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BRINGING GENDER TO THE FOREFRONT:

THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES OF BLACK WOMEN AND MEN CANDIDATES IN AMERICAN POLITICS

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Bringing Gender to the Forefront:
The Campaign Strategies of Black Women and Men Candidates in American Politics

By AIISHA MICHELE HARDEN RUSSELL

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Scholars have noted the ways race and gender have influenced the campaign strategies of minority and women candidates while growing intersectionality research has examined the campaign strategies of women of color. This dissertation combines these two scholarly themes by investigating the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates, as both sub-groups are underrepresented in elected office and share the common yolk of deracialization as a campaign strategy. I argue that the role of gender is valuable and necessary to assess the complexities of the campaign strategies of black candidates. Utilizing what I call an *intersectional campaign framework* informed by Weldon's (2006) intersectionality-plus model, I investigate the influences of race, gender, and the combination of race and gender with other contextual factors on the components of a campaign strategy—campaign style, mobilization tactics, and issue priorities. I draw on semi-structured interviews with black women and men candidates for Congress and their campaign managers to gain an insider perspective, and a content analysis of black newspaper coverage to gauge the types of coverage received and the types of communication messages conveyed to majority black audiences, many of whom are the base of support for these candidates. My findings are complex but overall illustrate the influence of race, gender and both race and gender in the campaign approaches of black women and men candidates. Key findings include that a majority of black women and men candidates believe that race matters in campaign strategy to varying degrees, while black women candidates more than black men candidates believe that gender matters in campaign strategy. Additionally, black women voters are a key constituency for *both* black women and men candidates, while black

women candidates appear more likely to advocate issues affecting minorities and women of color than their black male counterparts. Given the recent attention to black women—both as candidates and as voters—this dissertation is timely as it investigates the campaign approaches and perspectives of this group considering multiple dimensions of race, gender and the combination of race and gender.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As we examine the present situations of women political candidates, we have to consider whether what we have learned from studying mostly white women political candidates can be applied to the situations of women of color (Dolan 2008, 4)

Data on the increasing efficacy of African Americans in the American political system reveal significant gender patterns that are emerging, and there has been very little scholarship that has examined the political success of African American women relative to their male counterparts (Kaba and Ward 2009, 30).

The viewpoints expressed above encapsulate two themes explored in this dissertation concerning race, gender and campaign strategies: intersectionality research concerning black women candidates and the exploration of intra-racial differences between black women and men candidates. Research on women candidates tends to treat gender as a single category in which white women make up much of the analysis, while research on Black Politics treats race as a single category of analysis with little to no attention paid to the role of gender. Students of race and gender such as myself, consider this odd as categories of race and gender can operate in multiple ways in defining one's political experience, either separately, jointly or something else entirely (Weldon 2006; Nash 2009). In other words, experiences of an African American woman can be shaped by gender, or being a woman, race, or being African American[1], or both, or being an African American woman, coupled with a host of other factors such as class, education and geography[2]. Furthermore, in examining the politics of women of color, it is illuminating to consider men of color in the analysis to fully ascertain what sets women of color apart from their male counterparts (Gershon 2012; Ward 2016; Hardy-Fanta, Lien, Pinderhughes, and Sierra

[1] The terms "black" and "African American" are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.
[2] Other factors can also include colorism or prejudicial views of someone based on one's skin color. Besides race, studies have examined the evaluation of African American candidates concerning skin color. For example, Weaver (2012) found that skin color influenced how voters evaluated African American candidates, with dark skinned African American candidates favored more by women and liberals than lighter skinned candidates.

2016; Brown and Gershon 2016). In this case, I am interested in the campaign strategies of black women and the ways they are similar and different from their black male counterparts. Several reasons motivate my interest in the study of black women candidates and their campaign strategies.

First, there has been a steady climb of black women in electoral politics. Black women are better represented overrepresented in their race/ethnic group compared with women in any other ethnic group in electoral politics (Kaba and Ward 2009; CAWP and Higher Heights 2015). In other words, "black women are represented higher within their own racial group than within the population at large" (Kaba and Ward 2009, 42). Although black men still outnumber black women in elective offices held overall, black women have contributed to electoral outcomes of blacks overall during the latter half of the 20th century into the 21st century. As Bositis (2002) notes in his report on the progress of black elected officials, "in 2001 the number of African American female officeholders increased by 101 or 3.2 percent since 2000, while male BEO's declined by 40 or 0.7 percent" (Bositis 2002). Thus, "all of the gains in the number of BEO's are attributable to gains in the numbers of black women holding office" (Bositis 2002). Moreover, black women also contribute to Democratic Party gains in state legislatures across the country with Democratic women outpacing Republican women in state legislatures (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013).

Second, the status of black women in American politics reflects achievement and hardship that somehow culminate in high levels of political participation and electoral successes (Darcy and Hadley 1988; CAWP and Higher Heights 2015). Regarding the former, black women collectively have made gains in educational attainment, obtaining college degrees higher than their male counterparts. Accordingly, as Kaba and Ward (2009) posit "the higher education levels of black women position them more favorably in the pursuit of elective office" (Kaba and Ward 2009, 36). Also, black women are more likely to earn managerial and professional

positions and are the fastest group of entrepreneurs nationwide (CAWP and Higher Heights 2015). Still, regarding the latter, black women lag socioeconomically, despite educational and economic indicators that should prove otherwise. For example, black women earn 63 cents for every dollar paid to white men, lower than women overall who earn 77 cents for every dollar earned by white men (CAWP and Higher Heights 2015; Fisher 2015). Black women outnumber black men in the workforce but earn less than their black male counterparts and many are heads of households which has serious financial implications for black families (Kaba and Ward 2009).

Still, despite exhibiting a lower socioeconomic status compared to whites, black women have voted at higher levels compared to black men (Prestage 1977, Smooth 2006; 2010). Specifically, black women vote and participate in higher numbers than black men and white women (Smooth 2010; Gamble 2010). Black women's voting prowess has helped contribute significantly to the critical electoral outcomes of African Americans, which propel Smooth (2006) to classify black women as the "the new black voter." Black women voters were crucial to Barack Obama securing his win in the 2008 South Carolina presidential primary during his first presidential campaign (Sinclair-Chapman and Price 2008). Smooth (2010) classifies this dynamic among black women as the "paradox of participation," in which "traditional measures and indicators of political participation suggest that African American women would be among the least likely to participate in politics, yet they are engaged in a range of political activities" (166).

Lastly, black women have a long tradition in political activism and engagement. Black women (and black men) were involved in the women's suffrage movement and organized their social club movement in which were various organizations formed by black women for providing solidarity and service. One of the most prolific organizations formed at that time was the

National Association of Negro Women (NANW) that still operates today (Giddings 1984).[3] Black women also have a history of working in local elections as chronicled in Gallagher's (2016) work on black women in New York City politics. The activism of black women in the local party structure in the early to mid-20th culminated with the election of Shirley Chisholm as the first black woman elected to Congress and later the first major-party black candidate to run for President of the United States (Chisholm 1970).

Moreover, African American women often were on the front lines of both women's and civil rights protest movements. The black feminist movement grew out of the need to recognize women of color who were marginalized in both movements (marginalized in their roles to either promote the status of white women or black men for the sake of racial unity) as well as promote equality for men of color and other marginalized groups (Crenshaw 1997). Today, African American women continue to be politically active, surpassing their male counterparts and white women. African American women help provide a unique and active voice to social and civil justice issues such as co-founding the *Black Lives Matter* Movement, which addresses the high levels of deadly incidents of black men and women involving police officers (CAWP and Higher Heights 2015).

Nonetheless, both women and African Americans remain underrepresented in the U.S Congress (Manning 2016), despite increasing their presence within the House of Representatives and the Senate. In 2016, within the 114th U.S Congress, there were 88 women in the House of Representatives including 4 women delegates [4] and 20 women in the US Senate, totaling to 108 women in Congress. For the first time, women's numbers had topped the 100- mark in Congress

[3] The focus of these African American women club movements was education, particularly in building schools and training those in need of literacy skills. Education was viewed as a means to achieve opportunity and move out of a bleak situation that many African Americans experienced (Giddings 1984).
[4] I do not examine delegates in this dissertation as I am interested in candidates who would have full voting powers if elected into office.

(Center for American Women and Politics 2016). With respect to African Americans, there were 48 members in Congress, with 46 serving in the House of Representatives including 2 delegates and 2 in the Senate (Manning 2016); broken further down by gender, there were 20 African American women including 2 delegates (Manning 2016) and 28 African American men (Manning 2016). Although these numbers reflect great strides with the highest level of women and African Americans within a congressional session to date (Manning 2016), the underrepresentation of black and women officeholders is one of the many observations scholars have noted in highlighting how race and gender shape campaigns and elections. It is especially the case for black women who are further underrepresented in elected office when compared to white women and their black male counterparts (Higher Heights 2015). African American women have traditionally been engaged in community activism which may or may not translate into running for elected office (Robnett 1997; Cohen 2003).

Nevertheless, as scholars examine the reasons behind the underrepresentation of African Americans most of the attention has been paid to race alone.[5] It is reflective of a reality in which most African American candidates who run and win elected office have been black men (Gillespie 2010; Smooth 2010). Consequently, scholarship pertaining to campaigns and elections including the campaign strategies utilized have mostly been from the perspectives or observations from black men candidates. There is not a clear enough picture to ascertain the ways in which black women campaign and the ways gender may influence this dynamic, given the steady rise of black women winning elected office.

Thus, I propose examining the ways gender influences the campaign approaches of black women and men candidates. Black women exhibit high levels of political participation, but they are not elected at the same rate as black men, a puzzle that can be addressed by considering how

[5] I am referencing race as an identity variable as similar with gender.

gender operates among black candidates. Considering gender along with race can better inform what we know about the experiences of black candidates and their campaign strategies. Therefore, the research questions guiding this dissertation are as follows: how do race and gender influence the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates? Given research on black electoral politics focuses on black men, do black women chart campaign strategies distinct from their black male counterparts? What are the implications for what we think about black women and the notion of Black Politics?

By investigating these questions, this dissertation contributes to the current scholarship on intersectionality and campaigns and elections as it considers the approaches of black women candidates compared to their black male counterparts. The comparison allows us to obtain a more comprehensive view of how categories of race, gender and the interaction of the two operate in various contexts that make up campaign calculations. As part of considering the influences of race, gender and both race and gender on campaign strategies, I characterize these categories of influence as racial dynamics, gender dynamics, and race/gendered dynamics respectively.

Racial Dynamics, Gender Dynamics, and Race/Gendered Dynamics Explained

Racial Dynamics

There is extensive scholarship on how race shapes campaigns and elections in the United States. Drawing from this race and campaign and elections literature (McCormick II and Jones 1993; Canon 1999; Mendelberg 2001), I develop the term racial dynamics, which can be defined as the interaction of race (the social construction of groups based on physical characteristics, ancestry, affiliation and shared culture (Omi and Winant 2015)[6] with other campaign factors.

[6]The exact definition of race according to Omni and Winant (2015) is "a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interest by referring to different types of human bodies" (110). In the most updated version of their classic text, Omi and Winant (2015) assert that "race is *a master category* –a

African American candidates may encounter racial dynamics when running for elected office based on stereotypes, norms and practices (Smith 1988: Mendelberg 2001). Racial dynamics in a campaign context include the racialized (or deracialized) experiences of black candidates that can contribute to the type of campaign strategies (racialized or deracialized) utilized to win elected office.

Gender Dynamics

Similarly, women and politics scholarship examine how gender impacts the campaigns and elections of women and men candidates. Accordingly, "gender can be defined as the culturally constructed meaning of biological sex differences" (Duerst-Lahti 2014, 18). Thus, gender is not synonymous with sex, which is the biological definition of a woman or man; rather, gender refers to the societal norms and expectations placed on men and women. I incorporate Fox's (1997) term gender dynamics which Fox defines as "the interaction of gender (societal construction of gender norms based on traditional male and female sex roles) with other factors, depending on the context" (xx). Hence, women and men candidates may encounter gender dynamics when campaigning for elected office (Fox 1997). Examples of gender dynamics include gender stereotypes and the institutional treatment women and men candidates receive when running for office and how campaign strategies are influenced as a result (Dittmar 2015).

Race/Gendered Dynamics

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fundamental concept that has profoundly shaped, and continues to shape, the history, polity, economic structure and culture of the United States" (110). The authors recognize the importance of intersectionality scholarship in highlighting the role of gender, class, and sexual orientation in shaping social and political behavior, but argue that race played a fundamental role in the social, cultural and political development of the United States. I treat race as a major category in this analysis as I am examining intra-group differences between black women and men candidates. However, by referencing Omi and Winant (2015) I am not suggesting race as a "master category" with respect to campaign strategies of black women and men, but a highly significant one as shared by both black women and men.

Meanwhile, intersectionality research examines the experiences and political behaviors of women of color, arguing that components of race and gender cannot be analyzed separately; rather, the interaction of race/ethnicity and gender along with class and sexuality produces distinct experiences that cannot be understood through a "race-only" or "gender-only" prism (Crenshaw 1989; Hawkesworth 2003; Junn and Brown 2008). Subsequently, black women candidates may encounter unique experiences as being a member of both marginalized groups.[7] Drawing on the works of Hawkesworth (2003), Smooth (2012) and Brown (2014), I develop the term race/gendered dynamics to describe black women candidates' unique campaign strategies and experiences that cannot be explained by their race/ethnicity nor gender alone. Examples of race-gendered dynamics can include the ways black women candidates perceive discrimination and marginalization in their path to elected office (Brown 2014) or the ways they potentially mobilize and appeal to a variety of constituency groups (women and minorities) as black women (Smooth 2006; Dolan and Stokes 2010).

Framework

When considering the scholarship on race, gender, and intersectionality with respect to candidates and campaign strategies, much of the research is analyzed within their respective categories. As previously mentioned, most research on black political candidates and their campaign strategies are analyzed through the prism of race, (Schneider 1990; Perry 1991; 1993; McCormick and Jones 1993) while the research on women (and men) political candidates and their campaign strategies are analyzed through the prism of gender (Carroll 1994; Kahn 1996; Fox 1997; Brystom et. al 2004; Dittmar 2015). There is growing research on black women as

[7]It is worth noting that both black men candidates and white women candidates could also deal with gender and race dynamics respectively (e.g., an opponent is of the opposite sex or is of a different racial or ethnic group) as it is understood that gender affects *both* men and women, as do race and ethnicity. However, for women of color, i.e., black women, the experiences of race and gender can arguably be more of a pronounced reality.

political candidates (Tate 1997; Montoya, et. al 2000; Walton Jr. and Philpot 2007; Stokes-Brown and Dolan 2010; Smooth 2006; Smooth 2010; Smooth 2014) and their campaign experiences and strategies (Clayton and Stallings 2003; Clayton 2003; Smooth 2014; Brown 2014). However, there is less research on the campaign strategies of black women candidates particularly compared to black men candidates. As a result, there is little research examining the gendered differences between black women and men candidates regarding campaign strategies.

Therefore, this dissertation reconciles the literatures on campaign strategies and race, gender and the interaction of the two by testing gender differences between black women and black men candidates. In particular, I employ a framework that I characterize as an *intersectional campaign framework*, in which I examine the campaign strategies of black women and men by consulting three sets of literatures (race, gender and the interaction of the two) to test similarities and differences between the sub-groups (black women and black men). I theorize that black women's campaign strategies and experiences are informed and influenced by the role of race, gender and the interaction of the two given black women's shared ethnicity with black men, their status as women and their unique status as black women. As a result, black women share similarities and differences with their black male counterparts, with the role of gender accentuating this difference.

My theoretical framework is informed by the intersectionality-plus approach proposed by Weldon (2006) that argues that identity categories of race and gender can operate separately or jointly at various contexts depending on circumstances that inform and shape each other, producing race effects, gender effects and/or intersectionality effects. The intersectionality-plus model allows comparison across social structures of race, gender, and the intersection of those categories (amongst others). Hence, in this case, social structures are the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates, including contextual factors and circumstances. The campaign calculations of black women and men candidates may be influenced by race, gender or the

interaction of the two in various ways depending on the context. In other words, there may be instances in which race may be a factor or gender or both, depending on the candidate's campaign, circumstances and electoral context.

It is important to note that I use these categories with the understanding that these categories are not static but can change over time (Duerst-Lahti 2014; Omi and Winant 2016; Carbabo, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson 2013). These categories provide an *organizational* tool to assess similarities and differences among black women and men candidates. Moreover, these categories are malleable given the campaign context black women and men operate in and the strategic choices they employ as a result.

Utilizing my *intersectional campaign framework*, I test hypotheses across race, gender and the interaction of the two to examine gendered differences between black women and men's campaign strategies. My overarching hypothesis is that the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates will exhibit similarities as explained by race, differences as explained by gender and further differences explained by the interaction of the two that are neither explained by race nor gender alone.

Methodology

To examine gendered differences in the campaign strategies of black candidates, I employ two empirical approaches: elite interviews with black women and men political candidates and their campaign managers and content analysis of black press coverage of these candidates. The former provides an inside view of the campaign strategies and experiences from the candidates and campaign managers themselves (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015); the latter allows me to assess the coverage and strategies of African American women and men candidates in a racialized space, as minority candidates often utilize the black press to appeal to minority voters as part of their campaigns (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Below is a description of both methods.

Elite Interviews

I conducted twenty-one elite interviews with black congressional candidates and their campaign managers from the 2014 primary election cycle[8]. Specifically, I interviewed black candidates (and their campaign managers) who were either non-incumbents running for Congress or incumbent members of Congress who were first elected to Congress within the 21st century (2000-2014). I interviewed incumbents and non-incumbents to increase my N sample (given the underrepresentation of African American members in Congress) and to provide a better balance between winners (most likely incumbents) and losers (most likely challengers) in my interviewee pool. Interviewing both winners and losers allows me to better gauge what did and did not work, and how racial and gender dynamics possibly played a part in their primary campaign. Table 1.1 provides a list of interview subjects for this dissertation[9].

I utilize the 21st century as a context variable (Walton 1997), given the 21st century reflects a firmer move towards deracialized politics as witnessed with the historic election of Barack Obama as the first black President of the United States.[10] The 21st century also provides a turning point since the redistricting efforts of the 1990's led to the increased creation of majority-minority districts. Most of my interviews were conducted by phone similar to previous studies on gender in campaigns and elections (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015), given the difficulty in garnering in-person interviews with congressional candidates/members of Congress. The majority in my sample are Democratic candidates, given African American candidates and officeholders are

[8] Some states may not have had a primary, e.g., Utah did not have a primary in 2014 but party conventions to select the party candidate. In cases where there is no primary, I examine general election coverage.

[9] This list is of primary candidates during the 2014 election cycle which includes challengers and incumbents. As a result, I do not designate candidates such as Bonnie Watson Coleman, Alma Adams, Brenda Lawrence and Will Hurd as Representatives given they are challenger candidates in their respective primaries (although they would later win their general election races). Former Representative Steven Horsford was an incumbent during his primary but lost the general election.

[10] Although there are some African American candidates who practice "racialized" politics in the 21st century; see Orey (2006) case study on deracialization vs. racialization politics for details.

mostly from the Democratic Party; however, my sample includes two black Republican candidates to consider partisan dynamics, adding another layer to understanding the complexity of black women and men campaigns. Tables 1.2 and 1.2A lists the 2014 black women and men congressional candidates of the 21st century considered for this dissertation.[11]

[11] These lists do not include congressional delegates.

Table 1.1: Interview Subjects for Dissertation							
	First Name	**Last Name**	**Job Title**	**On Behalf of What Candidate**	**State**	**CD**	**Date of Interview**
1	Jonathan	Barfield	New Hanover County Commissioner	Jonathan Barfield	North Carolina	7	May 10, 2016
2	Karen	Bass	U.S Representative	Representative Karen Bass	California	37	June 28, 2015
3	Yvette	Clarke	U.S Representative	Representative Yvette Clarke	New York	9	December 30, 2014
4	Bonnie Watson	Coleman	New Jersey State Assembly	Bonnie Watson Coleman	New Jersey	12	December 17, 2015
5	James	Gee	Chief of Staff	Bonnie Watson Coleman	New Jersey	12	July 14, 2015
6	Erika	Harold	Attorney	Erika Harold	Illinois	13	December 23, 2015
7	Carnela	Hill	Campaign Manager	Representative G.K. Butterfield	North Carolina	1	August 27, 2015
8	Justin	Hollis	Campaign Manager	Will Hurd	Texas	23	September 10, 2015
9	Steven	Horsford	U.S Representative	former Representative Steven Horsford	Las Vegas	4	May 12, 2016
10	Henry "Hank"	Johnson	U.S Representative	Representative Henry "Hank" Johnson	Georgia	4	November 13, 2014
11	Robin	Kelly	U.S Representative	Representative Robin Kelly	Illinois	2	October 6, 2014
12	Brenda	Lawrence	Mayor of Southfield Michigan	Brenda Lawrence	Michigan	14	July 16, 2015
13	David	Leonard	Political Director	Representative Keith Ellison	Minnesota	5	November 12, 2014
14	Donald	Payne Jr.	U.S Representative	Representative Donald Payne Jr.	New Jersey	10	August 13, 2015
15	Meshea	Poore	West Virginia House of Delegates	Meshea Poore	West Virginia	2	January 4, 2016 and (brief follow-up) October 20, 2016
16	Phil	Scaglia	Campaign Manager	Representative Emmanuel Cleaver II	Missouri	5	September 23. 2015
17	Emma	Tolbert	Campaign Director	Representative Terri Sewell	Alabama	7	August 21, 2015
18	Luther	Washington	Political Consultant	Representative Emmanuel Cleaver II	Missouri	5	September 20, 2015
19	n/a	n/a	Staff member of Congresswoman A	identity confidential	n/a	n/a	October 28, 2014
20	n/a	n/a	Staff member of Congresswoman B	identity confidential	n/a	n/a	July 17, 2015
21	n/a	n/a	n/a	background interview only	n/a	n/a	August 14, 2015

Table 1.2: 2014 Black Congressional Candidates of the 21st Century (majority-minority district)													
Name	**Gender**	**Party ID**	**District**		**Seat in 2014**	**First Time Elected**	**Seat first time elected**	**%Black**	**%White**	**%Latino**	**%Asian**	**%Minority**	**Majority-Minority District**
Alma Adams	female	D	NC	12	special election	2014	special election	48.3%	29.9%	15.2%	4.4%	10.0%	Black majority
Karen Bass	female	D	CA	37	incumbent	2010	open seat	24.0%	23.3%	39.4%	9.5%	2.8%	plurality minority majority
G.K Butterfield	male	D	NC	1	incumbent	2004	special election	51.9%	35.7%	8.4%	1.3%	10.4%	Black majority
Yvette Clarke	female	D	NY	9	incumbent	2006	challenger	50.5%	29.4%	11.9%	6.6%	1.4%	Black majority
William Clay Jr.	male	D	MO	1	incumbent	2000	open seat	48.8%	42.9%	3.2%	2.3%	2.6%	plurality minority majority
Donna Edwards	female	D	MD	4	incumbent	2008	special election	53.1%	26.0%	15.6%	3.3%	1.6%	Black majority
Al Green	male	D	TX	9	incumbent	2004	challenger	38.3%	13.6%	37.2%	9.1%	1.4%	plurality minority majority
Marcia Fudge	female	D	OH	11	incumbent	2008	special election	53.9%	37.9%	3.6%	2.2%	2.0%	Black majority
Will Hurd	male	R	TX	23	challenger	2014	challenger	2.2%	24.8%	70.8%	1.2%	0.5%	Hispanic majority
Hakeem Jeffries	male	D	NY	8	incumbent	2012	open seat	53.4%	22.1%	18.1%	4.5%	1.2%	Black majority
Henry "Hank" Johnson	male	D	GA	4	incumbent	2006	challenger	56.2%	26.9%	10.5%	4.4%	1.5%	Black majority
	source: Almanac of American Politics 2016						minority= total of non-Hispanic whites excluding Black, Latino and Asian						

