'Rededicating Ourselves
to the Cause of Bleeding Africa':
Sociotropic Portrayals of Economic Cooperation
in US Black Newspapers, 1946–1989

Chloe Ahn and Julia Gray

October 2023

1 Introduction

What is the international audience for global cooperation, and how do events abroad influence different groups' economic and political thinking? Scholars tend to assume that citizens are largely unconcerned with commerce and cooperation outside their own borders, unless it hits their pocketbooks. Based on this assumption, research tends to focus on *mass* attitudes toward international matters, just as it focuses on changes in state behavior as the primary metric for the impact of international cooperation.

Yet IR scholarship increasingly acknowledges that efforts toward economic and political cooperation does not always aim to moving majorities and mass publics. Much international cooperation aims at mobilizing subgroups, a reality acknowledged by the literature on contestation (Chaudoin 2016; Morse and Pratt 2022). At the same time, scholars increasingly point to the need to acknowledge IPE through the lens of underrepresented groups.[1] Such groups — both at the level of elites and of publics — may view events in a markedly different manner than do the dominant members of a society. These subgroups are not merely an artefact: although their preferences may wash out among broader surveys of mass publics, their level of interest and organization can make them lobbyists their own governments for change.

Such blindspots exist despite well-documented ties between underrepresented groups and international politics. The US civil rights era and the advent of independence among African and Caribbean nations co-emerged in the 1950s-70s. Historians note the profound and reciprocal relationship between international affairs and black politics in the US, particularly in the decades following World War II. For example, James Baldwin observed that "the rise of Africa in world affairs" had "everything to do" with the civil rights movements of the 1950s, and US black nationalism drew inspiration from African independence leaders and movements (Cruse 1968). Even in 1972, in a study of public opinion, Hoadley noted that "interest by black Americans in African affairs, or at least sympathy for the aspirations of African leaders, is now greater than among white Americans," going on to observe that this trend was particularly pronounced among young black Americans as well as less pronounced among conservative ones (Hoadley

---

[1]See, for example, Búzás (2018); Vitalis (2010, 2017).

1972). And yet surprisingly little IR scholarship interrogates these differences.

This paper seeks to redress that gap. We argue that within mass publics, media aimed at minority communities are more likely to frame international economic integration in positive terms, as international economic coalitions can bolster the standing of those minority communities at home. Emphasizing Black history and culture in response to the racial resentment rampant in the US inevitably led to an exploration of the historical heritage of other Black nations and increased coverage of their domestic circumstances and international conflicts. We argue, and show, that this tendency is associated with greater emphasis on international cooperation and global unity among Black populations (also see Diuguid and Rivers 2000).

Black newspapers are a rich — although surprisingly understudied — source of information about historical discourse on international racial economic issues and racial representation in the 20th century. Nearly every major US city had — until the general decline of print media in the 1990s — periodicals that were targeted to the black community. Although they do not represent public opinion per se, black newspapers were a clear expression of elite attempts to shape opinion. The black press first started with the explicit aim of portraying political and economic events through a black lens, with the inaugural (1827) issue of the US's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal,* stating, "We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly." Such publications were typically aimed at news that was specific to that community in that geographic setting (Penn 1891); thus, they are something of a "least likely" case in terms of covering international affairs.

But cover them they did. Using text-as-data methodologies on pairs of newspapers (white-aimed newspapers and black-aimed ones) within US cities, we show, first, that black newspapers covered international economic integration in the global South at a higher ratio, and with more positive language, than did white newspapers in the same city. Second, we show that such coverage frequently focused on the possibilities for economic development and the advancement of Afro-Caribbean nations globally, with important linkages to the black community in the US. In other words, this positive sentiment was not just material: word embeddings show

that black newspapers tended to cover matters of economic integration with more sociotropic language than did newspapers in the same city. This indicates that black newspapers viewed international economic integration in Africa and the Caribbean as having beneficial impacts in terms of black Americans' collective identity.

Our findings have important implications for IR theory and policy. First, we shed light on heretofore neglected impacts of international cooperation at the subnational, and subgroup, level. Most studies of international cooperation assume that its primary beneficiaries are economic and political actors *within* member states; we assume (and scholarship reflects) that the impact of integration in the global South is irrelevant for the global north (Vitalis 2017; Helleiner 2021).

However, we show that, far from being merely distant struggles and triumphs of remote continents, of little relevance to US citizens, international affairs were in fact highly salient in the US black press, and it is reasonable to assume that media have a formative influence on foreign policy attitudes (e.g., Baum and Potter 2008). Racial gaps in public opinion toward violent foreign policy have already been demonstrated (Green-Riley and Leber 2023), and we demonstrate that similarly, black Americans' views of international cooperation was contextualized against the backdrop of postcolonial struggles more broadly. Because black identity was cast as "pan-African," even community-based black newspapers saw fit to inform their readership of international economic developments in a positive light, and one that had high salience for the black diaspora more broadly. This shows the possibility for economic cooperation and development to mobilize actors across nations, with relevance for other cross-cutting issue areas such as human rights, public health, and the climate.

Second, we join a resounding chorus of IR scholars who are reconsidering the impact of identity — not least race and gender — in shaping our understanding of foreign policy histories (Vitalis 2010; Búzás 2021; Girod 2023) as well as current accounts of international politics. Although black newspapers have declined, differences in framing across black and white media outlets has been documented across a variety of issue areas, including security (Green-Riley and Leber 2023), entertainment (Lester 1994), and even coverage of the covid-19 pandemic

([Biswas, Sipes and Brost 2021](#)) along with trade cooperation ([Guisinger 2017](#)).[2] Our understanding of these phenomena is incomplete without a fuller examination of how these events and how they are perceived across different groups.

This paper proceeds as follows. The next section describes internationalism in black America, with a particular focus on economic cooperation and pan-African movements around the time of decolonization. We then develop our core hypotheses, centered on the notion that, as ([Morrison 1987](#), 269) put it, "it has long and widely been assumed that Afro-Americans have a special concern for African affairs." We discuss our text corpus of black newspapers as well as the extensive process of cleaning, and show results. The final section concludes.

2 International Economic Cooperation and Pan-Africanism in Black Newspapers

The black press emerged in the early 1800s, to express as well as to shape black thinking on political and economic issues.[3] Literature from communication and journalism suggests that while the Black population has largely been neglected or treated negatively by conventional coverage in popular mass media, African Americans have used black newspapers to promote themselves and cultivate opportunities favorable for their groups ([Pease 2020](#)). The initiation of Black newspapers was a response to White newsmen who told Black protesters that "if he [the colored man] wanted the Afro-American cause advocated, he should found his own paper" ([Barrow 1977](#), 34). Largely popularized after the Civil War, Black newspapers helped create a counter-narrative to what was dominantly discussed in (White) popular mass media across many issue domains ([Barrow 1977](#); [Simmons 2006](#)). The coverage of African news by Black

---

[2]The sole *IO* article on this topic, from 44 years ago, looks at black newspapers and the UN ([Petersen 1979](#)); it noted that already by the late 70s, "black press coverage [of international affairs] is not only less sharp but has also been somewhat reversed in recent years. Patterns of coverage differ: greater priority is accorded in the black press to Africa and Asia and more emphasis is placed on personalities, especially on black Americans at the United Nations."

[3]For a fascinating history, see [Simmons](#) ([2006](#)) and [Washburn](#) ([2006](#)); the first black newspaper was published in 1820, with circulation picking up after the end of the Civil War; black periodicals were at their height in the post-World War II period, although circulation began declining in the 1960s, particularly as black journalists were recruited for mainstream newspapers.

newspapers in the US became more prominent when the rise of independence movements in Africa made international headlines (Clarke 1961; Simmons 2006). On issues ranging from global trade to wars and conflicts, the theme of self-determination and independence for Black people as a group was dominant in many Black papers in the US (Barrow 1977; Chideya 1995; Clarke 1961).

