *among* women’s experiences, she at no point denies overlaps between the treatment of minority and white women. As the results of the quantitative hypothesis tests show, there are some important intersectional differences in the treatment of minority and white women which would have been obscured by a single-axis analysis; but there are also many areas of commonality. The substantive implications for future research are therefore that while intersectional approaches which consider the effects of multiple axes of identity are crucial, part of the importance of such approaches is also in highlighting commonalities among women of various racial, religious, class or other identities. Just as minorities and women are should neither be treated conceptually nor empirically as mutually exclusive groups, neither, necessarily, should minority and white women. Empirical research which adopts an intersectional framework therefore has an important role to play in identifying (rather than assuming) areas of shared interest between broad coalitions of women.

The second theoretical point made by intersectional scholars which is highlighted by these findings is that the effects of race and gender for minority women are not *always* less favourable compared to other intersectional groups (e.g., Fraga et al. 2008). This was reflected in hypothesis H1b, that minority women would receive more national coverage than comparable candidates from other groups. Although the hypothesis was not supported, the results did show that the most prominent minority women garner greater press attention than comparable white female candidates. Furthermore, the

greater degree of personal coverage received by minority women is not necessarily disadvantageous, and often constitutes positive framing of their candidacies. Therefore, empirical scholars employing intersectional approaches should perhaps approach the effects of multiple axes of identity with an open mind when exploring further aspects of political experience and behaviour, particularly with a view to exploring how groups which have historically lacked descriptive and substantive representation can exploit such intersectional effects in order to achieve greater parity in these areas.

This thesis also contributes empirical test of theory of *multiplicative* effects of minority women's intersectional identity on the qualitative framing of their candidacies. Drawing on intersectional theory and existing single-axis findings, it was anticipated that this would result in unique intersectional frames in coverage of minority women. Again, the results indicate that minority women's experiences are both *similar to and different from* those of white female and minority male candidates. The qualitative analysis of viability coverage reveals revealed frames of co-option and lack of autonomy which relate both to minority women's unique intersectional identity and political context. There is also some evidence of specific intersectional stereotyping in the 'angry black woman' frame applied to Gloria Bromell Tinubu, for example. However, there is little evidence of intersectional variation regarding the qualitative framing of explicit references to minority women's race and gender, compared to minority men and white women. Instead, for example, the first frames applied to minority men and white women appear to have simply been adapted to 'first minority woman' frames.

Therefore, the results show that while there is evidence that the multiplicative effects of minority women's intersectional identity do, occasionally, result in unique qualitative news frames of their candidacies, there is also a great deal of shared experience with white women and minority men. Again, this is in part due to the nature of the sample. The examples of depictions of Condoleezza Rice as a stereotypical 'Mammy' and references to Diane Abbott and Shami Chakrabarti as 'Jezza-Belles' indicate the possibility that as minority women are promoted to leadership roles within parties and parliaments, the press may be more inclined to deploy such unique intersectional

frames, and this may pose a greater risk to public perceptions of minority women in these positions.

I have also attempted to contribute an analysis of the degree to which coverage varies across minority women of different ethnicities. This aim has been limited somewhat by the data. Quantitatively, it has only been possible to descriptively explore differences in the frequency and tone of coverage of minority women of varying ethnicities. In both cases, the results indicate that effects are stronger for African American and Black women than their Latina, Asian American and British Asian counterparts. However, given the extremely small sample sizes, these findings are very tentative. Qualitatively, it has been difficult to make any robust comparison of minority women of varying ethnicities due to the fact that coverage of a few African American and black British women comprised the vast majority of coverage afforded to minority women as a whole. As mentioned, the positioning of Gloria Bromell Tinubu as an ‘angry black woman’, comprises evidence of at least some specific intersectional framing of minority women of particular ethnicities. However, the lack of correlation between the framing of Muslim women as politicians and Muslim women in general in the British press indicates that stereotypes of minority women of particular racial or religious identities are not ubiquitously reflected in the framing of political candidacies by such women. This highlights the importance of future qualitative analysis of the framing of the most prominent minority women of varying ethnicities and religious identities.

This thesis also contributes an evaluation of differences between local and national newspaper coverage of campaigns in the US, and national coverage in the US and UK. Most importantly, the results highlight the varying dynamics affecting who receives coverage locally and nationally. Minority women’s intersectional identity appears to have little novelty value in local news reporting, but does generate a visibility advantage for the most prominent minority women in the national press. Furthermore, while local newspaper coverage of minority women is less positive than that of all other groups, national coverage tends to appraise minority women more positively *and* negatively than other candidates. The tone of local coverage, coupled with a differential ‘ceiling’

on the level of attention afforded to minority and white women, is important because local coverage in the US is likely to have a greater effect on candidate evaluation and vote capture. It appears therefore that with regards to local races, the stakes may be higher, and therefore the unfavourability of these local patterns compared to the national press is cause for some concern.

With regards to viability and issue coverage, intersectional differences in the frequency of such references in coverage of all candidates were absent across all three samples. **In the context of prior scholarship,** this suggests a positive trend in both the local and national press, and cross-nationally. However, US local newspapers' detailed coverage of debates between candidates means that minority women's issue preferences are descriptively better represented in the local than the national press. This difference is however due to the lack of minority women in party leadership roles which effectively denies them a presence in nationalised debates regarding, for example, key issues such as the economy. Thus, the route to improved national press coverage in this respect relies more on parties than reporters. Comparing the US and British national press, the key finding was the degree of consistency in quantitative patterns of coverage. The only difference was in the likelihood of explicit racial and gender foregrounding, but this was likely because the US national model was so underpowered. Just as there have been similarities in parties attempts to 'diversify' in both countries, so too are there similarities to press responses. Frames of co-option and lack of autonomy, first frames, and discussions of descriptive and substantive representation shared similarities cross nationally. Therefore, the findings suggest that just as patterns of press representation of women in the aggregate extend beyond national borders, so too do some patterns specific to minority women.

Methodologically, the use of a candidate matching strategy and explanatory models make a key contribution by attempting to isolate the effects of candidate identity on coverage outcomes. This strategy has been useful to a) rule out alternative explanations for intersectional differences where they are present, and b) ascertain where the press or political parties are the site of solutions where concerns persist. For example, that

minority women receive less positive coverage than all other candidates in local US newspapers cannot be attributed to factors such as incumbency or partisanship. Instead, given that candidate, campaign and media factors have been controlled for, assertions of intersectional racial, gendered bias can be justified. On the other hand, we know that descriptively, minority women receive less issue coverage in the national press than candidates from other groups. However, this is not due to intersectional bias, as the lack of significant differences in coverage of *comparable* candidates shows. Instead, it is due to the lack of minority women in senior roles within parties and parliaments. However, while this explanatory analysis is useful for the reasons stated above, it cannot provide a full picture of the descriptive differences in coverage of minority women and the *population* of candidates from other groups. Therefore, both descriptive and explanatory approaches to press coverage of campaigns are necessary in future research.

In addition, the qualitative analyses make three distinct contributions. Firstly, qualitative analysis adds important context and nuance to the quantitative hypothesis tests. For example, it helps to explain some of the wide variation in the amount of coverage received within as well as between intersectional groups, and elucidates the continued debates regarding the descriptive and substantive representation of women and/or minorities manifested in explicit references to candidates' race and/or gender. This is particularly important where the qualitative and quantitative analyses tell slightly different stories. For example, we might assume that the attention paid to minority women's race, gender, appearances and families constitute an unfavourable pattern of coverage. However, the qualitative analysis reveals many positive aspects to such frames.

Secondly, a qualitative approach has been necessary to explore the multiplicative effects of minority women's race and gender on coverage of their campaigns—for example, in the identification of specific intersectional viability frames. The exploratory analysis of references to candidate identity also highlights importance of attention to social class—particularly in the British context, and the way this intersects with the framing of race and racial authenticity in particular.

Thirdly, the qualitative analysis has provided some important updates to existing findings regarding personal coverage in particular. In addition to the advantageous frames mentioned previously, there is also evidence that many of the references to candidates' appearance and spouses are no longer linked to problematic racial and/or gendered frames. The majority of these references instead comprised descriptions of attire related specific activities on the campaign trail, or were related the involvement of spouses in malfeasance and the overlap of political and romantic connections. This suggests that reporters' deployment of explicit gendered frames in the form of such references may be on the wane—at least in coverage of races at the lower house level. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis of personal coverage also highlights that gendered frames are neither confined to coverage of women, nor are necessarily positive for male candidates. This is exemplified by the critiques of masculinity present in depictions of Brad Sherman's physical altercation and Jack Dromey's caregiving responsibilities. These findings therefore highlight the importance of a) interrogating assumptions regarding the effects of some coverage patterns—personal coverage in particular—and b) attending to the framing of social class, as well as privileged categories of identity such as masculinity and whiteness.

8.3 Limitations

Perhaps the most significant limitation to this design is the exclusion of analyses of candidates' own campaign strategies and materials. Without a comparison of candidates' own self-representation and their representation by the press, it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which intersectional differences in news coverage, even when are the result of differential treatment of reporters, controlling for other addition factors. While it seems reasonable to assume that minority women do not represent themselves less positively than white women—as was found in US local newspaper reporting—it is particularly relevant with regards to personal coverage. In this sample, white women's spouses and care-giving responsibilities were referenced more often than those of minority women, and the frames associated with these references were overwhelmingly positive. Without a full understanding of possible differences in white

and minority women's own use of such frames, we cannot tell precisely *why* this difference arose in local coverage of their campaigns. Interestingly, recent study of the website biographies of members of Congress reports minority women are more likely to mention their gendered and racial identity than other representatives, and that "an overwhelming majority of members of Congress list their families on their biographical webpages" (Brown and Gershon 2016:95). This suggests therefore that the tendency to use positive 'motherhood' frames for white but not minority women in the US local press may well be due to an intersectional bias rather than a difference in campaign strategy.

Secondly, the small number of minority female candidates poses a number of key limitations to the data, both in terms of the number of available cases and the wide variation within groups. Although the quality of candidate matches was high overall, the severe lack of viable candidates by minority women in Britain meant that it was only possible to match each with a single minority man, and matches with minority men were not as high in quality as those within other groups. In addition, some cases such as Mia B. Love were so unusual that it was not possible to match on key variables such as party. The only comparable white women and minority men to Love were Democrats which was important because partisanship was a key part of Love's novelty as an intersectional 'first'. Furthermore, because representatives in leadership roles were excluded, the sample of viable candidates appeared in only 175 articles. Splitting this between four intersectional groups means very few cases in each group. Similarly, when looking at variation among minority women of different ethnicities, only very tentative findings could be reported because analysis was limited by the extremely small sample sizes for these subsets of the population. The limited number of cases was also coupled with vast variation within groups, which meant that results were often driven by outliers. While this is a finding in itself, it meant that comparison of meaningful averages between groups was not always possible. This was especially true with regards to the sample of the US national press. In addition, the dominance of outliers meant that qualitative analysis of coverage of 'minority women', was often limited to analysis of a small subset of prominent individuals (Love, Waters, Tinubu,

Abbott and Butler). However, this serves to highlight the important point that only a few of the most 'novel' or senior candidates and representatives gain significant visibility on the national stage, and this will partly need to be addressed by party promotion strategies.

Thirdly, there were several limitations to the coding scheme. While coding the frequency of coverage was straightforward, and good inter-coder reliability was achieved regarding the tone of coverage, there remains room for improvement with regards to coding *content*. In particular, the definitions of issue types are, on reflection, somewhat problematic. This is especially true when working within an intersectional framework. For example, although defence and foreign policy has traditionally been coded as a 'masculine' issue (Meeks and Domke 2015, Alexander and Andersen 1993, Lawless 2004) the Iraq war was, on occasion, framed alternately as a women's issue and as a minority issue in the British press (discussed in Section 6.2.2). This points to Smooth's (2011) findings that white and minority women define and articulate 'women's issues' differently. Furthermore, the under-theorised status of privileged categories such as whiteness means that although 'minority' issues have been identified in the previous literature, there is no existing definition of 'white' issues, either as stereotypically associated with the capabilities of white politicians, or the interests of white voters. The rise of narratives regarding 'metropolitan elites' and disaffected 'white working class' in the wake of Brexit in the UK and Donald Trump's presidential victory in the US provide some opportunities to elucidate this further. Furthermore, the attempt to capture latent foregrounding of candidate identity via 'personal coverage' highlights that a purely quantitative approach is insufficient to capture the latent foregrounding of race and gender in this way. References to appearance and spouses in particular do not necessarily foreground either, and even when they do, the frame is not necessarily to the detriment of the candidate. All of these limitations to the quantitative scheme highlight the importance of qualitative work which further seeks to understand exactly how, why and when candidates' identities and issue priorities are referenced, and to what (if any) substantive effect on candidate evaluation, vote capture, political ambition, and debates regarding key campaign issues.

Fourthly, by controlling for additional factors in order to analyse the *effects* of candidates' race and gender, it is impossible to provide an accurate descriptive picture of coverage of other groups. The samples of white women, white men and minority men are necessarily highly atypical in order to render them comparable to the populations of minority women in each country. For example, gendered coverage patterns are likely to have been far less favourable for the highest ranking and therefore most visible white women in each country. Meanwhile, minority women may have a visibility advantage over *comparable* white women, but the most prominent minority women undoubtedly received less coverage than white female frontbenchers in 2010. Until minority women receive parity in descriptive representation, and for example, greater presence in leadership roles within national legislatures, many will experience greater disadvantages than illustrated here when compared to a matched sample of similar candidates. Baitinger (2015) attributes congresswomen's underrepresentation on television to their underrepresentation in political professions. For all but a minority few female representatives, this effect is likely to be exaggerated.

8.4 Pathways for future research

The results from this study highlight a number of substantive, methodological and theoretical puzzles to be addressed in future scholarship on race, gender and news reporting of political campaigns—not least with regards to the *effects* of such coverage.

One particularly useful avenue for future research into the effects of candidate identity on campaign coverage would be greater consideration not just of the possibility of systematic intersectional biases, but also the conditions under which coverage of minority women either bucks these trends or provides the most extreme examples. This is evidenced by the wide variation among minority women in each of the three coverage samples. Recent work by Carbado and Gulati (2013) incorporates identity performance theory into an intersectional framework, taking into account individuals' vulnerability to intra-group distinction and perceptions of how individuals 'work' their identities. For the most trailblazing minority women, such as African American Republicans or those

who reach new heights of office, as well as those who most vocally provide substantive representation to racial and gendered constituencies, such a framework may provide a useful way to consider the mediation of politicians' intersectional identities both during and between campaign seasons.

Secondly, intersectional approaches are not limited to consideration of race and gender. The results here, as well as current debates regarding Brexit and the Trump presidency for example, show the importance of class in depictions of political candidates, especially as it intersects with race. Therefore, future intersectional analyses—of issues such as descriptive and substantive representation, as well as campaign coverage—should consider how all three of these categories impact on, for example, what kind of women and/or minorities are selected to compete in winnable seats, how substantive representation varies among women and minorities of varying racial and classed identities, and how social class impacts on representations of 'racial authenticity' and 'elites'.

Furthermore, intersectional analyses need not be limited to subordinated categories of identity such as being a woman and/or a racial minority. For example, while analyses of the 2008 US Democratic nomination campaign have focused primarily on Hillary Clinton's gender and Barack Obama's race, Hancock (2009) has unusually highlighted the effects of Clinton's whiteness and Obama's masculinity. In addition, Harmer, Savigny and Ward (forthcoming), have highlighted the performance of masculine gender and social class in coverage of the televised leaders' debates during the UK 2015 general election campaign. Nigel Farage succeeded in gaining coverage as an 'authentic' masculine, working class male in contrast to 'elite' David Cameron and feminised Ed Miliband. While these studies highlight the importance of dominant categories such as masculinity and whiteness, as well as the intersection of class with other axes of identity, there remains a scarcity of empirical political science scholarship which attempts to empirically analyse the effects of the complex racial, gendered and class identities of candidates and representatives.

Methodologically, while the quantitative element of this study demonstrates some systematic differences in coverage which can be explained—at least partially—by the effects of intersectional identity, further qualitative analysis is necessary to unravel the complex narratives around and responses to minority seeking or holding positions of political power, particularly at the highest levels of office. Alexander-Floyd (2013:471) has advocated the use of narrative analysis in this context as “critical for assessing the ways in which narratives in their various guises establish the parameters of public discourse, promote or undermine policies, and/or galvanize political behavior and action”. Her (2008) study of representations of Condoleezza Rice provides one example of directions for future work in this area. Similarly, Tolley (2015:99) argues, “racialized and gendered narratives are often subtle and implicit. A purely quantitative approach could conceal some of the more pernicious ways in which assumptions about visible minority women’s backgrounds, political viability, and issue interests are communicated”. Thus, further qualitative analysis is necessary to grapple with the content and implications of these debates.