Table 1.2: 2014 Black Congressional Candidates of the 21st Century (majority-minority district) *(continued)*

Name	Gender	Party ID	District		Seat in 2014	First Time Elected	Seat first time elected	%Black	%White	%Latino	%Asian	%Minority	Majority-Minority District
Robyn Kelly	female	D	IL	2	incumbent	2013	special election	55.1%	28.9%	13.3%	0.8%	1.8%	Black majority
Brenda Lawrence	female	D	MI	14	open seat	2014	open seat	56.8%	30.9%	4.6%	4.3%	3.1%	Black majority
Donald Payne Jr.	male	D	NJ	10	incumbent	2012	open seat	51.9%	21.2%	16.5%	6.9%	1.9%	Black majority
Cedric Richmond	male	D	LA	2	incumbent	2010	challenger	62.3%	27.3%	5.9%	2.8%	1.4%	Black majority
Terri Sewell	female	D	AL	7	incumbent	2010	open seat	64.0%	32.0%	2.5%	0.8%	0.6%	Black majority
David Scott	male	D	GA	13	incumbent	2002	new district	53.3%	31.1%	9.8%	2.9%	2.1%	Black majority
Frederica Wilson	female	D	FL	24	incumbent	2010	open seat	53.6%	13.8%	29.5%	1.9%	1.0%	Black majority
Marc Vasey	male	D	TX	33	incumbent	2012	new district	15.3%	16.0%	65.0%	2.5%	0.8%	Hispanic majority
	source: Almanac of American Politics 2016						minority= total of non-Hispanic whites excluding Black, Latino and Asian						

Table 1.2A: 2014 Black Congressional Candidates of the 21st Century (white-majority districts)													
Name	**Gender**	**Party Id**	**District**		**Seat**	**First Time Elected**	**Seat first time elected**	**%Black**	**%White**	**%Latino**	**%Asian**	**%Minority**	**White-Majority District**
Jonathan Barfield	male	D	NC	7	open seat	lost general election	n/a	17.5%	69.2%	9.7%	1.6%	1.5%	white-majority
Joyce Beatty	female	D	OH	3	incumbent	2012	new district	31.8%	55.4%	6.1%	2.7%	3.3%	white-majority
Andre Carson	male	D	IN	7	incumbent	2008	special election	28.1%	57.3%	10.0%	1.7%	2.5%	white-majority
Emmanuel Cleaver II	male	D	MS	5	incumbent	2004	open seat	21.1%	65.2%	8.7%	1.7%	2.6%	white-majority
Bonnie Watson Coleman	female	D	NJ	12	open seat	2014	open seat	17.1%	50.8%	15.1%	14.6%	1.2%	white-majority
Keith Ellison	male	D	MN	5	incumbent	2006	open seat	15.5%	64.7%	9.7%	5.7%	3.3%	white-majority
Erika Harold	female	R	IL	13	challenger	lost primary	n/a	11.1%	80.4%	3.1%	3.5%	1.7%	white-majority
Steven Horsford	male	D	NV	4	incumbent	2012	new district	13.6%	47.5%	29.7%	4.3%	3.3%	white-majority
Mia Love	female	R	UT	4	challenger	2014	challenger	n/a	76.1%	16.3%	2.7%	3.1%	white-majority
Gwen Moore	female	D	WI	4	incumbent	2004	open seat	33.3%	43.9%	16.3%	3.1%	2.8%	white-majority
Meshea Poore	female	D	WV	2	open seat	lost primary	n/a	3.1%	91.2%	1.7%	0.6%	3.1%	white-majority
	source: Almanac of American Politics 2016						minority= total of non-Hispanic whites excluding Black, Latino and Asian						

Content Analysis of Black Newspaper Coverage

I analyze press coverage of black women and men candidates from the 2014 primary election cycle in black newspapers. Specifically, I examine coverage of the last two months before their primary election date. These are black newspapers across the United States that target an African American audience. These newspapers do not necessarily have to be owned by African Americans, but aimed at African Americans, as black media is understood to embody and reflect the sentiment of black communities (Harris-Lacewell 2014). Given both challengers and incumbents are in my sample, the type of coverage should vary as incumbents would most likely have less "horse race" coverage than challenger candidates. A list of black newspapers in my sample and black candidates covered by black newspapers are in the Appendix.

I analyze black news coverage of African American women and men candidates to assess the coverage and the type of campaign activities promoted by the candidates, considering race, gender, and the interaction of the two. The black press provides a unique avenue to reach black voters, who often make up the bulk of support for African American candidates, especially those who run or represent minority majority jurisdictions. Similarly, with my interviews, I explicitly examine the role of gender (gender dynamics) between black women and men candidates on the campaign trail, using the lens of the black press as a focal point of observation.

Taken together, my elite interviews and media content analysis of the black press, examine gender differences between African American women and men candidates' campaign strategies and experiences. This two-way approach contributes to the understanding of intra-racial differences (Kaba and Ward 2009) and the ways in which black women campaign similarly and differently from their male counterparts.

Chapter Descriptions

In chapter 2, I review the current literatures on race, gender, and intersectionality on campaign strategies of African American, women and African American women candidates to uncover what is missing and outline the contributions of this dissertation. I discuss deracialization, a common campaign tactic used by African American candidates running in white majority districts, and by minority candidates running in minority-majority districts during the latter half of the 20th century. Deracialization involves minority candidates minimizing the issue of race to generate the broadest appeal among the electorate given issues of racism and/or reluctance to vote for an African American candidate. By reviewing the current literature on race, gender and intersectionality involving black women, I discuss my *intersectional campaign framework* to test hypotheses about how black women and men campaign for elected office uncovering similarities and differences between the two sub-groups.

Both chapters 3 and 4 utilize interview data of black women and men candidates for Congress and their campaign managers to gain an inside perspective about their campaign calculations and processes. I organize these chapters around the three components of deracialization strategy—campaign style, mobilization tactics and issue priorities-- to discuss individual campaigns and campaign strategies of interview subjects considering race, gender, and the interaction of the two.

Particularly, in chapter 3, I examine the component of campaign style of black women and men congressional candidates. Here, campaign style relates to how political candidates convey their messages to voters. I examine the quality of black women and men candidates who run for Congress and compare the campaign styles of running/representing in a minority-majority district vs. white majority district, including self-presentation styles and messaging. I find that race matters to most of my interview subjects but in varying degrees and gender matters for the

majority of black women candidates and their campaign managers interviewed in comparison to black male candidates and their campaign managers. I find that many black women and men candidates employ a style either race moderate to race-neutral. Additionally, black women candidates handle issues related to their self-presentation styles (i.e., clothing and hairstyles) in ways that separate them from their male counterparts, and (non-black) women candidates (based on previous studies on women candidates and gender) illustrating the importance of an *intersectional campaign framework* in understanding campaign strategies of black women candidates.

In chapter 4, I examine the components of mobilization tactics and issue priorities of black women and men congressional candidates. The first half of this chapter examines mobilization tactics and the second half examines issue priorities.

Mobilization tactics involve the ways black women and men congressional candidates target the electorate. Thus, I examine the type of campaign communications and methods employed and the resources available to carry out such tactics. Correspondingly, I examine the type of voters and supporters that black women and men candidates target in their campaigns.

Issue priorities pertain to the type of issues promoted as part of a campaign platform. Similar to the discussion of campaign style and mobilization tactics, I utilize my *intersectional campaign framework* in reviewing the type of issues promoted by black women and men congressional candidates. I find that most black women and men candidates address common campaign issues of any political candidate running for elected office framed in race moderate to race-neutral terms. However, my interviews also highlight gender differences in the type of issues addressed, in which black women more likely to speak on matters about race/ethnicity compared to their black male counterparts. I also examine how gender and race/gender influence the type of issues addressed by black women and men candidates. I find a few black women

candidates expressed the importance of women issues as part of their campaigns, but most addressed general campaign issues, and hardly any black women candidates addressed issues that cut across race and gender.

Shifting gears slightly, chapter 5 investigates campaigning in a racialized space, by examining the coverage of black women and men candidates in black newspapers. Deracialization is a common factor among black and minority candidates who wish to appeal to a broader electorate, while simultaneously appeal to their base of supporters (black/minorities). Therefore, I am interested in how black women and men candidates promote their candidacies/ campaigns in the black press, including the type of campaign activities and the coverage they receive during the primary campaign season. Competition for minority candidates occurs mostly in the primaries as districts are highly partisan and considered safe seats after winning a primary. Thus, I analyze coverage of primary races in 2014 by reviewing articles two months before their primary election date. I utilize the same sample of 2014 black women and men congressional candidates of the 21st century for continuity purposes. Moreover, I employ my *intersectional campaign framework* to analyze similarities and differences among black women and men congressional candidates. In a review of the black press, I examine the extent to which black women and men candidates are racialized and if the role of gender is accentuated either by the candidates or by the press. I find that black women are racialized higher than black men and are more likely to speak on issues cutting across race and gender, which my interviews have slightly shown. Moreover, I find that the type of district—minority-majority or white majority- is a statistically significant influence on the type of issues promoted on a campaign, rather than gender in that regard. This chapter provides another window into how black women and men candidates present themselves to voters considering a racialized space.

Lastly, in chapter 6, I discuss the takeaways regarding the campaign strategies of African American women and men candidates considering my *intersectional campaign framework*. I

review the overarching findings and themes of this dissertation, implications for the state of Black Politics, and avenues of exploration for further research. Additionally, I discuss limitations with this dissertation, such as a single election year being a unit of analysis and a lack of attention to other gender themes that typically influence women and men candidates: presentation of families and negative campaigning. Regarding the first caveat, securing interviews with congressional candidates, many of whom were members of Congress, was no easy task, and as a result, limited resources prevented me from securing interviews with black congressional candidates from more than one election year. Regarding the second caveat, areas around self-presentation of families and negative campaigning did not produce much data from my interviews. However, these are areas that should be considered for further research regarding black women and men candidates.

Overall, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the growing scholarship that examines gender differences among people of color, by focusing exclusively on black women and men candidates' campaign strategies. Given the high levels of political participation among black women, it is a worthy area of study as it helps inform us about the various ways black women campaign and the unique contributions they make as women to American politics and collectively to Black Politics.

CHAPTER 2: A FRAMEWORK IN EXAMINING RACE *AND* GENDER IN CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES OF BLACK WOMEN AND MEN CANDIDATES

It's very gratifying; we worked very hard for this. I feel excited, humbled, and I thank God for the opportunity to be a public servant. That being said, I also think it's a little sad that I may be "a first" in 2014 (Essence, June 2014).

Essence, a magazine publication geared towards black women audiences, interviewed then New Jersey Assemblywoman Bonnie Watson Coleman in her run for Congress in New Jersey's 12th district. The interviewer asked Watson Coleman about her feelings on possibly being the first woman of color to represent the state of New Jersey in Congress. At the time (June 2014), Watson Coleman made headlines by winning the Democratic primary that featured multiple candidates including a woman and a man of color.[12] Watson Coleman was the only black woman and woman of color in the primary and successfully emerged to become the first black woman/woman of color elected to Congress from the state of New Jersey. Watson Coleman's reference to her (then potential) historic election to Congress in 2014 as "sad" arguably signifies the progress and challenges black women candidates still face when running for elected office in the 21st century.

Campaign professionals and candidates alike attest that running for elected office is an arduous task, one that involves crafting a compelling campaign theme and message, generating enough institutional resources to promote such a theme and message and mobilizing voters to turn out and vote on one's behalf (Thurber 1995; Stokes-Brown 2013). Campaigning is an in-depth process that involves crafting effective strategies to win an election. For the purposes of this dissertation, campaign strategy refers to the strategic calculations and decisions utilized by the

[12] Candidates in the primary included a white woman and an Indian American man.

candidate and campaign to win elected office that involves a type of style, mobilization tactics and issue priorities (McCormick and Jones 1993).

In this chapter, I review the literatures on race, gender and intersectionality concerning campaigns and elections and corresponding campaign strategies of black, women and black women candidates that result. I review these literatures utilizing the categories racial dynamics, gender dynamics and race/gender dynamics respectively for organizational purposes. In my review, I consider what is missing from the current state of research regarding the campaign approaches of black women candidates and introduce a nuanced intersectionality framework to assess race, gender and the interaction of the two in campaign strategies. As a result, it is a framework that I argue gives us a more comprehensive view of how race and gender can operate in campaigns and elections and the implications of how black women run for elected office.

Racial Dynamics

Race, Campaigns, and Elections

Historically, the role of race has shaped campaigns and elections in American politics. Consequently, African American candidates may navigate various forms of racial dynamics when running for elected office. Here, racial dynamics are characterized in the form of racial bias in voter evaluations and race appeals rooted in stereotypes made towards black candidates either implicitly or explicitly.

Voter Evaluations

It is unclear the extent to which racial bias impacts the evaluation of African American candidates. Some scholars assert that racial voter bias contributes to the dearth of African Americans elected into office (Lee and Welch 1984; Williams 1990; Terkildsen 1993). This racial bias tends to be based on racial stereotypes of African Americans and applied to African American candidates who seek to win elected office. Some stereotypes of African Americans

include laziness, dependence, incompetence, and anger. Past research has shown that higher levels of racial bias are directed towards black candidates who run for state-wide office (Williams 1990). Additionally, black political candidates are perceived to embody less policy expertise but have compassion towards the poor and race-related issues (Williams 1990; Schneider and Bos 2011). This aforementioned racial bias is problematic as it implies that black candidates cannot serve the needs of all constituency groups, but rather, only the needs of African Americans as being a member of that minority group. Other experimental studies found black candidates to be viewed as incompetent when compared to white candidates with similar profiles and experiences and less likely to be supported by whites if handling race-related issues such as affirmative action (Reeves 1997).

Moreover, the post 9/11 environment has produced higher levels of anti-Muslim sentiment in public opinion, in which Muslim Americans are branded as "other" and perceived as a threat to American national security interests.[13] Consequently, this anti-Muslim sentiment has impacted evaluations of black candidates perceived to be Muslim, such as then-presidential candidate Barack Obama or actual African American Muslim candidates such as current Congressman Keith Ellison during his first run for Congress (Cooperman 2006). Although Obama won the presidency twice, scholars have examined the extent of racial bias hurting his standing among whites in the polls. Piston (2010) found that explicit racial prejudice (negative stereotypes of African Americans) eroded white support, as Obama received less white support than previous presidential candidates due to anti-black attitudes (Lewis-Black and Tien 2008). [14]

[13]Scholars have examined the public opinion of Muslim Americans since the terrorist events of 9/11. See Bloodworth-Lugo and Lugo-Lugo (2011); in which Muslims are linked to being un-American and threats to national security since post 9/11 attacks. See Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner (2009) who argue that attitudes towards Muslim Americans, high levels of anti-Muslim sentiment, are like attitudes towards other minority groups that preceded 9/11 terrorist attacks.

[14] There has also been a plethora of studies on how racial attitudes, explicit or implicit impact Barack Obama as President of the United States, illustrating how the racialization and "othering" of Obama's presidential candidacy seeped into his evaluation as President. See Lugo -Lugo and Bloodsworth-Lugo (2009) and Pasek et al. (2014).

Other scholars have suggested that black candidates are not "punished" because of racial bias, but rather other factors, namely party/ideological stereotypes (intertwined with race), contribute to the evaluation and viability of black candidates. Generally, African American political candidates are viewed as more liberal than their white counterparts (Citrin, Green, and Sears 1990; McDermott 1998; Schneider and Bos 2011) and more competent on minority issues (McDermott 1998; Reeve 1997; Schneider and Bos 2011). Therefore, white conservative voters who perceive a black candidate as liberal would be less likely to vote for the black candidate (McDermott 1998). Geographic location and voters' party identification play a factor as well, with studies showing white Republican voters in the South less inclined to vote for a Democrat regardless of race, and less likely to vote for a Republican candidate who is black (Highton 2004).

Furthermore, studies also show that not all racial stereotypes are applied equally to African American candidates as they do towards African Americans in general, which can aid African American candidates in voter assessments. In their study comparing the stereotypes of black politicians, to black professionals and blacks in general, Schneider and Bos (2011) found a gap in how respondents view black politicians versus blacks in general. Black politicians are viewed as intelligent and ambitious, contrary to general black stereotypes as being lazy and incompetent. However, the authors also found that black politicians are viewed as being more competent on race or minority-related issues and less competent on general issues, such as the economy and national security, as previous studies have found (Reeves 1997). These findings suggest that black politicians/black candidates are "racialized" in their capabilities and responsibilities, which can be problematic when trying to appeal to a broader spectrum of voters.

Racial Appeals

Consequently, potential racial bias towards African American candidates correlates with racial appeals that often characterizes campaigns and elections in the United States. Racial

appeals are a form of racialized campaign communication and rhetoric rooted in racial stereotypes (Metz and Tate 1995; Perry 1996; Mendelberg 2001; Gillespie 2010). Racial appeals can be explicit or implicit. Explicit racial appeals involve the use of derogatory language to describe minorities, while implicit racial appeals employ language and/or imagery that promotes negative stereotypes of minorities without mentioning race which may ultimately prime ambivalence towards minorities such as the stereotypes linking African Americans to crime (Mendelberg 1997; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997), or welfare (Gilens 1996). Implicit appeals are generally more used in campaigns, than explicit appeals, given the acceptance of egalitarian norms in society.[15]

Scholars have typically studied racial appeals in campaigns in the cases of white candidates using it against other white (Democrat or progressive) candidates or against African American political candidates to divide the electorate. The most well-known example of an implicit racial appeal is the "Willie Horton" campaign ad employed by George W. Bush Sr. political team in the 1988 presidential campaign (Mendelberg 2001; Fauntroy 2007; Mcllwain and Caliendo 2011). The campaign ad of "Willie Horton" implicitly linked violence and crime to African Americans.[16]

In the 21st century, African American candidates running for office in white-majority jurisdictions have been on the receiving end of implicit racial appeals such as former Congressman Harold Ford, Jr. during his 2006 campaign for U.S Senate campaign. During

[15] However, the notion of explicit racial appeals being rejected due to egalitarian norms can arguably be challenged with the 2016 historic presidential election of executive Donald J. Trump, a political novice who ran on a platform of explicit racial appeals targeting Muslims, Latinos, and immigrants (Wood 2017)

[16] Horton was an African American male convicted of murder and sentenced to life without parole in prison. While on a weekend pass, he escaped and ultimately attacked a white couple in their home (Mendelberg 2001). Thus, the Horton incident happened under Dukakis's leadership as Governor and raised the issue of whether Dukakis would be soft on crime. The Horton story was featured in television campaign ads, literature, and speeches on the campaign trail during the final weeks of the campaign, culminating in a win for Bush (Mendelberg 2001; Fauntroy 2007).

Harold's senatorial run, the Tennessee state Republican Party exploited Ford's run-in at the Playboy mansion, playing on fears and old stereotypes of African American men patronizing white women (Franklin 2010; Gillespie 2010; Gillespie 2012; Mcllwain and Caliendo 2011).

Moreover, the 2008 presidential campaign encapsulated this phenomenon on a national scale as-then presidential candidate Barack Obama was on the receiving end of implicit racial appeals that framed him as "other" or "un-American" based on his foreign sounding middle name "Hussein" (like the fallen Iraq leader Saddam Hussein) and paternal lineage to the Muslim faith (Lugo-Lugo and Bloodsworth-Lugo 2009). Obama's "Americanness" (citizenship status) was questioned throughout his run for the presidency by outside groups and individuals (*not* including his opponent, U.S. Senator John McCain) contributing to a "racialized" environment.

Additionally, studies by Mcllwain (2010) and Mcllwain and Caliendo (2011) suggest that implicit racial appeals were used by Obama's then opponent, former U.S Senator and former First Lady Hillary Clinton in a campaign commercial that played on racial stereotypes of African American (men) being incompetent and incapable of protecting the lives of (white) children (Erigha and Charles 2012). Other implicit appeals questioned Obama's patriotism and understanding of non-minority issues given his ties to then-controversial religious figure Jeremiah Wright, whom Obama later distanced/disavowed in a speech on race relations during his campaign (Erigha and Charles 2012; Mcllwain 2013).

Race and Campaign Strategy: African American Candidates

Consequently, scholars have examined the ways African American candidates run for elected office given the aforementioned racial dynamics in American campaigns and elections. The evolution of African American candidates in electoral politics can be categorized into four main campaign strategies, considering various contextual factors and circumstances.

<u>Campaign Strategy #1—Insurgent Style</u>

After the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the post-civil rights era ushered in an insurgent-style electoral strategy of African American candidates running for office in urban areas. This campaign style involved making direct racial appeals to black voters (their base) while garnering a small margin of white liberals (at least 10%) who could sympathize with the plight of African Americans and help carry the African American candidate to victory (Perry 1991). Earlier examples of this campaign strategy were the electoral strategies of African American mayors in the late 60's and early 70's that were characterized as the "outcome of a black candidate challenging the "white power structure" in a bruising racially charged contest" (Persons 1993, 43).

This insurgent style campaign strategy involves black candidates advocating explicitly for race-specific policies. In his exploration of black congressional members' campaign and representation styles, Canon (1999) described this campaign strategy as "politics of difference." Here, black candidates advocate issues that are explicitly related to African Americans or minorities especially if running against a white opponent in a majority-minority district (Canon 1999). This strategy was dominant for at least twenty years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Perry 1991).

The culmination of this campaign strategy reached its peak in the 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns of Reverend Jesse Jackson, illustrating the first *serious* African American presidential candidacy (Reed 1986; Times 1988).[17] Jackson challenged the moderate ideological direction of the Democratic Party, and campaigned on a theme of a "Rainbow Coalition" that appealed to minorities, women and liberal whites (Walter et al. 1988). Specifically, the Jackson coalition included "inner-city blacks, imperiled autoworkers, college students and affluent

[17] Shirley Chisholm was the first black candidate to run for President under a major party; however, she did not secure enough delegate votes due to the different delegate rules at the time to be considered a "serious" candidate (Chisholm 1970).

liberals" (Walter et al. 1988). Jackson's coalition was prominent during the 1988 presidential primary, where Jackson's candidacy posed a serious challenge to the Democratic Party structure; he won presidential primaries that garnered him several delegate votes that are necessary to secure the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Jackson's political style as a presidential candidate was rooted in the black church, explicitly targeting black voters in messaging and in tactics (Reed 1986). He championed liberal policies, such as an expansion of health care, ending drugs' entrance in urban cities, higher taxes on the wealthy, and decreasing the military budget (Walter et al. 1988).

Campaign Strategy #2—Black Candidates, Racial Appeals and Counter Appeals

The second type of electoral campaign strategy involves African American candidates running against each other in majority-minority jurisdictions. This approach involves levying racialized appeals against their opponent to appeal to their base of supporters (minorities, women and liberal white voters). In essence, "it is racialized communication we most often see from political candidates of color" (Mcllwain and Caliendo, 17). Here, the black candidate attempts to prove his/her racial authenticity by appealing "to one's individual racial identity and, more particularly, to the maintenance of such an identity" (Mcllwain and Caliendo, 2011, 75). An example of this type of racial appeal from African American candidates is the 2002 mayoral campaign in Newark, New Jersey featuring then-challenger Cory Booker running against long-time incumbent Sharpe James (Gillespie 2010). James framed Booker as not being "racially authentic" by advocating that he, and not Booker, was "The Real Deal" (a campaign theme) with voters, especially among black voters. Booker lost in 2002 but won in 2006 after aggressively targeting the African American political elite and minority voters while holding his support among whites and Latinos (Gillespie 2010). Meanwhile, black candidates on the receiving end of such racial appeals work to extend their appeal beyond black voters to other minority and non-

minority groups, creating a bi-racial coalition. The winner of this election is one who not only receives African American support but of white support as well.