Black newspapers not only focused on forming a domestic alliance of Black minority groups within the US but also concentrated on establishing a pan-African identity (Simmons 2006). This was to resonate with a broader base of readership and to put normative emphasis on connecting the African identity with African Americans residing in the US. Such formation of a pan-African identity with a broader international alliance was an effort by "African American voices reaching the outside world, moving beyond ... the slave community ... and seeking international recognition and their historical roots" (Barrow 1977, 11).

Although many communities had their own newspaper, prominent ones — particularly the *Chicago Defender* (1905) and the *Baltimore Afro-American* (1890) — had broader circulation. Crucially, black newspapers were meant to serve as newspapers aimed specifically at those communities, with many prominent black intellectual figures playing an active role in founding and editing those publications.[4]

These newspapers were pivotal in articulating issues of relevance to the black community — and internationalism long undergirded black emancipation and civil rights in the US. Because of the central role of the slave trade in the economic development in the US, and the parallel with the colonies, blacks in the US shared not only a heritage but also a common economic plight with Africa and the Caribbean. Many leading black figures explicitly linked their economic and political struggles with those countries; as Marcus Garvey put it in 1919, "Let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of bleeding Africa and starving Ethiopia. Let us stretch our hands across to the brother wherever he be and say to him, even in the language of the white man of the past, 'You are one of us and we must rise or fall together.'"

---

[4]For example, between 1847 and 1874, Frederick Douglas edited *The North Star*, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, and *New National Era*; Ida B. Wells, a co-founder of the NAACP, edited *The Chicago Bee* — a newspaper noted for its hiring of women.

This internationalism gained an institutionalized dimension with the question of colonial mandates in the League of Nations[5] and, subsequently, with the founding of the United Nations. Noted black intellectuals W.E.B. Du Bois and Walter White joined the US delegation at Dumbarton Oaks to bring up the issue of incorporating civil rights in the UN mandate and to address the question of the colonies in the post–World War II era. Already in 1919, Du Bois became heavily involved in the various meetings of the Pan-African Congress, which called for an end to European domination of the colonies, through a lens of the broader subjugation of blacks worldwide.[6]

Crucially, White and Du Bois both had close links with the black press: "White and Du Bois kept readers abreast of developments [at the Dumbarton Oaks conference] in San Francisco, and leading black newspapers devoted an enormous amount of attention to the meeting. A close reading of the black press suggests the major papers shared the perspective of White and Du Bois, namely, that the gathering might rectify racial injustice on a global scale, while also helping to address the race problem at home." DuBois later became disillusioned with the ability of the UN to deal effectively with racial oppression and establish a more just international order,[7] but for many black elites, international organizations still held considerable promise to advance black issues globally.

2.1   Civil Rights, Development, and Internationalism

Although black political thought — as much as it can be characterized as a unified body of thought; certainly many prominent black thinkers disagreed profoundly on a variety of matters, internationalism not least among them — changed in different time periods, we focus here on the period when both the civil rights movement was at its most active, and additionally when

---

[5]See Kripp (2022).

[6]Du Bois long balanced the idea of transnational racial identity through pan-Africanism alongside Marxist internationalism, a fascinating subject beyond the scope of this paper. He died in Ghana when he was already in his nineties, having procured OAU and Ghanaese government funding to write a comprehensive guide to African history and culture that would, according to Nkrumah, "set the world straight" on Africa. Du Bois's wife Shirley served as first director of Ghana's national television in the meantime.

[7]As he wrote in disappointment, at Dumbarton Oaks "there emerged a tentative plan for world government designed especially to curb aggression, but also to preserve imperial power and even extend and fortify it."

institutionalized economic and political cooperation ascended throughout the world — not just multilateral but also regional. Although the links among internationalism, pan-Africanism, and economic development were complex, and black leaders in both the US and in Africa itself had divergent philosophies on these matters or philosophies that changed over time, there were nonetheless prominent linkages.[8]

During this period, not only was civil rights on the ascent in the US, but African nations were gaining independence from their former colonial masters. For African nations, the question of economic development — and how best to achieve it — was primary in their national goals. During this period, much of the global South was pursuing alternate strategies of state development, such as import-substituting industrialization, as a way of anchoring the former colonies' economies to the global economy at more favorable terms of trade than those offered by commodities (Helleiner 2021). For the African continent, however, the promise of socialist development held particular appeal,[9] and indeed Soviets extensively courted leading black intellectuals in the US alongside African leaders during this period (Dudziak 2011).

Similarly, emerging African nations held considerable sway in US black politics, and US politicians at the very highest levels watched over these developments, who worried that blacks in the US would be sympathetic to the Soviets and to communism if they did not gain ground on civil rights. In the late 1950s the independence and autonomy of African and West Indes countries served as a concrete argument for the dismantling of Jim Crow. Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah — notably, a pan-Africanist and champion for the advancement and autonomy of black citizens on a global scale — was also a prominent figure. In 1957 "Nkrumah invited African American leaders, including [Martin Luther] King, to attend Ghana's independence celebrations. [Then–Vice President] Nixon led the official U.S. delegation and was eager

---

[8]For just a few examples, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, a vocal proponent of pan-Africanism, had a socialist orientation that he brought to his political presence in the Organization of African Union; Tanzania's Julius Nyere promoted African socialism within his own country as well as in the East African Community. In the US, the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line. Claude Barnett, a founder of the Associated Negro Press who was also sometimes referred to as the "unofficial Secretary of State" for his international advocacy and his role as an adviser to many post-colonial African governments, also saw pan-Africanism "to the cause of Negro freedom from oppression and segregation" (Horne 28) — namely, that the fates of Africa and the African diaspora were linked.

[9]But see Brooks (1956), who argues that the black press at the time was not pro-communist per se, rather more "pro" than "anti."

to express solidarity with Africans, whom he and President Dwight Eisenhower feared might be unduly attracted to communism and the Soviet Union, then America's arch-rival in world affairs and a staunch supporter of decolonization."[10] Similarly, when a Delaware Howard Johnson's restaurant denied service to Ghanaian Finance Minister Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, who was in the country on the invitation of the World Bank to discuss the financing of a dam, he was widely reported to have announced, "The [white] people here are of a lower social status than I am, but they can drink here and we can't." Eisenhower, upon learning of the incident, invited Gbedemah to the White House for breakfast and pressed the Bank to fund the project at a much higher expense than had been previously discussed.[11]

In other words, the status and governance of African nations was not a phenomenon of interest and relevance to the US black community but trivial in terms of broader US policymaking. On the contrary, officials in the highest levels of US government were closely attuned to these topics (Payne and Ganaway 1980). Indeed, at the time there was significant consensus that black Americans would form a powerful lobby to influence the US government (Isaacs 1963); as (Fuchs 1968, 151) wrote, "the largest of our minority groups will soon lobby for Ghana just as American Jews now do for Israel."

Capturing black Americans' actual sentiment at the time is difficult to do retroactively. The lone *Journal of Conflict Resolution* article on this topic, from 1967, was fairly cavalier about measuring black opinion, both in terms of the sample (as the article put it, "A relatively minor limitation has resulted from the fact that most surveys have combined Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, another non-Caucasians into a single statistical category of nonwhite") as well as in the question wording (for example, in 1945, "only 47 percent of Negroes compared with 64 percent of whites thought it 'a good policy for the United States to try to help backward countries to raise their standard of living'").

Literature in IPE has acknowledged that international economic preferences can hinge on identity and perceptions of status as well as material gain and loss (Mansfield and Mutz 2009;

---

[10]"Freedom for blacks rang first in Ghana: 1957 independence inspired Americans," G. Pascal Zachary, *Sfgate,* Feb 11, 2007

[11]Foreign Relations of the US, 223. Memorandum from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (Penfield) to the Under Secretary of State (Bowles).