Furthermore, as has been noted in the previous section, we need a greater understanding of intersectional variation in candidates’ own self representations and campaign strategies. Studies of minority women’s self-representations in the political sphere such as Meyers’ (2013) examination of Michelle Obama’s mediated public persona and Brown and Gershon’s (2016) analysis of minority congresswomen’s website biographies both lay ground for future consideration of possible variation between the way in which minority represent their identities and politics, and the way in which these are represented by others. Particularly in the British context, in which elections are becoming increasingly candidate-centred, and the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats are no longer as dominant as they once were, the impact of candidate identity is likely increasing, and therefore it is useful to know the extent to which racial, gendered and other strategies impact upon electoral success.

In addition, while research in this area has for some time been primarily descriptive, greater use of experimental methods such as those employed by Gershon (2013) and the

collective work of the Women's Media Center, She Should Run and the 'Name It. Change It' campaign, are crucial to understanding the effects of politicians' intersectional identities on, for example, voter evaluations of candidates and public policy support. Many of the implicit hypotheses within the descriptive literature on coverage of political campaigns—for example, regarding the effects of negative coverage of minority and/or female candidates—have yet to be explicitly tested. We know nothing of, for example, the effects of unfavourable campaign coverage on women's and/or minorities' political ambition. Given that increases in descriptive representation depend in part on diverse candidates' willingness to run in the first place, it is important to understand the extent to which coverage of the most prominent candidates either encourages or discourages others from seeking elective office.

Theoretically, great strides also need to be made. Jordan-Zachery (2007:261) points out that despite theoretical attempts to refrain from additive conceptions of identity, scholars are often unwittingly drawn back to this approach; arguing that we must posit the question "Who gets to define how these multiple identities should be 'isolated'?" In this thesis, minority women have been posited as a political category, but the results show clearly that there is increasingly no 'typical' minority women in politics, and a great deal of variation in the treatment of candidates both within and between intersectional groups. Junn and Brown (2008:65) suggest further that "the dominant approach of static and unitary categories must be wrestled down and left behind in favour of a strategy of inquiry that treats political beings as dynamic subjects with a multiplicity of categorical homes". I have suggested that future work should consider the intersection of class and ethnicity in particular, as well as the privileged categories of maleness and whiteness. However, adding these further categories to future analyses poses the challenges regarding parsimony. Returning to Staunæs' (2003) notion of 'sites' where specific constellations of identity categories become salient is one way in which future empirical work which employs an intersectional framework can address this challenge.

While scholars continue to grapple with these substantive, methodological and theoretical puzzles, the exclusion of minority women from analyses can no longer be entirely justified by a ‘small-N’ problem. Indeed, the 2014 and 2016 elections in the US, and the 2015 UK general election have all resulted in further increases in the numbers of minority women seated in the US Congress and UK House of Commons. Similarly, there have been substantial rises in minority women’s descriptive representation following recent elections in Canada, Sweden and France (discussed in Section 4.2). When considered in the light of similar findings from the US and Canada (Gershon, 2012; Tolley, 2015), the results of this study suggest that some of the patterns observed in coverage of minority women are not country specific—for example, minority women’s invisibility and hypervisibility compared to other candidates in the national press. Just as comparative single-axis studies have demonstrated that female politicians in the aggregate face gendered bias by the press internationally (Kittilson and Fridkin 2008) there is growing evidence that systematic variation in coverage among women may go beyond national borders. The increasing diversity of national legislators provides important opportunities as well as the imperative for further investigation of this phenomenon.

Bibliography

- Abramowitz, Alan I. 1989. "Viability, Electability, and Candidate Choice in a Presidential Primary Election: A Test of Competing Models." *The Journal of Politics* 51 (04):977-992.
- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, Phil Paolino, and David W. Rohde. 1992. "'Sophisticated' Voting in the 1988 Presidential Primaries." *The American Political Science Review* 86 (1):55-69.
- Adcock, Charlotte. 2010. "The Politician, The Wife, The Citizen, and her Newspaper." *Feminist Media Studies* 10 (2):135-159.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol. 2008. "Framing Condi(licious): Condoleezza Rice and the Storyline of "Closeness" in U.S. National Community Formation." *Politics & Gender* 4 (03):427-449.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol. 2013. "(Inter)disciplinary Trouble: Intersectionality, Narrative Analysis, and the Making of a New Political Science." *Politics & Gender* 9 (04):470-474.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol. 2014. "Why Political Scientists Don't Study Black Women." In *Black Women in Politics: Identity, Power, and Justice in the New Millennium*, edited by Michael Mitchell, Nikol Alexander-Floyd, David Covin and Julia Jordan-Zachery. Transaction Publishers.
- Alexander, Deborah, and Kristi Andersen. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3):527-545.
- Ali, Sundas. 2015. "British Muslims in Numbers: A Demographic, Socio-economic and Health profile of Muslims in Britain Drawing on the 2011 Census." Muslim Council of Britain.
- Audickas, Lukas, Cracknell, Richard, and Wood, John. 2016. "Ethnic Minorities in Politics and Public Life." House of Commons Briefing Paper Number SNo1156: 7.
- Augoustinos, Martha, and Stephanie De Garis. 2012. "'Too black or not black enough': Social identity complexity in the political rhetoric of Barack Obama." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 42 (5):564-577.
- Baitinger, Gail. 2015. "Meet the Press or Meet the Men? Examining Women's Presence in American News Media." *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Banwart, Mary Christine, Dianne G. Bystrom, and Terry Robertson. 2003. "From the Primary to the General Election: A Comparative Analysis of Candidate Media Coverage in Mixed-Gender 2000 Races for Governor and U.S. Senate." *American Behavioral Scientist* 46 (5):658-676.
- Barber, John T., and Oscar H. Gandy. 1990. "Press portrayal of African American and white United States representatives." *Howard Journal of Communications* 2 (2):213-225.
- Barrett, Edith J. 2001. "Black women in state legislatures: the relationship of race and gender to the legislative experience." *The impact of women in public office*:185-204.
- Bauer, Nichole M. 2014. "Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates." *Political Psychology*:n/a-n/a.

- Bejarano, Christina E. 2013. *The Latina Advantage: Gender, Race, and Political Success*: University of Texas Press.
- Bereswill, Mechthild, and Anke Neuber. 2011. "Marginalised Masculinity, Precarisation and the Gender Order " In *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 69-88. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Bilge, Sirma. 2010. "Beyond Subordination vs. Resistance: An Intersectional Approach to the Agency of Veiled Muslim Women." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 31 (1):9-28.
- Black, J, and G Veenstra. 2011. "A cross-cultural quantitative approach to intersectionality and health: using interactions between gender, race, class and neighbourhood to predict self-rated health in Toronto and New York City." *Health inequities in Canada: Intersectional frameworks and practices*:71-91.
- Blumler, Jay G, and Michael Gurevitch. 2001. "'Americanization' reconsidered: UK-US campaign communication comparisons across time." *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy*:380-406.
- Bositis, David A. 2001. *Changing of the guard: Generational differences among black elected officials*: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.
- Brandenburg, Heinz. 2006. "Party Strategy and Media Bias: A Quantitative Analysis of the 2005 UK Election Campaign." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 16 (2):157-178.
- Bratton, Kathleen A, Kerry L Haynie, and Beth Reingold. 2007. "Agenda setting and African American women in state legislatures." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4):71-96.
- Brown, Nadia. 2014a. "'It's more than hair ... that's why you should care': the politics of appearance for Black women state legislators." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2 (3):295-312.
- Brown, Nadia. 2014b. *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women and Legislative Decision Making*: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, Nadia E., and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2016. "Intersectional Presentations: An Exploratory Study of Minority Congresswomen's Websites' Biographies." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 13 (1):85-108.
- Bruin, Marjan de, and Karen Ross. 2004. *Gender and newsroom cultures : identities at work*. Creskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Bunch, C. 2001. A women's human rights approach to the World Conference against Racism. Center for Women's Global Leadership
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble : feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Bystrom, Dianne G. 2006. "Advertising, Web Sites, and Media Coverage." In *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, edited by Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bystrom, Dianne G., Terry Robertson, and Mary Banwart. 2001. "Framing the Fight: An Analysis of Media Coverage of Female and Male Candidates in Primary Races for Governor and U.S. Senate in 2000." *American Behavioral Scientist* 44 (12):1999-2013.

- Caliendo, S. M., and C. McIlwain. 2004a. "Frames of Authenticity: News Coverage of Black Candidates and Their Campaigns." 62nd annual national conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois April 15-18, 2004.
- Caliendo, Stephen M., and Charlton D. McIlwain. 2004b. "Frames of Authenticity: News Coverage of Black Candidates and Their Campaigns." 62nd annual national conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Illinois April 15-18, 2004.
- Caliendo, Stephen M., and Charlton D. McIlwain. 2006. "Minority Candidates, Media Framing, and Racial Cues in the 2004 Election." *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 11 (4):45-69.
- Campbell, Rosie, and Sarah Childs. 2010. "'Wags', 'Wives' and 'Mothers' ... But what about Women Politicians?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 63 (4):760-777.
- Campbell, Rosie, and Philip Cowley. 2013. "Rich Man, Poor Man, Politician Man: Wealth Effects in a Candidate Biography Survey Experiment." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*.
- Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, redistricting, and representation: The unintended consequences of black majority districts*: University of Chicago Press.
- Carbado, Devon W., K. Crenshaw, Vickie M. Mays, and Barbara Tomlinson. 2013. "Intersectionality." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10 (02):303-312.
- Carbado, Devon W., and Mitu Gulati. 2013. "The Intersectional Fifth Black Woman." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10 (02):527-540.
- Carroll, Susan, and Beth Reingold. 2008. "Committee assignments: Discrimination or choice?" *Legislative women: Getting elected, getting ahead*:135-56.
- Casellas, Jason. 2011. "Latinas in Legislatures: The Conditions and Strategies of Political Incorporation." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 36 (1):171-189.
- CAWP, Center for American Women and Politics. 2011. "Factsheet: Women of Color in Elective Office 2011."
- CAWP, Center for American Women and Politics. 2013. "Factsheet: Women of Color in Elective Office 2013."
- CAWP, Center for American Women and Politics. 2015. "Women of Color in Elective Office 2015."
- Chaudhary, Anju G. 1980. "Press Portrayal of Black Officials." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 57 (4):636-641.
- Childs, Sarah. 2004. *New Labour's Women MPs: Women Representing Women*: Routledge.
- Chu, Judy. 1989. "Asian Pacific American Women in Mainstream Politics." In *Making waves: an anthology of writings by and about Asian American women* edited by Asian Women United of California, 405-21. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Clay, William L. 1992. *Just permanent interests : Black Americans in Congress, 1870-1991*. New York, NY: Amistad Press : Distributed by Penguin USA.
- Cohen, C. 2003. "Portrait of Continuing Marginality: The Study of Women of Color in American Politics." In *Women and American Politics: New Questions, New Directions*, edited by S. Carrol, 190 – 213. Oxford.

- Collective, Combahee River. 1977. "A Black Feminist Statement." In *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave. Black Women's Studies*, edited by Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott and Barbara Smith, 13-22. New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York.
- Comrie, Margie. 2006. "The Media and Leadership." In *Political Leadership in New Zealand*, edited by Raymond Miller and Michael Mintrom. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Crenshaw, K. 1989. "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics." *U. Chi. Legal F.*:139.
- Crenshaw, K. 1991a. "Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color." *Stanford law review*:1241-1299.
- Crenshaw, K. 2011. "Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Anti-racist Politics." In *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 25-42. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991b. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6):1241-1299.
- Curtice, J., S. Fisher, and R. Ford. 2010. "Appendix 2: A analysis of the results." In *The British General Election of 2010*, edited by D. Kavanagh and P. Cowley. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Darcy, Robert, and Charles D Hadley. 1988. "Black women in politics: The puzzle of success." *Social Science Quarterly*:629-645.
- Darcy, Robert, Charles D. Hadley, and Jason F. Kirksey. 1993. "Election Systems and the Representation of Black Women in American State Legislatures." *Women & Politics* 13 (2):73-89.
- Davis, Angela Y. 1983. *Women, race & class*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Denis Wu, H, and Tien-Tsung Lee. 2005. "The submissive, the calculated, and the American dream: Coverage of Asian American political candidates in the 1990s." *The Howard Journal of Communications* 16 (3):225-241.
- Devitt, James. 1999. *Framing gender on the campaign trail: Women's executive leadership and the press*: Women's Leadership Fund.
- Devitt, James. 2002. "Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Female Gubernatorial Candidates and the Press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79 (2):445-463.
- Dhamoon, Rita Kaur. 2011. "Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (1):230-243.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1):31-44.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2014. "Gender Stereotypes, Candidate Evaluations, and Voting for Women Candidates: What Really Matters?" *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (1):96-107.

- Dolan, Kathleen, and Timothy Lynch. 2013. "It Takes a Survey: Understanding Gender Stereotypes, Abstract Attitudes, and Voting for Women Candidates." *American Politics Research*.
- Dubrow, Joshua Kjerulf. 2008. "How can we account for intersectionality in quantitative analysis of survey data? Empirical illustration for Central and Eastern Europe." *ASK. Research & Methods* (17):85-100.
- Durose, Catherine, Ryan Combs, Christina Eason, Francesca Gains, and Liz Richardson. 2012. "'Acceptable Difference': Diversity, Representation and Pathways to UK Politics." *Parliamentary Affairs*:gss085.
- Entman, Robert M. 1994. "African Americans According to TV News." *Media Studies Journal* 8 (3):29-38.
- Evans, Elizabeth. 2016. "Diversity Matters: Intersectionality and Women's Representation in the USA and UK." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3):569-585.
- Falk, Erika. 2008. *Women for President: Media Bias in Eight Campaigns*. Illinois: University of Chicago.
- Falk, Erika. 2012. "Clinton and the playing-the-gender-card metaphor in campaign news." *Feminist Media Studies*:1-16.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. 2011. "The Discursive Politics of Feminist Intersectionality." In *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 55-68. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Fisher, Stephen D., Anthony Heath, David Sanders, and Maria Sobolewska. 2011. "Candidate Ethnicity and Electoral Behaviour at the 2010 British General Election." European Consortium for Political Research General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, 20th August.
- Fowler, Linda L, and Jennifer L Lawless. 2009. "Looking for sex in all the wrong places: Press coverage and the electoral fortunes of gubernatorial candidates." *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (03):519-536.
- Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Linda Lopez, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Ricardo Ramírez. 2007. "Gender and ethnicity: Patterns of electoral success and legislative advocacy among Latina and Latino state officials in four states." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4):121-145.
- Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Linda Lopez, and Ricardo Ramírez. 2008. "Representing gender and ethnicity: Strategic intersectionality." *Legislative women: Getting elected, getting ahead*:157-74.
- Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Ricardo Ramirez, and Linda Lopez. 2003. "Gender and Ethnicity: The Political Incorporation of Latina and Latino State Legislators." Inequality and Social Policy Seminar, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Nov.
- Friedman, Sally. 1996. "House committee assignments of women and minority newcomers, 1965-1994." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*:73-81.
- Frisch, Scott A., and Sean Q. Kelly. 2003. "A Place at the Table." *Women & Politics* 25 (3):1-26.
- Gattermann, Katjana, and Sofia Vasilopoulou. 2015. "Absent yet popular? Explaining news visibility of Members of the European Parliament." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (1):121-140.