Campaign Strategy #3—Deracialization

Meanwhile, black candidates who run for elected office in mostly white-majority jurisdictions may utilize a race-neutral approach known as deracialization. Deracialization as a campaign strategy has been commonly used among black candidates since the latter half of the 20th century, culminating in the election of Barack Obama as the first black President of the United States. Deracialization as a campaign strategy is defined as follows:

> Conducting a campaign in a stylistic fashion that defuses the polarizing effects of race by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues, while at the same time emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent, thus mobilizing a broad segment of the electorate for purposes of capturing alternatively, maintaining public office (McCormick and Jones 1993, 76).

According to McCormick and Jones (1993), several motivating factors contribute to African American candidates adopting a deracialized campaign strategy. One factor, as stated earlier in this chapter, is the limited number of majority-minority districts from which black candidates can run and win elected office. Another factor is ambition, as black candidates may seek higher office in a non-majority minority jurisdiction (most likely a state-wide office) and therefore, need to establish an appeal that resonates beyond black, minority, and progressive voters, considering varied electoral contexts. Congressman Harold Ford's 2006 Senate campaign (Gillespie 2010) is a modern day 21st-century example. The third motivation is to counter "subtle racism" (McCormick and Jones 1993, 75) or implicit racial attacks (Mendelberg 2001) (as discussed earlier in this chapter) given the racial dynamics that exist in campaigns and elections.

Accordingly, a deracialized campaign strategy involves a 1) political style that is non-threatening, 2) mobilization tactics that avoid direct racial appeals but satisfies the base of support and 3) issues that are not race-specific but rather attract the broad support of the electorate (McCormick and Jones 1993). In other words, "minority campaigns adopt tactics to mitigate the electoral disadvantage often attributed to the racial conservatism of some white voters and to

mobilize enthusiasm and support in minority communities" (Stokes-Brown, 2014, 212). Additionally, a deracialized strategy involves minority candidates micro-targeting their campaign's message to demographic sects of their constituency (e.g., different imagery on several campaign literature pieces), while mobilizing their base of support through community visits, (e.g., churches), political endorsements and GOTV efforts (Collet 2008).

Furthermore, deracialized tactics involve ways to counter potential racial attacks by stressing character traits atypical of a racial stereotype. For example, according to Mcllwain and Caliendo (2011), an African American candidate may stress they "work hard" as a counter-appeal given African Americans are stereotypically perceived as "lazy." In their content analysis of campaign commercials of African American congressional candidates from 1970-2006, the authors found African American (male) candidates, on average, are more likely to discuss their personal attributes than issues, perhaps to offset racial stereotypes or relieve voter's anxieties about electing an African American candidate (Mcllwain and Caliendo 2011).

Campaign Strategy #4— "Nuanced" Deracialization—21st Century

In light of Obama's presidential campaign strategy, a fourth type of campaign strategy appears to emerge that is neither fully deracialized nor race-specific. Rather, it is a campaign strategy that is balanced in its approach concerning race and appeal to voters. Most of the studies on black candidates and deracialized campaign strategy focus on statewide or mayoral contests that constitute a white-majority jurisdiction.

However, research on deracialization as a campaign strategy has been applied to congressional campaigns as well. In his exploration of black candidates running in new minority-majority districts (post-1990 redistricting), Canon (1999) found that most black congressional candidates in new majority-minority districts run as "new style Black politics." Notably, Canon (1999) described this campaign strategy as a "politics of commonality" which black candidates promote issues affected by both blacks and whites, creating a delicate balancing act. Campaign strategies of other black candidates in Canon's (1999) study reflected traditional politics,

especially from older established majority-minority districts (drawn pre-1990 census) (Canon 1999). Given the rise of the Latino electorate, black political candidates also must appeal to Latino voters who make up significant portions in majority-minority districts. Black candidates have already demonstrated this ability, as many African American Representatives are re-elected from districts that contain a sizeable Latino constituency (Swain 1993). Also, black and Latino voters have been shown to vote for each other's candidates.

Canon (1999) also developed a supply-side theory to explain the type of black candidates elected based on the candidate pool running for office. According to Canon (1999), the composition of the district and presence of white candidates dictate the campaign style of black candidates. If there is a white candidate and several black candidates running in a majority-minority district, then the black candidate would engage in "politics of difference," appealing to mostly African American voters and win the election as described in campaign strategy #1 of this chapter. If there are only black candidates running in a district that has at least 30% of a white population, in which one engages in the "politics of difference" while the other engages in "politics of commonality", then the "new style" black candidate would most likely win, as that candidate built a biracial coalition for election (as discussed in campaign strategy #2 of this chapter).[18]

Since Canon's (1999) work on congressional campaigns in majority-minority districts, it appears that most African American legislative candidates utilize a "politics of commonality" approach. Orey and Ricks (2006) found in their 2001 survey of black elected officials of California that 51% of African American elected officials were more likely to identify their campaigns as race moderate followed by 41% who identified their campaigns as race-neutral.

Origins of the Deracialization Concept

[18] However, most races in majority-minority districts today do not feature a White candidate (s) as opponents. An exception is Stephen I. Cohen who represents the 9th congressional district in Tennessee (Hearn 2007)

The deracialization concept has its origins in 1973 with political scientist Charles V. Hamilton, who presented a paper to the National Urban League meeting (featuring academics, and activists) on ways African Americans can transition "from protest to politics"[19] (or from political activism/protest movements to the electoral arena). Subsequently, in 1976 Hamilton wrote another paper, this time presenting it to the National Democratic Party where he explicitly discussed deracialization as an agenda-setting/electoral strategy for African Americans. As McCormick and Jones (1993) note "he advised Democrats to pursue a deracialized electoral strategy, thereby denying their Republican opponents the opportunity of using race as a polarizing issue, as had occurred in the 1972 presidential contest" (McCormick and Jones 1993). The concept of deracialization was further advanced by scholars such as William Julius Wilson who advocated the emphasis of class and economics as means to address the plight of African Americans and achieve electoral gains for the Democratic Party (McCormick and Jones 1993).

The deracialization concept reached its peak in scholarly discussions and real-world applicability following the successful 1989 elections of black candidates in non-minority majority jurisdictions: David Dinkins' mayoral election of New York City, Norman Rice's mayoral election of the City of Washington, Seattle and Doug Wilder's gubernatorial election of Virginia (Schneider 1990; Perry 1990; Perry 1991; Perry 1995). (Wilder became the first African American to become Governor of an American state). The presidential campaign and election of Barack Obama is the culmination of deracialization as a campaign strategy and its meaning and implications for future black candidates. As Stokes-Brown (2013) notes:

> the election of Barack Obama to the presidency highlights how candidates of color are gaining increased access to positions of political power, ascending to the highest level of political leadership. The success of these candidates today has been attributed to the way these candidates run their campaigns, adopting successful electoral strategies designed to encourage greater support among white voters while maintaining an electoral backing in minority communities—especially in the second decade of the twenty-first century (211).

[19] A reference to the title of the work Katherine Tate 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*, Cambridge Massachusetts; Harvard University Press.

Both of Obama's 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns illustrate a deracialized approach as he did not address race-specific issues explicitly but rather framed issues broadly to garner broad support and appeal. However, as Mcllwain (2010) suggests it was a deracialized, but nuanced strategy in how race was used to provide hope to African Americans *and* inspire whites to view his candidacy as an example of racial progress. Specifically, in addressing racial issues on the campaign, Obama used *his racial* ethnicity and experiences to counter racial controversies in his campaign involving his former pastor Reverend Wright and implicit racial appeals regarding his religion and citizenship status (Price 2016). Additionally, Obama often dressed formally on the campaign trail (to appear as a serious candidate) and stood in front of the American flag to reinforce his American identity and not address issues in a racially explicit manner such as the incarceration rates that disproportionately impact African Americans and Latinos (Bai 2008; Ambinder 2009)

Nevertheless**,** deracialized campaign strategies do not always work. One reason is that black candidates cannot always adequately protect themselves from racial appeal attacks by their opponents, political parties or independent organizations. Another reason is the failure of minority candidates to mobilize their base (minority voters) effectively while sustaining broad support. Some prime examples include Artur Davis's 2000 congressional campaign challenging campaign incumbent Earl Hilliard, [20] former NYS Comptroller Carl McCall's run for Governor in 2002 (Harden 2002) and Congressman Artur Davis's gubernatorial campaign in 2010 (Gillespie 2010).

Notably, Orey's (2006) case study analysis of Harvey Johnson's mayoral campaigns in Jackson Mississippi, found a deracialized campaign strategy least effective among African American voters, resulting in Johnson's initial election loss, while a racialized campaign strategy most effective among African American voters resulting in Johnson's election win. On the

[20] Artur Davis won election to Congress in 2002.

contrary, other studies have found black incumbent candidates running in minority-majority jurisdictions successful in utilizing a deracialized campaign strategy Liu (2003).

Unsuccessful deracialized campaign strategies also apply to Latino candidates who are also underrepresented in elected office. There have been cases of Latino candidates utilizing a deracialized campaign strategy but not winning electoral office, as aspects of the Latino electorate are more conservative (ideology and party affiliation) than the African American electorate**,** making it difficult to withstand an opponent's attacks of implicit racial appeals, while holding on to a Latino base of support **(**Juenke and Sampaio 2010).

Gender Dynamics

Gender and Campaigns and Elections

Meanwhile, the role of gender has also shaped American campaigns and elections as politics has long been considered a male domain (Kirkpatrick 1974). Thus, women and politics research has demonstrated that a gendered landscape exists for women (and men) when they enter the electoral arena (Fox 1997; Carroll and Fox 2014). Particularly, this gendered landscape includes men dominating the political arena as candidates, campaign operatives, and journalists who cover the elections. Additionally, "masculine" adjectives permeate the lexicon of American campaigns and elections with phrases such as "scoring a victory" and "destroying an opponent" which are commonly referenced in sports and war **(**Carroll and Fox 2014, 2).

Although women remain underrepresented in elected office, it is not clear if it is attributable to gender bias. Some research suggests that there is no voter bias towards women political candidates (Welch, Ambrosius, Clark, and Darcy 1985; Riggle, et. al 1997, Smith and Fox 2002). For example, Welch et al. (1985) found no difference in the gender gap of vote choice in primary elections and only a slight difference in general elections; there is little evidence of gender bias over several election cycles. Burrell (2014), in a longitudinal analysis of

House races covering several election cycles, found that women candidates received more votes than men in primary elections and that both male and female incumbents perform roughly the same in elections in voter support. Furthermore, other research has found no gender bias towards women candidates in U.S. House elections, but instead found party id. to impact vote choice of women and men candidates (Smith and Fox 2001; Dolan 2014). For example, Burrell's (2014) analysis found Democratic women receiving more votes than their Democratic male counterparts, compared to Republican women to their Republican male counterparts. These findings suggest that in the absence of gender bias, the common adage of "when women run, women win" (Burrell 2014) can occur.

Nevertheless, scholars have paid considerable attention to the role of gender stereotypes as possible reasons for the underrepresentation of women officeholders. Extensive studies have examined how gender stereotypes can impact voters' evaluation of women candidates and thus, hinder women's chances of winning elected office (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Lawless 2000; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Lawless 2000; Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014).

Notably, scholars have examined the ways gender stereotypes mediate personal traits and policy issues for women and men political candidates (Dolan 2014). [21] Regarding candidate traits, women candidates are perceived to possess compassion, warmth, and a hard work ethic, while men candidates are perceived to embody aggressiveness and decisiveness (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1998; Lawless 2004). Thus, women candidates are viewed as more honest (than men) (Khan 1996), trustworthy, and compassionate to handle ethical issues in

[21] Gender stereotypes are also related to party ideology (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009), but given this dissertation is not examining partisan stereotypes individually as my primary sample of black candidates is Democratic, I do not discuss it here. However, given I have interviewed a few African American Republican candidates and their campaign managers; I will discuss partisan gender stereotypes later in this dissertation as appropriate.

government (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Dolan 1998; McDermott 1998). Moreover, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) found masculine traits are preferred over feminine traits in candidates running for executive or national level offices; consequently, female candidates running for executive office who lack "masculine" worthy traits may be at a disadvantage with voters. Particularly, in a post 9/11 environment, masculine traits such as "toughness" and "assertiveness" tend to be more favored in candidates than "feminine" traits such as "compassion" and "compromise" (Carroll and Fox 2014).

In regards to gender stereotypes and policy issues, earlier research suggests that women candidates were generally perceived as best handling "soft" issues such as education and gender-specific issues, such as healthcare and childcare, while men were best seen handling "hard" issues such as the economy and foreign policy (Dolan 2014). Partisan effects also mediate these gender perceptions. Dittmar's (2015) research has found both Democratic and Republican consultants perceiving women candidates as handling "soft" or "women" issues while men candidates as handling "masculine" issues such as foreign policy. However, given that the economy has received considerable attention currently, recent studies suggest that women candidates are perceived as jointly capable as men in handling economic issues (Dittmar 2015; Brooks 2013).

Women and politics research has also examined how context influences the impact of gender stereotypes. In some cases, gender stereotypes have benefited women political candidates (Dolan 1998). For example, 1992 was coined the "Year of the Woman," since large numbers of women were elected to Congress (Dolan 1998). As a result, female political candidates benefited from running on gender-specific issues, such as childcare, sexual harassment, and social welfare, as these issues were prevalent and part of the national conversation at that time (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Dolan 1998). Alternatively, female political candidates may be at a disadvantage during times of war since military issues are perceived as masculine and therefore suitable for men to handle. Thus, men, in general, are viewed as better competent than women in

handling a military crisis (Lawless 2004; Falk and Kenski 2006). Overall, women candidates generally face difficulty in showing competency in areas outside of the traditional realm of women's issues (Terkildsen 1993; Kahn 1994; Falk and Kenski 2006).

Alternatively, some recent studies suggest that the impact of gender stereotypes is waning on the evaluation and electability of women candidates, in which gender stereotypes may not hinder women candidates to the extent as previously considered (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014). Using an experimental approach, Brooks (2013) tested several gender stereotypes against women and men candidates and found that gender stereotypes do not negatively impact the evaluation of women candidates. For example, in testing candidate traits of "experience" and "inexperience" on the evaluation of women and men candidates, Brooks (2013) found the inexperience trait did not harm women candidates, while the "experience" trait only aided women candidates compared to men candidates.

Gender and Campaign Strategy: Women Candidates

Consequently, scholars have examined how women and men run for elected office considering the gendered dynamics discussed above. The majority of research on gender and campaign strategy focuses on campaign output, i.e., campaign television commercials and campaign websites of women and men candidates running for statewide office (Khan 1996; Bystrom et al. 2004; Smith and Smith 2009), to discern any similarities and differences in campaign style and approach. Other studies on gender and campaign strategy rely on an "insider" perspective, i.e., surveys and interviews with candidates and campaign personnel (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). Ultimately, women and politics research has shown the ways gender can influence the campaign strategies of women (and men) candidates.

Style

Studies on campaign output have found women candidates typically stress traits of competency in their self-presentation/campaign style to voters, primarily as the level of elected

office increases, such as Senator and Governor (Kahn 1996; Bystrom et al. 2004; Ditmar 2014). In conjunction with stressing competency, women candidates also tend to highlight "experience" as a campaign theme/candidate characteristic, especially as experience has stereotypically been associated with male candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1998; Lawless 2004). Women candidates often face a "double bind" (Jameson 1995) where they must appear tough, but soft/compassionate at the same time, a sentiment expressed by women candidates and campaign professionals (Fox 1997) that men candidates generally do not experience (Brooks 2013). So, in considering gender stereotypes, women candidates are typically viewed as less assertive than men candidates (Brooks 2013). However, recent research suggests that themes of leadership and experience work best for both men and women candidates regardless of partisanship. Dittmar (2015) found that both Democratic and Republican consultants view themes of leadership and experience as advantageous for women and men candidates. Dittmar (2015) also found political consultants who strategize on behalf of women and men candidates to believe voters view women candidates as experienced regardless of party affiliation.

Given societal norms and gender stereotypes, women candidates may also pay attention to their physical appearance concerning their style of dress, hair, and make-up to present themselves as a serious candidate for elected office (MacManus 2013)**.** Consequently, women candidates regardless of their electoral status (incumbent, challenger, or open seat contender) are more likely to appear formally dressed (in business attire) while men candidates appear slightly more in casually dressed in their self-presentation to voters (Khan 1996; Bystrom et al. 2004; MacManus 2013). Media coverage of women candidates tends to cover women's physical appearance and looks unevenly to their detriment (Carroll and Fox 2013), as men candidates do not receive the same type of coverage (Bysrom 2004). For example, Byrstrom (2004) noted how the media heavily focused on the physical appearance (beauty) and personality of Carol Mosely Braun during her first senatorial campaign in 1992, the "Year of the Woman," instead of issues

and her legislative record. Braun would ultimately win the election, becoming the first African American woman Senator of the United States.

Issues

Earlier research suggests that women candidates stereotypically stress "female" issues such as education and health policy while men candidates focus on "male" issues such as the economy and defense in campaign commercials (Khan 1996). Subsequently, scholars have shown it advantageous for women candidates to run on issues typically associated with women candidates such as education and healthcare, which extends beyond "the Year of the Woman" political environment (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003). Here, women candidates gain an advantage among the electorate by targeting women's issues and women's organizations (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003). Similarly, Smith and Fox (2011) found that gender has advantaged women candidates, as women prone to vote for women candidates, particularly in open seat races.

In considering candidate presentation styles, one can also look at how women officeholders present themselves to voters as insight into how they conduct themselves as candidates (Fridkin and Kenney 2014). In a content analysis of female, Latino, and African American House members' websites, Gershon (2008) found female Representatives more frequently address women interests on their websites more than male Representatives (Gershon 2008). However, other studies suggest that women and men candidates discuss similar issues on the campaign trail (Carroll 1994; Bystrom et al. 2004; Dolan 2014). For example, Bystrom et al. (2004) found that both men and women candidates highlighted the issue of education. In general, there was only a minor difference concerning the attention to women's issues between women and men candidates. Here, men and women candidates generally discuss similar issues, and if women candidates do discuss women's issues, they are not the main priority or emphasized via campaign websites (Dolan 2014).

Mobilization Tactics

For mobilizing voters, both women and men candidates see the value in targeting women given they are a significant constituency, voting at higher levels than men (Dittmar 2015; Dolan 2014). In the case of men candidates, mobilizing women voters especially applies if their opponent is a woman (Carroll 1994; Bystrom et al. 2004; Dittmar 2015). Both women and men candidates appeal to women voters, albeit in slightly different ways. Brystron et al. (2004) in their analysis of campaign websites found women candidates more likely to have women and minorities pictured with them, while men candidates more likely to feature their families, to present compassion to voters.

Recent research by Dittmar (2015) illustrates how campaigns are gendered institutions in that strategic decisions are made, including voter outreach tactics and perceived electability of men and women candidates, whether explicitly or implicitly. Specifically, Dittmar's (2015) study involved interviews with political consultants whom many have suggested that gender does not matter much in campaigns; however, when Dittmar (2015) delved deeper into the actual campaign dynamics, she found otherwise. The role of gender whether directly or subtlety interacts with other contextual factors and influences how women and men run for elected office (Dolan 2014; Dittmar 2015). As Dittmar (2015) reflects about her findings:

> Gender was not often a top-of-mind consideration for them, nor did any interview subjects identify it as one of the major factors shaping their campaign results….However, when I questioned interviewees who initially rejected any gender effects on campaigns about specific ways in which gender can or did influence political campaigns and campaigning, their responses revealed that gender acts as one among (and interacting with) many factors within the prevailing landscape to inform the image, message, and tactics that individual candidates and campaigns adopted (78).

Race/Gender Dynamics

Intersectionality and Campaigns and Elections: Black Women Candidates

Meanwhile, as Wendy Smooth (2010) asserts, "women of color, specifically African American women, sit at the intersection between two politically marginalized groups—African Americans and women" (1). As a result, black feminist scholars have examined the ways black

women historically embody the unique status as being burdened by their race and gender (hooks 1981). Some common expressions for this dilemma include "Double Jeopardy" (King 1988) "Double Disadvantage" (Darcy and Hadley1988) and "Doubly Bound" (Gay and Tate 1998), given the complex situation of black women. [22] African American women's unique status is historically illustrated by the development of the 15th Amendment that gave free blacks (males) the right to vote and the 19th amendment that gave (white) women the right to vote. Both amendments alluded black women, as African Americans did not fully participate in the political process until after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Smooth 2010; Smooth 2012). In fact, it was not until 1968 when the first black woman, Shirley Chisholm was elected to Congress. The dynamics of race/ethnicity and gender (along with other variables) produce a unique quandary for black women.

Additionally, black women may experience (racial/gender) stereotypes separate from their black male counterparts and white women, because of their race-gendered position in society. The most prevalent racial stereotypes of black women are 1) Mammy, 2) Jezebel and 3) Sapphire (Harris-Perry 2010). The Mammy stereotype pertains to the myth that black women carry the burden of their race and gender all while being the head of their household or serving in subservient positions, i.e., maids or domestics (King 1977: Darcy and Hadley 1988). The Jezebel stereotype characterizes black women as being overly sexualized and not ideal marriage partners (Harris-Perry 2010). Lastly, the Sapphire stereotype deals with black women's inability to express anger or frustration, without it being deemed as irrational or unjustified, which consequently paints black women as irrevocably angry, also known as the "Angry Black Woman" stereotype (Harris-Perry 2010).[23]

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[22] The American slavery experience provides the foundation for black women's predicament. Besides, to sharing the labor of black men, black women were brutalized, exploited and raped-thus discriminated by their gender (King 1975; hooks 1981).

[23] Many of these stereotypes have their root in the American slavery experience. African American female slaves were exposed and forced to do the same labor as African American men; thus, African American women were discriminated against by their race. In addition to sharing the labor of African

In transitioning to the electoral arena, black women candidates can be either burdened or advantaged by their race-gender status in their run for elected office. Concerning the former, case studies on black women political candidates have shown that black women must strike a balance as being authoritative without coming across as too angry, which typifies the Angry Black Woman stereotype (Clayton and Stalings 2000; Clayton 2003). For the latter, recent research suggests that black women candidates can embody potential advantages as their race-gendered status can aid in their appeal to various segments of voters (Philpot and Walton Jr. 2007; Smooth 2012). Research has found black women candidates capable of mobilizing and attracting votes from both women (especially African American women), and minorities just by their presence on the ballot (Philpot and Walton Jr. 2007; Smooth 2010; Dolan and Stokes-Brown 2010). Moreover, research has shown that the presence of black women political candidates on the ballot increases the likelihood of all women, regardless of race, engage in "non-monetary forms of participation" (Stokes-Brown and Dolan 2010).

Campaign Strategy of Black Women Candidates

In considering black women's race-gendered status, there has been a growing although limited research on black women candidates and campaign strategy. Tate (1997), in her analysis of Carol Mosley Braun's historic win as the first African American U.S. Senator, found Braun successfully winning support from both women and African American voters; however, she won mostly African American voters/support and did not receive support from women's organizations such as *Emily's List* until a few days before the primary (Tate 1997). She benefited from being the only female in a three-way primary race, which allowed her to attack her opponents when needed. In general, Braun benefited massively from the political environment, classified as the

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American men, African American women were brutalized, exploited, raped and thus discriminated against by their gender (King 1975; hooks 1981). The slavery experience binds African American women with African American men, but not with white women, which made unification strictly by gender problematic (King 1975; hooks 1981).

"Year of the Woman," in which one of the critical issues was opposition among women against the confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court (Tate 1997). Braun was the only African American woman to ever serve in the U.S. Senate until recently with Kamala Harris (bi-racial woman of color), former Attorney General of California elected to the US Senate representing the state of California (CAWP 2015).