Mansfield, Mutz and Silver 2015). Scholars typically portray international economic cooperation as delivering mass economic gains but concentrated losses — and those gains and losses are primarily thought to be materially based. That is, consumers see incremental improvements in choice and price of product, while import-competing firms experience economic losses. At the same time, efforts toward international economic and political cooperation are thought to be low salience to citizens on balance (Mutz 2021).

Although individuals' economic vulnerabilities are thought to be their primary basis for their opinions on economic exchange, scholars also acknowledge that the information they receive and what (Mansfield and Mutz 2013) call their "noneconomic attitudes toward foreign people and foreign countries". Similarly, Guisinger (2017) shows that US attitudes on economic exchange hinge on often-racialized ideas about who deserves compensation (see also Brutger and Guisinger (2022)). Even within institutionalized economic cooperation, different organizations have different reputations that also condition perceptions (Gray and Hicks 2014), and in more contemporary foreign-policy settings, political alienation plays a significant role in the racial gap in the support of war (Green-Riley and Leber 2023).

The limited evidence on black Americans' attitudes toward foreign policy and international economic exchange during the postwar period offers suggestive evidence to support that their own economic loss was not a primary driver of their opinions. According to Hero (1969), in the 1950s "Negroes more than whites favored lower tariffs and expanded imports of foreign goods into this country ... regardless of the items in question — textiles, oil, automotive equipment, or steel." They also "favored sending US school teachers abroad at federal expense during their summer vacations ... and bringing foreign teachers to this country 'our expense in order to get a better under-standing of this country ... a good idea", suggesting that views on economic exchange were based on personal connections and building understanding.

Indeed, Garvey had spoken in favor of trade as a means of building wealth and power in pan-African community. In 1919 he argued: "This commercial rivalry that I speak of will send the representatives of all these people into all the parts of the world to conquer trade. ... If we are to rise as a great [people] to become a great national force, we must start businesses of our

9

own; we must build ships and start trading with ourselves between America, the West Indes, and Africa. ... We must manufacture boots, clothing, and all the necessaries of life, those things that people need, not only our people in America, the West Indes, and Africa, but the people of China, of India, of South and Central America, and even the white man. He has for hundreds of years made a market for his goods among Negroes and alien races; therefore, Negroes have the same right to make a market among white people for his manufactured goods."[12] His views were later taken up in calls for greater African self-reliance; as Nkrumah put it in an address to the OAU at its founding, "African unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? Which independent African state, which of you here, will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim a substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?"

2.2 Co-ethnic Media Coverage

Positive framing about Africa and Black people more broadly could be prompted by the decline in status of Africa as Europeans gained colonial control over much of the continent. Many Black newspaper editors and their commentators provided their views about Africa, either more or less favorably, to counter the dominant white voice (e.g., Onyedike 2000). Although the frequent coverage of Africa was not always synonymous with favorable representation of the continent (for example, see Williams 1973), many Black journalists — with their focus and sources being Black leaders and elites — supported endorsing a strong Black self-identity. This posits that if Blacks can solve their problems independently, the historical concerns surrounding Afro-Americans and Africans more broadly might be addressed more adequately (Simmons 2006).

---

[12]"The Negro Should Be a Party to the Commercial Conquest of the World," Baltimore MD 31 Jan 1919

The anti-imperialist stance was often paired with envisioning a more homogeneous and unified Africa, which manifested in more frequent and favorable media coverage of pan-Africanism. A case study of Black papers' portrayal of Ethiopia suggests that one of the recurring themes of coverage was "the bitter conviction that Ethiopia had been betrayed by the League of Nations because it was an African and hence a second-class entity" (Hooker 1967). Such intense feelings of helplessness towards African countries and resentment towards White nations with colonial histories were frequently portrayed in Black newspapers' editorial columns (Shepperson 1960).

In contrast, conventional media narratives, which are largely attuned to their White readership base, have seldom depicted African (American) individuals and elites as groups capable of achieving their desired status independently. Regardless of domestic or international issues, the stereotypical perspective directed towards Black politics was mostly superficial. Black people were often depicted as 'lazy' or more 'crime-prone' compared to their White counterparts, and no alternative political viewpoint was provided to counter such stereotypes that have historical roots in slavery (Russell 1998; Suarez 1999; Wilson and Gutierrez 1985). While the civil rights movement initiated some change, this change was more or less minimal (Diuguid and Rivers 2000). Several pieces note that the dominant White media "speaks for a white nation ... from the standpoint of a white man's world" (Hacker 2020), as Black people were largely treated as peripheral audiences (Wilson and Gutierrez 1985).

Any observed differences in the coverage of Black people, Africa, and international economic issues surrounding these groups between White and Black newspapers align well with the news value theory in journalism. One of the most salient values that determine the amount and tone of foreign news coverage is cultural relevance or affinity (Chang, Shoemaker and Brendlinger 1987; Hester 1971; Shoemaker and Reese 2013; Wilhoit and Weaver 1983). This suggests that if the cultural and economic ties between countries or groups are stronger, then the news portrayals of those groups or nations will be more favorable and/or frequent.

Such patterns of foreign news coverage can be attributed to both the supply and demand logic of journalism: The editors are more inclined to provide intimate groups with more (fa-

vorable) coverage, and they aim to cater to what their audience base wants to read (Chang and Lee 1992; Onyedike 2000). On the news producers' side, newsworthiness is determined by the extent of cultural, historical, and economic linkages between the portraying groups (i.e., White or Black journalists and their organizations) and the portrayed entities (i.e., Africa, Black people, and the international history surrounding them) (Chang, Shoemaker and Brendlinger 1987; Chang and Lee 1992). On the demand side, African American readers, when compared to the conventional White readership, might have been (perceived to be) more engaged with emphasizing African identity and countries. Indeed, a majority of Black people viewed the role of Black newspapers as a medium to "inform the black community about itself, its environment, and its heritage" (La Brie III and Zima 1971, 642). These norms of journalistic coverage hint at the possibility of why Black newspapers might offer an alternative viewpoint on the economic integration of Black nations compared to the limited perspective provided by White newspapers.[13]

Though less examined in the context of a broader international community, previous journalism studies have found that local community characteristics and the interactions of local newspaper editors with their neighborhoods influence news coverage. Past studies in journalism and communication have shown that editors in more ethnically pluralistic communities are more likely to include ethnic minorities in their lists of influential persons and important news sources (Hindman et al. 1999).

That said, IR scholarship has acknowledged that elites (e.g., Guisinger and Saunders 2017; deVries, Hobolt and Walter 2021) as well as media more broadly play an important role in shaping attitudes on foreign policy (e.g., Baum and Potter 2019; Brutger and Strezhnev 2022). News media's coverage of foreign affairs, although often considered a low-salience issue in public opinion research, has been found to effectively inform citizens about what is significant in foreign affairs, especially when opinion leaders diverge in their framing of the event, thereby granting the news media more leverage in their interpretation (e.g., Baum and Groeling 2010; Bennett and Paletz 1994; Entman 2004; Soroka 2003).

---

[13]The co-ethnic coverage bias also appears in Latino or other immigrant population newspapers. For example, see Lin and Song (2006) and Rodríguez (2007).

These arguments are particularly salient for our study. We argue that Black and White newspapers in their coverage of the significance and pro-Black identity expressed through economic integration. Even when presented with the same event, Black and White elites (or the information sources upon which Black and White newspapers depend) offer different interpretations regarding how they can best support their in-group members or nations and the broader Black communities. While our analysis cannot establish a causal link between the content of Black and White newspapers and the political consequences such divergent content may have on readers, our study suggests that media content might influence, or at least mirror, the fundamental differences in interpretations of international affairs related to an open international economy concerning African nations, the US, and global neighbors.