- Gershon, Sarah Allen. 2012. "When Race, Gender, and the Media Intersect: Campaign News Coverage of Minority Congresswomen." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 33 (2):105-125.
- Gershon, Sarah Allen. 2013. "Media Coverage of Minority Congresswomen and Voter Evaluations: Evidence from an Online Experimental Study." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (3):702-714.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Joanna Everitt. 2003. "Talking Tough: Gender and Reported Speech in Campaign News Coverage." *Political Communication* 20 (3):209-232.
- Gordon, Ann, and Jerry Miller. 2005. *When stereotypes collide: Race/ethnicity, gender, and videostyle in congressional campaigns*. Vol. 4: Peter Lang.
- Graber, Doris. 1984. "Media Magic: Fashioning Characters for the 1983 Mayoral Race." In *The Making of the mayor*, edited by Melvin G. Holli and Paul M. Green. Chicago.
- Gutiérrez, José Angel, Michelle Meléndez, and Sonia A Noyola. 2007. *Chicanas in charge: Texas women in the public arena*: Rowman Altamira.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2004. *The politics of disgust: The public identity of the welfare queen*: NYU Press.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007a. "Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm." *Politics & Gender* 3 (02):248-254.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007b. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (01):63-79.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2009. "An untraditional intersectional analysis of the 2008 election." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (1):243-65.
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol. 2000. "A Latino Gender Gap? Evidence from the 1996 Election." *Milenio* 2 February (Notre Dame: Inter-University Program for Latino Research).
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol, Pei-te Lien, Dianne M. Pinderhughes, and Christine Marie Sierra. 2006. "Gender, Race, and Descriptive Representation in the United States: Findings from the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4):7-41.
- Harmer, Emily, Savigny, Heather, and Ward, Orlanda. Forthcoming. "Are You Tough Enough? Performing Gender in the UK 2015 Leaders' Debates." *Media, Culture and Society*.
- Hayes, Andrew F., and Klaus Krippendorff. 2007. "Answering the Call for a Standard Reliability Measure for Coding Data." *Communication Methods and Measures* 1 (1):77-89.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L Lawless. 2015. "A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (01):95-118.
- Heldman, Caroline, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson. 2005. "'She Brought Only a Skirt': Print Media Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Bid for the Republican Presidential Nomination." *Political Communication* 22 (3):315-335.
- Herrick, Rebekah, and Susan Welch. 1992. "The impact of at-large elections on the representation of black and white women." *National Political Science Review* 3:62-77.

- Herrnson, Paul S, J Celeste Lay, and Atiya Kai Stokes. 2003. "Women running "as women": candidate gender, campaign issues, and voter-targeting strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65 (1):244-255.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1990. "Black feminist thought knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment." Unwin Hyman.
- Hill, Michael. 2013. "Arrogant Posh Boys? The Social Composition of the Parliamentary Conservative Party and the Effect of Cameron's 'A'List." *The Political Quarterly* 84 (1):80-89.
- Ho, Colin, and Jay W Jackson. 2001. "Attitude toward Asian Americans: Theory and measurement." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 31 (8):1553-1581.
- Hochschild, Jennifer L, and Vesla Weaver. 2007. "The skin color paradox and the American racial order." *Social Forces* 86 (2):643-670.
- hooks, bell. 1981. *Ain't I a woman : Black women and feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- hooks, bell. 1984. *Feminist theory from margin to center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993a. "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3):503-525.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993b. "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1):119-147.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3):604-620.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2016. "Electoral Systems and the Legislative Representation of Muslim Ethnic Minority Women in the West, 2000-2010." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3):548-568.
- Hunter, Margaret. 2007. "The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality." *Sociology Compass* 1 (1):237-254.
- Hutchings, Vincent L. 2009. "Change or more of the same? Evaluating racial attitudes in the Obama era." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73 (5):917-942.
- Hutchings, Vincent L, Nicholas A Valentino, Tasha S Philpot, and Ismail K White. 2004. "The compassion strategy race and the gender gap in campaign 2000." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68 (4):512-541.
- Iyengar, Valentino, Ansolahere, and Simon. 1997. "Running As a Woman: Gender Stereotyping in Women's Campaigns." In *Women, Media and Politics*, edited by Pippa Norris, 77-98. Oxford.
- Jalalzai, Farida. 2006. "Women Candidates and the Media: 1992-2000 Elections." *Politics & Policy* 34 (3):606-633.
- Jeffries, Judson L. 2002. "Press Coverage of Black Statewide Candidates: The Case of L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia." *Journal of Black Studies* 32 (6):673-697.
- Jones, Philip Edward. 2014. "Revisiting Stereotypes of Non-White Politicians' Ideological and Partisan Orientations." *American Politics Research* 42 (2):283-310.
- Jordan-Zachery, J.S. 2007. "Am I a black woman or a woman who is black? A few thoughts on the meaning of intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 3 (02):254-263.
- Junn, Jane, and Nadia Brown. 2008. "What Revolution? Incorporating Intersectionality in Women and Politics." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, edited by

- Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez, 64-78. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1992. "Does being male help? An investigation of the effects of candidate gender and campaign coverage on evaluations of US Senate candidates." *The Journal of Politics* 54 (02):497-517.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1994a. "The Distorted Mirror: Press Coverage of Women Candidates for Statewide Office." *The Journal of Politics* 56 (1):154-173.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1994b. "Does Gender Make a Difference? An Experimental Examination of Sex Stereotypes and Press Patterns in Statewide Campaigns." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (1):162-195.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1996. *The political consequences of being a woman : how stereotypes influence the conduct and consequences of political campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Edie N. Goldenberg. 1991. "Women Candidates in the News: An Examination of Gender Differences in U.S. Senate Campaign Coverage." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (2):180-199.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Patrick J Kenney. 1999. *Spectacle of United States Senate Campaigns*: Princeton University Press.
- Keen, Richard and Cracknell, Richard. 2016. "Women in Parliament and Government." House of Commons Library, Standard Note 1250.
- Kinder, Donald R, and Lynn M Sanders. 1990. "Mimicking political debate with survey questions: The case of white opinion on affirmative action for blacks." *Social cognition* 8 (1):73-103.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Nicholas Winter. 2001. "Exploring the Racial Divide: Blacks, Whites, and Opinion on National Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2):439-456.
- King, Deborah K. 1988. "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology." *Signs* 14 (1):42-72.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Kim Fridkin. 2008. "Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective." *Politics & Gender* 4 (03):371-392.
- Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli. 2011. "Intersectional Invisibility: Inquiries inot a Concept of Intersectionality Studies." In *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 187-206. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2000. "Do Citizens Apply Gender Stereotypes to Infer Candidates' Ideological Orientations?" *The Journal of Politics* 62 (02):414-429.
- Larson, Stephanie Greco. 2006. *Media & minorities : the politics of race in news and entertainment*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lavery, Lesley. 2013. "Gender Bias in the Media? An Examination of Local Television News Coverage of Male and Female House Candidates." *Politics & Policy* 41 (6):877-910.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Women, war, and winning elections: Gender stereotyping in the post-September 11th era." *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (3):479-490.
- Lawless, Jennifer L, and Danny Hayes. 2014. "How Uncompetitive Elections and Media Consolidation Impoverish the News and Diminish Democracy." Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 3-6.

- Lawrence, Regina G, and Melody Rose. 2010. "Bringing out the hook: exit talk in media coverage of Hillary Clinton and past presidential campaigns." *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Leiprecht, R., and Helma Lutz. 2005. "Intersektionalität im Klassenzimmer: Ethnizität, Klasse, Geschlecht." *Schule in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft*. Schwalbach:218-234.
- Levine-Rasky, Cynthia. 2011. "Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness." *Social Identities* 17 (2):239-253.
- Lien, Pei-te. 2010. *Making Of Asian America: Through Political Participation*: Temple University Press.
- Lien, Pei-te , Carol Hardy-Fanta, Dianne M. Pinderhughes, and Christine Marie Sierra. 2008. "Expanding Categorization at the Intersection of Race and Gender: "Women of Color" as a Political Category for African American, Latina, Asian American, and American Indian Women." *American Political Science Association*
Boston, MA.
- Lombard, Matthew, Jennifer Snyder-Duch, and C Campanella Bracken. 2002. "Content analysis in mass communication." *Human communication research* 28 (4):587-604.
- Lovenduski, Joni, and Pippa Norris. 2003. "Westminster women: the politics of presence." *Political Studies* 51 (1):84-102.
- Ludvig, Alice. 2006. "Differences between women? Intersecting voices in a female narrative." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3):245-258.
- Lühiste, Maarja, and Susan Banducci. 2016. "Invisible women? Comparing candidates' news coverage in Europe." *Politics & Gender* (12):223-253.
- Lutz, Helma. 2002. "Intersectional Analysis: A Way Out of Multiple Dilemmas." *International Sociological Association Conference*, Brisbane.
- Lutz, Helma, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supick. 2011. "Framing Intersectionality, An Introduction." In *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 1-24. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Lutz, Helma, and N. Wenning. 2001. "Differenzen über Differenz-Einführung in die Debatten." *Unterschiedlich verschieden. Differenz in der Erziehungswissenschaft*.
- Mackay, Fiona. 2004. "Gender and Political Representation in the UK: The State of the 'Discipline'." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 6 (1):99-120.
- Major, Lesa Hatley, and Renita Coleman. 2008. "The intersection of race and gender in election coverage: What happens when the candidates don't fit the stereotypes?" *The Howard Journal of Communications* 19 (4):315-333.
- Manning, Jennifer E. 2011. "Membership of the 112th Congress: A Profile." *Congressional Research Service*.
- Manning, Jennifer E. 2014. "Membership of the 113th Congress: A Profile." *Congressional Research Service*.
- Manning, Jennifer E. 2015. "Membership of the 114th Congress: A Profile." *Congressional Research Service*.

- Marquez, Marisela. 1997. "Redefining Politics: Survey on Chicano and Latina Political Actors." annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Tucson.
- McDermott, Monika L. 1998. "Race and gender cues in low-information elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 51 (4):895-918.
- McGregor, Judy. 1996. *Dangerous democracy : news media politics in New Zealand*. Palmerstone North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press.
- McIlwain, Charlton D., and Stephen M Caliendo. 2011. *Race appeal: How candidates invoke race in US political campaigns*: Temple University Press.
- McIlwain, Charlton D., and Stephen M. Caliendo. 2009. "Black Messages, White Messages: The Differential Use of Racial Appeals by Black and White Candidates." *Journal of Black Studies* 39 (5):732-743.
- Meeks, Lindsey. 2012. "Meeting expectations: Issues, traits, party, and gender in a woman-versus-woman election." *American Association of Public Opinion Research in Orlando, FL*.
- Meeks, Lindsey, and David Domke. 2015. "When Politics Is a Woman's Game: Party and Gender Ownership in Woman-Versus-Woman Elections." *Communication Research*.
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The race card : campaign strategy, implicit messages, and the norm of equality*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Meyers, Marian. 2013. *African American Women in the News: Gender, Race, and Class in Journalism*: Routledge.
- Montoya, Lisa J., Carol Hardy-Fanta, and Sonia Garcia. 2000. "Latina Politics: Gender, Participation, and Leadership." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33 (3):555-561.
- Mügge, Liza M. 2016. "Intersectionality, Recruitment and Selection: Ethnic Minority Candidates in Dutch Parties." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3):512-530.
- Murray, Rainbow. 2010. "Introduction: Gender Stereotypes and Media Coverage of Women Candidates." In *Cracking the highest glass ceiling a global comparison of women's campaigns for executive office*, edited by Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara, Calif.; Denver, Colo; Oxford: Praeger.
- Murray, Rainbow. 2016. "The Political Representation of Ethnic Minority Women in France." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3):586-602.
- Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. "Re-thinking intersectionality." *Feminist review* 89 (1):1-15.
- Neuendorf, Kimberly A. 2002. *The content analysis guidebook*: Sage.
- Niven, David. 2004. "A Fair Test of Media Bias: Party, Race, and Gender in Coverage of the 1992 House Banking Scandal." *Polity* 36 (4):637-649.
- Niven, David, and Jeremy Zilber. 1996. "Media Treatment of Minorities in Congress: Coverage and Its Effects." Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta.
- Niven, David, and Jeremy Zilber. 2001. "Do women and men in Congress cultivate different images? Evidence from congressional web sites." *Political Communication* 18 (4):395-405.
- Norris, Pippa. 1997. *Women, media, and politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- North, Louise. 2008. *The gendered newsroom : how journalists experience the changing world of media*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Nugent, Mary K., and Mona Lena Krook. 2015. "All-Women Shortlists: Myths and Realities." *Parliamentary Affairs*.

- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2012. "Gender and select committee elections in the British House of Commons." *Politics & Gender* 8 (02):178-204.
- O'Neill, Deirdre, Heather Savigny, and Victoria Cann. 2015. "Women Politicians in the UK Press: Not seen and not heard?" *Feminist Media Studies*.
- Pachon, Harry, and Louis DeSipio. 1992. "Latino Elected Officials in the 1990s." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 25 (2):212-217.
- Parliament, APPG Women in. 2014. "Improving Parliament: Creating a Better and More Representative House."
- Payne, J Gregory. 1988. "Shaping the race issue: A special kind of journalism." *Political Communication* 5 (3):145-160.
- Peach, Ceri. 1996. "Does Britain have ghettos?" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*:216-235.
- Philpot, Tasha S., and Hanes Walton, Jr. 2007. "One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1):49-62.
- Phoenix, A. 2011. "Psychosocial Intersections: Contextualising the Accounts of Adults Who Grew Up in Visibly Ethnically Different Households." In *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, edited by H. Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supick, 137-154. Surrey: Ashgate
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1967. *The concept of representation*: Univ of California Press.
- Prestage, Jewel L. 1977. "Black women state legislators: A profile." *A portrait of marginality: The political behavior of the American woman*:401-18.
- Reeves, Keith. 1997. *Voting hopes or fears? : white voters, Black candidates & racial politics in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ringrose, Jessica. 2007. "Rethinking white resistance: exploring the discursive practices and psychical negotiations of 'whiteness' in feminist, anti-racist education." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10 (3):323-344.
- Ross, Karen. 1995. "Gender and party politics: how the press reported the Labour leadership campaign, 1994." *Media, Culture & Society* 17 (3):499-509.
- Ross, Karen. 2002. *Women, politics, media : uneasy relations in comparative perspective*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Ross, Karen, and Margie Comrie. 2012. "The rules of the (leadership) game: Gender, politics and news." *Journalism* 13 (8):969-984.
- Ross, Karen, Elizabeth Evans, Lisa Harrison, Mary Shears, and Khursheed Wadia. 2013. "The Gender of News and News of Gender: A Study of Sex, Politics, and Press Coverage of the 2010 British General Election." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (1):3-20.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender stereotypes and vote choice." *American Journal of Political Science*:20-34.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira, and Kathleen Dolan. 2009. "Do Gender Stereotypes Transcend Party?" *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (3):485-494.
- Scammell, Margaret, and Holli A Semetko. 2008. "Election news coverage in the UK." *Handbook of election news coverage around the world*:73-89.
- Schaefer, Richard T. 2008. *Encyclopedia of race, ethnicity, and society*. Vol. 1: Sage.
- Schaffner, Brian F. 2005. "Priming gender: Campaigning on women's issues in US Senate elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4):803-817.