Moreover, research on the constituency work and self-presentation styles of black women and men officeholders can offer possible insight into how black women and men candidates market themselves as part of their campaign strategy. Fenno's (2003) analysis of black representatives' and their constituency styles which included their campaign styles featured two black women representatives, the late Barbara Jordan of Texas and the late Stephanie Tubbs Jones of Ohio. Key findings from Fenno's (2003) study include both Jordan and Jones stressing the importance of compromise and getting the job done, a common finding among women candidates and officeholders. Particularly, Jordan, in her first campaign for Congress, touted "experience" as a competency trait and signature issues such as the economy, healthcare, and jobs as part of her campaign platform. Jordan's campaign would be characterized as a "politics of commonality"[24] in her appeal to black voters (Fenno 2003). Meanwhile, Jones used a personal-style approach, campaigning on "feminine" issues such as education, childcare, and social security, to build a broad base of support, as her district was re-districted and no longer majority black (Fenno 2003).

Similarly, to black men, black women also run for Congress in mostly minority-majority districts and a few non-minority majority districts. The bulk of black women who run and win elected office do so in minority-majority districts (Smooth 2012). Smooth's (2012) analysis of Donna Edwards's 2008 congressional campaign in a minority-majority district showed that Edwards ran on women's issues based on her social justice background. She gained notoriety for

[24] My assessment is based on Fenno, Richard. 2003. *Going Home African American Representatives and their Constituents*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

her work on behalf of domestic violence victims as well as her anti-war message (Smooth 2012). Edwards ran on a "change" theme that coincided with the national political context of Barack Obama, who ran for President as a "change" candidate, both as part of his campaign and in his candidacy itself. Edwards took advantage of an open seat as the incumbent was retiring which is common for African American candidates who seek to run for Congress.[25]

On the contrary, black women candidates such as Gwen Moore successfully won election in a white-majority district in 2004. According to Smooth (2006) Moore "… ran on a traditional Democratic Party agenda of job creation, health care, and education" (135) in addition to her reputation in the state legislature for being an advocate for women's issues. She was the first African American and African American woman to run and win election to Congress from the state of Wisconsin. She also ran in an open seat (Smooth 2006).

The existing literature on black women candidates and campaign strategy, albeit a few, suggests that black women run on similar issues as their male (black or white) counterparts, but may also discuss women's issues depending on the candidate and electoral context. Additionally, their race-gendered status enables them to more likely discuss issues that cross race and gender. Congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman's interview with *Essence* magazine, as referenced at the beginning of this chapter, illustrates this point. Amongst the many media outlets to promote one's candidacy, Watson Coleman utilized *Essence* magazine to answer questions *specifically* geared to black women audiences. In the interview, she answered questions on issues she thought significantly affect black women, which included job/salary equity, education, and healthcare (Essence 2014). Accordingly, Watson Coleman's ability to discuss these types of issues is influenced by her background and geographic considerations, as a progressive candidate

[25] Edwards also ran for U.S Senate in 2016 but failed to win her primary. She ran on progressive issues and appealed to women and minority voters. However, she had trouble securing endorsements from former fellow Congressional Black Caucus members, which reflected tension in her relationship with some black congressional elites (Blade 2016).

from the Northeast as opposed to a candidate from the Midwest as in the case of Moore, showing the importance of context (along with race and gender) in running for elected office. Specifically, running for elected office depends on many factors including the type of opponent and seat/jurisdiction along with the type of voters that make up the seat/jurisdiction (Thurber 1995).

Additionally, black women candidates also must focus on their physical appearance as part of the gender stereotypical environment women candidates in general endure. However, unlike non-black /white women, black women candidates may deal with additional race/gendered dynamics, such as hairstyles. Brown's (2014) analysis of the impact of hair choices on black women officeholders illustrates the difficulties black women candidates face when wanting to wear their hair natural (hair that is not chemically treated) while trying to appeal to the preferences of voters (both black and white) whom may disapprove of natural hairstyles, as not being professionally appealing. Thus, black women candidates may have to make additional calculations about their physical appearance concerning their hair that non-black /white women candidates may not consider, as part of their race-gendered status.

What is Missing? Race, Gender and Intersectionality in Campaigns and Elections

In reviewing these three sects of literatures on race, gender and intersectionality in campaigns and elections some aspects remain unclear regarding black women and men candidates and their campaign strategies that need further exploration.

First, the literature on race and campaign strategy does not explicitly address gender or have much discussion of black women candidates' campaigns and their campaign strategies. The case studies of race and campaign strategies revolve mostly around the experiences and perspectives of black men candidates. In his analysis of black representatives' campaign and representation styles, Canon (1999) did characterize then congressional candidate Eva Clayton's campaign for the then 1st District in North Carolina (a newly created district because of the 1990 census) as a politics of difference approach. However, no black women candidates were mentioned explicitly in his analysis. In considering gender in Black Politics and in race and

campaign strategy, we do not know if black women candidates have the same experiences in reaching out to voters as their black male counterparts. We also do not know if black women candidates run on issues that are explicitly related to gender or reach out to women voters, given black women vote in higher numbers than black men and women in general. These important aspects of campaign strategy are currently not addressed in the literature on black candidates and campaign strategy.

Second, the literature on gender, campaign and elections is limited in its treatment of women of color candidates and campaign strategy. This treatment can be attributed to logistical factors, as black women and women of color, in general, constitute a minority of the pool of women candidates, which conflicts with research methods favoring large-n studies and analyses (Dolan 2008). Moreover, analysis on gender stereotypes and women candidates have hardly considered the ways gender stereotypes impact black women candidates, which may have the effect of transforming these stereotypes for black women specifically, given the lived experiences of black women.

Hence, black feminist theory posits an intersectionality approach to explain the unique experiences of women of color, arguing that multiple identities such as race, gender, and class interact and create unique identities and experiences (hooks 1981; Collins 1991; Hancock 2007; Harris 2009). Within an intersectionality approach, it is not enough to treat race, gender and class separately adding in the variable and stir (Hancock 2007; Junn and Brown 2008), but rather understand that these identities co-exist together, creating unique experiences separate from their black male and white female counterparts. Thereby, in considering an intersectional framework, black women's identity coexists at varying levels, including impacting campaign strategies and experiences. Women of color, specifically black women, have been a critical unit of analysis in the scholarship of intersectionality and its application to studying and understanding the experiences of marginalized people and identities (Nash 2008).

However, as Nash (2008) in her critical assessment of intersectionality notes, it is difficult to apply the theoretical considerations of intersectionality to practical use without falling into the trap of practicing what it sets out against, which is treating black women as a monolithic group (Nash 2008). As Nash posited in her critical analysis of intersectionality theory:

> First, while seeking to underscore problems of exclusion within feminist and anti-racist theory, black women are treated as a unitary and monolithic entity. That is, differences between black women, including class and sexuality are obscured in the service of presenting "black women" as a category that opposes both "whites" and "black men (8).

Accordingly, class, sexuality, and culture, complicate the experiences of race and gender.[26] For example, in considering black women's treatment in studies on campaigns and elections, most black women candidates and officeholders are of the Democratic Party, and thus the studies of black women candidates reflect the perspectives of Democratic black women (Kaba and Ward 2009). However, there are a few black Republican women candidates that scholars can also examine, to bring greater breadth and diversity into covering black women candidate politics. Additionally, scholarship tends to present black women as its unique group, *most of the time*, as if it does not have any similarities and differences between and among other groups in comparison. Additionally, as Nash (2008) posits, intersectionality studies tend to reduce black women's experiences as marginalized and oppressed and not consider the privileges and advantages a race/gendered status can provide. In other words, studies should examine privileges, in addition to the burdens black women or women of color experience. As Nash (2008) notes**:**

> While intersectionality purports to describe multiple marginalization (i.e., the spectrum of the multiply-marginalized black woman that haunts intersectionality) and multiple privileges (i.e., the spectrum of the (heterosexual) white man that haunts intersectionality) it neglects to describe the ways in which privilege and oppression intersect, informing each subject's experiences (12).

[26]In this study, I interview black women candidates and their campaign managers that represent various sects concerning class such as Ivy League educated, Terri Sewell to grassroots candidate such as Yvette Clarke, in an attempt to show diversity within black women, beyond the race/gender category.

This dissertation illustrates the ways a race-gendered variable along with other factors can burden as well as advantage black women candidates.

Furthermore, Nash (2008) posits that intersectionality theory should move beyond just examining intersectional identities but applying it to real-world circumstances. In other words, Nash (2008) asserts "Simply identifying intersections as undertheorized or unacknowledged is only the first step in a larger theoretical and political project, which intersectionality has yet to articulate with specificity" (11). In other words, it is not enough to discuss how intersectional identities may be burdensome but examine the processes of such "intersectionalities" that is difficult to ascertain and produce.

In sum, the scholarship on political candidacy and campaign strategies concerning race, gender, and intersectionality while illuminating, rarely compares the differences *between* sub-groups of people of color, thereby examining gender differences *within a* racial or ethnic group. Studies on black candidates and campaign strategy rarely address gender and studies on women candidates infrequently address women of color which can "reinforce the marginalization of this sector within the larger field of women and politics" (Cohen 2003, 207). Much of the studies on women of color candidates tend to either focus on women of color exclusively or include white women as a point of comparative analysis (Junn 1997; Brown and Gershon 2016).[27] This dissertation aims to *explicitly* compare the campaign calculations of women and men of color--viz-a-viz campaign strategies of black women and black men candidates-- by employing a framework that considers categories of race and gender in a complex but discerning manner.

Intersectional Campaign Framework: Black Women's Campaign Strategies

Thus, I seek to apply a *practical* approach in examining the campaign strategies and experiences of black women candidates, informed by the intersectionality-plus model posited by Weldon (2006). According to Weldon (2006):

[27] Exceptions include Gershon (2012); Ward (2016); Hardy-Fanta, Lien, Pinderhughes, and Sierra (2016) that examine political realities between different sub-sets of women and men of color.

> The intersectionality-plus model admits the possibility that the ways social structures affect one another vary over space and time…. the intersectional-plus model of social structural interaction is consistent with the idea that different social structures might have different types of effects in different contexts (245).

Hence, I argue that campaign strategies (as an example of social structures) can have different effects depending on various contexts that include race, gender or the interaction of both.

Specifically, I argue that the campaign strategies of black women candidates may embody some race effects, some gender effects, and some intersectional effects depending on the context and circumstance. I argue that the campaign strategies of black women candidates would share both *similarities* and *differences* between black men candidates as both are members of the same racial/ethnic group. According to Weldon (2006), an intersectional-plus model allows the utility for comparative analysis, which I do by examining intra-racial differences between black women and men candidates concerning campaigns strategies. I examine various ways black women and men run for elected office considering categories of race, gender and the interaction of the two in various contexts and circumstances. I characterize this approach as the *intersectional campaign framework.*

The *intersectional campaign framework* as applied to black women's campaign strategies may run slightly counter to some prominent black feminist views on intersectionality that argues that identity categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality are always intersecting and influencing one another (Crenshaw 1989). However, while categories of identity often co-exist and shape one another, I argue that these categories operate in various ways depending on contexts and circumstances, as there may be situations in which race, or gender or both is a crucial factor. It is important to consider context in how categories of identity operate. As Smooth (2013) notes in her essay on the evolution of intersectionality scholarship: "A more integrated vision of intersectionality that articulates roles for both the structure and the individual offers a closer approximation social reality" (26).

Moreover, race and gender categories can operate in multiple ways given black women and men are not monolithic groups (Weldon 2006; Nash 2008). As Nash (2008) asserts in her critical re-examination of intersectionality and its utility in understanding political behavior "ultimately intersectionality seeks to demonstrate the racial variation(s) within gender and the gendered variation(s) within race through its attention to subjects whose identities contest race-or-gender categorizations" (3). Thus, I examine the latter, the "gendered variations within race" in this dissertation through the exploration of gendered differences between black women and men candidates and their campaign strategies. Black women and men candidates share similarities and differences in their quest for elected office, which ultimately can extend to how they conduct their campaigns.

Black Candidate Similarities

Most black women and men congressional candidates run and win elected office in majority-minority districts (Canon 1999; Tate 2004; Smooth 2005; Stokes-Brown 2013). Majority-minority districts are districts in which racial or language minorities constitute a majority of the voting age population (2010 NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc.).[28] Majority-minority districts grew as a result of congressional amendments to the Voting Rights Act in 1982 that allowed a broad interpretation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, which required officials to draw legislative districts in a way that do not dilute minority voting strength (2010 NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc.). The ruling from the critical case *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986) produced requirements known as *Gingles* factors that determine criteria in drawing majority-minority districts. [29] Accordingly, "the rising number of racial and ethnic minorities serving in

[28] Notably, several black congressional candidates (e.g. those who represent districts in California) run and win elected office in minority-coalition districts, a type of majority-minority district in which two or more minority groups (e.g., Blacks and Latinos) combine to form the minority population within the district (Bositis 2010; NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc (2010.).

[29] There has been much scholarly debate about the electoral utility of majority-minority districts and the representation of black interests. See Swain 1995; Lublin 1997; Cameron, Epstein and O'Halloran 1996; Canon 1999; Tate 2003; Tate 2004). This dissertation does not examine that aspect of majority-minority

elected office is largely the result of the creation of majority-minority districts where these groups (together or singularly) make up a majority of the population in the district" (Stokes-Brown 2013).

However, court decisions from cases such as *Shaw v. Reno* (1993) and *Bartlett v. Strickland* (2009) have limited the scope in which majority-minority districts can be drawn to ensure the possibility of a black/minority candidate getting elected into office. A few black congressional candidates win elected office in non-minority majority districts.[30] Watson Coleman, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is such a candidate who successfully raised enough funds, and garnered political support that enabled her to craft an effective campaign strategy to win elected office (Preishe 2014).

Moreover, both black women and men candidates may deal with racial dynamics (as discussed previously) in their quest to win elected office, and whom, since the 21st century seem to campaign on the "politics of commonality" (nuanced deracialization) approach to garner broad appeal. Institutional factors such as fundraising have shown to pose difficulty for black women and men candidates due to structural-economic factors (low-income donor base) or structural electoral factors (safe seat/lack of competitiveness) to warrant resources poured to black candidates' campaigns.

Additionally, both black women and men officeholders champion interests related to civil rights and marginalized groups, in addition to interests on behalf of their constituents, whether they run in minority-majority or non-minority majority districts (Mansbridge 1999). This type of advocacy is exemplified by black congressional candidates' membership in the Congressional Black Caucus once they are elected to Congress (Canon 1999; Tate 1999; Fenno 2003). The

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districts concerning representation but instead refers to them given they are where most black congressional candidates run and win elected office.

[30] Bositis, David. 2010. "Blacks and the 2010 Midterm Elections: A Preliminary Analysis" November http://jointcenter.org/sites/default/files/Blacks%20and%20the%202010%20Midterms.pdf (July 14, 2018).

Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) is a legislative caucus that advocates on behalf of African American and people of color interests nationwide. CBC membership is exclusive to black members of Congress regardless of party affiliation (Bacon Jr 2010). [31] According to the CBC's website:

> Since its establishment in 1971, members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) have joined together to empower America's neglected citizens and address their legislative concerns. For more than 40 years, the CBC has consistently served as the voice for people of color and vulnerable communities in Congress and has been committed to utilizing the full Constitutional power, statutory authority, and financial resources of the government of the United States of America to ensure that everyone in the United States has an opportunity to achieve the American Dream.[32]

Thus, black women and men members of Congress are part of an organization that jointly works together to voice issues for people of color and marginalized communities.

Black Candidate Differences: State of Black Politics and the Influence on Black Women Candidates

Historically, the state of Black politics reflects a patriarchal system (like society-at-large) in which it privileges black men at the expense of black women in social movements and in electoral politics (Covin 1993; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Edwards 2012). The literature on black leadership implicitly links leadership in the black community as being culturally associated with black men. Literature on black leadership has explored leadership traits and charisma of black male leaders from its trajectory in the civil rights movement through the present day (Walters and Smith 1999; Mcllwain 2010). As a result, black men are "naturally" seen as leaders in the public sphere.

Consequently, Edwards' (2012) research, a critical analysis of black literary culture, has challenged the "myths of black leadership" in which black political leadership is historically tied

[31] Congressman Steve Cohen (D-Tennessee), who is white and represents a black majority district wanted to join CBC but was declined as it is for black members of Congress only.
[32] "About the CBC" Congressional Black Caucus. https://cbc.house.gov/about/ (accessed June 16, 2018)

to charismatic black men leaders and masculinity. Edwards (2012) argues that critical junctures in black culture (including protests and movements), have often been perceived through the perspective of charismatic male leaders, and as a result, subvert the experiences and contributions of black women (Edwards 2012). As a result, black women candidates may encounter experiences not adequately addressed in neither literature on campaigns and elections pertaining to race nor gender (Brown 2014). Black women candidates, for instance, have reported receiving less party support, when compared to black men and white women candidates (CAWP 2015; Brown 2014) and as a result, some black women candidates do not utilize political party norms and instead rely heavily on grassroots efforts for exposure and momentum (Brown 2014).[33]

Summary

Historically, black women and men candidates have dealt with dynamics of race (and gender) in their quest for elected office. Utilizing an *intersectional campaign framework* would provide a central avenue to explore the nuances of black women's campaign strategy and to contribute what we know about Black Politics.

In the next chapter, using interview data I examine the perspectives of black women and men congressional candidates from the 2014 primary election cycle to test how categories of race, gender and the interaction of the two can impact campaign style. This analysis exemplifies an "inside view" of campaign strategies (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015) from the perspectives of black women and men candidates themselves and their campaign managers.

[33]Influence of political party structure is not examined in depth in this dissertation but is mentioned here as it reflects one of the many factors black women candidates may experience counter to black men candidates.

CHAPTER 3**:** PERSPECTIVES OF RACE AND GENDER IN CAMPAGIN STYLE

"Campaign strategy charts a path to winning the election, but it recognizes that campaigns are dynamic and must be flexible enough to react to events and opponents (Thurber 2014, 9)

Thurber (2014), in the edited volume *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, defines the essence of a campaign strategy. Scholars have examined campaign strategies of black candidates regarding three main components: campaign style, mobilization tactics and issue priorities (McCormick III and Jones 1993; Jones and Clemons 1993). Scholars utilized these components to discuss the effectiveness of deracialization as a campaign strategy for black candidates running in white-majority jurisdictions (and in some cases, in minority-majority jurisdictions) (McCormick III and Jones 1993 Jones and Clemons 1993; Canon 1999). Nevertheless, for this dissertation, the components of style, mobilization tactics and issue priorities extend beyond the characterization of a deracialized campaign strategy, but instead apply broadly to the concept of campaign strategy overall. Therefore, in conjunction with Thurber's (2014) definition of a campaign strategy, this chapter examines the campaign style or self-presentation of black women and men candidates.

I develop an *intersectional campaign framework* (as discussed in chapter 2**)** in which I consult three sets of literatures (race, gender, and intersectionality) to test potential similarities and differences in the campaign style strategies of black women and men candidates. The *intersectional campaign framework* is informed by the intersectionality-plus approach proposed by Weldon (2006) that argues that identity categories of race and gender can operate separately or jointly at various contexts depending on circumstances that inform and shape each other.

Black women candidates, especially, have made tremendous strides in electoral politics helping to contribute to the overall success of black candidates (Kaba and Ward 2009; CAWP and Higher Heights 2015). Therefore, I am interested in examining how campaign strategies

concerning campaign style can be shaped by race, gender and the intersection of the two depending on contexts and circumstances. (Mobilization tactics and issue priorities are examined in chapter 4).–I compare and contrast similarities and differences between black women and men candidates (Kaba and Ward 2009)[34] given the studies on race (McCormick III and Jones 1993 Jones and Clemons 1993; Perry 1996; Canon 1999; Gillespie 2010), gender (Kahn 1996; Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015) and intersectionality (Clayton 2003; Smooth 2012; Brown 2014) on campaigns and campaign strategies, while illuminating, rarely compare and contrast gender differences within a racial or ethnic group (Exceptions include Gershon 2012). Thus, this chapter seeks to test gender differences between black women and men candidates' campaign strategies regarding campaign style.

In the next sections, utilizing my *intersectional campaign framework,* I test hypotheses on black women and men candidates as it relates to campaign style. I then discuss my findings/general themes gathered from my semi-structured interviews. I expect similarities of campaign style between black women and men candidates to be informed by race, differences in campaign style as informed by gender and further differences in campaign style informed by black women's race-gendered status depending on contexts and circumstances. The findings from this chapter contribute to a better understanding of the campaign style of black women and men candidates and the distinct campaign style black women bring in their quest for elected office.

Campaign Strategies of Black Candidates

[34] Other categories besides race and gender can create similarities and differences between black women and men such as class, sexuality, and ethnicity (e.g., Caribbean or native African). However, this chapter is concerned with how race and gender or intersection of both can impact strategy and experiences coupled with other underlying factors such as class and ethnicity.

Black candidates have utilized several types of campaign strategies in response to the racialized campaign environment one might encounter. As discussed in chapter 2, one can categorize four types of campaign strategies black women and men candidates have utilized in their quest to win elected office.

Insurgent Style

The post-civil rights era saw an insurgent style, which involved black candidates appealing directly to black/minority voters in urban settings with little crossover efforts. Most black candidates run and win elected office in majority-minority districts, which initially produced a campaign strategy of appealing to black voters as aforementioned (McCormick 1993; Canon 1999). Earlier black candidates rose out of urban areas in the form of mayoralties where the campaign style catered to appeal to black voters and liberal whites exclusively (McCormick 1993).

Black Candidates' Use of Racial Appeals Against Each Other

This campaign approach involves African American candidates running against each other in majority-minority jurisdictions. This approach involves levying racialized appeals against their opponent to appeal to their base of supporters and prove his/her racial authenticity against their opponent (Mcllwain and Caliendo, 2011). Moreover, black candidates on the receiving end of such racial appeals work to extend their appeal beyond black voters to other minority and non-minority groups, creating a bi-racial coalition. The winner of this election is one who not only received African American support but of white support as well.

Deracialization

Deracialization or the minimum use of race in campaign strategy, has been the most utilized approach for black candidates running for elected office, particularly in white-majority jurisdictions, such as mayoral offices, statewide offices and most recently, the presidency.

Political scientist Charles Hamilton developed the concept of deracialization in the 1970's following the civil rights movement in which various elites strategized about the best ways for blacks to maximize their political power and make the transition "from protest politics to electoral politics" (Tate 1993; McCormick and Jones 1993). Deracialization as a campaign strategy ultimately reached its peak with the electoral success of Barack Obama as the first black President of the United States.

"Nuanced" Deracialization

In correspondence with deracialization, I characterize a fourth campaign strategy as a "nuanced" version of deracialization, as it is more of a moderate approach in campaign style as it pertains to race. It is a style not completely devoid of race (concerning issues and approach) nor the "traditional" form of campaign-style in black politics, i.e., insurgent style. Rather, it is minimum use of race in campaign strategy, a "politics of commonality" (Canon 1999) that has been the most utilized approach in campaigns and elections for black candidates running in white-majority jurisdictions. Canon (1999), in his examination of black congressional candidates and campaign strategy, found that black congressional candidates in both majority-minority districts and white-majority districts mostly adopted this approach, particularly if black candidates face other "traditional" style minority candidates and seek to build a broad coalition to leverage their candidacy (Canon 1999). Further, Orey (2006) in a survey of black state legislators of California found that the majority preferred a race-moderate approach to campaigning compared to a deracialized and traditional form of campaigning.