As emphasized above, there was certainly variation in thinking among black elites about the benefits of internationalism, and by the late 1960s, with the advent of the Vietnam, a combination of those differences in opinion as well as reluctance to accept the socialist agenda behind pan-Africanism tempered the focus.[14] Nonetheless, we propose the following testable hypothesis:

- H$_1$ Black newspapers are more likely to portray African economic cooperation and development more *favorably* than white newspapers.

- H$_2$ Black newspapers are more likely to portray African economic cooperation and development with greater *sociotropic* language than white newspapers.

The following section tests this hypothesis using text-as-data methodologies on a corpus of historical Black newspapers, which we describe below.

---

[14]Even Ralph Bunche, who was formative at the Dumbarton Oaks conference and subsequently received the a Nobel Peace Prize for his work with the UN in the Israeli-Arab conflict, shied away from the socialist implications of internationalism. Similarly, Roy Wilkins, who headed the NAACP from 1955 to 1977, declared that rather than focusing on international matters, black Americans' "first thought ought to be to strengthen his position as an American. If he's a third-rate citizen his opinions on South Africa or Vietnam will have no effect. " Bunche also thought that opposing Vietnam was "bound to alienate many friends and supporters of the ... [civil rights] movement and greatly weaken it"

13

3   Methods and Data

Studying historical newspapers quantitatively necessarily involves digitization and copyright challenges. While hundreds of Black newspapers have existed historically, only a few are digitized. We accessed the digitized records of Black newspapers through TDM Studio. Using TDM Studio's workbench, available to academic institutions affiliated with Proquest, researchers can access historical newspaper data, analyze them using the software provided by TDM Studio, and export the results. In the historical newspaper dataset available in TDM Studio, we identified several major Black newspapers as well as other prominent (White) newspapers in the same city and accessed their content in digitized form over an extended period.

From the text content of the news sources we identified, we singled out newspaper articles published between 1946 and 1989 that include any of the terms *trade, econom*, export*, import*, develop*, cooperat**. We specifically chose these terms due to our theoretical interest in understanding the differences in how Black and White newspapers cover international economic cooperation and trade. Before analyzing the corpus data, we underwent robust preprocessing to ensure the text data's relevance. First, we segmented each data corpus into groups of sentences, each approximately 500 characters long. This step was crucial for more effective text analysis based on a reasonable text unit length and efficient filtering of false positive texts.

Next, we manually removed segments unrelated to the topic of international economy. Much of the newspaper content pertains to sports, advertisements, and weather information; because the papers were scanned and digitized as broadsheets, many of these ads and bulletins infiltrated the article text. If a segment contained words linked to such unrelated content, we removed them from the corpus, resulting in a more focused collection of texts pertinent to our analysis. After an extensive preprocessing phase, during which we eliminated false positives unrelated to IPE or IO topics, we began the text analysis process. Before delving into how the supervised text analysis was conducted, the types of news outlets and the years covered for each are detailed in Table 1 and Figure 1.[15] A descriptive table that shows frequently appearing

---

[15]As expected, there is a lot of variation across the number of news articles identified in our corpus. This is largely due to the variation in the publication cycle, readership size, institutional resources, and geographic distribution across news outlets.

words from each year from Black and White newspapers is also provided in Appendix A, Table A1.

Table 1: Number of News Articles and Segments Related to IPE and IO Topics by Outlets

Black Newspapers	Region	N of Articles	N of Segments
Afro-American (1893-)	Baltimore, MD	226	542
Atlanta Daily World (1932-)	Atlanta, GA	73	188
Chicago Defender (1921-2008)	Chicago, IL	163	219
Cleveland Call and Post (1934-)	Cleveland, OH	74	166
Kansas City The Call (1933-1984)	Kansas City, MO	19	20
Los Angeles Sentinel (1934-)	Los Angeles, CA	51	69
Michigan Chronicle (1939-2010)	Detroit, MI	37	49
New Journal and Guide (1916-)	Norfolk, VA	169	333
New York Star-Amsterdam News (1938-)	New York City, NY	106	183
Philadelphia Tribune (1912-)	Philadelphia, PA	176	410
The Pittsburgh Courier (1911-)	Pittsburgh, PA	31	91
White Newspapers			
Chicago Tribune (1923-1996)	Chicago, IL	1,193	3,858
Los Angeles Times (1923-1995)	Los Angeles, CA	2,025	6,560
New York Herald Tribune (1926-1962)	New York City, NY	530	691
The Atlanta Constitution (1881-1984)	Atlanta, GA	277	395
The Sun (1837-)	Baltimore, MD	452	700

Note. The names of each newspaper occasionally changed throughout the years. We have merged them into a single outlet under one representative name. Some Black newspapers are published weekly rather than on a daily basis. The results remain largely the same even when we exclude the weekly papers.

Figure 1: The Number of News Segments on IPE and IO Topics by Newspaper Type Across Years
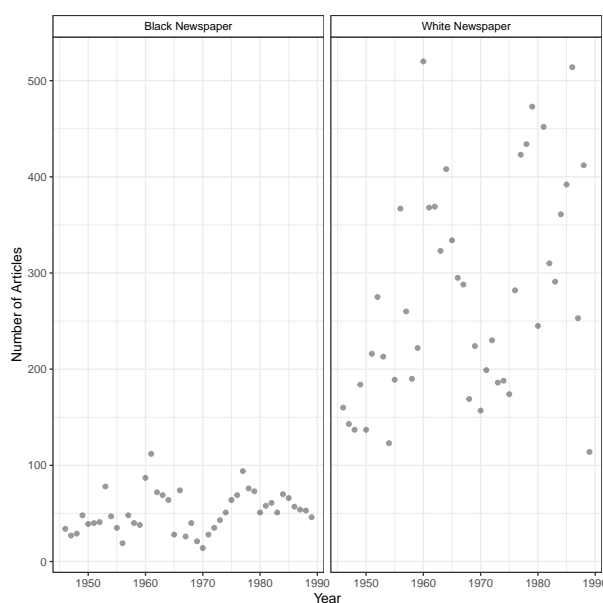
For text analysis, we first tokenized each segment, removing punctuations, symbols, numbers, URLs, and separators. We also identified several instances where digitized texts included HTML tags; these were manually removed. Common stopwords, such as 'a' and 'the', were also eliminated. After converting each character to lowercase, we retained only text features that appeared at least 20 times in the corpus to reduce the size of the document feature matrix. While there is no specific guideline on the ideal minimum frequency, we chose the number 20 based on experiments with minimum frequency values ranging from 5 to 30, finding this provided the best balance between feature loss and retention (see Appendix A, Table A2).

We then manually trained a local word embedding model (with 10 iterations and a learning rate of 0.05), which is based on the aggregated global word-to-word co-occurrence matrix from the local corpus (local GloVe model) (see Appendix A, Table A3). Instead of relying on pretrained word embedding models that use more contemporary text data, we opted to create our own GloVe model from the tokens identified in the corpus after extensive preprocessing. This training calculates word embeddings based on vectorized representations of each token identified in the newspaper list. Word embeddings, which represent texts by determining which words consistently appear together, assign every word a vectorized representation based on which other sets of words it co-occurs with. Our goal is to determine if the embeddings from Black and White newspapers differ significantly when focusing on keywords related to international economic integration and trade issues.

Using the local language model, we employed the conText package in R (Rodriguez, Spirling and Stewart 2023). This package constructs a corpus of contexts surrounding our target term of interest, enabling us to discern differences in token usage between Black and White newspapers in relation to the target terms.[16] Our primary focus was on the 'nearest neighbors' and 'nearest contexts' generated by the package. The former assesses differences in word features with the highest cosine similarity to each word embedding, highlighting the relationship between Black and White newspapers' embeddings and words related to economic cooperation.