- Schaffner, Brian F. 2006. "Local News Coverage and the Incumbency Advantage in the U.S. House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31 (4):491-511.
- Schaffner, Brian F., and Mark Gadson. 2004. "Reinforcing Stereotypes? Race and Local Television News Coverage of Congress*." *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (3):604-623.
- Schneider, Monica C, and Angela L Bos. 2013. "Measuring stereotypes of female politicians." *Political Psychology*.
- Schneider, Monica C. 2009. "It Don't Matter if You're Black or White? Exploring the Content of Stereotypes of Black Politicians." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-5, 2009, Chicago, IL.
- Schreier, Margrit. 2012. *Qualitative content analysis in practice*: Sage Publications.
- Schultz, Debra L. 2012. "Translating Intersectionality Theory into Practice: A Tale of Romani-Gadže Feminist Alliance." *Signs* 38 (1):37-43.
- Sears, David O, Colette Van Laar, Mary Carrillo, and Rick Kosterman. 1997. "Is it really racism?: The origins of white Americans' opposition to race-targeted policies." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 61 (1):16-53.
- Serini, Shirley A, Angela A Powers, and Susan Johnson. 1998. "Of horse race and policy issues: A study of gender in coverage of a gubernatorial election by two major metropolitan newspapers." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (1):194-204.
- Shapiro, Ian. 2002. "Problems, methods, and theories in the study of politics, or what's wrong with political science and what to do about it." *Political Theory* 30 (4):596-619.
- Sierra, Christine M, and Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell. 1994. "Chicanas as Political Actors: Rare Literature, Complex Practice." *National Political Science Review* 4:297-317.
- Simien, E.M. 2007. "Doing intersectionality research: From conceptual issues to practical examples." *Politics & Gender* 3 (02):264-271.
- Smith, Eric RAN, and Richard L Fox. 2001. "The electoral fortunes of women candidates for Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (1):205-221.
- Smith, Kevin B. 1997. "When All's Fair: Signs of Parity in Media Coverage of Female Candidates." *Political Communication* 14 (1):71-82.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2006. "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making." *Politics & Gender* 2 (03):400-414.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2008. "Gender, race, and the exercise of power and influence." *Legislative women: Getting elected, getting ahead*:175-96.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7 (03):436-441.
- Sones, Boni, Margaret Moran, and Joni Lovenduski. 2005. *Women in Parliament : the new Suffragettes*. London: Politico's.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle , and Karen Ross. 1996. "Women MPs and the Media: Representing the Body Politic." *Parliamentary Affairs* 49 (1):103-115.
- Staunæs, Dorthe. 2003. "Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together the concepts of intersectionality and subjectification." *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 11 (2):101-110.
- Stevens, Anne. 2007. *Women, power and politics*. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Stewart, Marianne C, and Harold D Clarke. 1992. "The (Un)importance of Party Leaders: Leader Images and Party Choice in the 1987 British Election." *Journal of Politics* 54:447-70.
- Sylvie, George. 1995. "Black mayoral candidates and the press: Running for coverage." *Howard Journal of Communications* 6 (1-2):89-101.
- Takash, Paule Cruz. 1993. "Breaking Barriers To Representation: Chicana/Latina Elected Officials In California." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 22 (3/4):325-360.
- Terkildsen, Nayda. 1993. "When White Voters Evaluate Black Candidates: The Processing Implications of Candidate Skin Color, Prejudice, and Self-Monitoring." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (4):1032-1053.
- Terkildsen, Nayda. 1996. "Media coverage of congressional elections: Linking African American candidates to their race." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Terkildsen, Nayda, and David F. Damore. 1999. "The Dynamics of Racialized Media Coverage in Congressional Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3):680-699.
- Tolley, Erin. 2015a. *Framed: Media and the Coverage of Race in Canadian Politics*: UBC Press.
- Tolley, Erin. 2015b. "Racial Mediation in the Coverage of Candidates' Political Viability: A Comparison of Approaches." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (6):963-984.
- Traugott, Michael W., V. Price, and E. Czilli. 1993. "Polls apart: race, polls, and journalism in mayoral and gubernatorial election campaigns." Annual meeting of the Association for American Public Opinion, St. Charles, IL.
- Trimble, Linda, and Nastasja Treiberg. 2010. "'Either Way, There's Going to Be a Man in Charge': Media Representations of New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark." In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office*, edited by Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Uhlaner, Carole Jean, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1986. "Candidate gender and congressional campaign receipts." *The Journal of Politics* 48 (01):30-50.
- Valentino, Nicholas A, Vincent L Hutchings, and Ismail K White. 2002. "Cues that matter: How political ads prime racial attitudes during campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96 (01):75-90.
- Valentino, Nicholas A, Michael W Traugott, and Vincent L Hutchings. 2002. "Group cues and ideological constraint: A replication of political advertising effects studies in the lab and in the field." *Political Communication* 19 (1):29-48.
- van Zoonen, Liesbet, and Emily Harmer. 2011. "The visual challenge of celebrity politics? Female politicians in Grazia." *Celebrity Studies* 2 (1):94-96.
- Veenstra, Gerry. 2011. "Race, gender, class, and sexual orientation: intersecting axes of inequality and self-rated health in Canada." *International journal for equity in health* 10 (1):1.
- Vinson, Danielle. 2003. *Local media coverage of Congress and its members: Through local eyes*: Hampton Press (NJ).

- Walsh, Clare. 1998. "Gender and mediatized political discourse: a case study of press coverage of Margaret Beckett's campaign for the Labour leadership in 1994." *Language and Literature* 7 (3):199-214.
- Ward, Lucy. . 2000. "Learning from the 'Babe' Experience: How the Finest Hour Became a Fiasco." In *New Gender Agenda*, edited by Anna Coote. London: IPPR.
- Webster, Wendy. 1990. *Not a man to match her*. London: Women's Press.
- West, Carolyn M. 1995. "Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel: Historical images of Black women and their implications for psychotherapy." *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 32 (3):458.
- Williams, F. 1989. *Social policy: a critical introduction*: Polity Press Cambridge.
- Williams, F. 1990. "White/Black perceptions of the electability of Black political candidates." *National Political Science Review* 2:145-164.
- Winker, Gabriele, and Nina Degele. 2011. "Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 18 (1):51-66.
- Wong, Lisa. 2013. "Support Strategies for Asian American Women Leaders in Massachusetts."
- Wong, Paul, Chienping Faith Lai, Richard Nagasawa, and Tieming Lin. 1998. "Asian Americans as a model minority: Self-perceptions and perceptions by other racial groups." *Sociological perspectives* 41 (1):95-118.
- Woodall, Gina Serignese, and Kim L Fridkin. 2007. "Shaping women's chances: Stereotypes and the media." *Rethinking madam president: Are we ready for a woman in the White House*:69-86.
- Yee, Albert H. 1992. "Asians as stereotypes and students: Misperceptions that persist." *Educational Psychology Review* 4 (1):95-132.
- Zilber, Jeremy, and David Niven. 2000. *Racialized coverage of Congress : the news in black and white*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Zoonen, Liesbet van. 1994. *Feminist media studies*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendices

1: US leadership roles

Office	Name	Party	Race/Gender
Chair, Homeland Security Standing Committee	King, Peter T.	Rep	White male
Chair, Joint Committee on Printing	Harper, Gregg	Rep	White male
Majority Whip	McCarthy, Kevin	Rep	White male
Co-Chair (Policy) Democratic Steering & Policy Committee	Miller, George	Dem	White male
Chair, Energy & Commerce Standing Committee	Upton, Fred	Rep	White male
Chair, Education & Work Standing Committee	Kline, John	Rep	White male
	McKeon, Howard P.		
Chair, Armed Services Standing Committee	"Buck"	Rep	White male
Chair, Veterans' Affairs Standing Committee	Miller, Jeff	Rep	White male
Chair, Small Business Standing Committee	Graves, Sam	Rep	White male
Chair, Democratic Caucus	Larson, John B.	Dem	White male
Chair, Natural Resources Standing Committee	Hastings, Doc	Rep	White male
Chair, House Republican Policy Committee	Price, Tom	Rep	White male
Chair, Transportation & Infrastructure Standing Committee	Mica, John	Rep	White male
Chair, Budget Standing Committee	Ryan, Paul	Rep	White male
Chair, House Administration Standing Committee	Lungren, Dan	Rep	White male
Chair, Judiciary Standing Committee	Smith, Lamar	Rep	White male
Chair, Oversight & Government Reform Standing Committee	Issa, Darrell	Rep	White male
Chair, Joint Economic Committee	Brady, Kevin	Rep	White male
Speaker of the House	Boehner, John A.	Rep	White male
Chair, Agriculture Standing Committee	Lucas, Frank D.	Rep	White male
Majority Leader	Cantor, Eric I.	Rep	White male
Chair, Science, Space & Technology Standing Committee	Hall, Ralph M.	Rep	White male
Republican Conference Secretary	Carter, John R.	Rep	White male
Chair, Financial Services Standing Committee	Bachus, Spencer	Rep	White male
Chair, Intelligence Permanent Select Committee	Rogers, Mike	Rep	White male
Chair, Ethics Standing Committee	Bonner, Jo	Rep	White male
Chair, Ways and Means Standing Committee/			
Chair, Joint Committee on Taxation	Camp, Dave	Rep	White male
Chair, House Republican Conference/ Co			
Chair, Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction	Hensarling, Jeb	Rep	White male
Democratic Whip	Hoyer, Steny H.	Dem	White male
Chief Deputy Republican Whip	Roskam, Peter J.	Rep	White male
NRCC Chair	Sessions, Pete	Rep	White male

Office	Name	Party	Race/Gender
Chair, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee	Israel, Steve J.	Dem	White male
Chair, Appropriations Standing Committee	Rogers, Harold "Hal"	Rep	White male
Co-Chair, (Steering) Democratic Steering & Policy Committee	DeLauro, Rosa L.	Dem	White female
Democratic Leader/ Chair, Democratic Steering & Policy Committee	Pelosi, Nancy	Dem	White female
Republican Conference Vice-Chair	Rodgers, Cathy McMorris	Rep	White female
Assistant Democratic Leader	Clyburn, James E. "Jim"	Dem	Minority male
Chair, Foreign Affairs Standing Committee	Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	Rep	Minority female

2. Labour leadership roles

Office	Name	Race/Gender
Cabinet		
Prime Minister	Brown, Gordon	White male
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Darling, Alistair	White male
Secretary of State for Justice	Straw, Jack	White male
Chief Whip	Brown, Nick	White male
Commons Leader	Harman, Harriet	White female
Secretary of State for Culture, Media & Sport	Bradshaw, Ben	White male
Secretary of State for Defence	Ainsworth, Bob	White male
Secretary of State for International Development	Alexander, Douglas	White male
Secretary of State for Energy & Climate Change	Miliband, Ed	White male
Secretary of State for Children, Schools & Families	Balls, Ed	White male
Minister of State for Business	McFadden, Pat	White male
Secretary of State for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs	Benn, Hilary	White male
Minister for the Cabinet Office	Jowell, Tessa	White female
Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs	Miliband, David	White male
Secretary of Health	Burnham, Andy	White male
Secretary of State for Home Department	Johnson, Alan	White male
Secretary of State for Communities & Local Government	Denham, John	White male
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland	Woodward, Shaun	White male
Chief Secretary to the Treasury	Byrne, Liam	White male
Secretary of State for Work & Pensions	Cooper, Yvette	White female
Secretary of State for Wales	Hain, Peter	White male
Secretary of State Scotland	Murphy, Jim	White male
Also Attending Cabinet		
Minister of State for Housing	Healey, John	White male
Attend Cabinet when ministerial duties on agenda		
Minister of State for Children	Primarolo, Dawn	White female
Minister of State for Employment	Knight, Jim	White male
Minister of State for Regional Economic Development	Winterton, Rosie	White female
Committee Chairs		
Administration Committee	Doran, Frank	White male
Committees on Arms Export Controls	Berry, Roger	White male
Communities & Local Government	Starkey, Phyllis	White female
European Scrutiny Committee	Connarty, Michael	White male
Standards & Privileges Committee	Barron, Kevin	White male
Finance & Services Committee	Bell, Stuart	White male
Foreign Affairs Committee	Gapes, Mike	White male
Regulatory Reform Committee	Miller, Andrew	White male
Home Affairs Committee	Vaz, Keith	Minority male
Transport Committee	Ellman, Louise	White female
Welsh Affairs Committee	Francis, Hywel	White male
Work & Pensions Committee	Rooney, Terry	White male

3. Conservative leadership roles

Office	Name	Race/Gender
Shadow Cabinet		
Leader of the Opposition	Cameron, David	White male
Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer	Osborne, George	White male
Party Chairman	Pickles, Eric	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Justice	Grieve, Dominic	White male
Chief Whip	McLoughlin, Patrick	White male
Shadow Leader of the Commons	Young, George	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media & Sport	Hunt, Jeremy	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Defence	Fox, Liam	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for International Development	Mitchell, Andrew	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Energy & Climate Change	Clark, Greg	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Children, Schools & Families	Gove, Michael	White male
Shadow Minister for Universities & Skills	Willetts, David	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs	Herbert, Nick	White male
Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office	Maude, Francis	White male
Shadow Foreign Secretary	Hague, William	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Health	Lansley, Andrew	White male
Shadow Home Secretary	Grayling, Chris	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation & Skills	Clarke, Ken	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Communities & Local Government	Spelman, Caroline	White female
Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland	Paterson, Owen	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Transport	Villiers, Theresa	White female
Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury	Hammond, Philip	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Work & Pensions	May, Theresa	White female
Shadow Secretary of State for Wales	Gillan, Cheryl	White female
Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland	Mundell, David	White male
Chairman of Policy Review	Letwin, Oliver	White male
Shadow Minister for Europe	Francois, Mark	White male
Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Maude, Francis	White male
Also Attending Shadow Cabinet		
Shadow Minister for Housing	Schapps, Grant	White male
Shadow Minister for Prisons	Duncan, Alan	White male
Select Committee Chairs		
Chair of the Energy & Climate Change Select Committee	Yeo, Tim	White male
Chair of the Culture, Media & Sport Select Committee	Whittingdale, John	White male
Chair of the Business, Education & Skills Select Committee	Luff, Peter	White male
Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee	Leigh, Edward	White male

Chairman of the House of Commons Procedure
Committee

Knight, Greg

White Male

4. Liberal Democrat leadership roles

Office	Name	Race/Gender
	Shadow Cabinet	
Leader	Clegg, Nick	White male
Deputy Leader & Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer	Cable, Vince	White male
Chief Whip	Burstow, Paul	White male
Shadow Home Secretary	Huhne, Chris	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Transport	Baker, Norman	White male
Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury	Browne, Jeremy	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland & Scotland	Carmichael, Alistair	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs	Davey, Edward	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs	Farron, Tim	White male
Shadow Minister for Youth & Equalities	Featherstone, Lynne	White female
Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media & Sport	Foster, Don	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Communities & Local Government	Goldsworthy, Julia	white female
Shadow Secretary of State for Defence	Harvey, Nick	White male
Shadow Leader of the House of Commons	Heath, David	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Energy & Climate Change	Hughes, Simon	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Health	Lamb, Norman	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Children, Schools & Families	Laws, David	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for International Development	Moore, Michael	White male
Shadow Minister for Housing	Teather, Sarah	white female
Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation & Skills	Thurso, John	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Work & Pensions	Webb, Steve	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Wales	Williams, Roger	White male
Shadow Secretary of State for Innovation, Universities & Skills	Williams, Stephen	White male
Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Willott, Jenny	White male
	Also attending Shadow Cabinet	
Chief of Staff	Alexander, Danny	White male
Chair of the Parliamentary Party	Burt, Lorely	White female
Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Leader	Hunter, Mark	White male
Chair of the Parliamentary Campaigns Team	Rennie, Willie	White male
	Select Committee Chairs	
Justice Committee	Beith, Alan	White male
International Development Committee	Bruce, Malcom	White male

5: US sampling frame summary statistics by intersectional identity

Group	White male		White female		Minority male		Minority female		Total	
Republican (N/%)	214	60.1	25	33.8	15	21.7	2	6.1	256	48.1
Democrat (N/%)	142	39.9	49	66.2	54	78.3	31	93.9	276	51.9
Incumbent (N/%)	236	66.3	39	52.7	39	56.5	22	66.7	336	63.2
Incumbent year elected (mean/SD)	2003	9.6	2003	7.5	1999	10.3	2002	7.6	2002	9.4
Terms (mean/SD)	5.1	4.8	4.9	3.8	6.8	5.1	5.5	3.8	5.3	4.7
Competitiveness: incumbents (mean/SD)	1.4	0.9	1.5	1.0	1.2	0.7	1.0	0.0	1.4	0.9
Competitiveness: challengers (mean/SD)	2.0	1.1	2.1	1.1	2.1	1.0	1.5	0.9	2.0	1.1
Vote capture: incumbents (mean/SD)	63.7	11.7	62.4	9.7	71.1	13.6	75.3	12.7	65.1	12.3
Vote capture: challengers (mean/SD)	49.9	8.5	46.9	6.0	53.0	13.1	55.9	12.0	50.2	9.4
Unopposed (N/%)	22	6.2	1	1.4	5	7.3	4	12.1	32	6.02
Single party race (N/%)	7	2.0	1	1.4	2	2.9	3	9.1	13	2.4
African American (N/%)			N/A		28	40.6	17	51.5	44	8.3
Asian American (N/%)			N/A		11	15.9	6	18.2	17	3.2
Hispanic (N/%)			N/A		28	40.6	9	27.3	37	7.0
Native American (N/%)			N/A		2	2.9	0	0.0	2	0.4
Assyrian American (N/%)			N/A		0	0.0	1	3.0	1	0.2
Northeast (N/%)	72	20.2	19	25.7	9	13.0	3	9.1	103	19.4
Midwest (N/%)	89	25.0	21	28.4	11	15.9	4	12.1	125	23.5
South (N/%)	122	34.3	15	20.3	24	34.8	9	27.3	170	32.0
West (N/%)	73	20.5	19	25.7	25	36.2	17	51.5	134	25.2