Moreover, the changing demographics of the 21st century lends itself to a more racially moderate to deracialized campaign approach. As Stokes-Brown (2013) notes, "the increasing population of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly Latinos and Asian Americans is transforming America's political landscape" (211). An increase in Latinos and Asian Americans allow minority candidates to create multi-minority coalitions to win elected office or produce

potential competitors for elected office (Stokes-Brown 2013). Although the creation of majority-minority districts is the primary way in which black candidates, particularly black women, win elected office (Tate 2003; Gamble 2010; Smooth 2012), the composition of such districts reflects demographic shifts.

Accordingly, the type of majority-minority districts in which black candidates are running for elected office is comprised of either an a) African-American majority, b) black and a Hispanic plurality or c) Hispanic majority (NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc (2010; Cohen and Barnes 2016). Redistricting efforts often lead to the loss of a majority-minority district or a creation of a new one to account for demographic changes. For example, current Congresswoman Yvette Clarke initially won election to Congress in the 11th district, but following the 2010 census, the district changed to the 9th district (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Additionally, since the evolution of majority-minority districts, most black congressional candidates prefer to run racially moderate campaigns (Canon 1999). On the other hand, due to the limited number of black-majority or majority-minority districts available, some black candidates have successfully run and won in white-majority districts altogether (Tate 2003) employing either a deracialized or a nuanced version as a campaign strategy (Perry 1996; Orey and Ricks 2007; Smooth 2012; Gillespie 2010).

Racial Dynamics in Campaigns and Elections

The above-mentioned campaign strategies developed as a direct response to the racial dynamics that often exist in American campaigns and elections. As discussed in chapter 2, scholars have examined how the role of race has been a prominent fixture in American campaigns and elections (Metz and Tate 1995; Mendelberg 2001) as blacks remain underrepresented at all levels of government.

Racial Stereotypes

Studies have shown voters may evaluate black candidates based on racial stereotypes, which can be reflective of conservative voter sentiment (Sears et al. 1997). Such racial stereotypes include laziness, incompetence, passionate towards minority issues (only) and ideologically liberal despite one's record (Schneider and Bos 2011). "Positive" racial stereotypes of black leaders include ambition, compassion, and hard work ethic (Schneider and Bos 2011). Additionally, the campaign environment can be racialized by either the candidate, the opponent, or other outside contextual factors of the campaign (Reeves 1997; Terkildsen and Damore1999).

Racial Appeals

Racial appeals can be used towards a black candidate to divide the electorate, playing on racial stereotypes (Mendelberg 2001; Mcllwain and Caliendo 2004). As a result, black candidates may run counter stereotypically to offset possible stereotypical attacks during the campaign, such as emphasizing hard work to counter the stereotype of being lazy (Caliendo and Mcllwain 2006). Alternatively, there is the use of racial appeals involving black candidates against each other to show one's racial "authenticity" (Gillespie 2010). In this instance, black candidates would directly attack their opponent as not being a genuine supporter of minority interests to appeal to their base of (minority) supporters (Gillespie 2010).

Therefore, regarding the literature on race, campaigns, and elections, I expect black women and men candidates for Congress to show evidence of similarities in their respective campaign strategies and experiences, considering additional factors such as demographics and context of a district and the election. My hypotheses regarding racial dynamics are elaborated below.

H1: Depending on the composition of the district, a majority-minority district or a white-majority district, black (Democratic) congressional candidates would more likely run a "nuanced deracialized" (race moderate) or a deracialized approach (Canon 1999; Gillespie 2010).

H2: Black women and men congressional candidates would consider racial stereotypes and employ counter-stereotypical attributes as part of their campaign strategy (Henry 2008; Harris-Perry 2010).

H3: A majority of black women and men congressional candidates running in either majority-minority or white-majority districts would consider race as a factor in campaign strategy (Hamilton 1973; McCormick and Jones 1993).

Gender Dynamics in Campaigns and Elections and Campaign Strategy

Meanwhile, women and politics research has examined the role of gender in women's electoral success, as women are also underrepresented in elected office despite outnumbering men in the general population (CAWP 2014). Public opinion has shown more favorability of women in leadership positions (Pew Research Center 2015), but this has not translated to the electoral arena (CAWP 2014). Some research suggests that there is no voter bias towards women candidates, as studies show women receive equal or more votes than men when running in the same elected office, suggesting that "when women run, they win" (Welch, Ambrosius, Clark, and Darcy 1985; Riggle, et. al 1997; Smith and Fox 2002). On the other hand, there is extensive literature covering the scope of gender stereotypes to possibly explain the lack of gender parity in various levels of office (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Lawless 2000).

Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes involve the perceptions of women's and men's personal characteristics as candidates and their implications as officeholders. For example, feminine traits such as compassion, warmth, and hard work are typically attributed to women candidates, whereas masculine traits such as aggressiveness and decisiveness are attributed to men candidates (Benwart 2010; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1998; Lawless 2004). Subsequently, a

common finding within the women and politics research is that female candidates stress experience as a campaign theme/candidate characteristic, especially as experience is stereotypically associated with male candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1998; Lawless 2004). However, Dittmar (2015) has shown that campaign consultants of both major party affiliations believe that both women and men candidates are perceived as experienced by voters.

Moreover, recent research suggests that the influence of gender stereotypes is minimal to non-existent on vote choice of women and men candidates (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014). In fact, some research suggests that some gender stereotypes help women candidates compared to men candidates in candidate traits such as experience, compassion and hardworking (Brooks 2013). In other words, voters may hold gender stereotypes, but they do not affect the vote choice of women candidates, as the public is supportive of women as public leaders and figures.[35]

Physical Appearance

As an extension of gender stereotypes, scholars have examined how gender affects the ways women should present themselves on the campaign trail. The media covers men and women candidates differently with attention paid to women's attire, hair and overall physical appearance in contrast to men (Macmanus et al. 2013; Duerst-Lahti 2014). Macmanus et al. (2014) described this as the "brains vs. beauty" struggle of women candidates. As a result, women candidates often face more scrutiny on their physical appearance compared to men, from presidential politics to local politics (Dittmar and Carroll 2014). Considerations include the types of suits men and women wear. In the case of women candidates, the type of hairstyle, clothes, and jewelry/accessories are scrutinized during the campaign trail, but not in the case for men

[35]The exception is when it pertains to partisanship as Democrats and Republicans stereotype women candidates based on their party's stereotype, i.e., Democrats best handle education, Republican best handle immigration (Dolan 2014)

candidates (Macmanus et al. 2013). Thus, I expect black women and men congressional candidates to share differences as it relates to gender/gender stereotypes and campaign strategies, considering additional factors such as demographics and context of individual campaigns.

H4: Black women candidates, regardless of partisanship and running in either majority-minority districts or white-majority districts are more likely to campaign similarly to other women candidates, by distinguishing themselves from their male opponents and countering gender stereotypes (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Dolan 1998). (Examples include stressing character traits such as "experience" and "getting the job done)" (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1998; Lawless 2004; Dittmar 2015).

H5: Black women candidates and their campaign managers would report more prevalence of gender stereotypes concerning candidate experiences and campaign strategies than black men candidates and their campaign managers whether running in majority-minority or white-majority districts (Brooks 2013; Dittmar 2015).

H6: Black women candidates and their campaign managers are more likely to report gender as a factor in campaign strategy and dynamics than black male candidates, such as attention to physical appearance (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015).

Race/Gendered Dynamics in Campaigns and Elections and Campaign Strategy

Subsequently, findings in both the race and gender politics scholarship may not align with the political experiences of women of color. Intersectionality scholarship argues how multiple identities (race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality) help shape the political experiences and attitudes of women of color (Crenshaw 1989; Junn and Brown 2008). The purpose of intersectionality research is to examine how multiple areas of marginalization and oppression contribute to the unique political experiences of women of color not captured by a race-only or gender-only analysis (Crenshaw 1989; Junn and Brown 2008).

Campaign Strategies of Black Women Candidates

Consequently, research on the campaign strategies concerning *campaign style* of black women candidates is sparse. As a result, I will rely mostly on literature on self-presentation of black women officeholders as a guide.

Scholars have examined how black women candidates can appeal to women and minorities as being a member of both groups (Tate 1997; Tate 2003; Smooth 2012; 2014). Tate (1997) examined the campaign and historic win of Carol Mosely Braun, as the first black woman elected to the U.S Senate in 1992. Braun benefited from being the only female in a three-way primary race, which allowed her to attack her opponents while the two male opponents attacked each other and consequently, canceled each other out. Braun won support from women and black voters and benefited massively from the political environment, classified as the "Year of the Woman" (Tate 1997).

Fenno's (2003) work on African American U.S Representatives that includes profiles on two African American Congresswomen, can serve as a guide. For example, Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones relied heavily on a "person-centered strategy" to appeal to voters. Also, both Representatives Jordan and Jones stressed the importance of compromise and getting the job done, a common finding in the women and politics literature regarding women elected officials (Fenno 2003).

Furthermore, Brown and Gershon (2016) found, in examining the websites of U.S Representatives found that minority Congresswomen discuss their racial and ethnic identity at a higher rate than minority Congressmen. Notably, minority Congresswomen spent more time on their bio pages discussing their race, gender, and ethnic identities simultaneously—instead of just one over the other (Brown and Gershon 2015). Additionally, black Congresswomen were more likely to list historical "first" attributed to their identity as a black woman, while both black and

Latina Congresswomen make explicit references to their socioeconomic backgrounds, as a reference to their identity as a woman and as a minority (Brown and Gershon 2015).

Black Women Stereotypes

Black women's race-gendered status in society provides its own set of stereotypes that are separate from their black male and white female counterparts. Consequently, these stereotypes can possibly influence the campaign tactics and strategies of black women candidates.

The racial stereotypes of black women candidates relevant to this study are: 1) the "Angry Black Woman" and 2) "strong," as these are common (mis)perceptions held by both black women and society-at-large (Parham-Payne 2009; Harris-Perry 2010). These stereotypes can possibly resonate for black women elites/public figures as they are the common associations about black women. The "Angry Black Woman" stereotype deals with black women's inability to show emotion, such as frustration and agitation, without her being deemed as irrational, unlike white women (Harris-Perry 2010). The stereotype of being "strong" is typically associated with men/ male candidates. However, black women are also stereotypically perceived to be strong, given the history of slavery, in which black women and men slaves shared in the labor and post-slavery, in which black women often worked outside of the home to support their households in ways white women did not (Harris-Perry 2010). The stereotype of black women being strong has a "positive" connotation, on the surface, but underneath has a "negative" connotation as it can be burdensome and deny black women their humanity when facing difficult situations (Williams 2017).

Hence, in case studies on black women political candidates, black women must strike a balance as to being authoritative without coming across as too angry, which typifies the "Angry Black Woman" stereotype (Clayton and Stallings 2000; Clayton 2003. Thus, these stereotypes of

black women may lend itself to producing a campaign strategy for black women candidates that are different from their black male counterparts.

Black Women's Physical Appearance

Besides the attention most women candidates report regarding their physical appearance, black women candidates may face additional burdens concerning the presentation of their hair. For black women, it is "more than just hair" (Brown 2014) as the styling of black women's hair can reflect assimilation or non-assimilation into society's norms and practices (Brown 2014). Examples of hairstyles that reflect non-assimilation can be afros, braids, or dreadlocks that uniquely are part of black culture, given the texture of hair is different from those of non-African descent. Black women as candidates often face a dilemma regarding the presentation of their hair as they attempt to appeal to the diverse electorate. As a result, some black women candidates face criticism for their hair choices among members of their community as well as society-at-large (Brown 2014). Thus, I expect that some black women congressional candidates in my study encounter this experience concerning their hair choices.

Therefore, based on black women's race-gendered status, I expect black women and men candidates for Congress to share differences regarding their campaign style that cannot be attributed to race nor gender factors alone. Black women candidates may embody unique experiences apart from their male counterparts considering demographics and context of individual campaigns. As a result, I expect the following:

H7: Black women candidates would highlight her identity as a black woman as part of her campaign style and appeal to voters (Brown 2014).

H8: Black women candidates would consider the role of black women stereotypes in how they campaign for Congress (Harris-Perry 2010; Parham-Payne 2009; Williams 2017).

H9: Black women congressional candidates would navigate race/gendered dynamics concerning physical appearance and other gender attributes of self-presentation differently from non-black women candidates (Brown 2014) and black men, which as a result, influences how they run for Congress.

Partisan Considerations: Black Republican Candidates and Campaign Strategies and Style

Lastly, in conjunction with my *intersectional campaign framework* regarding campaign strategy, I consider partisan dynamics in the evaluation of campaign style strategies. As discussed in chapter 2, there has been a continual rise of black Republican candidates successfully running and winning in white-majority jurisdictions and occasionally minority-majority (non-black) jurisdictions. In 2014, two black Republican candidates won seats to the House of Representatives: Mia Love Utah, 4th congressional district and Will Hurd, Texas 23rd district (whose campaign manager is interviewed in this study) (Manning 2016). (Republican Tim Scott serves as US Senator from South Carolina). So, although most black candidates and office-holders are Democrats, black Republicans have steadily made inroads in electoral politics and can offer additional insight in the ways black women and men candidates campaign for office when mediated by party effects.

Racial Dynamics ---Black Republican Candidates

Most of the research on black candidates and the Republican Party centers on the Party's attempt to win over black voters (Fauntroy 2007) and less on the actual *campaign strategies and styles* of black Republican candidates. Nevertheless, the research on black Republican candidates, albeit few, suggests they run a deracialized campaign, devoid of any explicit mention of one's race/ethnicity and race-specific issues and voter targeting, given the Party's conservative platform and constituency (Philpot 2007; Fauntroy 2008). Scholars have posited that the promotion of black candidacies in the Republican Party is an attempt to diversify the Party's image and appeal, given its past usage of implicit racial appeals towards minority candidates

during the latter half of the 20th century (Walton Jr. 1997; Philpot 2007; Fauntroy 2007; Fauntroy 2008).

Other studies suggest that black Republican candidates may run a counter-deracialized campaign that explicitly targets minorities to diversify the Party's image, as in the case of former Lt. Governor of Maryland Michaele Steele who ran for U.S Senate in 2006 (Tyson-Meadows King 2010). Additionally, research has shown that the Republican Party has attempted to reach out to black voters through its campaign imagery (Philpot 2007) and conservative education policy initiatives, such as charter schools and vouchers that may appeal to black (Wallace and Lewis 2007) and women voters (Philpot 2007). Thus, I expect black Republican candidates to de-emphasis race and run on a traditional conservative platform or campaign but allow their candidacy to diversify the image of the Republican Party.

H10: Black Republican congressional candidates whether running in a majority-minority district or in a white-majority district may adopt either a deracialized campaign strategy or a race-moderate approach that includes efforts that try to diversify the Party's image (Philpot 2007: Fauntroy 2008; King-Meadows 2010).

H11: Black Republican candidates are less likely to consider race as a factor in campaign strategy given the conservative ideology of the Republican Party (Fauntroy 2007).

Gender Dynamics- Black Republican Women Candidates

Meanwhile, based on the literature on Republican women and campaign strategies, I also anticipate black Republican women candidates to stress experience and leadership traits as part of their self-presentation (Dittmar 2015). I do not expect black Republican women candidates to concede the importance of gender stereotypes in campaign strategy, based on conservative ideology and viewpoints. However, given women candidates, regardless of party affiliation, have experienced gender dynamics on the campaign trail with respect to their physical appearance and viability as candidates (Heldman, Carroll and Olson 2005; Dittmar 2015), I expect black

Republican women candidates in this sample to at least acknowledge gender as a factor in campaign strategy. Therefore, I expect the following perspective of black Republican women candidates concerning gender:

H12: I expect black Republican women candidates and their campaign managers to be less likely to report gender stereotypes given the conservative ideology associated with the Republican Party and studies on Republican women candidates and/or campaign managers and campaign strategy (Dittmar 2015).

H13: I expect black Republican women candidates to acknowledge gender as a factor in campaign strategy based on studies on Republican (white) women candidates and campaign strategy (Dittmar 2015).

Race/Gender Dynamics—Black Republican Women Candidates

While there is little research on the campaign strategies of black Republican women candidates, content analysis studies show that black Republican women candidates tend to downplay race while campaigning for elected office, while the media instead highlights and promotes the race of the woman candidate for historic and novelty purposes (Ward 2016a; 2016b). Therefore, I anticipate black Republican women candidates to run a deracialized campaign but encounter experiences or utilize approaches that neither can be explained by race nor gender alone, mediated by party effects.

H14: Black Republican women congressional candidates would also navigate race/gendered dynamics concerning physical appearance and other gender attributes of self-presentation differently from non-black women candidates (Brown 2014) which as a result, influences how they run for Congress.

Below is a summary of my hypotheses guiding this chapter, which reflects my *intersectional campaign framework* (theoretical approach) of testing campaign strategy styles of black women and men congressional candidates along racial, gendered and race/gendered categories that includes partisan effects.

Summary of Hypotheses: Perspectives on Campaign Strategies and Style

Black (Democratic) Women and Men Candidates and Campaign Managers

Hypotheses	**Categorization**
H1, H2, and H3	Racial Dynamics
H4, H5, and H6	Gender Dynamics
H7, H8, and H9	Race/Gendered Dynamics

Black Republican Women and Men Candidates and Campaign Managers

Hypotheses	**Categorization**
H10 and H11	Racial Dynamics/Republican
H12 and H13	Gender Dynamics/Republican
H14	Race/Gendered Dynamics/Republican

Methodology

To investigate the racial, gender and race gendered dynamics in campaign strategies, I draw from the perspectives of black women and men candidates for Congress and their campaign managers (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). As Dittmar (2015) notes in her study of campaigns as gendered institutions, "infiltrating the cocoon of electoral campaigns is no easy task" (12). Thus, to get at the heart of the perspectives of black women and men congressional candidates, I conducted twenty-one semi-structured interviews (Leech 2002) with black women and men candidates for Congress and their campaign managers from the 2014 election cycle. These interviews provide an inside view of the campaign perspective and experiences of black women and men candidates, from the candidates themselves along with campaign practitioners (Dittmar 2015).[36] Interviews provide a means to obtain rich data not captured by quantitative methods that rely on large-N data sets that are difficult to utilize when studying a small subset of an elite population (Cohen 2003) (i.e., black women and men congressional candidates of the 21st century within the 2014 election cycle). Particularly, semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to

[36] Chapter 4 of this dissertation also relies on interview data of black candidate perspectives related to campaign mobilization tactics and issue priorities, which are other components of a campaign strategy.

capture the thoughts and perspectives of a subject (in this case a congressional candidate) not captured by surveys or other forms of quantitative data (Cohen 2003).

Interview recruitment produced a response rate of 70% with 30 subjects contacted. Thirty subjects were contacted as that was the number of black candidates in my sample that included challengers and incumbents who were elected within the 21st century in the 2014 primary election cycle. The timeframe of the interviews was October 2014 through October 2016, with the majority conducted by phone ranging from 20-40 minutes in length and on a few occasions, 60 minutes and over.[37] Previous studies have utilized interviews (and survey data) with political candidates and campaign managers/ consultants to uncover gender dynamics between women and men candidates (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). However, this chapter (and dissertation as a whole) is unique in that it utilizes a similar approach (personal interviews) concerning black women and men congressional candidates exclusively to test gender differences between the two sub-groups.

The 21st century is the context of my interviews and dissertation, as it takes into account the following: 1) the influx of African Americans elected to Congress after 1990 mainly due to the creation of majority-minority districts (Canon 1999; Tate 2003), 2) the limited number of majority-minority districts available given the legal challenges in the creation of such districts (Canon 1999; Tate 2003; Stokes-Brown 2013) and 3) demographic changes given the increase in population of other minority groups such as Latinos and Asian Americans (US Census 2010). Thus, I conduct semi-structured interviews (Leech 2002) with black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers whose first campaign for Congress was in 2014 or within the 21st century (years 2000-2014 respectively).

[37] See Appendix on a note regarding race of interviewer effects given, I as an African American woman, interviewed black congressional candidates and their campaign managers for this dissertation.

2014 Electoral Context

During the 2014 election cycle, there were a record number of blacks running for Congress, with 83 Democratic and Republican candidates (Holland 2014). Black candidates for Congress ran in majority-minority districts typified either as majority-black, majority-Hispanic or plurality (of minority groups to make up a majority), or white-majority districts. Tables 1.2 and 1.2A in chapter 1 highlight the list of black women and men congressional candidates of the 21st century during the 2014 election cycle created by the author. As illustrated in these tables, black women and men congressional candidates of the 21st century ran in a total of 14 majority-black districts: 3 districts comprising a plurality of black and Latino voters, 2 Hispanic-majority districts, and 11 white-majority districts during the 2014 election cycle. Most black incumbents in 2014 ran for Congress in in black majority districts, while black challengers ran in mostly white-majority districts. The presence of black majority districts allows an increase of black candidates, especially black women candidates to run for office (Tate 2003); however, demographic changes and variance in campaign styles allow black candidates to run successfully in non-black majority districts or white-majority districts. Notably, within these types of districts, the pool of candidates that a black candidate faces can determine the campaign style that succeeds in winning elected office (Canon 1999).

Quality of Elite Interviews

I asked black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers about their perspectives on race and gender concerning campaign style and strategy, including whether race and/or gender matters at all. Based on the flow of the interview, I asked questions related to their campaigns, the campaign environment and campaigns in general. I allowed the interview subject to venture into how they see fit regarding questions asked about their experiences. Also, for many interview subjects, especially current members of Congress, their

time was particularly limited. As a result, some interviews were shorter in duration than others. Consequently, interview responses are not evenly dispersed across the categories of race, gender, and the interaction of the two, as some interviewees spent more time discussing some topics more than others, pertaining to their campaign style and experiences. Interview subjects include incumbents and challengers in competitive races[38] from the 2014 election cycle, as well as both Democrats and Republicans, although my interview purposive sample is mostly of Democrats given the general nature of black electoral politics in which the majority of black officeholders are Democrats.

Findings

Quality of Black Women and Men Congressional Candidates

The majority of black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers interviewed in this study are incumbents. These incumbents mostly reflect perspectives from their first campaign for Congress within the 21st century as they may or may not have had a serious challenger/opponent during the 2014 election cycle. In general, incumbents do not have competitive races after their initial run for office given the incumbency advantage. Mainly, black congressional incumbent candidates are often considered to be in "safe" seats as they are solidly Democratic unless they have a competitive primary or general election (Bositis 2001; Bositis 2010; Cohen and Barnes 2016; personal interviews 2014-2016). The issue of safe seats is especially the case for districts (majority-minority or white-majority) in which Barack Obama, as President, remained woefully popular among constituents (Cohen and Barnes 2016; Personal interviews 2014-2016). This sentiment of black congressional candidates and safe seats was reflective in my interviews. For example, staff member A[39] said the following:

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[38]The criteria for competitive races are based on the following: 1) defined by the Cook Report, 2) receive substantial media coverage or 3) exhibit close polling and electoral results.

[39] This interview subject wished not to be identified but did allow the use of their quotes to be used in this dissertation. For this reason, the interview subject is identified as staff member A.

> She is [in] a relatively safe Democratic seat. President Obama won the area by like 75% of the vote so I mean she's an incumbent so meaning she has been a politician for the last 20 years [and] when she worked she was elected as state assembly and state senate beforehand. So, it [is] not by any nature [a] competitive seat at all. I mean, if you look at the majority of CBC [Congressional black Caucus] members, the majority of CBC members do not come from competitive districts, [due to] the nature of redistricting and things like that (Interview, Staff Member A).

On the other hand, black women and men candidates who ran as challengers or in open seats during the 2014 election cycle, provide perspectives of their campaigns within the context of the 2014 election cycle. These candidates, in their first run for Congress, rely on name recognition and their record from their previous/current elected position that covers part of the district in which they seek elected office (personal interviews 2014-2016).