---

[16]More specifically, conText differs from other word embedding approaches by relying on à la carte embeddings (Khodak et al. 2018) but targeted at specific word windows. In other words, conText utilizes embeddings that are either pre-trained or locally trained on text data. It then integrates these with adjacent words related to terms of interest, subsequently generating a new context-oriented embedding for those specific words.

The latter is based on 'context' rather than individual word embeddings: Here, 'context' refers to multiple word embeddings surrounding our target term. As a result, the nearest context score indicates the relationship between the use of multiple words surrounding IO and IPE-related words in Black and White newspapers. Both nearest neighbor and context measures reveal whether Black and White newspapers have portrayed or discussed international economic co-operation or trade in similar or distinct ways; the former focuses on individual words, while the latter takes into account adjacent word embeddings. We primarily chose to rely on 10 to 20 adjacent words around our target terms, based on several iterations of the analysis.

The results section is presented as follows. Descriptively, we first demonstrate that terms related to Africa appear significantly more often in Black newspapers than in White newspapers when comparing the word embeddings generated from the nearest neighbors from the two types of newspapers. To test the first *favorability* hypothesis, we present preliminary results of the sentiment scores comparing Black and White newspapers' coverage of Africa. The second hypothesis related to *sociotropic coverage* is tested based on the nearest contexts measures by examining whether geographic terms[17] appear more frequently in Black newspapers than in White newspapers. Additionally, we assess whether pluralistic terms[18] appear more often in conjunction with Africa-related terms in Black newspapers compared to White newspapers.

4 Results

4.1 Differences in Word Embeddings

Before testing the directional hypotheses we have put forward, we first examine whether there are any notable differences in word embeddings across newspaper types from a descriptive standpoint. Here, colored bars represent the most frequent word embeddings surrounding the

---

[17]africa*, afro*, apartheid*, black*, negro*, rwanda*, sahara*, nairobi*, cairo*, safari*, swahili*, congo*, zulu*, ghana*, nigeria*, ethiopia*, somali*, sudan*. Excluding words specifically related to Black people and the civil rights movement (e.g., apartheid*, black*) does not alter the results.

[18]neighbor*, partner*, fellow*, team*, collabor*, allianc*, ally, allies, solidarit*, cohesiv*, harmon*, integrat*, collective*, affinit*, bonding, confederat*, sameness*, comrad*, cooperat*, brother*, unity, unities, unifi*, com-munit*, identit*

Figure 2: Discriminant Word Embeddings in the Context of Trade and Cooperation/Development Related Terms in Black and White Newspapers
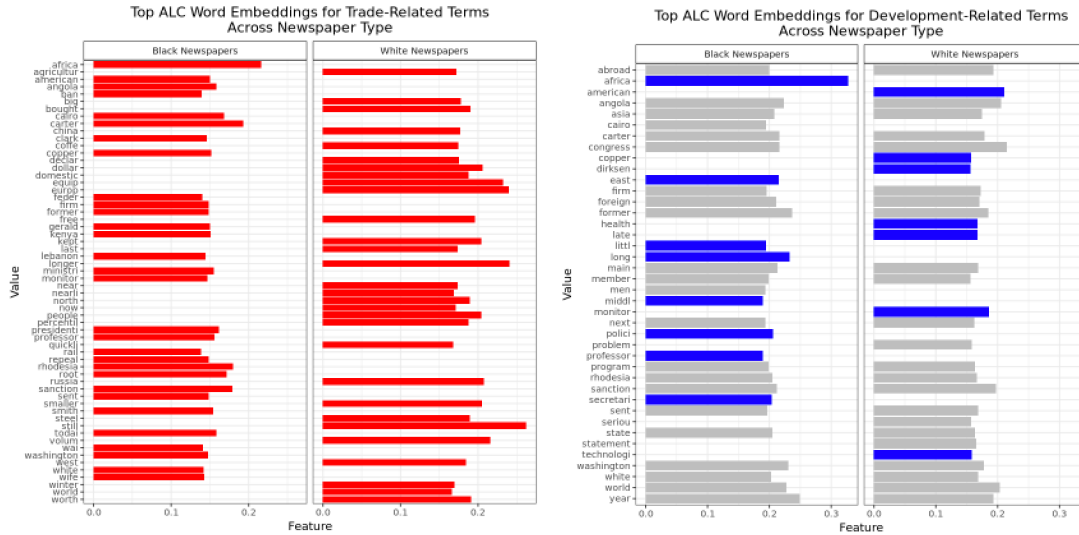
terms related to trade (e.g., trade*, trading, import, export, tariff*) and development and cooperation (e.g., develop*, integrat*, cooperat*) that do not overlap between newspaper types. For a more efficient comparison, we manually removed words that do not add additional value to interpretation but are not technically classified as global stopwords (e.g., since, and, more) in each visualization.

As Figure 2 shows, Black newspapers, compared to White newspapers, mention Africa and Africa-related terms more frequently when covering international trade and international cooperation and development. Furthermore, the word embedding comparison reveals that Black newspapers tend to focus primarily on the trade relations of African countries (e.g., africa, angola, kenya, rhodesia) more than White newspapers do. This descriptive comparison supports our initial conjecture that Black and White newspapers differ in terms of how they cover international economic issues: Black newspapers are more likely to emphasize the pan-African identity and frame the same issue from a more Africa-friendly perspective than mainstream White newspapers.

Figure 3: Sentiment Analysis of News Coverage of International Trade and Cooperation/Development
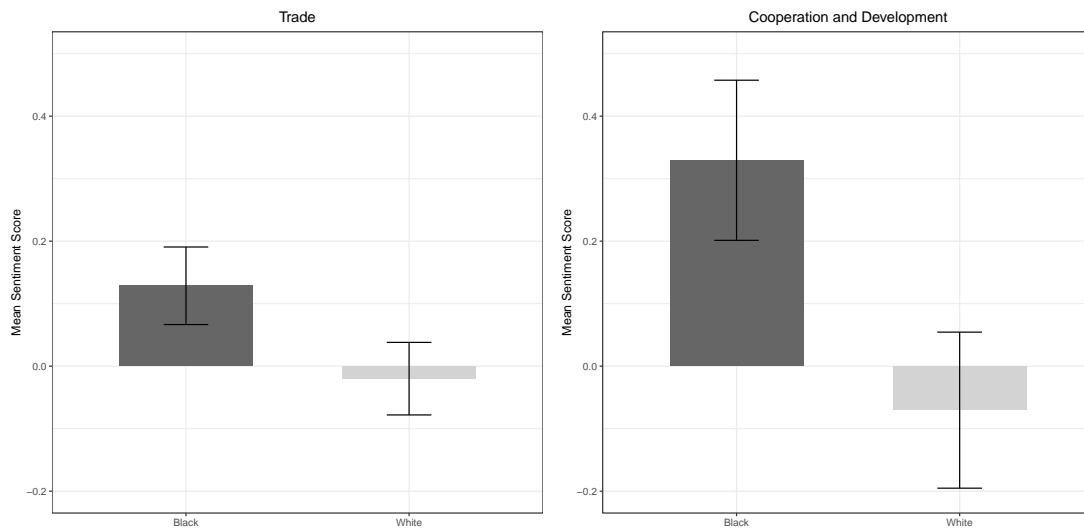
4.2 Favorability Hypothesis

Is there a significant difference in the favorability, or tone, of media coverage concerning Africa or Black identity between Black and White newspapers? Previous research in IR and journalism suggests there might be, but no systematic evaluation of this hypothesis has been conducted to date. To address this gap, we proceed to examine our first favorability hypothesis using the nearest neighbors analysis along with sentiment scores. Specifically, we computed cosine similarities within the nearest contexts, which measure the similarity between two vectors in text analysis. A high cosine similarity score indicates that the word embeddings are highly discriminant of the group; in other words, they appear more distinctly in one type of newspaper than the other. After applying bootstrapping to obtain standard errors, we derived the nearest context embeddings with the highest cosine similarity scores from both Black and White newspaper texts. From these embeddings, we conducted a LIWC-based sentiment analysis, which is a relatively rudimentary method for assessing the favorability and sentiments of a text corpus.