6: British sampling frame summary statistics by intersectional identity

Variable	White male		White female		Minority male		Minority female		Total	
Conservative (N/%)	233	49.1	51	28.7	12	42.9	2	13.3	298	42.8
Liberal Democrat (N/%)	52	11.0	16	9.0	3	10.7	1	6.7	72	10.3
Labour (N/%)	190	40.0	111	62.4	13	46.4	12	80.0	326	46.8
Incumbent (N/%)	265	55.8	69	38.8	10	35.7	2	13.3	346	49.7
Incumbent year elected (mean/SD)	1996	8.6	1999	7.8	2003	3.1	1996	12.7	1997	8.5
Terms (mean/SD)	3.2	2.0	2.6	1.9	1.9	0.9	3.0	2.8	3.1	1.9
Competitiveness: incumbents (mean/SD)	2.4	1.5	2.6	1.6	2.3	1.4	1.5	0.7	2.4	1.5
Competitiveness: challengers (mean/SD)	3.5	1.4	3.7	1.5	3.1	1.7	2.8	1.9	3.5	1.5
Vote capture: incumbents (mean/SD)	47.1	8.0	42.7	8.1	44.3	10.0	48.1	9.8	46.1	8.2
Vote capture: challengers (mean/SD)	40.8	8.2	40.1	7.9	41.0	10.6	41.0	9.9	40.6	8.3
Black UK (N/%)			N/A		7	25.0	5	33.3	12	27.9
Asian UK (N/%)			N/A		19	67.9	10	66.7	29	67.4
UK Greek Cypriot (N/%)			N/A		1	3.6	0	0.0	1	2.3
UK Iraqi (N/%)			N/A		1	3.6	0	0.0	1	2.3
East Midlands (%/N)	37	7.8	18	10.1	2	7.1	0	0.0	57	8.2
East of England (%/N)	55	11.6	12	6.7	1	3.6	1	6.7	69	9.9
London (%/N)	48	10.1	25	14.0	8	28.6	5	33.3	86	12.4
North East (%/N)	15	3.2	11	6.2	0	0.0	1	6.7	27	3.9
North West (%/N)	58	12.2	21	11.8	1	3.6	3	20.0	83	11.9
Scotland (%/N)	35	7.4	15	8.4	1	3.6	0	0.0	51	7.3
South East (%/N)	69	14.5	19	10.7	5	17.9	2	13.3	95	13.7
South West (%/N)	51	10.7	16	9.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	70	10.1
Wales (%/N)	30	6.3	10	5.6	0	0.0	1	6.7	41	5.9
West Midlands (%/N)	40	8.4	19	10.7	4	14.3	2	13.3	65	9.3
Yorkshire & The Humber (%/N)	37	7.8	12	6.7	3	10.7	0	0.0	52	7.5

7: US matched sample summary statistics

Group	White male		White female		Minority male		Minority female		Total	
Republican (N/%)	2	6.1	4	12.1	1	3.0	2	6.1	9	6.8
Democrat (N/%)	31	93.9	29	87.9	32	97.0	31	93.9	123	93.2
Incumbent (N/%)	22	66.7	21	63.6	22	66.7	22	66.7	87	65.9
Incumbent year elected (mean/SD)	2001	7.1	2003	8.2	2001	6.5	2002	7.6	2002	7.3
Terms (mean/SD)	5.9	3.6	5.1	4.0	6.0	3.3	5.5	3.8	5.7	3.6
Competitiveness: incumbents (mean/SD)	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Competitiveness: challengers (mean/SD)	1.5	0.9	1.5	0.9	1.5	0.9	1.5	0.9	1.5	0.9
Vote capture: incumbents (mean/SD)	68.2	9.2	67.1	6.5	70.4	12.0	75.3	12.7	70.3	10.7
Vote capture: challengers (mean/SD)	53.3	9.9	45.2	6.2	55.5	14.5	55.9	12.0	52.3	11.5
Unopposed (N/%)	0	0	0	0	2	6.1	4	12.1	6	4.6
Single party race (N/%)	2	6.1	1	3.0	2	6.1	3	9.1	8	6.1
African American (N/%)			N/A		16	48.5	17	51.5	33	25.0
Asian American (N/%)			N/A		4	12.1	6	18.2	10	7.6
Hispanic (N/%)			N/A		13	39.4	9	27.3	22	16.7
Native American (N/%)			N/A		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Assyrian American (N/%)			N/A		0	0.0	1	3.0	1	0.8
Northeast (N/%)	3	9.1	7	21.2	3	9.1	3	9.1	16	12.1
Midwest (N/%)	4	12.1	6	18.2	4	12.1	4	12.1	18	13.6
South (N/%)	9	27.3	10	30.3	13	39.4	9	27.3	41	31.1
West (N/%)	17	51.5	10	30.3	13	39.4	17	51.5	57	43.2

8: British matched sample summary statistics

Variable	White male		White female		Minority male		Minority female		Total	
Conservative (N/%)	4	13.3	4	13.3	6	40.0	2	13.3	16	17.8
Liberal Democrat (N/%)	2	6.7	2	6.7	2	13.3	1	6.7	7	7.8
Labour (N/%)	24	80.0	24	80.0	7	46.7	12	80.0	67	74.4
Incumbent (N/%)	4	13.3	4	13.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	12	13.3
Incumbent year elected (mean/SD)	1992	8.6	1997	9.8	2003	3.5	1996	12.7	1996	8.8
Terms (mean/SD)	4.3	2.1	3.0	2.3	2.0	1.4	3.0	2.8	3.3	2.1
Competitiveness: incumbents (mean/SD)	1.5	0.6	1.5	0.6	2.0	1.4	1.5	0.7	1.6	0.7
Competitiveness: challengers (mean/SD)	2.8	1.8	2.8	1.8	2.8	1.9	2.8	1.9	2.8	1.8
Vote capture: incumbents (mean/SD)	46.9	6.3	45.0	8.0	51.4	11.2	48.1	9.8	47.2	7.3
Vote capture: challengers (mean/SD)	40.6	12.4	42.2	8.2	41.5	12.1	41.0	9.9	41.3	10.5
Black UK (N/%)		N/A			6	40	5	33.3	11	36.7
Asian UK (N/%)		N/A			7	46.67	10	66.7	17	56.7
UK Greek Cypriot (N/%)		N/A			1	6.67	0	0	1	3.3
UK Iraqi (N/%)		N/A			1	6.67	0	0	1	3.3
East Midlands (%/N)	1	3.33	1	3.33	1	6.67	0	0	3	3.3
East of England (%/N)	2	6.7	2	6.7	0	0.0	1	6.7	5	5.6
London (%/N)	7	23.3	5	16.7	6	40.0	5	33.3	23	25.6
North East (%/N)	3	10.0	5	16.7	0	0.0	1	6.7	9	10.0
North West (%/N)	4	13.3	6	20.0	0	0.0	3	20.0	13	14.4
Scotland (%/N)	1	3.3	2	6.7	1	6.7	0	0.0	4	4.4
South East (%/N)	5	16.7	2	6.7	3	20.0	2	13.3	12	13.3
South West (%/N)	0	0.0	3	10.0	2	13.3	0	0.0	5	5.6
Wales (%/N)	3	10.0	2	6.7	0	0.0	1	6.7	6	6.7
West Midlands (%/N)	2	6.7	1	3.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	7	7.8
Yorkshire & The Humber (%/N)	2	6.7	1	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.3

9: US candidate sample

Minority female	Party	Seat	Status	Minority male	Party	Seat	Status
Bass, Karen R.	D	CA37	I	Sanchez, David	D	CA40	C
Beatty, Joyce	D	OH3	C	Vargas, Juan	D	CA51	C
Beutler, Jaime Herrera	R	WA3	I	Thompson, Bennie G.	D	MS2	I
Brown, Corrine	D	FL5	I	Chen, Jay	D	CA39	C
Chu, Judy	D	CA27	I	Kang, Sukhee	D	CA45	C
Clarke, Yvette D.	D	NY9	I	Bera, Ami	D	CA7	C
Demings, Val B.	D	FL10	C	Vela, Filemon	D	TX34	C
Duckworth, Tammy	D	IL8	C	Castro, Joaquin	D	TX20	C
Edwards, Donna F.	D	MD4	I	Ruiz, Raul	D	CA36	C
Erhard, Evelyn Madrid	D	NM2	C	Payne, Donald M., Jr.	D	NJ10	C
Eshoo, Anna G.	D	CA18	I	Lawson, Al	D	FL2	C
Fudge, Marcia L.	D	OH11	I	Ewing, John W., Jr.	D	NE2	C
Gabbard, Tulsi	D	HI2	C	Hinojosa, Rubén	D	TX15	I
Hanabusa, Colleen W.	D	HI1	I	Honda, Mike	D	CA17	I
Jackson Lee, Sheila	D	TX18	I	Labrador, Raul R.	R	ID1	I
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D	TX30	I	Richmond, Cedric	D	LA2	I
Lee, Barbara	D	CA13	I	Green, Al	D	TX9	I
Love, Mia B.	R	UT4	C	Johnson, Henry C. "Hank"	D	GA4	I
Lujan Grisham, Michelle	D	NM1	C	Ellison, Keith	D	MN5	I
Matsui, Doris	D	CA6	I	Meeks, Gregory W.	D	NY5	I
McLeod, Gloria Negrete	D	CA35	C	Becerra, Xavier	D	CA34	I
Meng, Grace	D	NY6	C	Cleaver, Emanuel, II	D	MO5	I
Moore, Gwen	D	WI4	I	Grijalva, Raúl M.	D	AZ3	I
Napolitano, Grace F.	D	CA32	I	Lujan, Ben R.	D	NM3	I
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	D	CA40	I	Baca, Joe	D	CA35	I
Sánchez, Linda T.	D	CA38	I	Carson, Andre D.	D	IN7	I
Sanchez, Loretta	D	CA46	I	Cummings, Elijah	D	MD7	I
Sewell, Terri	D	AL7	I	Bishop, Sanford	D	GA2	I
Tinubu, Gloria Bromell	D	SC7	C	Fattah, Chaka	D	PA2	I
Velazquez, Nydia M.	D	NY7	I	Cuellar, Henry	D	TX28	I
Ward, Ella P.	D	VA4	C	Hastings, Alcee L.	D	FL20	I
Waters, Maxine	D	CA43	I	Pastor, Ed	D	AZ7	I
Wilson, Frederica S.	D	FL24	I	Scott, David	D	GA13	I

White female	Party	Seat	Status	White male	Party	Seat	Status
Roby, Martha	R	AL2	I	Schrader, Kurt	D	OR5	I
Yoder, Shelli	D	IN9	C	Pocan, Mark	D	WI2	C
Lummis, Cynthia M.	R	WY0	I	Schweikert, David	R	AZ6	I
Gulleson, Pam	D	ND0	C	Watt, Mel	D	NC12	I
Pingree, Chellie	D	ME1	I	Polis, Jared	D	CO2	I
Tsongas, Nicola S.	D	MA3	I	Welch, Peter	D	VT0	I
Ehrlich, Jessica	D	FL13	C	Fitzgerald, Keith	D	FL16	C
Healy-Abrams, Joyce R.	D	OH7	C	Graves, Jim	D	MN6	C
Castor, Kathy	D	FL14	I	Cohen, Steve	D	TN9	I
Porterfield, Karen	D	WA8	C	Rogers, Lee C.	D	CA25	C
Lofgren, Zoe	D	CA19	I	Farr, Sam	D	CA20	I
Schakowsky, Janice D.	D	IL9	I	Walz, Tim	D	MN1	I
Beaven, Heather	D	FL6	C	Huffman, Jared	D	CA2	C
Bonamici, Suzanne	D	OR1	I	Perlmutter, Ed	D	CO7	I
Wasserman Schultz, Debbie	D	FL23	I	Doggett, Lloyd	D	TX35	I
Kaptur, Marcy	D	OH9	I	Scott, Robert C. "Bobby"	D	VA3	I
Hahn, Janice	D	CA44	I	Sherman, Brad	D	CA30	I
Kirkpatrick, Ann	D	AZ1	C	Strickland, Tony	R	CA26	C
Titus, Dina	D	NV1	C	Heck, Denny	D	WA10	C
Speier, Jackie	D	CA14	I	Schiff, Adam	D	CA28	I
Roberts, Jennifer	D	NC9	C	Swalwell, Eric	D	CA15	C
Falcone, Vivianne C.	D	NY2	C	Kennedy, Joseph P., III	D	MA4	C
McCollum, Betty	D	MN4	I	Lipinski, Daniel William	D	IL3	I
Davis, Susan A.	D	CA53	I	Thompson, Mike	D	CA5	I
McCarthy, Carolyn	D	NY4	I	Blumenauer, Earl	D	OR3	I
Schwartz, Allyson Y.	D	PA13	I	Larsen, Rick	D	WA2	I
DeGette, Diana	D	CO1	I	Smith, Adam	D	WA9	I
Ellmers, Renee	R	NC2	I	Connolly, Gerald E. "Gerry"	D	VA11	I
Knott, Joyce	D	SC5	C	Stewart, Eric	D	TN4	C
Maloney, Carolyn B.	D	NY12	I	Nadler, Jerrold L.	D	NY10	I
Keever, Patsy	D	NC10	C	Douglass, John Wade	D	VA5	C
Lowey, Nita M.	D	NY17	I	McDermott, Jim	D	WA7	I
Black, Diane	R	TN6	I	Carney, John C., Jr.	D	DE0	I

10: British candidate sample

Minority female	Party	Seat	Status	Minority male	Party	Seat	Status
Abbott, Diane (1987)	L	Hackney North and Stoke Newington	I	Lammy, David	L	Tottenham	I
Ali, Rushanara	L	Bethnal Green and Bow	C	Charalambous, Bambos	L	Enfield Southgate	C
Butler, Dawn (2005)	L	Brent Central	I	Khan, Sadiq	L	Tooting	I
David, Annajoy	L	Scarborough and Whitby	C	Emmanuel-Jones, Wilfred	C	Chippenham	C
Grant, Helen	C	Maidstone and The Weald	C	Kwarteng, Kwasi	C	Spelthorne	C
Khan, Maryam	L	Bury North	C	Agarwal, Victor	L	Swindon North	C
Klein, Sonia	L	Ilford North	C	Mahfouz, Bassam	L	Ealing Central and Acton	C
Mahmood, Shabana	L	Birmingham Ladywood	C	Sarwar, Anas	L	Glasgow Central	C
Nandy, Lisa	L	Wigan	C	Afriyie, Adam	C	Windsor	C
Onwurah, Chi	L	Newcastle upon Tyne Central	C	Javid, Sajid	C	Bromsgrove	C
Patel, Priti	C	Witham	C	Zahawi, Nadhim	C	Stratford-on-Avon	C
Qureshi, Yasmin	L	Bolton South East	C	Gyimah, Sam	C	Surrey East	C
Rees, Mari	L	Preseli Pembrokeshire	C	Masroor, Ajmal	LD	Bethnal Green and Bow	C
Sheehan, Shas	LD	Wimbledon	C	Haq, Zuffar	LD	Harborough	C
Vaz, Valerie	L	Walsall South	C	Umunna, Chuka	L	Streatham	C

White Male 1	Party	Seat	Status	White Male 2	Party	Seat	Status
Raynsford, Nick	L	Greenwich and Woolwich	I	Corbyn, Jeremy	L	Islington North	I
Linton, Martin	L	Battersea	C	Palmer, Nick	L	Broxtowe	C
Cruddas, Jon	L	Dagenham and Rainham	I	Thomas, Gareth	L	Harrow West	I
Pakes, Andrew	L	Milton Keynes North	C	Adams, John	L	Dartford	C
Collins, Damian	C	Folkestone and Hythe	C	Lee, Phillip	C	Bracknell	C
Grunshaw, Clive	L	Lancaster and Fleetwood	C	Bent, Nick	L	Warrington South	C
King, Stuart	L	Putney	C	Ryan, Gerry	L	Croydon Central	C
McClymont, Gregg	L	Cumbernauld, Kilsyth and Kirki	C	Morris, Grahame	L	Easington	C
Rotheram, Steve	L	Liverpool Walton	C	Evans, Christopher	L	Islwyn	C
Lavery, Ian	L	Wansbeck	C	Cunningham, Alex	L	Stockton North	C
Hancock, Matthew	C	Suffolk West	C	Poulter, Daniel	C	Suffolk Central and Ipswich North	C
Reynolds, Jonathan	L	Stalybridge and Hyde	C	Turner, Karl	L	Hull East	C
Hughes, Ronald	L	Aberconwy	C	Pugh, Alan	L	Arfon	C
Shaw, John	LD	Basingstoke	C	Dobson, Craig	LD	Beverley and Holderness	C
Dromey, Jack	L	Birmingham Erdington	C	Hunt, Tristram	L	Stoke-on-Trent Central	C

White female 1	Party	Seat	Status	White female 2	Party	Seat	Status
Ruddock, Joan	L	Lewisham Deptford	I	Hoey, Kate	L	Vauxhall	I
Powell, Lucy	L	Manchester Withington	C	Russell, Christine	L	Chester, City of	C
Creagh, Mary	L	Wakefield	I	Seabeck, Alison	L	Plymouth Moor View	I
McCarthy-Fry, Sarah	L	Portsmouth North	C	Murray, Teresa	L	Rochester and Strood	C
Perry, Claire	C	Devizes	C	Leadsom, Andrea	C	Northamptonshire South	C
Martin, Penny	L	Blackpool North and Cleveleys	C	McGovern, Alison	L	Wirral South	C
Moore, Alison	L	Finchley and Golders Green	C	Murray, Katrina	L	Dundee East	C
Nash, Pamela	L	Airdrie and Shotts	C	Creasy, Stella	L	Walthamstow	C
Green, Kate	L	Stretford and Urmston	C	Phillipson, Bridget	L	Houghton and Sunderland South	C
Elliott, Julie	L	Sunderland Central	C	Glass, Pat	L	Durham North West	C
Truss, Elizabeth	C	Norfolk South West	C	Coffey, Therese	C	Suffolk Coastal	C
Fovargue, Yvonne	L	Makerfield	C	Pearce, Teresa	L	Erith and Thamesmead	C
Davies, Alana	L	Vale of Glamorgan	C	Morgan, Julie	L	Cardiff North	C
Gasson, Emily	LD	Dorset North	C	Woods, Carol	LD	Durham, City of	C
Reynolds, Emma	L	Wolverhampton North East	C	Chapman, Jenny	L	Darlington	C

11: US local newspaper sample

NB: Publications from an adjacent district are indicated with a single asterisk, and those from which articles were sourced from the website are indicated with a double asterisk.