The majority of black women and men who ran for Congress in 2014 (in my sample) served as former state or city legislators or served in public service in some capacity (Tate 2003; personal interviews 2014-2016). These candidates represent strategic politicians (Jacobson 1989), and most black women and men congressional candidates interviewed, cite a run for Congress as either part of their trajectory in politics, to advocate for the needs of their district or to take advantage of an opportunity (open seat). As a result, a run for Congress was a natural succession in their advancement in electoral politics for black women and men candidates (Personal interviews 2014-2016).

The next section discusses my findings related to my hypotheses utilizing my *intersectional campaign framework* on the campaign style strategies of black women and men congressional candidates.

Perceptions of Race Dynamics in Campaign Style

My interviews with black women and men congressional candidates and campaign managers, confirm my first hypothesis (H1) as they mostly categorized their campaigns in a race moderate or deracialized approach, whether running in a minority-majority or white-majority

district. Campaign themes and messages focused on providing a unifying message and bringing together all constituents within the district (Fenno 1978). This finding was prevalent across district types: majority-minority and white-majority districts with slight variations.

Majority-Minority Districts

Congressman Hank Johnson discussed his first campaign for Congress in 2006 in Georgia's 4th congressional district. He discussed his campaign themes and purpose of his campaign, which was to unite all parts of the district. His campaign slogan was "Taking Care of Home First" (Interview Johnson). Johnson challenged then-incumbent Cynthia McKinney in a competitive primary race, which forced McKinney into a runoff (Cohen and Barnes 2016). McKinney earned 47% to Johnson's 44% but ultimately won the election against McKinney (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Johnson characterized his first campaign for Congress in 2006 as follows:

> My strategy was to unite or bring some unity to my district as well because I felt like my previous representative paid attention exclusively to one demographic to the district as opposed to the entire district. So, I appealed to the part of the district that felt alienated (Interview Johnson).

In this case, Johnson's campaign can be characterized as a "nuanced deracialized" or "commonality of politics" approach as discussed by Canon (1999) of bridging various segments of a population with a unifying message, especially given when a black candidate runs against a "traditional" black candidate as McKinney, who advocated a progressive activist agenda. McKinney made controversial statements about the Iraq War and President George W. Bush during her tenure (Cohen and Barnes 2016).

Congressman Johnson also faced a primary challenge during the 2014 election cycle, but successfully won the primary, by running an incumbent-style campaign which highlighted one's record of accomplishments (Interview Johnson; Fenno 2003). An incumbent campaign style

often involves staying connected through core supporters and providing essential constituent services (Feno 1978). Johnson successfully prevailed from the primary challenge, winning with 55% of the vote to Brown's 45% (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Johnson led in three other counties including 55% of the vote in DeKalb County that constitutes 74% of the total vote (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Johnson successfully prevailed the primary with the endorsement of President Obama who, as previously mentioned, remains popular among black voters and in solid Democratic districts such as Johnson's 4th Congressional District (Cohen and Barnes 2016; Interview Johnson).

Similarly, campaign manager/political director of incumbent Congressman G.K Butterfield, of North Carolina's 1st congressional district for the past five years,[40] expressed the importance of campaigning and working on behalf of all constituents in a district, regardless of whether a district is majority-minority or white-majority. As campaign manager/political director of Congressman G.K Butterfield's campaign notes, "I think that is [an] across the basis type scenario where you have to reach out to not just those that look like you. You have to reach to everybody in your community or in your district, so that you can best represent all people" (Interview Hill).

Butterfield first won the election to Congress in 2004 in a special election.[41] The first district of North Carolina is solidly Democrat, and Butterfield has not faced a serious challenge since his election in 2004 (Cohen and Barnes 2016). However, Butterfield's record in office had dealt with civil rights issues, such as the push to renew the Voting Rights Act in 2006 and to help settle claims of 74,000 black farmers who were discriminated when applying for federal loans (Cohen and Barnes 2016). He has also served as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus from

[40] The time frame of five years is preceding the time I conducted the dissertation interview which was in 2015.

[41] The previous incumbent resigned due to health issues and later charged and served a prison sentence for federal crimes committed while he was in office.

2015-2017 (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Thus, it appears that while the campaign strategy is not overtly race specific, his legislative record (civil rights) suggest otherwise, as his district includes constituents who are 51.9% black (Cohen and Barnes 2016)

A slight exception to my first hypothesis (H1) is my interview with Congresswoman Yvette Clarke of New York's 9th congressional district. Congresswoman Clarke characterized her first campaign for Congress in 2004 as an insurgent-style campaign, as it was challenging the status quo and spoke on behalf of minority voices of the growing Caribbean community within her district (Interview Clarke). Historically, there has been tension between black and Caribbean-American leadership as the interests between the two elites—and their respective populations--were not always in-synch, despite being a member of the same racial group (Rogers 2004). The issue of immigration is a prime example, as it would not affect American born blacks but those who immigrated to the US from the Caribbean and parts of Africa (Rogers 2004).

White-Majority Districts

Likewise, my first hypothesis (H1) regarding race and campaign style was mostly confirmed with black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers who ran in white-majority districts. The overlying theme among these interview subjects was the importance of appealing to multiple groups and constructing a broad unifying message. This theme is arguably expected given minority populations do not constitute most voters in these districts. Black women and men candidates in white-majority districts run on a mostly race-neutral approach, with some on the more race-moderate side, depending on the political ideology, demographics, and location of the district.

One of the questions I asked black women and men congressional candidates and campaign managers in white-majority districts was if black candidates must make the balancing act of appealing to their base of supporters, while appealing to other groups, and most respondents agreed with this sentiment. In general, a majority of black candidates and campaign

managers supported the sentiment that black candidates must strike a balance between appealing to core supporters and broad groups in their district (personal interviews 2014-2016).

David Leonard, political director for the 2014 campaign of Congressman Keith Ellison of Minnesota's 5th congressional district echoed the following sentiment concerning Congressman Ellison:

> Absolutely! I would argue and go far as to say he that he makes it a concerted effort both in the staff hires that he makes and in his Congressional office and campaign, as well as the work he does in his community. It is a huge part of his effort to work with any community regardless if it's a community of color or under represented community or otherwise. He works with anyone and everyone on issues that affect them (Interview Leonard)

Congressman Ellison first ran and won election to Congress in 2006 with 55.6% of the vote to Republican candidate Alan Fine 21.3% and Independence Party candidate Tammy Lee 21% (Barnes and Cohen 2016). His entry to run for Congress was inspired by former Minnesota US Senator Paul Wellstone (Interview Leonard) and a strong progressive stance including opposition to the Iraq War (Barnes and Cohen 2016).

Moreover, Leonard points out that having a unifying message or theme was present before Obama's historic election as it makes up the fabric of Minnesota's politics. The politics in Minnesota is historically Democratic on a national level and has substantial levels of civic participation (Barnes and Cohen 2016). The 5th congressional district in Minnesota is solidly Democratic. As Leonard mentioned when I asked if his campaign approach is common especially during the Obama era:

> I would argue it [is].… this is kind of a cultural norm in Minnesota in terms of how we connect to both constituents when [he] was in office and how we connect to voters when we are running for office. It's kind of in the same guidance of the late Senator Paul Wellstone. [U.S] Senator Wellstone had a saying "We all do better when we all do better." [which is very similar [slogan that] the Congressman has. [It is] a slogan we don't just use [on] our campaign literature alongside; it kind of reflects the kind of campaign and office. He runs [on the message] "Everybody Counts because Everybody Matters." We have this great country with multiple plights of resources and there's enough to go around for everybody to prosper

> and everybody to thrive and get a good education, find a good job, and retire with a pension or some [type of] retirement. It is it is just the culture of Minnesota (Interview Leonard).

Meanwhile, political chief strategist for Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II of Missouri's 5th congressional district asserted that black candidates must balance appealing to their supporters and gaining additional voters for support, as was the case for then-congressional candidate Cleaver II (Interview Washington). Cleaver II was the first black Mayor of Kansas City before his run for Congress and as a result, already had a record of public service and a base of support. He was already known in some parts of the district, and he is a United Methodist minister. As political strategist of Cleaver's II campaign asserted in our interview:

> Absolutely. They have to walk a fine line in terms of how you speak to different groups and what motivates them. So, you know we use to talk about this specifically with Cleaver. He comes out of a… now his church it's not African Methodist, it's Methodist, which you know is made up of African Americans and whites. But his preaching style is more, you would say, is more in the direction of firing up the congregation [which is] more so than a more traditional Methodist church. So, he used the same kind of speaking style in his political campaigning and yes, it was toned down when we moved down and moved around, so he could be reached, and people could get to know who he was [as] you know [people] may be put off immediately by his specific [speaking] style (Interview Washington).

Racial Stereotypes

Meanwhile, my second hypothesis (H2) was not entirely confirmed as only a few interview subjects consider racial stereotypes and ways to counter them as part of their campaign strategy. Racial stereotypes are not much of a factor when campaigning for elected office, at least not explicitly stated in this study. There were only a few cases in which interview subjects mentioned racial stereotypes.

One of the central themes in the discussion of racial stereotypes concerning black candidates is the adage of black candidates, and blacks in general, of having to "always show better" (Interview Coleman) due to the racial biases that exist. In other words, due to racial biases, a person of color must work twice as hard for their work to be valued at the same level as the average person. As congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman further elaborated:

> Yes, I think there is unfortunately this expectation that if we [are] in this realm, [then] there is something very different or something very special. That there isn't [a] second nature for us, but it should be perceived that way because we are just as capable as anybody else. We work harder and sometimes we have to put in more in order to be considered qualified. We recognize that, and we just move forward and do what we have to do (Interview Watson Coleman).

Majority-Minority Districts

There were only a few cases in which black congressional candidates were affected by racial stereotypes on the campaign trail. Mainly, black women candidates who ran in majority-minority districts dealt with racial stereotypes about not being "authentically black" due to their class, education or skin color (Gillespie 2012). In these instances, black women candidates were perceived as not being racially authentic and as a result, must go out of their way to prove their "blackness" or connection to black voters. For example, Barack Obama in his early part of his 2008 presidential campaign was not seen as a viable candidate who connected with the black community, but over time won over black elites (some of whom initially endorsed then candidate and former U.S Senator Hillary Clinton) and black voters (Chapman and Price 2008).

Congresswoman Robin Kelly of Illinois 2nd congressional district expressed how she struggled to connect with black voters during her initial run for Congress in a special election in 2013, given her light skin, doctorate education and her connection to then-U.S. Senator Barack Obama (who was not wholeheartedly accepted by the black electorate in the early phase of his 2008 presidential run (Chapman and Price 2008; Interview Kelly). Although her district is majority-minority, she struggled to appeal to black voters because of racial stereotypes and demographics. Scholars have studied the effects of colorism in which for African Americans, having lighter skin was correlated with higher socioeconomic status and educational obtainment than dark-skinned African Americans (Hochschild and Weaver 2007). Thus, when I asked her if she appealed to voters based on her identity as a black woman, she mentioned the following:

> My district is one of the most geographically diverse in Congress, which is urban, suburban and rural. And you know 54% African American and so I mean I [think] that's a hard question because that would not work all over the district and then you know [I] had to fight the battle of "she is not black enough." So, you know [I] have straight hair, people consider me lighter skinned. I never consider myself lighter skinned. And I am originally from New York. I am a New York City girl (Interview Kelly).

Racial Stereotypes and Racial Appeals Involving Black Candidates

Similarly, the campaign manager/political director of the campaign of Congresswoman Terri Sewell of Alabama's 7th congressional district discussed how Sewell faced similar racial stereotypes and racial appeals during her first run for Congress in 2010. According to Gillespie (2010), Congresswoman Sewell is part of the new class of black politicians who did not rise out of the black political establishment, but instead are younger, typically hold an Ivy League education and have networks outside of the civil rights/traditional black electoral network. Congresswoman Sewell, educated at Harvard Law School and Oxford University, was painted by opponents as an out of touch "Harvard educated lawyer" (Interview Tolbert) in a similar vein to former Congressman Artur Davis, who ran for Governor at the time as he vacated his congressional seat, allowing Congresswoman Sewell and others to run. Davis was critical of Obama and later switched political parties from Democrat to Republican. As Tolbert mentioned:

> You know in her first campaign she had a clean slate to talk about her message and there were certainly people who wanted to paint her as… if you look back at what happened to Congressman Davis, you know who was running for Governor. He was also a Harvard educated lawyer just like Terri is, and he ended up taking the vote against President Obama's Affordable Care Act right before the primary, and you know obviously that crushed him with numbers and Democratic voters as a whole, and he lost that primary and so there was an effort made by her opponent to paint her as "Oh she's a Harvard lawyer too. You know she's [an] Artur Davis type." Oh, that's certainly what they said so she… and so she had been [with] a big law firm like he did and so they had similarities in their background and people tried to draw the parallels (Interview Tolbert).

To counter this stereotype, the campaign strategy of Congresswoman Sewell employed heavy usage of paid media (radio and television) to allow her message to break through among several primary candidate opponents. Particularly, Congresswoman Sewell's campaign message of having a rural town connection, being born and raised in the district, coupled with her educational

and occupational background as an attorney, enabled her campaign to promote her candidacy as the best means to represent the needs of the 7th district in Alabama, i.e. "daughter of this district" (Interview Tolbert). Her strategy best countered the tactics of campaign strategy #2 involving racial appeals black candidates may use against each other in majority-minority districts as described in the previous chapter.

White- Majority Districts

Meanwhile, other cases of racial stereotypes and racial appeals experienced by black men congressional candidates occurred in contests in a white-majority district: United Methodist minister and former Mayor of Kansas City Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II of Missouri's 5th district and Congressman Keith Ellison of Minnesota's 5th district. The former was based on negative stereotypes of black men as criminals and the latter based on connections to the Muslim faith. The black men candidates in these two cases ran in white-majority districts and in their initial campaigns for Congress, experienced "traditional" forms of racial appeals that placate on negative stereotypes of African Americans and religion to halt white support of African American candidates (Mendelberg 2001; Interview Leonard; Interview Washington). Congressman Cleaver II was first elected to Congress in 2004 while Congressman Ellison was first elected to Congress in 2006.

In the case of Congressman Cleaver II, he ran in an open seat and faced challenges in both the primary and general elections. He was accused of violating ethical issues involving "bribes and fraud convictions of his allies, although there was no such evidence of such crimes" (Barnes and Cohen 2016). Opposition ads against Cleaver depicted the black candidate in a dark, menacing manner typical of campaign ads illustrating a southern strategy/racial appeals campaign (Mendelberg 2001; Interview Scaglia). As campaign manager/political director of Cleaver's campaign posited:

> And you know the person who [we] ran against in the primary and the general, attacked us. [It was] as a very personal attack, basically saying he's African American [and] therefore, he's a criminal (Interview Washington).

In response to my question if campaign ads played on racial stereotypes, campaign manager of Congressman Cleaver II asserted:

> Absolutely, absolutely! Yep! I would say you know turn to page 27, I'm making up the page number obviously, [but] turn to page 27, tear that [page] here's your play book and your play book is that black man. I mean the ads were grainy. You know [the] pictures [were] of years ago when the Congressman's hair was longer, and he had, well, I wouldn't say a full natural afro, but more of a natural afro and you know, [the images were in] black and white to try and make the pictures look like its "mug-shot-ish" [as] if there is such a word. It was over the top stuff. I mean by anybody's characterization, it was over the top stuff (Interview Scaglia).

The ways in which the Cleaver campaign countered such attacks and racial appeals was to rely on the candidate's background as a United Methodist minister and his civil reputation, which can be argued, is the antithesis of a criminal demeanor. Besides, he had over ten years of public service as Mayor of Kansas City, Missouri, and it afforded Cleaver a base of support in his run for Congress (Interview Washington; Interview Scaglia).

Meanwhile, Congressman Keith Ellison first ran for Congress in 2006 in an open seat, becoming the first African American from Minnesota and first Muslim elected to Congress. He faced challenges both in the contested Democratic-Farmer-Labor party primary (Minnesota based party, affiliated with the national Democratic Party) and later, in the general election pertaining to his personal finances, including parking tickets, driver's license suspensions, and his connections to controversial Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan (Olson 2006; Barnes and Cohen 2016). In a heavily Democratic district, Ellison campaigned on a liberal agenda "his opposition to the Iraq War and support for government-funded universal healthcare" (Barnes and Cohen 2016, 1001). As similar with President Barack Obama (Layman et al. 2014), Congressman's Ellison Muslim faith was an initial concern for his campaign given the rise in Islamophobia following the

9/11 terrorist attacks. As the campaign manager/political director of Congressman Ellison's campaign noted:

> One of the biggest things at the beginning of well, in his first run of course, was at the time he was, gearing up to be the first elected official in the United States who was Muslim. So, at the very beginning of his first run, that was definitely one of the biggest issues there. We were just about a few years away past 9/11, [and] there were still a lot of Islamophobia in our state and throughout the country and [so] that was a big challenge initially. [The challenge was to] get people to see people from the Muslim faith as regular citizens like everybody else (Interview Leonard).

Race as a Factor in Campaign Strategy? Similarities and Differences in Perspectives

Finally, concerning my third hypothesis (H3), many black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers posited that race does matter to some extent to campaign strategies. There are variances in how interview subjects attest to if race matters in campaigns or not at all.

As Congressman Johnson of Georgia's 4th district (majority-minority) asserted:

> Yeah, I think it does, as one has to be careful in one's message. And [be]cause you don't want to alienate your white voters, you want to embrace them and want them to embrace you. So, you have to try to understand their situations, their viewpoints, and try to appeal to in an attractive way to all sectors of your district (Interview Johnson).

Moreover, campaign manager/project director of Congressman Butterfield of North Carolina's first congressional district, Carnela Hill noted:

> Yes, I believe race matters. People still judge others [based] on the color of their skin and not their skills. A great example is the presidential race with President Obama. We are still living in a world where certain people are not accepted in leadership roles and racism is still alive and well, and its coming out more and more, and so I do believe that [race] impacts both [the] candidates and how people view candidates (Interview Hill).

Race May Matter but It is Not the Only Factor

Meanwhile, other black women and men candidates expressed that either race does matter, albeit slightly, considering other factors. Other factors that can be accounted for besides race, include education, class and the ability to appeal to multiple constituencies based on one's background and experiences (Personal Interviews).

As former incumbent Congressman Horsford of Nevada's 4th congressional district noted:

> Yes, it (race) is taken into consideration. Again, not just race. I think race is one of several factors. Whether a voter is a rural voter or urban voter. Whether they are African American, Hispanic, Asian what part of the district they come from. Are they suburban, urban or they are higher income, low income, middle class? All those, I think, are factors taken into account when trying to develop a strategy to communicate to the voters. They(voters) are consumers, [and] just like anything else, you have to craft a method that speaks to them. The best way to speak to them is based on those qualities and characters [that are] based on their background (Interview Horsford).

Furthermore, several interview subjects expressed that race was not the only factor influencing their campaign strategies such as Meshea Poore, who ran for Congress in a white-majority district in West Virginia. Although she lost her primary election, she earned 40% of the primary vote (Barnes and Cohen 2016). Several black women and men candidates and their campaign managers, expressed that the ability of black candidates to successfully compete in white-majority districts (in which they may lose a race by a small margin) exemplifies that race has a limited influence on campaigns and elections regarding black women and men candidates (Interview Poore; Interview Barfield).

Perceptions of Gender Dynamics in Campaign Style

Meanwhile, concerning gender and campaign style, my fourth hypothesis (H4) was partially confirmed. Most black women candidates and their campaign managers attest to presenting themselves as experienced and caring about various segments of the community. Many presented themselves as strategic politicians (Jacobson 1989), using their previous record in public service as part of their campaign appeal. As a congressional candidate, Bonnie Watson Coleman of New Jersey 12th congressional district posited:

> My experience was going into territories that are already known, [and as] a known entity, I was always representing people from that part of the district. I had a very large, very [large] part of the district that [had] people [who] had not [have] had a personal experience with me or an experience with me as a public servant. So, it was important [that I] to get to know them and to have them consider my candidacy (Interview Coleman).

"Experience" and Being a Woman

Similarly, congressional candidate Brenda Lawrence of the 14th congressional district in 2014, referenced her public service as former Mayor of Southfield, Michigan as part of her campaign message to voters, confirming the "experience" factor in my fourth hypothesis (H4). According to Lawrence, her mayoral leadership has enabled her to build relationships, a strong public service record, and a constituent following. I asked Lawrence how she believes she was effective in her campaign communications/messaging as a candidate, particularly in a competitive primary race as she faced several candidates with diverse public service records. Lawrence successfully won in a three-way primary, facing former Congressman of the district, Hansen Clarke (bi-racial) and state legislator Rudy Hobbs. Lawrence prevailed in the primary with 36% to Hobbs 32% and Clarke 31% (Cohen and Barnes 2016). Moreover, besides her public service record, Lawrence believed her executive experience and being a woman served as an advantage. As Lawrence noted:

> I had shown the ability to bring sophistication to manage a city [on an] executive level. I served on a [City] Council. I served on a national board advocating for national issues. I had a record that when I spoke, people would trust what I say. It's not that they trust other people less, but that's something I worked very hard for having 20 years in public service and there was another really strong component [which] that was (being a) woman (Interview Lawrence).

It is worth noting that in addition to her public service record, Lawrence ran for Congress previously in 2012 and lost, as well as for Lieutenant Governor in 2010 and Oakland County executive in 2008, which can give voters additional name recognition, beyond her tenure as mayor.

Other black women candidates felt it was advantageous, being the only woman in their contests, especially during primary contests. Congresswomen Yvette Clarke of New York's 9th congressional district,[42] Robin Kelly of Illinois 13th and Brenda Lawrence of Michigan's 14th district have expressed this sentiment. Thus, in some cases black women were able to break out of the field, being the only woman and propel them to victory. The ability to address a base of supporters including women voters helped give them an additional advantage (Smooth 2012; personal interviews 2014-2016).

Gender Stereotypes

Regarding my fifth hypothesis (H5), a few black women candidates attest to the existence of gender stereotypes concerning women and politics in general, but not necessarily as part of their campaign strategy, at least not explicitly stated. Gender stereotypes of being prepared and having to prove yourself as women were mentioned (personal interviews 2014-2016).

Other gender stereotypes several black women candidates mentioned include toughness and being non-emotional, as politics is traditionally viewed as a masculine domain (Kirkpatrick 1972; personal interviews 2014-2016). Women must be cognizant of how they present themselves as candidates given these lingering stereotypes of women. As Congresswoman Clarke expressed when I asked if gender stereotypes are challenging to women and men candidates:

> Now I can't say what benefits men because I, they are just given a certain amount of cache by being men. For [a] woman, on the other hand, you have to be very nimble, [and] very quick. You have to be able to demonstrate a certain amount of (sophistication) in terms of the issues, [and] articulating them, because there's so many negative stereotypes about women that you're constantly trying not to walk into them (Interview Clarke).

[42] In 2006, Clarke successfully ran and won election to Congress in district 11 and was redistricted to the congressional district following the 2010 census. She first ran for Congress in 2004 and lost the primary election (Interview Clarke).

Moreover, it is the double bind women have reportedly face of either being too tough or not tough enough (Jamieson 1995). The double-bind was evident for Congresswoman Robin Kelly during her first race for Congress in 2010 (special election) as she was deemed "too nice" to serve in Congress. As Congresswoman Kelly noted about her campaign experience for Congress:

> Or you're nice" or "you're a bitch," or I'm the "you're so nice…they're going to chew you up and spit you out." And even in debates and some of my people [would say this]. My campaign manager would be mad at me because I wasn't tough enough or mean enough or cut-throat enough and that is just not my personality (Interview Kelly).