Figure 3 suggests a narrative in line with our hypothesis. When discussing international trade, economic cooperation, or development, Black newspapers tend to use warmer and more favorable terms than White newspapers. While Black newspapers consistently score above 0 when discussing target terms related to Africa or Black people in conjunction with international

19

trade and economic development and cooperation, the sentiment scores for White newspapers are predominantly below 0. This indicates a more negative portrayal of African countries and Black individuals' involvement in the international economy. A qualitative review of newspaper segments from both Black and White newspapers with the word embeddings of the most representative sentiment scores underscores this point:

> *[Black]* African countries have strengthened their dedication to ... economic cooperation ... untapped possibilities and assets ... this effort could elevate the continent's GDP significantly, spurring innovation ... enhances trade within the continent and elevates Africa's status globally ...
>
> *[White]* As African nations move towards tighter economic integration and cooperation, skeptics warn of increasing dependency on the US ... deepen the continent's economic ties with American interests ...

As previous research highlights, Black newspapers tend to cover international economic issues more favorably toward African nations than White newspapers do. Since the nearest neighbors scores employed here are strictly comparing the sentiment scores of word embeddings that more *discriminantly* emerge in Black newspapers' coverage of trade or cooperation than in White newspapers' coverage of the same issue types, we believe this serves as a more stringent measure of comparison than simply comparing the sentiment favorability scores across any texts in Black and White newspapers that involve words related to trade or cooperation.

We do acknowledge, however, that sentiment analysis is a rather crude measure for proxying the actual favorable tone of media coverage compared to other sophisticated supervised approaches. While we have utilized several different measures of dictionary-based sentiment analyses publicly available online for validation, and the results do not change much, these approaches cannot provide a comprehensive picture of how two different types of media outlets have portrayed African or Black nations' international economic involvement very precisely. We hope to address this measurement limitation later on in the project by employing local embedding based sentiment analysis (Rice and Zorn 2021). For now, our initial analysis provides a suggestive picture that supports our first favorability hypothesis.

Figure 4: Africa-Oriented News Coverage of International Trade and Cooperation/Development in Black Newspapers: *Geographic* Sociotropic Coverage
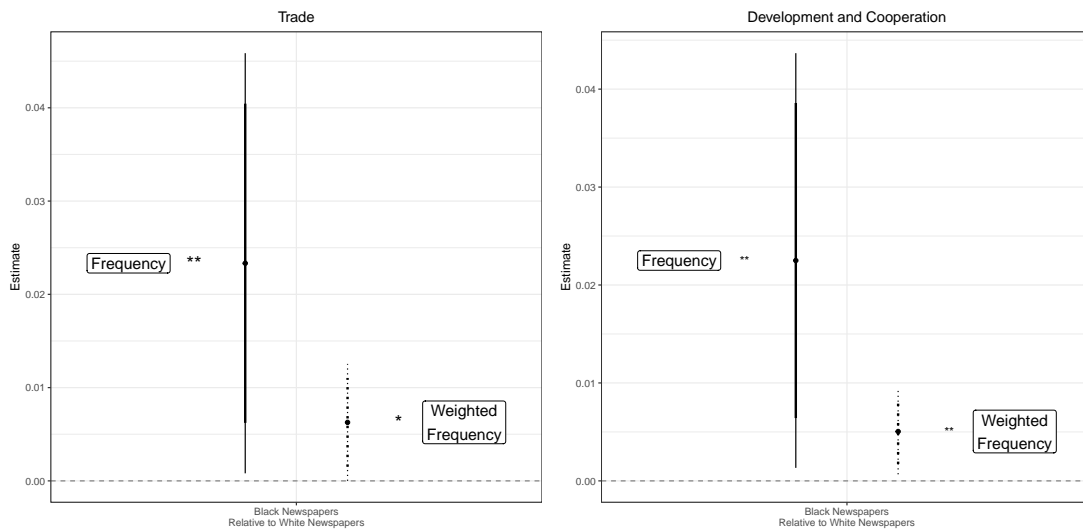
4.3 Sociotropic Coverage Hypothesis

Next, we turn to the subsequent set of hypotheses related to sociotropic coverage: Compared to White newspapers, Black newspapers will be more likely to cover international trade and cooperation with more mentions of Africa (geographic sociotropic coverage) and, when international trade and cooperation issues are covered in the context of African nations, more pluralistic terms will be used (pluralistic sociotropic coverage). For these analyses, we relied on the word embedding regression function available from the nearest context function. After extracting the nearest contexts (i.e., the most distinctive word embeddings adjacent to the terms related to trade or cooperation/development) from each news outlet type and employing bootstrapping to generate the regression estimates, we first tested whether Black newspapers tend to have more word embeddings related to Africa in their nearest context outputs for trade- or cooperation/development-related target terms than White newspapers do ($africa \sim black\_white$).

As the coefficients in Figure 4 show, Black newspapers, compared to White newspapers, were much more likely to talk about African countries and Black people when discussing the international economy in the media. On average, Black newspapers were almost 3 percentage points more likely to devote more coverage to African nations and their people when trade and

21

cooperation were covered in their news than White newspapers did. Even when accounting for the different degrees of similarity of word embeddings appearing across outlets (i.e., nearest context similarity values), the relationship largely remained the same.[19]

Finally, for a more stringent test of the sociotropic hypothesis, we examined not only the simple frequency of African countries being co-mentioned with issues of trade or cooperation but also whether affective terms used to express solidarity or alliance with other nations (i.e., the pluralistic terms) were used significantly more often when Black newspapers covered trade, cooperation, or development regarding African countries than White newspapers did. To test the pluralistic sociotropic coverage hypothesis, we relied on an interaction model ($africa \sim black\_white * pluralistic\_words$). Here, the $black\_white$ term refers to whether the word embeddings generated from the nearest contexts are from Black or White newspapers; $pluralistic\_words$ refers to whether the word embeddings generated from the nearest contexts contain at least one of the terms that indicate pluralism for other countries or groups. Following this regression model, the interaction term should indicate a significantly positive coefficient if the probability of mentioning Africa-related terms from Black newspapers is significantly higher when pluralistic terms occur together within the nearest context word embeddings.

Figure 5 strongly supports our hypothesis. The conditional coefficients with 95% confidence intervals in Figure 5 show the probability of the presence of Africa-related terms in White and Black newspapers conditional on the presence of pluralistic terms. Black newspapers, in general, tend to have more co-occurrence of pluralistic terms and Africa/Black people-related terms when discussing trade or cooperation/development in the realm of IPE.

5 Conclusion

International economic cooperation has long been controversial, but at the same time economic cooperation has variable impacts on different groups across society. Beyond mass opinion on

---

[19]The frequency score is based on the mere appearance (1/0) of trade or development/cooperation-related terms in the nearest context word embeddings. The weighted frequency score is the binary frequency score weighted by the nearest cosine similarity score obtained from the nearest context word embeddings.