Title	Circulation	Candidate(s)
<i>Albuquerque Journal</i>	91949	Lujan, Ben R. Lujan Grisham, Michelle
<i>Arizona Republic*</i>	290653	Pastor, Ed Grijalva, Raúl M. Kirkpatrick, Ann Schweikert, David
<i>Asheville Citizen-Times*</i>	30224	Keever, Patsy
<i>Atlanta Journal-Constitution</i>	198568	Johnson, Henry C. "Hank"
	198568	Bishop, Sanford
	198568	Scott, David
<i>Blade</i>	96362	Kaptur, Marcy
<i>Bloomington Herald-Times</i>	44197	Yoder, Shelli
<i>Burlington Free Press*</i>	29059	Welch, Peter
<i>Chicago Sun Times</i>	451864	Lipinski, Daniel William
<i>Casper Star-Tribune</i>	23904	Lummis, Cynthia M.
<i>Charlotte Observer</i>	139834	Roberts, Jennifer Watt, Mel
<i>Clarion Ledger*</i>	134152	Thompson, Bennie G.
<i>Cleveland Daily Banner</i>	11208	Stewart, Eric
<i>Columbian</i>	41220	Beutler, Jaime Herrera
<i>Columbus Dispatch</i>	133501	Beatty, Joyce
<i>Commercial Appeal</i>	94723	Cohen, Steve
<i>Corpus Christi Caller-Times</i>	42864	Vela, Filemon
<i>Courier News</i>	15118	Duckworth, Tammy
<i>Daily Camera, Sunday Camera</i>	30372	Polis, Jared
<i>Daily Herald, The Sunday Herald</i>	94740	Schakowsky, Janice D.
<i>Daily News</i>	83922	Schiff, Adam Chu, Judy Rogers, Lee C. Hahn, Janice Strickland, Tony McLeod, Gloria Negrete Waters, Maxine Baca, Joe Sherman, Brad Sánchez, Linda T. Bass, Karen R. Roybal-Allard, Lucille Becerra, Xavier Sanchez, David Napolitano, Grace F.
<i>Daily Progress</i>	21809	Douglass, John Wade

Title	Circulation	Candidate(s)
<i>Dallas Morning News</i>	409696	Johnson, Eddie Bernice
<i>Daytona Beach News-Journal</i>	65834	Beaven, Heather
<i>Desert Sun*</i>	36583	Ruiz, Raul
<i>Fayetteville Observer</i>	45263	Ellmers, Renee
<i>Forum* **</i>	42928	Gulleson, Pam
<i>Herald</i>	20291	Knott, Joyce
<i>Honolulu Star-Advertiser</i>	200682	Hanabusa, Colleen W. Gabbard, Tulsi
<i>Houston Chronicle</i>	335975	Green, Al Jackson Lee, Sheila
<i>Idaho Press-Tribune</i>	19937	Labrador, Raul R.
<i>Indianapolis Star</i>	159037	Carson, Andre D.
<i>Kansas City Star</i>	186350	Cleaver, Emanuel, II
<i>Las Cruces Sun-News</i>	23025	Erhard, Evelyn Madrid
<i>Las Vegas Review Journal</i>	252110	Titus, Dina
<i>Manassas News & Messenger</i>	11619	Connolly, Gerald E. "Gerry"
<i>Milwaukee Journal Sentinel</i>	202573	Moore, Gwen
<i>Montgomery Advertiser*</i>	30869	Roby, Martha Sewell, Terri A. Thompson, Mike Falcone, Vivianne C. Meeks, Gregory W. Lowey, Nita M. Maloney, Carolyn B.
<i>Napa Valley Register**</i>	14187	Clarke, Yvette D.
<i>New York Post</i>	547508	McCarthy, Carolyn Meng, Grace Nadler, Jerrold L. Velazquez, Nydia M.
<i>Olympian</i>	23108	Heck, Denny
<i>Omaha World Herald /Sunday World Herald</i>	132416	Ewing, John W., Jr.
<i>Oregonian</i>	226566	Blumenauer, Earl
<i>Orlando Sentinel**</i>	161837	Brown, Corrine Demings, Val B.
<i>Panama City News-Herald</i>	21980	Lawson, Al
<i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	301639	Schwartz, Allyson Y. Fattah, Chaka
<i>Plain Dealer Plain Dealer Sunday</i>	294939	Fudge, Marcia L.
<i>Portland Press Herald</i>	44232	Pingree, Chellie
<i>Register</i>	320628	Sanchez, Loretta Chen, Jay Kang, Sukhee
<i>Repository</i>	50877	Healy-Abrams, Joyce R.
<i>Richmond Times-Dispatch</i>	103604	Scott, Robert C. "Bobby"
<i>Sacramento Bee</i>	195030	Matsui, Doris Bera, Ami

Title	Circulation	Candidate(s)
<i>Salt Lake Tribune</i>	182369	Love, Mia B.
<i>San Antonio Express-News</i>	136957	Doggett, Lloyd Cuellar, Henry Castro, Joaquin
<i>San Francisco Chronicle</i>	223225	Speier, Jackie Lee, Barbara Swalwell, Eric
<i>San Jose Mercury News</i>	552896	Huffman, Jared Honda, Mike Eshoo, Anna G. Farr, Sam Lofgren, Zoe
<i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i>	68581	Fitzgerald, Keith
<i>Seattle Times</i>	225716	Smith, Adam McDermott, Jim
<i>South Florida Sun-Sentinel</i>	161933	Hastings, Alcee L.
<i>St. Cloud Times*</i>	21321	Graves, Jim
<i>Star Tribune</i>	300822	Walz, Tim McCollum, Betty Ellison, Keith
<i>Statesman Journal*</i>	36335	Schrader, Kurt
<i>Sun</i>	166041	Cummings, Elijah Edwards, Donna F.
<i>Sun News</i>	35524	Tinubu, Gloria Bromell
<i>Sun, Sunday Sun</i>	43413	Tsongas, Nicola S.
<i>Tampa Bay Times</i>	246240	Castor, Kathy Ehrlich, Jessica
<i>Telegram & Gazette, Sunday Telegram</i>	73002	Kennedy, Joseph P., III
<i>Tennessean</i>	99536	Black, Diane
<i>The Daily Astorian</i>	6749	Bonamici, Suzanne
<i>The Daily Herald, The Sunday Herald</i>	40643	Larsen, Rick
<i>The Denver Post/The Sunday Denver Post</i>	414673	DeGette, Diana Perlmutter, Ed
<i>The Miami Herald</i>	139835	Wilson, Frederica S. Wasserman Schultz, Debbie
<i>The News Journal Media Group*</i>	80405	Carney, John C., Jr.
<i>The Seguin Gazette-Enterprise</i>	4472	Hinojosa, Rubén
<i>The Star-Ledger</i>	305903	Payne, Donald M., Jr.
<i>The Wenatchee World</i>	30384	Porterfield, Karen
<i>Times-Picayune</i>	31079	Richmond, Cedric
<i>U-T San Diego**</i>	221281	Vargas, Juan Davis, Susan A.
<i>Virginian-Pilot</i>	135085	Ward, Ella P.
<i>Wisconsin State Journal</i>	82903	Pocan, Mark

12: US Issue Priorities

Pew Research Center. June 7-17, 2012. N=1,563 registered voters nationwide. Margin of error \pm 2.9.		CBS News/New York Times Poll. Sept. 8-12, 2012. N=1,170 registered voters nationwide. Margin of error \pm 3.		NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll conducted by the polling organizations of Peter Hart (D) and Bill McInturff (R). Sept. 26-30, 2012. N=832 likely voters nationwide. Margin of error \pm 3.4.	
	%		%		%
Jobs	35	Economy and jobs	37	The economy	46
Budget deficit	23	Health care	11	Social issues and values	15
Health care	19	Budget deficit/National debt	4	Social Security and Medicare	12
Social Security	11	The President/Barack Obama	4	Health care	10
Immigration	5	Education	3	The federal deficit	7
Gay marriage	4	Taxes/IRS	3	Foreign policy and the Middle East	6
Other (vol.)	2	Abortion	2	Terrorism	1
Unsure	2	Medicare/Medicaid	2	None/Other (vol.)	1
		Women's issues	2	Unsure	1
		Misc. social issues	2		
		Other	20		
		Unsure/No answer	10		

13: British issue priorities

YouGov most important issues (June 2010- 3 issues)	%	Ipsos MORI most important issues (April 2010- 2 issues)	%	Ipsos MORI most important (April 2010- 1 issue)	%
Economy	80	Economy/economic situation	55	Economy/economic situation	39
Immigration	53	Race relations/immigration/immigrants	29	Race relations/immigration/immigrants	14
Crime	22	Crime/law & order/violence/vandalism/ASBOs	25	Unemployment/Factory Closure/Lack of Industry	10
Health	20	Unemployment/Factory Closure/Lack of Industry	24	Crime/law & order/violence/vandalism/ASBOs	6
Afghanistan	19	National Health Service/Hospitals/Health care	24	National Health Service/Hospitals/Health care	3
Tax	16	Education/Schools	21	Education/Schools	3
Pensions	16	Defence/foreign affairs/international terrorism	11	Inflation/prices	3
Education	13	Inflation/prices	11	Defence/foreign affairs/international terrorism	2
Environment	11	Morality/individual behaviour/lifestyle	8	Morality/individual behaviour/lifestyle	2
Family life	8	Drug abuse	7	Poverty/inequality	2
Europe	7	Pensions/social security/benefits	7	Drug abuse	1
Transport	2	Petrol prices/fuel	7	Pensions/social security/benefits	1

14: Codebook**Article**

1. Text ID: #
2. Month: #
3. Day: #
4. Publication: publication name
5. Headline: string
6. Candidate: candidate name

Frequency

7. Frequency: # name mentions
8. Headline: (o) not present / (1) present
9. By-line: (o) not present / (1) present

Overall tone

10. Tone: (-1) negative/ (o) mixed / (1) positive

Viability

11. Viability mention: (o) not present / (1) present
12. Viability tone: (-1) negative/ (o) mixed / (1) positive

US issues: female/minority

13. Immigration/ Illegal Immigration: (o) not present/ (1) present
14. Healthcare/ Medicare: (o) not present/ (1) present
15. Education: (o) not present/ (1) present
16. Family Values/ Morals/ Gays & Lesbians/ Gay Marriage/ Social Issues: (o) not present/ (1) present
17. Social Security: (o) not present/ (1) present
18. Abortion/ Birth Control: (o) not present/ (1) present
19. Women's issues/ feminism/ gender parity: (o) not present/ (1) present
20. minority Issues/ anti-racism/ equal rights: (o) not present/ (1) present
21. Drugs: (o) not present/ (1) present
22. Guns: (o) not present/ (1) present

US issues: white/male/neutral

23. Economy/ Budget Deficit/ National Debt: (o) not present/ (1) present
24. Taxes/ IRS: (o) not present/ (1) present
25. Jobs/ Unemployment: (o) not present/ (1) present
26. Foreign Policy/ Terrorism/ Afghanistan / War/ Peace/ Middle East: (o) not present/ (1) present
27. Energy/ Gas Prices: (o) not present/ (1) present
28. Politicians/ Government/ Partisan Politics/ Political Reform: (o) not present/ (1) present
29. Other: (o) not present/ (1) present

30. Other string: (o) not present/ (1) present

UK issues: female/minority

- 20. Race relations / immigration / immigrants: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 21. Health / National Health Service / Hospitals / Health care: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 22. Education / Schools: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 23. Family Life/ Morality / Individual Behaviour / Lifestyle: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 24. Pensions /social security / benefits: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 25. Environment: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 26. Women's issues/ feminism/ gender parity: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 27. minority Issues/ anti-racism/ equal rights: (o) not present/ (1) present

British issues: white/male/neutral

- 28. Economy/ Inflation/ Prices: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 29. Crime/Law & Order/ Violence/ Vandalism: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 30. Unemployment/ Factory Closure/ Lack of Industry: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 31. Afghanistan/ Defense/ Foreign Affairs/ International Terrorism: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 32. Tax: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 33. Europe: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 34. Transport/ Petrol Prices: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 35. Other: (o) not present/ (1) present

Explicit foregrounding of race and gender

- 1. Minority race/ethnicity foregrounded: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 2. Female gender foregrounded: (o) not present/ (1) present

Personal coverage/latent foregrounding

- 3. Spouse/Family/Mother: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 4. Age: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 5. Appearance: (o) not present/ (1) present
- 6. Religion: (o) not present/ (1) present

15: Coding notes

FREQUENCY

Indicators:

- Name mentions

Notes and examples

- Includes any mention of surname in main body of text (not headline or byline). Not first name or 'he'/'she'.

OVERALL TONE

Indicators:

- Explicit criticisms
- Explicit complements

In addition of character competency and viability:

- Endorsement/endorsement of opponent
- Agreement/ disagreement with policy
- Judgment of campaign tactics

Notes and examples:

Negative: Where a text describes a candidate *in strongly and exclusively negative terms* it will be coded as 'very negative'. **For example:** a text solely focusing on Kerry McCarthy breaking election rules by tweeting results before close of polls: "Ms McCarthy, a former lawyer, blamed 'exuberance; a technical legal term meaning 'stupidity'". Or three statements, all of which are negative: "questioning his loyalty" + "more dedicated to a foreign president" + "his family's power making it difficult for other candidates".

Mixed: Where a text is read as *mixed, or positive and negative references are read as equal*, it will be coded as 'mixed' **For example:** Mia B. Love "is young and relatively inexperienced, but her charisma and personal story are both unusual and appealing". **Positive:** Where a text describes a candidate *in strongly and exclusively positive terms* it will be coded as 'very positive. **For example:** Profile of Rushanara Ali describing her as "politically rated, beautiful, eloquent, and crucially, Bangladeshi";

VIABILITY/HORSERACE

Indicators:

- "Any consideration of a candidate's strength or chances of success: strength of campaign organization, poll results, debate performance, and overall likelihood of winning" Jalalzai (2006:619, building on Kahn (1994a))

Notes and examples:

All of the following would be coded as viability mention present:

Chances of success: "Rushanara Ali could well take Bethnal Green"

Strength of campaign: "Because Love is not your typical Republican male grousing about poor people, Matheson and most likely his third-party supporters must use caution in how they portray her".

Campaign organisation: "Her campaign will badly need adult supervision"

Overall likelihood of winning: “a defeat for the sitting MP, Gisela Stuart, would probably signal Gordon Brown’s departure from Downing Street”

Mixed/ even match: “neck and neck”

Somewhat likely: “competitive”

Positive: “formidable fundraiser” “mounting a serious

SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

Indicators:

- policy problems
- policy positions
- policy expertise

Notes and example

For example, the following would be coded as (1) stereotypically female/minority issue mention present:

Healthcare (excluding abortion/reproductive rights): ““Obamacare is a disaster for working Utah families,” she said”.