Congressional candidate Meshea Poore also expressed the double bind women candidates often face when running for elected office. She discussed this when I asked her if voters view women candidates differently from men candidates (Interview Poore). As Poore expressed:

> Yes, [you] still [have to] be sweet. Yes, you have to be a lady even though you're supposed to be a powerhouse [and] be able to push that button in the middle of the night if necessary and but yet, still be a lady. So there [are] a lot of things that you have [to deal with]. As I always say, you're always "on" as a candidate [and] as a Representative. No matter if you're elected, you still have to be, you know, you always have to be present. And you have to be presentable and you have to be "on" because it can take [just] one day for them to just discount your ability or your potential (Interview Poore).

Furthermore, concerning my fifth hypothesis (H5), only one male subject, Congressman Payne of New Jersey's 10th congressional district explicitly acknowledged the role of gender stereotypes impacting women and men candidates in U.S elections. As Payne posited:

> Well, I think in some ways they (gender stereotypes) do [matter]. I think old stereotypes [that] can play into people's decisions and so to answer your question yes, but they have to do with old stereotypes and old ways of thinking, but we know that women are as capable as men, and in some respects more capable in terms of leadership. Just in this country it's been such a chauvinistic history [in] that it has not been a clear path for women, whereas there [are] other countries around the world…So I think it has a lot do with this country's chauvinistic hypocritical past that women tend [to] find themselves in a lesser advantage in [campaign] races (Interview Payne).

Other male subjects such as Congressman Johnson of Georgia's 4th congressional district expressed that he does not consider gender stereotypes in campaigns; however, he does feel the

need for more women to enter electoral politics, given the unique perspectives women can bring to policymaking. However, Congressman Johnson, while describing the contributions women can bring to elected office, had subsequently referenced gender stereotypes (of women), i.e., caregiving and compassion, that inherently reflect the challenges women candidates and officeholders face concerning stereotypical notions and assumptions. As Johnson described:

> Well, I haven't given that (gender stereotypes) too much thought. However, I would say that it's time for women to be, to ascend in greater numbers to high elected office and I think we need more female points of view because so many decisions we make have such a direct impact on the lives of females who tend to be in greater numbers, care givers, for the young people children, for the elderly and at the same time raising families while working trying to make a living and in many cases, as the sole breadwinner of a family because it's a single parent family. And so, women do have a different set of circumstances than males do generally speaking. And what that means to me is that we need more women on this level making decisions. And I actually believe also that women are distinguished from men in terms of their hearts. We share the same intellect but…women hearts because they do have to care for others [and] tends to be more magnanimous than many of the men (Interview Johnson).

Physical Appearance

Meanwhile, my sixth hypothesis (H6) was confirmed, in which most black women candidates and several campaign managers do attest to gender influencing their campaign strategy concerning physical appearance. Several interview subjects suggested it was part of the course for women candidates, and many referenced the treatment of former First Lady and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton during her presidential campaign as a prime example. When I asked Congresswoman Bass of California's 37th congressional district about whether she received attention on her physical appearance as a candidate based on women and politics research, she mentioned the following:

> Well, you don't [need] research for that. Just turn on the TV and listen to the way they comment about every little strand on Hillary Clinton's hair. Every pantsuit that she wears and that's the other thing, about money, it is very expensive to run for office because you do have to keep up the wardrobe and everything else and people, people notice. They absolutely do. It took me a while. I resisted it, but I finally broke down and got into the "St. Johns world" and especially when I achieved a leadership position. Not only was it important what suit I wore, but what bag I carried. You know it was just insane and all the men have to do is change their tie (Interview Bass)

Similarly, Congresswoman Kelly of Illinois's 2nd congressional district discussed the attention she received on the campaign trail regarding her wardrobe from her campaign team and family and exemplified that it is something that all women candidates endure regardless of their race or ethnicity. As Congresswoman Kelly expressed:

> You know, just the pressure of how you look is another thing also. I remember when I ran for state rep (representative), one of the people that supported me greatly [and] had asked me to run said to me one night, "You have to watch your split ends, and make sure your nails are done." And I know he meant well, but I was so tired that I wanted to kill him for saying that; but it is that pressure too [of hearing] "Oh, you look so tired!" and I just don't think men hear the same thing. You know that kind of thing (the attention to one's physical appearance), they're [in] all colors. It's not a race thing (Interview Kelly).

Moreover, congressional candidate Meshea Poore of West Virginia's 2nd district noted:

> If you are more qualified, [then the] way you speak is important. The way you dress when you come in a room [in which] you have to [be] put together when you come in a room. Where[as] men can come in with a polo, a polo shirt and some khakis or a [pair of] blue jeans, they [can] come in with that all the time. And [women] you can't do that. You have to be put together all the time because you (as a woman) can't be like "Oh she had a rough day" (Interview Poore).

Phil Scaglia, campaign manager of Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II (D-Missouri), also recalled from his experience working on campaigns that women candidates face more scrutiny in how they appear than men candidates (Interview Scaglia).[43] As Scaglia noted:

> I'm confident, I haven't been on staff for about eight years now, but I can tell you for the first half of the Congressman's career not once did we get a call after the State of the Union [address] asking "Why was his suit grey instead of blue?" [or] "Why was it blue instead of [a] black suit? Why was it a red tie instead of [a] grey tie or [a] blue tie? and "When was the last time [did] he get his haircut?" Men don't go through that [and] unfortunately, female candidates do have to undergo additional scrutiny and criticism purely because they are women and without a doubt, it's a double standard, without a doubt (Interview Scaglia).

Meanwhile, most of the black men candidates and/or their campaign managers did not mention the double standard women candidates often receive about their physical appearance or

[43]Before Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II, Scaglia served as campaign manager and chief of staff of former Congresswoman Karen McCarthy, who held the seat previously.

if they received attention for their physical appearance, and if it was a concern at all. Instead, only two black congressional men candidates in my sample noted the importance in how they dress as part of their self-presentation: Congressman Johnson of Georgia's 4th congressional district and congressional candidate Jonathan Barfield of North Carolina's 7th congressional district. Historically, African-American men, in general (like black women) make conscious choices in what they wear and the messages it sends to African Americans and society at large (Carter-David 2011).

As Congressman Johnson noted: "Yes, I always thought the cleaner, fresher and snappier that one looks, the better presentation it makes…in other words, no matter how handsome or pretty one may be, if one looks clean, neat, moderate in appearance, [then] those are plus factors" (Interview Johnson). Congressional candidate Jonathan Barfield purposely developed a signature look as part of his appearance on the campaign trail and in his role as a New Hanover County Commissioner in North Carolina. As congressional candidate Barfield noted:

> Well, most times people see me I have a coat and tie. I wear bow ties a lot. So, that has been, been my trademark. People expect to see me dressed up. When they see me out of character in terms of the clothes I wear, people are like "Who are you? I don't recognize you without (your wardrobe)." But people recognize me when I represent myself in that manner (Interview Barfield).

Does Gender Matter in Campaign Strategy?

Meanwhile, regarding my sixth hypothesis (H6), the majority of black (Democratic) women candidates and their campaign managers, as well as a few black male candidates and their campaign managers attest to gender mattering in campaigns. Whether it is the notion of women having to work harder to prove their competence and/or noting the relevance women voters have as a key demographic group, gender plays a factor in one's campaign strategy according to many in my interview sample. As Congressman Johnson noted: "Yes, gender does matter particularly when it's females who make up the majority of your voters" (Interview Johnson).

Additionally, a few black male candidates such as Congressman Payne also attest to gender mattering in campaigns and campaign strategy as he makes a concerted effort to hire women staff members including his recent campaign manager who was a woman (Interview Payne). Moreover, Congressman Payne noted how he promotes women of color specifically showing the intersectionality of women, when he initially discussed women more generally. As Congressman Payne noted:

> I've been sensitive to the issue (of gender), and I understand, and I think I've been cognizant as I have gone through [in] my career as being in a position of influence. I tried to make it [a point of] of mine to promote qualified, talented young females and give them opportunities to step up into leaders and prepare them for [the] future. My campaign manager was a young African American woman from Queens, NY (Interview Payne Jr.).

On the other hand, some black male candidates and their campaign managers do not feel gender matters in campaign strategy as compared to race. As Carnela Hill, campaign manager/political director of Congressman Butterfield responded when I asked if gender matters in campaign strategy: "I don't think gender is as much as a problem as race is" (Interview Hill). Others attribute the success of women in electoral politics as evidence that gender does not matter much in campaign strategy, as women can use their gender, i.e., the "gender card" to their advantage when necessary. Congressional candidate Barfield of North Carolina congressional district 7 expressed this sentiment in his campaign for New Hanover County Commissioner as women serve on the County board. As Barfield noted:

> I don't think it does. The young lady that is on my board now, on the County Commission Board, she talked a lot about when she was campaigning [that only] one of nine women who had ever been elected to the board [and that] there had never been a female on our board for a while. You know, I didn't talk a whole lot about being the second African American Commissioner. But, she played the female care [card] more than I ever played the race card so to speak (Interview Barfield).

Additionally, other black male candidates and their campaign managers have expressed that black candidates in general, whether women or men, who have served in elected office would

not have issues related to race or gender given the incumbency factor. Research shows that the incumbency status of black candidates lessens white voter resentment over time (Hanjnal 2007). As campaign manager of Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II responded when I asked if he thought gender matter in campaign strategy concerning his boss:

> Not really in the case of the Congressman and again many people know him. You know, regardless of whether it was a male or a female candidate, whether a white or [a] black candidate, there's such a level of familiarity [that] I am not sure the gender or ethnicity bias[es] factors in (Interview Scaglia).

Others have expressed that gender on the surface does not matter in campaign strategy, but that it may help concerning women candidates reaching out to women voters or women voters feeling a woman candidate can best understand and speak to their issues (Interview Horsford).

Race/Gendered Dynamics in Campaign Style

Black Women's Identity

Concerning my seventh hypothesis (H7), many of the black women congressional candidates referenced their identity as a black woman in the discussion of their campaign experiences, as previous studies have shown (Brown 2014; Brown and Gershon 2015). For many in my purposive sample, being black and being a woman are intricately related, as it relates to their campaign style and experiences on the campaign trail.

Earlier in the section on gender dynamics, I discussed how Congresswoman Brenda Lawrence referenced her gender as a woman in her appeal to voters; however, she also referenced her identity as a black woman as previous studies have shown (Brown 2014; Brown and Gershon 2015). I specifically asked Lawrence about what ways she believed she effectively communicated her message to voters during her 2014 primary race. Lawrence discussed her record and accomplishment as a "first" in public service, i.e., first African American woman mayor. As Lawrence further explained:

> I think that what the benefits [are] for me is that I had a record that I was standing on [and a record] of good public service. For fourteen years [of] being the Mayor of a suburban city in Detroit, [to] being the first African American woman in one of the largest business addresses in the state of Michigan… and so with that being said, there was a certain amount of trust. I think that is what carried me over [and] that carried me over to victory (Interview Lawrence).

When answering questions related to their race and gender, it is the label of "black woman" that comes up the most, showing one cannot detangle or treat race or gender alone, specifically concerning their public record and level of accomplishments (Junn and Brown 2008; Brown 2014). Many (Democratic) black women candidates point to their identity as a black woman, amongst other experiences in shaping how they ran for Congress.

However, in conjunction with my seventh hypothesis (H7), it is not necessarily appealing to voters when referencing one's identity as a black woman. For example, when I asked congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman who ran in New Jersey's 12th district (white-majority-district) if she appealed to voters based on her identity as a black woman she mentioned that while she did not directly raise her identity, it is always there merely given who she is. As Watson Coleman expressed:

> Mostly, I talked about the fact that I had a proven track record on issues that were important to women, minorities and working families. And that I had also had a lot of experience in leadership and navigating very different waters at the same time. But the fact that I was an African American woman, [that] was always there (Interview Watson Coleman).

Moreover, highlighting or acknowledging a black woman's identity is not limited to just race/ethnicity and gender but to various facets that make up one's identity, attitudes, and behavior (Nash 2008). Black women candidates not only spoke about their identity as a "black woman," or as a "woman" or as an "African American," but also about their demographics and upbringing that enables them to do public service and run for Congress. Particularly, for Congresswoman Yvette Clarke of New York's 9th congressional district, it is not only about being an African American woman, but also being Caribbean American that shapes her views and perspectives.

The Caribbean community within her district has grown exponentially, and she (and previously her mother as City Councilwoman) work to lend a voice on behalf of this constituency (Rogers 2005; Interview Clarke). As Congresswoman Clarke expressed:

> Who you are matters and [that is] what I try to do, and I said this during my campaign. It was [a] part of my slogan. I am an authentic voice of Brooklyn, and that is a full package. This is who I am. I am an African American woman. My people are from the Caribbean. However, what they want for their family is the same thing [that everyone wants]. A Jewish family wants [the same things as that of] a progressive white family [and] a Russian family wants, [and what] an Asian family wants [and so forth]. So, I've always, just put it out there and I've just made my values speak towards it. There's no point in being something [that] I'm not. It's not going to [change] in my estimation [or] endear people to me. At the end of the day, it's best for people to feel comfortable with their representation. They have to be able to relate to you (Interview Clarke).

Black Women Stereotypes

Regarding my eighth hypothesis (H8), it was not confirmed as hardly anyone mentioned or alluded to black women stereotypes as part of their campaign strategy. Black women candidates in majority-minority districts run in mostly "safe" seats so there is not the level of racial animosity that may appear in white-majority districts (personal interviews 2014-2016). For example, Congresswoman Kelly referenced "Angry Black Woman" in passing, as it pertains to black women and politics in general, but not specifically to her campaign experience. As Congresswoman Kelly noted:

> Some [black] candidates that are perceived as [the] Angry Black Woman or how they look in their blackness and all of that and yeah, I think there could be a difference…or the stereotypes just may come out…and people just don't give them, [the black candidates] a chance. But no, I haven't dealt with the "Angry Black Woman [stereotype]." That's never been me; but the "too nice" and [the] "not black enough," [that] has been my tag (Interview Kelly).

Moreover, those who run in white-majority districts may deal with black women stereotypes when they are elected officials but not on the campaign trail if it is a relatively safe seat (Interview, Staff Member A).

Besides the "Angry Black Woman" stereotype, the stereotype of being "Strong" (Harris-Perry 2013) was mentioned in how black women candidates are perceived, but again not in relevance to one's own campaign. Congresswoman Kelly mentioned this stereotype as well when I asked if there were any stereotypes advantageous or disadvantageous for black women candidates. Specifically, she mentioned that black women might be perceived as strong given many black women run for Congress at later stages of their lives compared to white women. Black women may have to handle family responsibilities while they are younger with less socioeconomic resources available compared to white women (Gamble 2010; Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Interview Kelly).

Race/Gendered Dynamics in Physical Appearance

With respect to my ninth hypothesis (H9), many of the black women candidates interviewed attest to the attention their wardrobe, hair and general physical appearance they endure on the campaign trail, and as a result, they adhere to the standards of dress typical of many women candidates and officeholders as discussed earlier in this chapter. The majority of black women candidates in this study have expressed frustration in how women candidates and officeholders have this additional pressure that men candidates do not have. A few black male candidates mention how they take special care in how they are dressed, but they did not express the frustrations black women candidates have in this endeavor.

Therefore, the fact that my ninth hypothesis (H9) was confirmed was not too shocking. However, concerning my ninth hypothesis (H9), I did not expect to learn the ways black women candidates respond to such pressures on their physical appearance, as it was not just about being burdensome, but about finding ways to work through it. The majority of black women candidates in my sample attest to having more pressure on how they look, and dress compared to black men candidates in my sample, and men candidates in general (Interviews 2014-2016). Even so, many

of the black women candidates interviewed here made it work, by mitigating societal pressures of physical appearance with fashion choices. Several discussed wearing bright colors or wardrobe that makes them stand out amongst others. As Congresswoman Bass noted:

> I was the only woman that ran when I was running for the [California] State Assembly and there were a lot of guys in the race. I mentioned one that was the lead in the race, but there were other men in the race. And sometimes women view that as a challenge. I viewed it as a huge opportunity. You know, it allowed me to distinguish myself [and] I did things [that I] like, and by the way I wouldn't have even thought of this, but the Congresswoman that I eventually, I wound up taking her seat, when she retired, you know she looked at my wardrobe and she said "You can't always wear dark colors; you need to wear bright colors." And she was so right. So, I went to every debate wearing pinks and blues and yellows and I stood out and you know those kind of optics [are] all [that] matters (Interview Bass).

Similarly, according to Congresswoman Kelly she learned to adjust to the demands women face regarding their physical appearance. As Congresswoman Kelly said:

> When I ran for Congress and that was a 3rd time I ran for a position. So, I was not as worried about it then as I learned a lot, and you know those kind of things… but I knew I had to be put together and that is how I felt…and I think that looks does matter at least initially. If you start talking or you are in a debate or something, [and] you say the wrong things, that's not going to help you in the end. But I think that people when [they] have to look at those kind of things [one's physical appearance] [It is] just initially but not in the end (Interview Kelly).

I consider the attention to fashion choices of black women candidates as a race/gendered dynamic as there are hardly any previous studies illustrating women candidates, in general, willingly address stylistic choices as part of their self-presentation as candidates. Therefore, I consider this finding distinct for black women candidates in my study.

On the contrary, some black women candidates may deal with additional factors that are burdensome and not shared with their black male counterparts. One of these factors is the presentation of their hair (Brown 2014). Black women's hair can be just as political as any statement she makes as it pertains to self-expression (Brown 2014).

Particularly, congressional candidate Meshea Poore, of West Virginia 4th congressional district expressed how she was advised to wear her hair straight in a wig, as part of her self-presentation to voters while on the campaign trail. The campaign consultants, who were white, suggested this as the best means to be most appealing to voters in the white-majority district in which she ran for Congress. Wearing her hair straight in a wig was the antithesis of who she was, as she normally wears her hair in braids, which is commonly associated with black culture. The ability to reconcile her blackness and freedom of self-expression was one of the biggest challenges Poore experienced regarding her self-presentation as a candidate. For Poore, the hair choices she made during her run for Congress were not about "doing what is right or wrong" (Interview Poore) but a lesson in personal growth. It was ultimately a learning experience for her as a candidate. (Interview Poore). As Poore expressed regarding her hairstyle choices on the campaign trail:

> If I just would have worn my hair the way I wanted to wear my hair and I would have done it the way I wanted to do it. Here's my point: I am still African American so the wig ain't covering up my skin, you know what I am saying. You do what you need to do, and you have to do what makes your voters comfortable right. And that's the one thing that would make me say that was the only thing that made me feel like I wasn't genuine as I really am is that I put on a wig to make them comfortable. And that was it, that's really it. You know I am [a] braided-up [kind of] girl. I have been growing my natural hair, as far as wearing it out but that's just who I am. That's the only thing as for us how African Americans wear our hair, [like] what color we going to have, [or]what color it's going to be you know; but for me it was a predominantly white state and [it's about] what they were comfortable with. And then when I go back and think about it and what was told to me was [that people in] the county, in the city and it was the capital city and they were familiar with changing your hair and it was just a thing. But in the rural area, they are not going to particularly be familiar (Interview Poore).

However, it is important to note that Meshea Poore was the only woman candidate in my sample that experienced difficulties in her hair self-presentation. Therefore, this finding, while illuminating, should not be overstated given its limited applicability to other black women congressional candidates in this sample. Still this finding is valuable to consider as a possible outcome for black women running in certain districts where the type of hair presented can cause concern.

Partisan Considerations in Campaign Style

Racial Dynamics

Nevertheless, to draw out partisan considerations, I interviewed two black Republican congressional candidates and/or their campaign managers: former congressional candidate Erika Harold of Illinois 13th congressional district and campaign manager of congressional candidate Will Hurd of Texas's 23rd congressional district. My findings in relation to their campaign styles are discussed below.

My tenth hypothesis (H10) was confirmed with respect to black Republican women and men candidates running a deracialized or race moderate campaign. Erika Harold, Esq. former candidate of Illinois 13th congressional district, ran a deracialized/race moderate campaign on a conservative platform during the 2014 election cycle. Harold was also a former beauty pageant contender, winning Miss America in 2002 (Interview Harold). The 13th congressional district is a white-majority district (Barnes and Cohen 2016). In my interview with Harold, she discussed how her campaign strategy involved an "inclusive approach" (Interview Harold) in which she campaigned to appeal to diverse groups, including college students, minorities that the Republican Party is perceived to not adequately engage (Philpot 2003; Fauntroy 2007). Harold engaged these groups on conservative issues and principles (discussed further in chapter 4). Harold challenged incumbent Rodney Lee Davis in the Republican primary and lost with 41% to Davis's 54% (Barnes and Cohen 2016).

Meanwhile, Will Hurd, a former operative of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), ran for Congress in Texas's 23rd congressional district, a Hispanic-majority district during the 2014 election cycle. Latinos have shown to exhibit more divergent political ideologies given the multiple ethnic groups that make up the Latino pan ethnic group and have a higher number of Republican officeholders than African Americans (Hardy-Fanta, et. al 2016). As a congressional candidate, Hurd ran a deracialized campaign on a conservative platform devoid of race-specific

issues. Political analysists consider the 23rd district competitive given it fluctuates between Democratic and Republican control, with Mitt Romney winning the district in the 2012 presidential election (Cook Report 2014; Barnes and Cohen 2016).

Although Hurd avoided race-specific appeals, his campaign did relay bilingual campaign messages both English and Spanish, as the bulk of the district's constituents are Mexican American (Interview Hollis). So, while the campaign's strategy involved a deracialized/ race-neutral approach, it employed campaign communication in both English and in Spanish to communicate with Latino voters in the district. This tactic was particularly successful, given Hurd as an African American candidate was running against a Latino Republican candidate in the primary election, followed by a Latino Democratic incumbent candidate in the general election. There were doubts if Hurd, as an African American, can beat a Latino incumbent in a Hispanic majority district. When I asked the campaign manager of Hurd's campaign, the strengths and challenges of the candidate and/or campaign, he reflected on the following:

> You know I think the biggest challenge was being a challenger candidate. You know in the primary, we had to go against a former Congressman who was Hispanic in a Hispanic district. In terms of the way the district is [constructed], it's majority Hispanic, and we are running against an Hispanic Republican in the primary. There were a lot of people out there saying well, "it takes a Hispanic person to beat a Hispanic person who's the incumbent Congressman" (Interview Hollis).

Race as a Factor or Not a Factor in the Campaign Strategy for Black Republican Candidates?

My eleventh hypothesis (H11) of black Republican candidates less likely to consider race as a factor in campaign strategy given the conservative ideology of the Republican Party was partially confirmed. According to Hurd's campaign manager, race (nor gender) does not matter in campaign style and strategy, at least not on the local level, based on his political consulting experience. The district in which Will Hurd ran for Congress is diverse itself and so, according to

the campaign manager, race nor gender come up in the campaign calculations as the focus was on the issues (Interview Hollis). As Hollis mentioned:

> I honestly don't think it matter(s). Will [Hurd] will be the first to tell you [that] people always say, "that's the black dude that got elected in the Hispanic district." [He] even portrays himself that way sometimes and I think it's important to know that because it really, it's a majority-Hispanic district, with a Hispanic incumbent [that] it (race) was never [mentioned]. Especially in the general [election], race never came up. Race was never an issue for us. We were who we were [and] there was no hiding that. We talked about issues people cared about. Keep in mind, this is from my perspective. This is a perspective basically from San Antonio and West Texas. San Antonio is already a very diverse city [and] so attitudes here may be different then they are around the country; but I mean this is basically, a snapshot from what I have and the landscape that we are given (Interview Hollis).

However, Republican candidate Erika Harold of Illinois 13th district acknowledged that race could be a factor in some campaigns depending on the campaign and context, as she noted her campaign was a unique case, which does not confirm my eleventh hypothesis (H11). However, Harold also believed that issues of race/ethnicity in a campaign do not prevent people from waging effective campaigns and engaging with individuals of various racial and ethnic backgrounds (Interview Harold). Harold's perspective shows potential gender differences with respect to how black Republican candidates and/or campaign managers of black Republican women and men candidates view race and campaign strategy, although with only two people in this purposive sample, this assessment cannot be completely conclusive.