Figure 5: Africa-Oriented News Coverage of International Trade and Cooperation/Development in Black Newspapers: *Pluralistic* Sociotropic Coverage
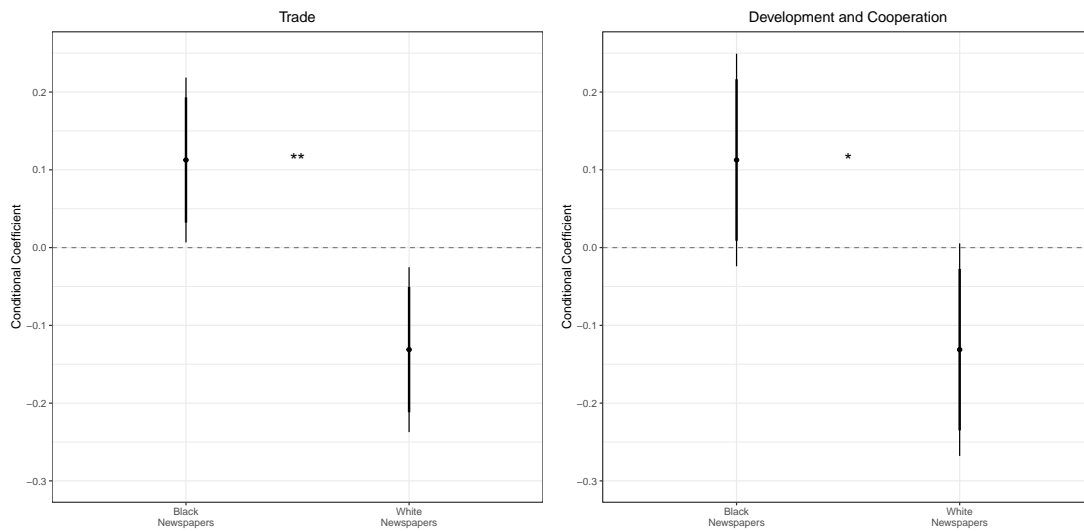
economic integration and economic foreign policy, it is important as well to account for the opinion of targeted minority groups and the establishment of group-based identities within a given populations. Anecdotal evidence suggests that historically —— and particularly in the 1950s-1970s, when civil rights movements in the US aligned intellectually with newly independent, post-colonial nations — African American elite communities were highly attuned to international developments, particularly international efforts to form economic and political coalitions of black nations and to promote the prosperity of less-developed countries. Despite substantial engagement of black communities in the US with international issues —and, indeed, extensive Soviet courting of black intellectuals and black racial justice movements — this issue is surprisingly understudied and almost never with the use of quantitative methodologies beyond survey methodologies.

To the best of our knowledge, this paper is the first to systematically and quantitatively examine how Black newspapers in the US cover international economic issues with a bias toward pro-Africa stances (indicative of international racial/ethnic pluralism) or pro-Black stances (highlighting domestic racial/ethnic community building). Our study extends the previous findings on ethnic pluralism and the tendency of ethnic newspapers to exhibit a pro-co-ethnic coverage bias to the realm of international cooperation concerning Black people within and across US

23

borders. Specifically, we show that black media framed economic cooperation efforts abroad as a means of increasing representation and economic power among black populations more generally and therefore as beneficial to the black community in the US.

This paper makes several important contributions to our understanding of economic exchange and international cooperation. First, we show that international phenomena can be highly salient to marginalized groups — which sheds light on a critical dimension of IR that has proven easy to overlook. Second, we add another dimension to the research showing that attitudes toward economic cooperation go beyond material self-interest — specifically, we show that material self-interest can be cast sociotropically, if cooperation is seen to benefit marginalized groups worldwide. Third, we illuminate critical and racialized differences in US publics' understanding of international events.

Given the severe underdevelopment of this research agenda in IR, there are myriad directions for future research. The Cold War dimension on black newspapers' coverage of internationalism is particularly interesting, particularly given that anti-racism was a prominent part of Soviet internationalism after decolononization, with the Soviets casting themselves as the anti-apartheid superpower, in contrast to the US (Baturo and Gray 2023). Future work could also probe differences in Black newspapers' coverage of key individuals during this period, with a particular focus on representation (Steinberg and McDowell 2023).

References

Barrow, Lionel C. 1977. "Role of the Black Press in Liberation Struggle." *The Black Press Handbook—Sesquicentennial* 1977:32–36.

Baturo, Alex and Julia Gray. 2023. "Multivocal Appeals in International Organizations: USSR/Russian Anti-Nazism and Anti-Racism in the UN." Working paper.

Baum, Matthew A and Tim Groeling. 2010. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64(3):443–479.

Baum, Matthew and Phil Potter. 2008. "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11:39–65.

Baum, Matthew and Philip Potter. 2019. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media." *Journal of Politics* 81(2).

Bennett, Lance W and David L Paletz. 1994. *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. University of Chicago Press.

Biswas, M, C Sipes and L Brost. 2021. "An Analysis of General-Audience and Black News Sites' Coverage of African American Issues During the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Newspaper Research Journal* 43(3):397–416.

Brooks, Maxwell R. 1956. "Sociopolitical Attitudes of Leading Negro Newspapers." *Sociology and Social Research* 41(11-12):100–107.

Brutger, Ryan and Alexandra Guisinger. 2022. "Labor Market Volatility, Gender, and Trade Preferences." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 9(2):189–202.

Brutger, Ryan and Anton Strezhnev. 2022. "International Investment Disputes, Media Coverage, and Backlash Against International Law." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66(6):983–1009.

Búzás, Zoltán I. 2018. "Is the good news about law compliance good news about norm compliance? The case of racial equality." *International Organization* 72(2):351–385.

Búzás, Zoltán I. 2021. "Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2):440–463.

Chang, Tsan-Kuo and Jae-Won Lee. 1992. "Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News: A National Survey of Newspaper Editors." *Journalism Quarterly* 69(3):554–561.

Chang, Tsan-Kuo, Pamela J Shoemaker and Nancy Brendlinger. 1987. "Determinants of International News Coverage in the US Media." *Communication Research* 14(4):396–414.

Chaudoin, Stephen. 2016. "How Contestation Moderates the Effects of International Institutions: the International Criminal Court and Kenya." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2):557–571.

Chideya, Farai. 1995. *Don't Believe the Hype: Fighting Cultural Misinformation about African-Americans*. ERIC.

Clarke, John Henrik. 1961. "Africa and the American Negro Press." *The Journal of Negro Education* 30(1):64–68.

Cruse, Harold. 1968. *Rebellion or Revolution?* University of Minnesota Press.

deVries, Catherine, Sara Hobolt and Stefanie Walter. 2021. "Politicizing International Co-operation: The Mass Public, Political Entrepreneurs and Political Opportunity Structures." *International Organization* pp. 306–332.

Diuguid, Lewis and Adrienne Rivers. 2000. "The Media and the Black Response." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 569(1):120–134.

Dudziak, Mary. 2011. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy.* empty.

Entman, Robert M. 2004. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy.* University of Chicago Press.

Fuchs, LH. 1968. Minority Groups and Foreign Policy. In *American Ethnic Politics*, ed. LH Fuchs. Sage Publications.

Girod, Desh. 2023. "Jim Crow and the Origins of US Foreign Policy." Working paper.

Gray, Julia and Raymond P Hicks. 2014. "Reputations, perceptions, and international economic agreements." *International Interactions* 40(3):325–349.

Green-Riley, Naima and Andrew Leber. 2023. "Whose War is it Anyway? Explaining the Black-White Gap in Support for the Use of Force Abroad." *Security Studies* pp. 1–35.

Guisinger, Alexandra. 2017. *American Opinion on Trade.* Oxford University Press.

Guisinger, Alexandra and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2017. "Mapping the Boundaries of Elite Cues." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2):425–441.

Hacker, Andrew. 2020. Are the Media Really "White"? In *The Media in Black and White*. Routledge pp. 71–75.

Helleiner, Eric. 2021. *The Neomercantilists: A Global Intellectual History.* Cornell University Press.

Hero, Alfred O. 1969. "American Negroes and U.S. Foreign Policy: 1937-1967." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 13:149–285.

Hester, Albert L. 1971. "An Analysis of News Flow from Developed and Developing Nations." *Gazette* 17(1-2):29–43.

Hindman, Douglas Blanks, Robert Littlefield, Ann Preston and Dennis Neumann. 1999. "Structural Pluralism, Ethnic Pluralism, and Community Newspapers." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 76(2):250–263.