Civil rights/anti-racism/affirmative action/equal racial opportunities: “The truth is that the president’s policies have made minorities and the most vulnerable in society more desperate and dependent on government, less self-reliant, less upwardly mobile and ultimately less free”.

For example, the following would be coded as (1) stereotypically white/male issue mention present:

Economy: “The economy is crumbling, but we must invest in infrastructure”

Defence: “New Labour women supported Blair’s disastrous war in Iraq”

MINORITY ETHNICITY FOREGROUNDED

Indicators:

Reference to:

- Race/ethnicity of candidate
- Racial reference to appearance
- Race/ethnicity of parents or partner
- Grouped/compared with other BME candidates/politicians
- Grouped/compared with other BME/anti-racist public figures
- Race/ethnicity of voters/constituents
- Religion
- Progressive measures (e.g. A List)
- Racial first frame
- Impact of race/ethnicity on chances of success
- Fundraising among BME groups
- Membership of a BME political group (e.g. caucus)
- Questioning national loyalty

Notes and examples:

Racial first: “Mia B. Love of Utah hopes to become the first black Republican woman in Congress”

Racial appearance: “She is a tall black woman with braided hair”

Family heritage: “a woman whose family story has now become an official state legend”.

Immigrant background: “Congressional candidate Mia B. Love says she doesn't remember telling a Deseret News reporter that her birth in 1975 was her immigrant family's ticket to freedom”.

Race of partner: “Love, whose husband is white, said she has felt nothing but acceptance in Utah”.

Reference to minority public figure: I didn't delve into her political views, but instead asked her about Martin Luther King Jr. (she said he's her inspiration) and about her family”.

Race of parents: “a candidate whose father, a black man, was born in another country in meagre circumstances”

Fundraising: “generating funds from Hispanics”

Loyalty: “More dedicated to Mexico's president”

FEMALE GENDER FOREGROUNDED

Indicators:

- Gender of candidate (other than “he”/” she”)
- Appearance
- Gendered roles
- Grouped with other female candidates/politicians
- Grouped with other female/feminist public figures
- Gender of voters/constituents
- Progressive measures (e.g. AWS/ A List)
- Gendered first frame
- Impact of gender of chances of success

Notes and examples:

Gendered first: “Mia B. Love of Utah hopes to become the first black Republican woman in Congress”

Gendered roles: “girl” “former magician's assistant”

Gendered appearance: “She is a tall black woman with braided hair”

PERSONAL COVERAGE

Indicators:

- Reference to spouse/children/care-giving responsibilities
- Reference to age
- Reference to appearance
- Reference to religion

Notes and examples:

Care-giving responsibilities: “Ann Romney's endorsement of a fellow member of the LDS Church could be an attempt to address any concerns among voters about Love running for Congress as the mother of young children”.

Age: “Her youth and enthusiasm”

Appearance: “Looking va va voom”

Religion: “The only Muslim in Congress”

16: Inter-coder agreement: first round results US

Variable	US			
	5-point scale		3-point scale	
	per cent	K alpha	per cent	K alpha
Character	84.4	0.7	84.4	0.7
Competency	87.5	0.4	87.5	0.4
Viability	71.9	0.2	75.0	0.2
Overall tone	71.9	0.3	81.3	0.3
Name frequency	90.6	0.9		
Race foregrounded	90.6	0.1		
Gender foregrounded	100.0	1.0		
Religion	0.0	0.0		
Family / spouse	93.8	0.8		
Immigration	100.0	1.0		
Health	100.0	1.0		
Education	96.9	0.0		
Family values	96.9	0.0		
Social security	100.0	1.0		
Women / feminism	100.0	1.0		
Civil rights	96.9	0.0		
Economy	96.9	0.7		
Jobs / unemployment	100.0	1.0		
Defence	96.9	0.0		
Other	75.0	0.2		
Politicians	78.1	0.1		
Abortion	100.0	1.0		
Energy / gas	100.0	1.0		
Guns	-			
Drugs	-			
Tax	-			
Europe	-			
Transport	-			
Crime / law	-			
Environment	-			

17: Inter-coder agreement: first round results Britain

Variable	Britain			
	5-point scale per cent	K alpha	3-point scale per cent	K alpha
Character	74.7	0.7	82.8	0.7
Competency	77.1	0.5	81.6	0.5
Viability	75.9	0.3	75.9	0.5
Overall tone	75.9	0.6	78.2	0.5
Name frequency	90.8	0.9		
Race foregrounded	94.4	0.8		
Gender foregrounded	92.0	0.6		
Religion	97.7	0.7		
Family / spouse	92.0	0.7		
Immigration	97.7	0.5		
Health	98.9	0.7		
Education	98.9	0.8		
Family values	98.9	0.0		
Social security	98.9	1.0		
Women / feminism	100.0	0.0		
Civil rights	90.8	0.2		
Economy	97.7	0.5		
Jobs / unemployment	98.9	0.0		
Defence	97.6	0.0		
Other	85.1	0.4		
Politicians	-			
Abortion	-			
Energy / gas	-			
Guns	-			
Drugs	-			
Tax	100.0	1.0		
Europe	100.0	1.0		
Transport	96.6	0.6		
Crime / law	98.9	0.0		
Environment	100.0	1.0		

18: Inter-coder agreement: second round results US

Variable	US			
	5-point scale		3-point scale	
	per cent	K alpha	per cent	K alpha
Character	100.0	1.0	100.0	1.0
Competency	96.7	0.9	96.7	1.0
Viability	90.3	0.8	93.6	1.0
Overall tone	90.3	0.8	90.3	0.6
Name frequency	90.3	1.0		
Race foregrounded	93.6	1.0		
Gender foregrounded	100.0	1.0		
Religion	0.0	0.0		
Family / spouse	100.0	1.0		
Immigration	100.0	1.0		
Health	100.0	1.0		
Education	100.0	1.0		
Family values	100.0	1.0		
Social security	100.0	1.0		
Women / feminism	100.0	1.0		
Civil rights	100.0	1.0		
Economy	100.0	1.0		
Jobs / unemployment	100.0	1.0		
Defence	100.0	1.0		
Politicians	96.8	0.9		
Other	96.8	0.7		
Abortion	100.0	1.0		
Energy / gas	100.0	1.0		
Guns	100.0	1.0		
Drugs	100.0	1.0		
Tax	-			
Europe	-			
Transport	-			
Crime / law	-			
Environment	-			

19: Inter-coder agreement: second round results Britain

Variable	UK			
	5-point scale		3-point scale	
	per cent	K alpha	per cent	K alpha
Character	80.5	0.6	88.5	0.8
Competency	90.8	0.9	95.4	1.0
Viability	96.6	1.0	97.7	1.0
Overall tone	95.4	1.0	98.9	1.0
Name frequency	93.1	1.0		
Race foregrounded	97.7	0.9		
Gender foregrounded	100.0	1.0		
Religion	100.0	1.0		
Family / spouse	98.8	0.9		
Immigration	100.0	1.0		
Health	100.0	1.0		
Education	98.9	0.9		
Family values	98.9	0.8		
Social security	98.9	1.0		
Women / feminism	100.0	1.0		
Civil rights	98.9	0.9		
Economy	97.7	0.9		
Jobs / unemployment	98.9	0.9		
Defence	100.0	1.0		
Politicians	100.0	1.0		
Other	89.7	0.3		
Abortion	-			
Energy / gas	-			
Guns	-			
Drugs	-			
Tax	100.0	1.0		
Europe	100.0	1.0		
Transport	100.0	1.0		
Crime / law	100.0	1.0		
Environment	100.0	1.0		

20: US local coverage summary statistics

Variable % (n)	White male	White female	Minority male	Minority female	Total
All publications	27.42 (481)	29.99 (526)	22.41 (393)	20.18 (354)	100 (1754)
Overall negative	9.77 (47)	8.94 (47)	11.2 (44)	10.45 (37)	9.98 (175)
Overall mixed	66.53 (320)	69.77 (367)	65.9 (259)	77.4 (274)	69.56 (1220)
Overall positive	23.7 (114)	21.29 (112)	22.9 (90)	12.15 (43)	20.47 (359)
Viability	54.68 (263)	43.73 (230)	56.23 (221)	50.85 (180)	50.97(894)
Viability negative	1.52 (4)	6.96 (16)	1.36 (3)	6.67 (12)	3.91 (35)
Viability mixed	79.09 (208)	73.48 (169)	81.9 (181)	64.44 (116)	75.39 (674)
Viability positive	19.39 (51)	19.57 (45)	16.74 (37)	28.89 (52)	20.69 (185)
All issues	37.84 (182)	41.44 (218)	44.02 (173)	40.96 (145)	40.94 (718)
White/male issues	62.09 (113)	67.43 (147)	50.29 (87)	52.41 (76)	58.91 (423)
minority/female issues	51.65 (94)	55.96 (122)	68.21 (118)	59.31 (86)	58.5 (420)
Race foregrounded			10.69 (42)	7.91 (28)	
Gender foregrounded		2.48 (13)		6.5 (23)	4.09 (36)
Personal coverage	4.37 (21)	9.7 (51)	3.56 (14)	3.67 (13)	5.64 (99)

21: US national coverage summary statistics

Variable % (n)	White male	White female	Minority male	Minority female	Total
<i>New York Times</i>	29.85 (20)	16.42 (11)	25.37 (17)	28.36 (19)	37.64 (67)
<i>USA Today</i>	38.46 (5)	15.38 (2)	23.08 (3)	23.08 (3)	7.3 (13)
<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	47.62 (10)	4.76 (1)	33.33 (7)	14.29 (3)	11.8 (21)
<i>Washington Post</i>	20.78 (16)	19.48 (15)	24.68 (19)	35.06 (27)	43.26 (77)
All publications	28.65 (51)	16.29 (29)	25.84 (46)	29.21 (52)	100 (178)
Overall negative	9.8 (5)	13.79 (4)	13.04 (6)	11.54 (6)	11.8 (21)
Overall mixed	80.39 (41)	75.86 (22)	71.74 (33)	76.92 (40)	76.4 (136)
Overall positive	9.8 (5)	10.34 (3)	15.22 (7)	11.54 (6)	11.8 (21)
Viability	43.14 (22)	20.69 (6)	26.09 (12)	48.08 (25)	36.52 (65)
Viability negative	4.55 (1)	0 (0)	8.33 (1)	8 (2)	6.15 (4)
Viability mixed	81.82 (18)	83.33 (5)	66.67 (8)	56 (14)	69.23 (45)
Viability positive	13.64 (3)	16.67 (1)	25 (3)	36 (9)	24.62 (16)
All issues	50.98 (26)	51.72 (15)	54.35 (25)	26.92 (14)	44.94 (80)
White/male issues	92.31 (24)	53.33 (8)	84 (21)	85.71 (12)	81.25 (65)
Minority/female issues	11.54 (3)	53.33 (8)	28 (7)	28.57 (4)	27.5 (22)
Race foregrounded			28.26 (13)	32.69 (17)	30.61 (30)
Gender foregrounded		6.9 (2)		17.31 (9)	13.58 (11)
Personal coverage	7.84 (4)	13.79 (4)	15.22 (7)	28.85 (15)	16.85 (30)

22: British national coverage summary statistics

Variable % (n)	White male	White female	Minority male	Minority female	Total
<i>Daily Mail</i>	26.92 (14)	23.08 (12)	30.77 (16)	19.23 (10)	10.66 (52)
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	39.29 (11)	21.43 (6)	28.57 (8)	10.71 (3)	5.74 (28)
<i>Daily Star</i>	0 (0)	66.67 (2)	33.33 (1)	0 (0)	0.61 (3)
<i>Express</i>	40 (8)	40 (8)	0 (8)	20 (4)	4.1 (20)
<i>Financial Times</i>	41.18 (7)	11.76 (2)	23.53 (4)	23.53 (4)	3.48 (17)
<i>Guardian</i>	28.46 (37)	17.69 (23)	19.23 (25)	34.62 (45)	26.64 (130)
<i>Independent</i>	26.83 (11)	39.02 (16)	17.07 (7)	17.07 (7)	8.4 (41)
<i>Independent on Sunday</i>	40 (2)	20 (1)	0 (0)	40 (2)	1.02 (5)
<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	25 (2)	12.5 (1)	25 (2)	37.5 (3)	1.64 (8)
<i>Metro</i>	45.45 (5)	27.27 (3)	18.18 (2)	9.09 (1)	2.25 (11)
<i>Mirror</i>	41.3 (19)	23.91 (11)	21.74 (10)	13.04 (6)	9.43 (46)
<i>Observer</i>	21.43 (3)	28.57 (4)	28.57 (4)	21.43 (3)	2.87 (14)
<i>Sunday Express</i>	20 (1)	40 (2)	20 (1)	20 (1)	1.02 (5)
<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	100 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0.41 (2)
<i>Sunday Sun</i>	40 (2)	60 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.02 (5)
<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	27.78 (5)	27.78 (5)	22.22 (4)	22.22 (4)	3.69 (18)
<i>Sunday Times</i>	22.22 (4)	22.22 (4)	22.22 (4)	33.33 (6)	3.69 (18)
<i>The Sun</i>	33.33 (5)	33.33 (5)	20 (3)	13.33 (2)	3.07 (15)
<i>The Times</i>	38 (19)	12 (6)	24 (12)	26 (13)	10.25 (50)
All publications	32.17 (157)	23.36 (114)	21.11 (103)	23.36 (114)	488 (100)
Overall negative	17.78 (32)	9.41 (8)	23.85 (26)	20.43 (19)	18.20 (85)
Overall mixed	70.00 (126)	72.94 (62)	66.97 (73)	61.29 (57)	68.09 (318)
Overall positive	12.22 (22)	17.65 (15)	9.17 (10)	18.28 (17)	13.70 (64)
Viability	40.56 (73)	57.65 (49)	42.20 (46)	37.63 (35)	43.47 (203)
Viability negative	9.59 (7)	10.20 (5)	4.35 (2)	17.14 (6)	9.85 (20)
Viability mixed	42.47 (31)	63.27 (31)	63.04 (29)	434.29 (12)	50.74 (103)
Viability positive	47.95 (35)	26.53 (13)	32.61 (15)	48.57 (17)	39.51 (80)
All issues	25.56 (46)	27.06 (23)	54.13 (59)	23.66 (22)	32.12 (150)
White/male issues	24.44 (44)	18.83 (16)	32.11 (35)	10.75 (10)	22.48 (105)
minority/female issues	1.67 (3)	9.41 (8)	26.41 (29)	17.20 (16)	11.99 (56)
Race foregrounded			27.52 (30)	34.41 (32)	30.69 (62)
Gender foregrounded		14.29 (13)		26.88 (25)	21.35 (38)
Personal coverage	3.33 (6)	12.94 (11)	10.09 (11)	23.66 (22)	10.71 (50)

23: US local: individual white male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Earl Blumenauer	6	10	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	3	2	2			0
John C., Jr. Carney	34	96	1	29	4	21	0	17	4	15	10	7			1
Steve Cohen	36	109	1	33	2	12	0	7	5	13	6	5			1
Gerald E. "Gerry" Connolly	6	50	2	2	2	5	0	5	0	5	5	3			0
Lloyd Doggett	8	12	1	6	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	2			1
John Wade Douglass	28	128	4	14	10	17	2	15	0	11	8	5			0
Sam Farr	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Keith Fitzgerald	21	176	2	19	0	19	1	17	1	5	4	5			2
Jim Graves	45	316	1	38	6	42	0	40	2	16	10	10			2
Denny Heck	8	46	1	7	0	8	0	4	4	3	3	3			1
Jared Huffman	11	15	0	2	9	1	0	0	1	3	0	0			0
Joseph P., III Kennedy	4	5	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Rick Larsen	16	47	0	14	2	4	0	2	2	5	3	1			2
Daniel William Lipinski	8	22	1	5	2	2	0	1	1	6	5	3			0
Jim McDermott	5	6	0	3	2	2	0	2	0	2	1	0			0
Jerrold L. Nadler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Ed Perlmutter	30	189	1	19	10	15	0	13	2	13	12	3			6
Mark Pocan	14	53	1	9	4	10	0	7	3	7	4	5			4
Jared Polis	11	30	0	8	3	3	0	2	1	6	3	4			1
Lee C. Rogers	4	12	0	3	1	3	0	3	0	1	0	0			2
Adam Schiff	5	15	0	2	3	4	0	2	2	3	1	1			0
Kurt Schrader	19	62	2	11	6	9	0	8	1	9	5	4			1
David Schweikert	9	14	1	6	2	5	0	2	3	3	2	2			0
Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	5	12	0	3	2	4	0	2	2	2	1	0			1
Brad Sherman	38	171	17	19	2	33	0	32	1	5	2	4			4
Adam Smith	5	5	0	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0			0
Eric Stewart	6	7	0	6	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0			0
Tony Strickland	9	25	2	7	0	7	1	6	0	4	3	4			1
Eric Swalwell	16	43	1	5	10	8	0	6	2	4	0	4			5
Mike Thompson	49	165	4	24	21	10	0	6	4	22	14	10			2
Tim Walz	6	13	0	4	2	2	0	2	0	3	1	0			1
Mel Watt	9	29	1	6	2	3	0	0	3	6	5	4			2
Peter Welch	10	54	0	8	2	5	0	2	3	5	3	4			0

24: US local: individual white female summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Heather Beaven	10	30	0	8	2	6	1	5	0	3	3	3	2		2
Diane Black	24	53	0	20	4	7	0	2	5	10	8	3	0		1
Suzanne Bonamici	12	37	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	0		1
Kathy Castor	18	45	0	12	6	3	0	1	2	7	6	4	1		2
Susan A. Davis	8	17	3	5	0	1	0	0	1	4	1	0	0		0
Diana DeGette	19	30	1	10	8	2	0	1	1	4	3	0	0		0
Jessica Ehrlich	13	73	4	9	0	8	2	6	0	5	3	4	0		5
Renee Ellmers	14	37	5	8	1	9	0	8	1	9	6	1	0		1
Vivianne C. Falcone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Pam Gulleason	8	42	1	4	3	6	2	4	0	5	3	1	1		0
Janice Hahn	7	7	0	6	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		0
Joyce R. Healy-Abrams	9	39	0	6	3	5	2	3	0	5	4	5	0		1
Marcy Kaptur	34	109	0	29	5	17	0	14	3	12	7	8	1		2
Patsy Keever	33	126	1	16	16	21	1	20	0	14	9	14	4		3
Ann Kirkpatrick	11	61	4	6	1	10	0	9	1	3	2	3	0		1
Joyce Knott	20	102	1	18	1	13	3	10	0	10	7	5	1		4
Zoe Lofgren	8	9	0	6	2	1	0	0	1	3	1	3	0		1
Nita M. Lowey	3	34	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	0		2
Cynthia M. Lummis	7	22	0	7	0	2	0	2	0	5	3	3	0		0
Carolyn B. Maloney	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Carolyn McCarthy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Betty McCollum	5	6	0	5	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	1		0
Chellie Pingree	54	152	4	45	5	22	0	8	14	23	14	9	0		21
Karen Porterfield	12	44	1	9	2	9	0	9	0	4	4	4	0		1
Jennifer Roberts	20	102	2	14	4	11	4	7	0	10	8	8	0		3
Martha Roby	11	40	1	8	2	4	0	1	3	7	5	1	0		2
Janice D. Schakowsky	21	81	4	15	2	14	0	14	0	12	7	9	0		4
Allyson Y. Schwartz	7	12	0	5	2	1	0	0	1	3	1	3	0		1
Jackie Speier	7	10	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0		0
Dina Titus	20	42	2	17	1	9	0	3	6	5	3	4	0		1
Nicola S. Tsongas	71	263	9	45	17	31	1	26	4	29	25	13	2		3
Debbie Wasserman Schultz	15	47	1	5	9	2	0	1	1	4	2	2	0		3
Shelli Yoder	23	76	1	14	8	12	0	11	1	7	7	5	0		2

25: US local: individual minority male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Joe Baca	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Xavier Becerra	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ami Bera	39	232	7	26	6	32	0	31	1	19	15	13		3	5
Sanford Bishop	7	52	0	6	1	5	0	3	2	4	2	1		1	0
Andre D. Carson	14	30	3	8	3	6	0	4	2	6	4	4		2	1
Joaquin Castro	22	67	0	12	10	10	0	6	4	3	1	3		5	3
Jay Chen	4	19	2	2	0	4	2	1	1	0	0	0		1	0
Emanuel, II Cleaver	17	38	3	7	7	5	0	2	3	1	1	0		1	0
Henry Cuellar	11	17	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	0		1	0
Elijah Cummings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Keith Ellison	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
John W., Jr. Ewing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Chaka Fattah	6	10	3	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1		0	3
Al Green	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0
Raúl M. Grijalva	7	13	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	5	1	3		0	0
Alcee L. Hastings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Rubén Hinojosa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Mike Honda	7	13	1	4	2	4	0	2	2	2	1	1		0	0
Henry C. "Hank" Johnson	7	8	0	7	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1		1	1
Sukhee Kang	20	51	3	17	0	1	1	0	0	7	0	3		0	0
Raul R. Labrador	15	37	2	4	9	3	0	2	1	9	7	4		0	1
Al Lawson	1	5	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0		0	0
Ben R. Lujan	19	43	0	17	2	6	0	5	1	8	6	3		0	0
Gregory W. Meeks	3	20	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ed Pastor	7	12	0	5	2	1	0	0	1	2	2	0		1	1
Donald M., Jr. Payne	5	5	0	4	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0		0	0
Cedric Richmond	29	75	1	23	5	6	0	4	2	16	9	3		2	2
Raul Ruiz	141	945	16	92	33	127	0	115	12	81	33	77		23	3
David Sanchez	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
David Scott	3	6	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	1		1	1
Bennie G. Thompson	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0
Juan Vargas	7	19	0	4	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0		0	0
Filemon Vela	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0

26: US local: individual minority female summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Karen R. Bass	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Joyce Beatty	5	14	0	2	3	3	0	1	2	2	0	2	0	2	2
Jaime Herrera Beutler	43	144	4	37	2	17	0	11	6	16	9	5	1	0	1
Corrine Brown	10	22	0	7	3	1	0	0	1	7	3	5	0	2	0
Judy Chu	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yvette D. Clarke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Val B. Demings	17	84	2	14	1	15	3	10	2	9	7	6	0	0	1
Tammy Duckworth	27	169	4	20	3	21	3	17	1	8	4	7	2	4	2
Donna F. Edwards	6	7	0	6	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Evelyn Madrid Erhard	10	28	3	2	5	3	1	1	1	8	5	4	2	1	2
Anna G. Eshoo	8	8	1	7	0	3	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Marcia L. Fudge	7	27	0	5	2	3	0	2	1	6	1	4	1	3	0
Tulsi Gabbard	21	45	0	19	2	11	0	1	10	2	2	2	3	0	1
Colleen W. Hanabusa	22	111	2	19	1	13	0	9	4	12	6	8	4	0	1
Sheila Jackson Lee	5	9	0	3	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	1
Eddie Bernice Johnson	11	23	0	9	2	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1
Barbara Lee	4	5	1	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	1
Mia B. Love	34	196	8	25	1	26	0	24	2	10	6	7	5	6	2
Michelle Lujan Grisham	25	117	3	19	3	12	0	5	7	11	6	7	1	2	0
Doris Matsui	11	15	0	10	1	1	0	0	1	9	3	5	0	0	1
Gloria Negrete McLeod	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grace Meng	2	5	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Gwen Moore	9	47	0	9	0	3	0	3	0	5	3	4	1	1	0
Grace F. Napolitano	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lucille Roybal-Allard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loretta Sanchez	10	21	1	9	0	3	0	1	2	5	1	3	1	1	0
Terri A. Sewell	7	18	0	6	1	4	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	1
Linda T. Sánchez	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Gloria Bromell Tinubu	37	162	5	23	9	27	5	21	1	16	15	11	2	1	3
Nydia M. Velazquez	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ella P. Ward	10	17	1	8	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	1
Maxine Waters	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Frederica S. Wilson	8	20	0	7	1	3	0	3	0	4	0	2	0	0	0

27: US national: individual white male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Earl Blumenauer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
John C., Jr. Carney	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Steve Cohen	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0			0
Gerald E. "Gerry" Connolly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Lloyd Doggett	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
John Wade Douglass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Sam Farr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Keith Fitzgerald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jim Graves	5	11	0	4	1	4	0	2	2	3	3	0			1
Denny Heck	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jared Huffman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Joseph P., III Kennedy	2	48	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1			1
Rick Larsen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Daniel William Lipinski	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jim McDermott	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			0
Jerrold L. Nadler	5	6	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	1			0
Ed Perlmutter	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			1
Mark Pocan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jared Polis	3	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0			0
Lee C. Rogers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Adam Schiff	3	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0			0
Kurt Schrader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
David Schweikert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			0
Brad Sherman	15	57	5	10	0	14	0	14	0	2	2	0			4
Adam Smith	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Eric Stewart	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0			0
Tony Strickland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Eric Swalwell	1	8	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0			1
Mike Thompson	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Tim Walz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Mel Watt	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			0
Peter Welch	4	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	1			0

28: US national: individual white female summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Heather Beaven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Diane Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Suzanne Bonamici	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Kathy Castor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Susan A. Davis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Diana DeGette	3	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	0		0
Jessica Ehrlich	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Renee Ellmers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Vivianne C. Falcone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Pam Guleson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Janice Hahn	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Joyce R. Healy-Abrams	1	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1		0
Marcy Kaptur	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0		0
Patsy Keever	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Ann Kirkpatrick	2	5	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0		0
Joyce Knott	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Zoe Lofgren	5	10	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	4	0		0
Nita M. Lowey	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
Cynthia M. Lummis	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0		1
Carolyn B. Maloney	5	5	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0		0
Carolyn McCarthy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Betty McCollum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Chellie Pingree	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		1
Karen Porterfield	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Jennifer Roberts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Martha Roby	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0
Janice D. Schakowsky	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		0
Allyson Y. Schwartz	3	5	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0		0
Jackie Speier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Dina Titus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Nicola S. Tsongas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Debbie Wasserman Schultz	4	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
Shelli Yoder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0

29: US national: individual minority male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Joe Baca	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	0
Xavier Becerra	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0
Ami Bera	4	11	1	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0		2	0
Sanford Bishop	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	1
Andre D. Carson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Joaquin Castro	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0
Jay Chen	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0
Emanuel, II Cleaver	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1		1	0
Henry Cuellar	2	7	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	2		1	0
Elijah Cummings	15	19	1	12	2	0	0	0	0	12	11	1		0	0
Keith Ellison	6	9	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	4	4	2		3	5
John W., Jr. Ewing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Chaka Fattah	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Al Green	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Raúl M. Grijalva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Alcee L. Hastings	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Rubén Hinojosa	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		1	0
Mike Honda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Henry C. "Hank" Johnson	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0
Sukhee Kang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Raul R. Labrador	3	15	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0		1	1
Al Lawson	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ben R. Lujan	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0
Gregory W. Meeks	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ed Pastor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Donald M., Jr. Payne	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Cedric Richmond	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Raul Ruiz	3	4	0	2	1	3	0	2	1	0	0	0		2	0
David Sanchez	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
David Scott	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Bennie G. Thompson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Juan Vargas	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0		1	0
Filemon Vela	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0

30: US national: individual minority female summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Karen R. Bass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Joyce Beatty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jaime Herrera Beutler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corrine Brown	3	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Judy Chu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yvette D. Clarke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Val B. Demings	3	7	0	1	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2
Tammy Duckworth	5	16	1	4	0	4	0	3	1	4	4	0	0	0	0
Donna F. Edwards	8	30	0	6	2	3	1	1	1	5	5	1	0	0	2
Evelyn Madrid Erhard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anna G. Eshoo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marcia L. Fudge	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tulsi Gabbard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Colleen W. Hanabusa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sheila Jackson Lee	3	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Eddie Bernice Johnson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barbara Lee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mia B. Love	10	33	0	8	2	8	0	4	4	1	1	1	6	7	3
Michelle Lujan Grisham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doris Matsui	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gloria Negrete McLeod	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grace Meng	2	27	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Gwen Moore	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grace F. Napolitano	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lucille Roybal-Allard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loretta Sanchez	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terri A. Sewell	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Linda T. Sánchez	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gloria Bromell Tinubu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nydia M. Velazquez	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ella P. Ward	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maxine Waters	13	79	5	8	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	10
Frederica S. Wilson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

31: British national: individual white male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
John Adams	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Nick Bent	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Damian Collins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jeremy Corbyn	7	7	1	5	1	1	0	0	1	4	4	0			1
Jon Cruddas	36	57	4	23	9	12	1	10	1	7	5	3			1
Alex Cunningham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Craig Dobson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Jack Dromey	53	66	12	41	0	17	0	2	15	21	21	0			1
Christopher Evans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Clive Grunshaw	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Matthew Hancock	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Ronald Hughes	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Tristram Hunt	36	88	6	28	2	20	2	12	6	2	2	0			3
Stuart King	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Ian Lavery	7	16	4	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0			0
Phillip Lee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Martin Linton	11	14	0	9	2	8	4	3	1	1	1	0			0
Gregg McClymont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Grahame Morris	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Andrew Pakes	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Nick Palmer	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Daniel Poulter	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			0
Alan Pugh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Nick Raynsford	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0			0
Jonathan Reynolds	3	3	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0			0
Steve Rotheram	2	5	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0			0
Gerry Ryan	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0			0
John Shaw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Gareth Thomas	10	25	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	7	7	0			0
Karl Turner	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0			0

32: British national: individual white female summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Jenny Chapman	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		0
Therese Coffey	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0
Mary Creagh	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Alana Davies	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0
Julie Elliott	5	10	0	4	1	4	0	4	0	2	1	1	2		0
Yvonne Fovargue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Emily Gasson	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		0
Pat Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Kate Green	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Kate Hoey	9	16	0	4	5	3	0	3	0	3	3	0	2		0
Andrea Leadsom	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1		0
Penny Martin	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0		1
Sarah McCarthy-Fry	5	5	0	3	2	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	0		0
Alison McGovern	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0
Alison Moore	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0		0
Julie Morgan	8	10	0	7	1	3	1	2	0	4	3	1	0		0
Katrina Murray	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Teresa Murray	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Pamela Nash	7	10	2	5	0	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	2		3
Teresa Pearce	3	5	2	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0		1
Claire Perry	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1		1
Bridget Phillipson	6	6	0	6	0	3	1	0	2	2	0	2	2		3
Lucy Powell	2	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1		1
Emma Reynolds	2	2	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0		0
Joan Ruddock	5	8	1	4	0	2	0	2	0	3	1	2	2		1
Christine Russell	5	5	0	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0		0
Alison Seabeck	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Elizabeth Truss	4	5	1	3	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0		0
Carol Woods	5	6	0	5	0	4	0	4	0	1	1	0	0		0
Stella Creasy	2	3	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0		0

33: British national: individual minority male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Adam Afriyie	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		0	0
Victor Agarwal	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0		0	0
Bambos Charalambous	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0
Wilfred Emmanuel-Jones	6	9	1	3	2	5	1	1	3	3	1	3		5	1
Sam Gyimah	10	31	4	3	3	8	0	4	4	2	2	2		10	5
Zuffar Haq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Sajid Javid	6	16	0	6	0	5	0	5	0	1	1	0		3	3
Sadiq Khan	35	51	11	23	1	16	1	14	1	24	24	2		1	1
Kwasi Kwarteng	2	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0		1	0
David Lammy	26	34	5	21	0	0	0	0	0	22	3	19		3	0
Bassam Mahfouz	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0		1	0
Ajmal Masroor	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		0	0
Anas Sarwar	5	5	0	5	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	1		0	0
Chuka Umunna	8	13	1	6	1	5	0	3	2	2	2	0		5	1
Nadhim Zahawi	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		1	0

34: British national: individual minority male summary statistics

Name	Articles	Name mentions	Negative articles	Mixed articles	Positive articles	Viability	Viability: negative	Viability: mixed	Viability: positive	All issues	White/male issues	Minority/female	Gender	Race	Personal
Diane Abbott	41	75	10	27	4	6	0	2	4	16	6	13	6	8	2
Rushanara Ali	8	17	0	6	2	5	0	3	2	0	0	0	3	5	5
Dawn Butler	11	16	3	7	1	6	2	3	1	0	0	0	2	3	0
Annajoy David	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Helen Grant	8	13	2	3	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	6	3
Maryam Khan	6	10	0	3	3	5	2	0	3	1	0	1	3	2	3
Sonia Klein	0	0				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shabana Mahmood	3	3	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	2
Lisa Nandy	0	0				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chi Onwurah	2	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Priti Patel	9	26	3	3	3	5	1	1	3	2	2	1	5	5	4
Yasmin Qureshi	2	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Mari Rees	0	0				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shas Sheehan	0	0				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Valerie Vaz	2	4	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1