Hoadley, J Stephen. 1972. "Black Americans and US Policy Toward Africa: An Empirical Note." *Journal of Black Studies* 2(4):489–502.

Hooker, James R. 1967. "The Negro American press and Africa in the nineteen thirties." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 1(1):43–50.

Isaacs, Harold R. 1963. *The New World of Negro Americans*. John Day.

Khodak, Mikhail, Nikunj Saunshi, Yingyu Liang, Tengyu Ma, Brandon Stewart and Sanjeev Arora. 2018. "A la carte embedding: Cheap but effective induction of semantic feature vectors." *arXiv preprint arXiv:1805.05388* .

Kripp, Jacob. 2022. "The Creative Advance Must Be Defended: Miscegenation, Metaphysics, and Race War in Jan Smuts's Vision of the League of Nations." *American Political Science Review* 116(3):940–953.

La Brie III, Henry G and William J Zima. 1971. "Directional Quandaries of the Black Press in the United States." *Journalism Quarterly* 48(4):640–651.

Lester, Paul Martin. 1994. "African-American Photo Coverage in Four US Newspapers, 1937–1990." *Journalism Quarterly* 71(2):380–394.

Lin, Wan-Ying and Hayeon Song. 2006. "Geo-ethnic Storytelling: An Examination of Ethnic Media Content in Contemporary Immigrant Communities." *Journalism* 7(3):362–388.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Diana C. Mutz. 2009. "Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety." *International Organization* 63(3):425–457.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Diana C. Mutz. 2013. "US versus Them: Mass Attitudes toward Offshore Outsourcing." *World Politics* 65(4):571–608.

Mansfield, Edward D., Diana C. Mutz and Laura R. Silver. 2015. "Men, Women, Trade, and Free Markets." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(2):303–315.

Morrison, Minion K. C. 1987. "Afro-Americans and Africa: Grass Roots Afro-American Opinion and Attitudes toward Africa." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(2):269–292.

Morse, Julia C. and Tyler Pratt. 2022. "Strategies of Contestation: International Law, Domestic Audiences, and Image Management." *The Journal of Politics* 84(4).

Mutz, Diana C. 2021. *Winners and Losers: The Psychology of Foreign Trade*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Onyedike, Emmanuel U. 2000. "Coverage of Africa by the African-American press: Perceptions of African-American newspaper editors." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 24(4):195.

Payne, Richard J. and Eddie Ganaway. 1980. "The Influence of Black Americans on US Policy towards Southern Africa." *African Affairs* 79(317):585–98.

Pease, Edward C. 2020. Warping the World Media's Mangled Images of Race. In *The Media in Black and White*. Routledge pp. 77–82.

Penn, I. Garland. 1891. *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*. Willey & Company.

Petersen, Keith S. 1979. "U.S. Black Newspaper Coverage of the UN and U.S. White Coverage, 1948–1975." *International Organization* 33(4):525–539.

Rice, Douglas R and Christopher Zorn. 2021. "Corpus-based dictionaries for sentiment analysis of specialized vocabularies." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9(1):20–35.

Rodríguez, Ilia. 2007. "Telling Stories of Latino Population Growth in the United States: Narratives of Inter-ethnic Conflict in the Mainstream, Latino and African-American Press." *Journalism* 8(5):573–590.

Rodriguez, Pedro L, Arthur Spirling and Brandon M Stewart. 2023. "Embedding regression: Models for context-specific description and inference." *American Political Science Review* pp. 1–20.

Russell, Katheryn K. 1998. *The Color of Crime: Racial Hoaxes, White Fear, Black Protectionism, Police Harassment, and Other Macroaggressions*. New York University Press.

Shepperson, George. 1960. "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism." *The Journal of African History* 1(2):299–312.

Shoemaker, Pamela J and Stephen D Reese. 2013. *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective*. Routledge.

Simmons, Charles A. 2006. *The African American Press: A History of News Coverage During National Crises, With Special Reference to Four Black Newspapers, 1827-1965*. McFarland.

Soroka, Stuart N. 2003. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 8(12):27–48.

Steinberg, David A. and Daniel McDowell. 2023. "Race, Representation, and the Legitimacy of International Organizations." Working paper.

Suarez, Ray. 1999. *The Old Neighborhood: What We Lost in the Great Suburban Migration, 1966-1999*. Simon and Schuster.

Vitalis, Robert. 2010. "The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and its Laws of Race Development." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52(4):909–938.

Vitalis, Robert. 2017. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell Univeristy Press.

Washburn, Patrick S. 2006. *The African-American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*. Northwestern University Press.

Wilhoit, G Cleveland and David Weaver. 1983. "Foreign News Coverage in Two US Wire Services: An Update." *Journal of Communication* 33(2):132–48.

Williams, Walter L. 1973. "Black Journalism's Opinions About Africa During the Late Nineteenth Century." *Phylon* 34(3):224–235.

Wilson, Clint C and Felix Gutierrez. 1985. *Minorities and the Media*. Vol. 949 Sage Publications.

Appendix

Table A1: Frequent Words Across Time in Black and White Newspapers

Year Intervals	Black Newspapers	White Newspapers
1946 - 1950	foreign, colored, africa, world, united, people, negro, blood, states, liberia	united, foreign, trade, states, american, world, south, british, nations, government
1951 - 1955	africa, foreign, trade, south, united, british, new, world, said, west	foreign, united, aid, states, world, american, military, economic, nations, war
1956 - 1960	africa, foreign, trade, million, united, countries, south, world, american, economic	united, foreign, states, president, american, trade, nations, economic, countries, soviet
1961 - 1965	africa, foreign, united, nations, trade, president, south, states, american, negro	foreign, united, aid, states, world, trade, nations, american, president, million
1966 - 1970	africa, foreign, trade, people, countries, south, states, government, british, slaves	foreign, united, states, million, trade, world, south, government, president, american
1971 - 1975	africa, trade, foreign, black, countries, united, nations, university, west, world	foreign, trade, world, united, states, american, countries, oil, million, south
1976 - 1980	africa, black, south, foreign, united, economic, trade, world, government, policy	foreign, united, world, states, south, policy, carter, president, government, soviet
1981 - 1985	trade, africa, south, black, foreign, business, president, economic, international, government	foreign, united, steel, countries, world, south, trade, government, policy, reagan
1985 - 1989	south, africa, trade, black, foreign, policy, university, government, president, economic	south, foreign, trade, aid, world, sanctions, american, president, government, united

Table A2: Feature Loss by Different Minimum Frequency Threshold Values

Minimum frequency threshold = 30	Removing 43,791 of 46,518 terms (125,083 of 587,011 tokens) 14,468 documents, 2,727 terms, and 461,928 tokens
Minimum frequency threshold = 20	Removing 42,257 of 46,518 terms (91,963 of 587,011 tokens) 14,470 documents, 4,261 terms, and 495,048 tokens
Minimum frequency threshold = 15	Removing 42,257 of 46,518 terms (91,963 of 587,011 tokens) 14,470 documents, 4,261 terms, and 495,048 tokens
Minimum frequency threshold = 10	Removing 41,051 of 46,518 terms (76,606 of 587,011 tokens) 14,472 documents, 5,467 terms, and 510,405 tokens
Minimum frequency threshold = 8	Removing 40,314 of 46,518 terms (69,645 of 587,011 tokens) 14,472 documents, 6,204 terms, and 517,366 tokens
Minimum frequency threshold = 5	Removing 38,485 of 46,518 terms (57,144 of 587,011 tokens) 14,472 documents, 8,033 terms, and 529,867 tokens

Table A3: Loss per Epoch in Training the Local Word Embedding Model

Epoch	Loss
1	0.2103
2	0.0823
3	0.0624
4	0.0534
5	0.0479
6	0.0442
7	0.0414
8	0.0392
9	0.0374
10	0.0360