Gender Stereotypes

Meanwhile, my twelfth hypothesis (H12) about black Republican women candidates less likely to consideration gender stereotypes in campaign strategy given the conservative ideology of the Republican Party is partially confirmed. Republican candidate Erika Harold suggested that voters may evaluate candidates on an individual basis and not much on stereotypes. Harold's assessment corresponds with later research showing the decline of gender stereotypes influencing vote choice of women and men candidates (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014). Harold suggested that some voters may not view women as capable of serving in Congress, but that those who feel this

way are a small portion of the electorate. Rather, she believed most voters evaluate candidates as individuals, and whatever stereotypes voters may initially have about a candidate would wane over time, as voters obtain the opportunity to learn more about the candidate. Harold mentioned her own campaign experience as an example, in which she attended a community event held in a rural section of the district (that the local Republican Party apparatus did not want her to attend) in which a woman although of a different racial/ethnic background than she said they both shared the same values (Interview Harold).

Physical Appearance

Moreover, Harold felt she did not receive much coverage regarding her physical appearance and was surprised considering the women and politics research that suggested otherwise. Rather, Harold felt her acclaim as a pageant winner received the most attention (Interview Harold). However, one can argue that excessive coverage of winning a pageant competition draws attention to one's physical appearance, albeit subtly, given the essence of a beauty pageant. Thus, my twelfth hypothesis (H12) is partially confirmed as one can assess that the attention to congressional candidate Harold's win of a beauty pageant, was an indirect reference towards her physical appearance, showing the relevance of gender stereotypes.

Partisan Considerations: Does Gender Matter in Campaign Strategy?

With respect to gender and campaign strategy among black Republican candidates, my thirteenth hypothesis (H13) was confirmed. Black Republican women candidates, in this case, congressional candidate Erika Harold, acknowledged gender impacting campaign strategy, while campaign manager of congressional candidate Will Hurd asserted the opposite—that gender does not matter in campaign strategy based on regional and state demographics. According to Harold, gender may matter in campaign strategy dependent upon the context of the campaign and candidate traits rooted in gender stereotypes. Particularly, according to Harold, voters value toughness from men and women candidates in general and as a result, women candidates may

have to work harder to exemplify this trait due to the issue of gender stereotypes. Harold felt that, in her case, she exemplified toughness in her campaign for Congress in how she fought back against her mistreatment by the local Republican Party establishment during her primary campaign and her professional background as an attorney advocating on behalf of issues in the community (Interview Harold).[44]

Meanwhile, Justin Hollis, campaign manager of Republican candidate Will Hurd attested to gender not mattering much in campaign strategy regardless of whether the candidate is a woman or man. This finding corresponds with Dittmar's (2015) work on gender and campaign strategies, which showed that Republican consultants were less likely to view gender mattering in campaign strategy when compared to Democratic consultants.

Moreover, Hollis posited that the success of women in elected office demonstrates that gender does not matter much in campaign strategy. Several others, specifically black men candidates and/or their campaign managers in this study, also shared this view. According to Hollis, voters ultimately care about the issues regardless if the candidate is a woman or man. As a political consultant, he has also worked as a campaign manager for women candidates, including Ivy Taylor, who was the first black woman elected as Mayor of San Antonio Texas in a non-partisan race. As he expressed his sentiment concerning gender and campaigns:

> No, I don't think gender… (*interviewee laughs*). I think, women, [and] I say women because any time one asks a gender question, women are well equipped, if not more, to lead in office then men. And I don't think voters care what gender you [are] when it comes to running for elective office. Texas has several women in elected leaders at the state level, the federal level and the local level [that] it would be impossible for me to count. I don't think gender matters, not in this day and age (Interview Hollis).

[44]The interview of former congressional candidate Erika Harold was not recorded out of request of the interview subject and as a result, I do not have direct quotes from Ms. Harold.

Furthermore, according to Hollis, issues of race and gender may take precedence on a national level, e.g. presidential races of Barack Obama or of Hillary Clinton, but does not see the same relevance in local races. As Hollis posited:

> Yeah again, I just don't. On a national level people [may] care about [these] thing(s) and stuff and things get portrayed in the media different ways. But on a local level when races are had it [is] just a different climate. People just want people to do a good job for them on a local level and represent them well. And a lot of times people get to meet them face to face and that [is] why they (race nor gender) don't matter on the local level [but] that they matter on a national level (Interview Hollis)

Partisan Considerations---Race/Gender Dynamics

In terms of my fourteenth hypothesis (H14), Erika Harold as a Republican candidate did encounter experiences as a black woman on the campaign trail during her run for Congress. Harold experienced racist and misogynistic comments about her physical appearance from local Republican Party Chairman. According to news reports, Republican Party Chairman of Montgomery County in Illinois, who endorsed her opponent in the Republican Primary, referenced Harold with lewd comments touching upon race and gender in an email to a conservative website, such as "love child" of the Democratic Party and "street walker" and characterized leaders of the Democratic Party as "pimps" (McDermott 2013). Consequently, the Chairman resigned from his position of the local Republican Party and both Harold's Republican primary opponent and the Party's then national chair condemned the remarks (McDermott 2013; Interview Harold).

Additional Factors Relating to Campaign Style

Awareness of District Composition among Black Candidates

Besides findings concerning race, gender and the intersection of the two, one of the main themes that emerged in my interviews with black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers, is the consideration of their district characteristics, which extend

beyond it being a majority-minority or white-majority. There is a concerted effort among black congressional candidates to reach out and consider different aspects of a district, whether it contains urban and/or rural areas.

Majority-Minority Districts

According to Congressman Johnson, he ran for Congress as he felt the previous representative did not adequately address the needs of the entire district. As Johnson said, "I felt like my district was not getting the kind of representation that was needed in terms of constituent services and also, issues of importance to the district legislatively" (Interview Johnson). The 4th district, at the time, consists of mostly DeKalb County, which he felt the previous incumbent spent most of her attention in, and his goal was to unite other parts of the district. (Interview Johnson).

In addition, many interview subjects felt that a campaign message must resonate with various constituents in one's district, as minority-majority districts may contact a plethora of ethnic groups, beyond African Americans. As noted by Lawrence:

> Yes, I want you (the author) to know that the issues that were important to my district, and I just want to describe my district. I represent the City of Detroit and 18 other communities now within my district. I have some of the most wealthiest [constituents] and not only of the Michigan communities but also [out] of the country. I also have some of the most challenged. And the diversity of my district is really to me amazing. It excites me. I have a very large Jewish population. My district is majority African American, 52%. I also have the largest in the state of Michigan Hispanic populations. And I have Nigerian and I have Lebanese, I have the largest [who] are Christian Iraqis from Baghdad. So, I have a very diverse [district such as] just a few Bangladeshis [and] Lebanese. You name it" (Interview Lawrence).

Congresswoman Robin Kelly (D-Illinois) described the diversity of her district when I asked if she made direct appeals to voters as an African American woman, given the crux of my research, which examines how the role of race and gender impact how black candidates campaign for office. Congresswoman Kelly said, "My district is one of the most geographically diverse in Congress, which is urban, suburban and rural. And you know 54% African American and so I

mean that's a hard question because that would not work all over the district…" (Interview Kelly).

In discussing Congresswoman Terri Sewell's (D-Alabama) initial campaign for Congress in 2010, campaign manager/political director Emma Tolbert noted how diverse the district is with its needs and issues, as the district is part urban and rural with high levels of poverty. As Tolbert elaborated:

> When you mix the needs between urban and rural, there are very different needs. Here in Birmingham we need new industry, which I mean would cross all lines, but [overall] I guess the infrastructure needs are different. In our black belt, we have counties that have problems… with sewer issues and we struggle to get grants from USDA (US Department of Agriculture) and things like that to fill some of those needs, whereas our metropolitan area like Birmingham, we're looking for funding for transit and things like that. So, it's different on the spectrum (Interview Tolbert).

White-Majority Districts

Additionally, black candidates running for office in white-majority districts discussed the diversity of the district. According to former Congressman Seven Horsford of Nevada's 4th congressional district, a white-majority district: "My district, the district I represented was a very diverse district both urban and rural. [It is] a very kind of working-class district; its majority white voters with the polarity of African and Hispanic and Asian represent about 40% of [the] voting constituency" (Interview Horsford).

Moreover, there are challenges of communicating to residents of the entire district. Many districts cover vast amounts of territory. Justin Hollis, campaign manager of Republican congressional candidate Will Hurd, noted the difficulty in targeting a candidate's message to larger parts of a district. As Hollis mentioned,

> [Congressional candidate] Will [Hurd] for a year and half went around the entire district. So, the district you know is larger than twenty-seven USA states. [It is a] huge district [that is] 800 miles, [and includes] the U.S. Mexican borders, [and] two-time zones. It goes from San

> Antonio [Texas] in the east all the way to [the] West outskirts of El Paso, [and] all the way down to Eagle Path (Interview Hollis).

Analysis/Summary

In interviewing black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers and employing my *intersectional campaign framework*, I attempt to *explicitly* test gender differences between the two subgroups, to explain similarities and differences shared between black women and men regarding campaign style and perspectives. My interview findings show that black women and men share some similarities and differences attributed to the role of gender and the status of being an African American woman that is unique from their male counterparts.

Race

Black women and men candidates, in general, utilize a race moderate to race-neutral approach in their appeal to voters (whether white-majority or majority-minority). The majority of interview subjects—candidates and campaign managers-- spoke in race-neutral terms about their candidacies and what they bring to constituents if elected. Additionally, many spoke about the diversity within their district whether majority-minority or white-majority, and the importance of covering and appealing to various segments of their constituency (Fenno 1978).

However, many of the black women and men candidates are fully aware of racial politics that exist in the electoral arena, in various capacities. A few candidates and campaign managers experienced this first-hand in their initial runs for Congress such as Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II, Congressman Ellison, Congresswoman Terri Sewell, and Congresswoman Robin Kelly. Interestingly, the racial politics surrounding these candidates are based on two premises—either racialized in a threatening manner (Mendelberg 2001) or the perceived lack of racial

authenticity (with respect to black women candidates), due to education, class and skin color (Gillespie 2012; Hothschild and Weaver 2012).

Others mentioned the relevant theme among blacks (and minorities) in general, about the expectation of black candidates of having to meet higher expectations because of racism in society; however, race is not a detriment in their experience in running for Congress, as the districts are either progressive and/or are safe Democratic seats. In fact, one interview subject suggested it is only a motivator to do and strive better (Interview Payne Jr).

A majority consider race a factor, but not the only factor in affecting campaign strategy. Other factors mentioned include education, class of candidate and ability to appeal to multiple constituencies based on one's background and experiences (Interview Kelly). What is most important is the need to be as relatable as possible which extends beyond race. Additionally, it appears the most effective way to combat racial hostility during a campaign is the reliance on one's previous public record and familiarity with members of the constituency. The majority of black women and men candidates' background include previous electoral experience, which provides higher name recognition, and familiarity of parts of the district in which they are running for Congress. The candidates interviewed here represent strategic quality candidates as they have held previous office and think of best approaches to advance their careers in elected office (Jacobson 1989).

With respect to racial dynamics such as the consideration of racial stereotypes, only a few mentioned the influence of racial stereotypes when running for Congress, at least not explicitly stated given the non-competitiveness of the seat as it mostly a safe Democratic seat. This is an important finding as it shows that racial stereotypes may not have much impact for races on a local level as they may do on an executive, statewide, or national level.

Gender

With respect to gender dynamics, most black women candidates view gender as a factor mattering in campaign strategy with respect to gendered expectations of women candidates in general. This viewpoint is significant as it highlights the differences between black women and men candidates and implications for campaign style and strategy. Some of the black men candidates and/ their campaign managers do not see gender as much of a factor in campaign strategies while others did not mention gender at all during my interviews.

Many black women candidates and their campaign managers based the premise of gender mattering in campaign style on the double bind women candidates experience, such as striking the balance between being both "sweet and strong" (Interview Clarke) at the same time, that women candidates often endure (Jamieson 1995). Gender stereotypes such as being tough and competent were raised among most black Democratic women candidates and/or their campaign managers and one black Republican woman candidate in my purposive sample.

Additionally, a few black women candidates discussed the advantages of being a woman candidate as it allowed them to stand out among the crowd of candidates during their primary races. In this case, they could run as women candidates (Herrnson et al 2003) and allow them to appeal to multiple constituencies (Tate 2003; Smooth 2012). A few black men candidates mentioned that gender matters in campaign strategy in the sense to reach out to women voters, and women candidates may have the ability to appeal to women voters in ways that men candidates do not.

Intersectionality—Black Women Candidates

With respect to intersectionality politics, my interviews uncovered additional findings in this arena. For starters, majority of black women candidates consider their racial-gender identity in running for office. The majority identify themselves as a "black woman" when discussing their backgrounds, experiences and strategies in running for Congress as previous research has

found (Brown 2014). Therefore, they rarely utilize separate identifiers, of "black" and "woman" but spoke of both simultaneously (Ward 2016). Specifically, they highlight their accomplishments in relation to their status as a black woman as part of their record of service and qualifications to serve in Congress (Brown and Gershon 2015). However, some black women candidates expressed that they do not explicitly appeal to voters with respect to their identity as a black woman, but rather acknowledge it in a general sense as part of who they are while campaigning for elected office or serving in some capacity (Interview Coleman; Interview Lawrence). Ultimately, it is about relating and appealing to multiple constituencies within a district with their status of black woman being a part of that experience.

However, black women also discussed their candidacies in relation to race as part of the experiences with black men candidates meaning they did not always make a gender distinction. This reflects previous research that show that black women could speak on behalf of multiple constituencies (Tate 2003; Smooth 2006; 2012; Brown 2014).

While many black women candidates and their campaign managers view gender as a factor mattering in campaign strategy, hardly anyone mentioned or referenced black woman stereotypes as a consideration of their campaign strategies and candidate experiences. If black women stereotypes were mentioned at all, they were only mentioned in passing and not in direct reference to them as a candidate. For example, black women stereotypes of being strong and angry were raised by only a few of the black women candidates. The former (being strong) in respect to black women running for Congress at a much later age than white women and the latter (Angry Black Woman) with respect to stereotypes black women can face in general, but not necessarily with respect to their candidacy for Congress (Interview Kelly). If black women did experience characterizations of a black women stereotype such as the "Angry Black Woman" trope, one interview subject mentioned that it would most likely be applied during a candidate's tenure in office and not necessarily during the campaign trail (Interview, Staff A). Again, this

finding may show that the influence of black women stereotypes may not apply to the extent for black women congressional candidates as previous research suggests (Ward 2016) at least when considering campaign strategy. With respect to congressional races, black women stereotypes may not have much relevance given institutional factors of safe seats, and incumbency from a previous office, which enables familiarity with parts of a congressional district, when one is running for Congress.

Moreover, while many black women candidates and campaign managers discussed the double standard women face concerning their physical appearance--the demands of being put together that men do not experience, several black women candidates appear to mitigate these burdens by embracing fashion choices that serve to their advantage. In other words, it may be burdensome to constantly be "put together," but they work around it, exhibiting bright colors and choices that serve them well. Historically, fashion, in general, for black women and men has served as a form of collective self-expression in response to various societal changes and social unrest (Carter-David 2011) and fashion choices of black women and men candidates can be part of this dynamic. Although not a political candidate, the media's attention towards former First Lady Michelle Obama's fashion choices is a prime example (Gillespie 2016). Thus, black women encounter experiences that separate them from black male counterparts, particularly in how they counter societal pressures of looking a certain way as women public figures face in a male arena.

Partisan Considerations

Although this chapter dealt primarily with black Democratic women and men candidates, my purposive interview sample did include black Republican candidates and/or their campaign managers in attempt to uncover additional nuances with respect to race, gender and campaign strategy. As a result, there appears to be some gender differences with respect to black

Republican women and men candidates. Specifically, the Republican woman candidate discussed gendered experiences on the campaign trail, while the campaign manager of the Republican male candidate did not, as the manager attest that gender does not influence campaign strategies of women and men candidates. In addition, the Republican woman candidate discussed making inroads with diverse groups to diversify the image of the Republican Party (as previous campaigns of black Republican candidates have done) while the campaign manager of the Republican male candidate discussed campaign style and appeal in a race neutral approach, however using bilingualism to communicate to (Hispanic) voters. As a caveat, it is difficult to make conclusive assessments about the campaign strategies of black Republican women and men candidates given their small N in my purposive sample and the realities of being few black Republican candidates in competitive races. However, these interviews at least show the complexities of black candidates and campaign strategies considering partisan elements.

Black women and men candidates share some similar attributes and some differences with respect to their campaign style and strategies. These differences show how black women stand apart and cultivate new ways in their campaign strategy to win elected office. The next chapter examines two other components of black candidates' campaign strategy --mobilization tactics and issue priorities—using interview data.

CHAPTER 4: PERSPECTIVES OF RACE AND GENDER IN MOBILIZATION TACTICS AND ISSUE PRIORITIES

How do black women and men candidates mobilize voters as part of their campaign strategy? What are their issue priorities in relation to these mobilization tactics, considering racial, gender and race/gendered dynamics? These are the research questions guiding this chapter as both mobilization tactics and issue priorities are the second and third components respectively of a deracialized campaign strategy (McCormick II and Jones 1993). Specifically, mobilization tactics deal with "the manner in which the African American candidate mobilizes the electorate" (McCormick and Jones 1993, 76). Issue priorities, meanwhile, are characterized as race moderate to race-neutral to appeal to a broader electorate. Similar with campaign style as discussed in chapter 3, I treat components of mobilization tactics and issue priorities as common components of a campaign strategy in general, with deracalization as the backdrop for both black women and men candidates.

To examine the mobilization and issue priorities of black women and men candidates, I utilize my *intersectional campaign framework* in which I consult three sets of literatures (race, gender and the interaction of the two) to test gender differences between the two sub-groups. My *intersectional campaign framework* is informed by Weldon's (2006) intersectionality-plus model which argues that race and gender effects operate in multiple ways across social structures. I test gender differences between black women and men candidates in their ability to mobilize the electorate and the issues they prioritize in that process. As a result, I expect that black women and men candidates will share similarities in mobilization tactics and issue priorities as informed by race, differences as informed by gender and further differences as informed by race, gender and other characteristics neither explained by race nor gender alone, given the race-gendered status of black women. This analysis further enriches our understanding of how black women

and men mobilize and target voters and the issue priorities adopted in their campaigns, illustrating similarities and differences in the process.

Similar to chapter 3, the data in this analysis is drawn from twenty-one semi-structured elite interviews with black congressional candidates and their campaign managers from the 2014 election cycle. Given interviews were semi-structured, interview subjects were allowed to venture where they saw fit regarding questions asked concerning mobilization tactics and issue prioritization. The use of interviews provides an inside view of campaign strategies and tactics from the perspective of the actors involved (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015).

The analysis in this chapter is broken up into two parts: the first half examines campaign mobilization tactics and the second half examines the campaign issue priorities of both black women and men candidates, using my *intersectional campaign framework* in which I test findings in race, gender and intersectionality literatures to determine its applicability in the mobilization tactics and issue priorities of black women and men candidates.

Mobilization Tactics

Racial Dynamics

African American elected officials running for office commonly employ field operations or Get Out the Vote (GOTV) efforts given limited resources to purchase paid media for campaign advertising to encourage constituents to vote. Television and radio advertising are examples of paid media as they "allow campaigns to control their message" (Burton, Miller and Shea 2015) and as a result, campaigns must raise a significant amount of funds to employ paid media options. GOTV efforts are considered a grassroots strategy that includes door-to-door canvassing, phone banking, and community visits vis-à-vis churches and community centers (Stokes-Brown 2013). Furthermore, GOTV efforts may be carried out with modern forms of technology via the Internet and social media sites (Stokes-Brown 2013). Black voter turnout historically lags of whites, and

therefore turning out the vote is crucial for black candidates running for office, especially in competitive races.

Moreover, for minority candidates including black candidates, targeted mobilization (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003) is also useful in appealing to various segments of the electorate while holding the support of one's base (urban) voters, which theoretically is a crucial aspect of a deracialized campaign strategy (McCormick and Jones 1993; Stokes-Brown 2013). Today this is typically referred to as micro-targeting, an advanced system of desegregating the electorate based on various socio-economic, racial/ethnic backgrounds, party affiliation, and past voting history, so a campaign can adequately reach out and target voters based on various characteristics or demographics (Preische 2014). Micro-targeting is typically discussed in the context of black or minority candidates running for office in white majority jurisdictions, to broaden appeal without losing minority support— a common aspect of deracialization as a campaign strategy. The presidential campaign of Barack Obama is a prime example of minority candidates utilizing micro-targeting to appeal and mobilize various segments of the electorate (Ambinder 2009; Preische 2014). Specifically, Obama's presidential campaign often downplayed the element of race to the media when questioned, but privately strategized ways to mediate effects of race during the campaign, such as purchasing radio spots on the urban radio to target messages to the black community, without altering its message altogether to the broader electorate (Ambinder 2009)

Additionally, micro-targeting as a mobilization tactic extends to local races of minority candidates. New Jersey state legislator and 2014 congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman is an example. Watson Coleman ran for Congress in a white majority district, and her campaign successfully raised enough funds and garnered political support that enabled her to construct a campaign strategy involving a micro-targeted approach (Preische 2014). Other micro-targeted mobilization efforts involve using black surrogates to mobilize urban voters, while still

maintaining broad message and support. Black surrogates can be considered part of the black political establishment necessary to win in urban elections or white majority jurisdictions. Failure to have support or endorsement of figures in the black political establishment can result in an election loss, as was the case of Cory Booker during his first run for Mayor of Newark, New Jersey in 2002 (Gillespie 2012), and Barack Obama, then an Illinois state legislator, when he first ran for Congress in 2001 against long-term incumbent Bobby Rush (Gillespie 2010).

Thus, mobilization tactics of black candidates may involve utilizing heavy voter turnout methods and targeting messages to specific segments of the population to ensure broader appeal of their candidacy. Therefore, I expect the following regarding mobilization tactics and racial dynamics of black women and men congressional candidates:

H1: Black women and men congressional candidates mostly will follow a grassroots approach in campaigning, as they would rely more on field operations and less on campaign media advertisements or paid media efforts (Fenno 2003).

H2: Black women and men congressional candidates both would consider racial/ethnic dynamics in how they mobilize voters for their candidacy.

Gender Dynamics

Meanwhile, scholars have noted the importance women voters have on elections as women vote in higher numbers than men, as illustrated in the gender gap—the difference in the proportion of women and the proportion of men in support of a candidate, issue or cause (Carroll 2014). Women voters may contribute to the outcomes of elections, as seen in in the races in 1992, dubbed the "Year of the Woman" in which women voters and women candidates made inroads into elected office (Dolan 1998). As a result, men and women candidates may target women voters in their appeal and mobilization efforts (Fox 1997). Dittmar (2015) has found both Democratic and Republican campaign consultants citing women voters as an important

consideration in their targeting and campaign appeals. However, this sentiment is partisan-influenced with Democratic consultants advocating the importance of women voter targeting more than Republican consultants. Thus, I expect the following concerning mobilization tactics and gender dynamics:

H3: Both black men and women candidates whether Democrat or Republican would target/mobilize women voters (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015).

H3a. However, more black women than black men (or campaign managers of black men) would report reaching out to women voters (Smooth 2012; 2014).

Race/Gender Dynamics

Finally, scholars have also noted how women of color contribute to electoral outcomes, as particularly black women vote in higher numbers than all other groups. Black women and women of color contributed to the electoral success of Barack Obama during the 2008 and 2012 election exhibiting high turnout rates (Smooth 2012). Notably, black women contributed to the high numbers of black voters during the 2012 election cycle (Smooth 2012). Studies have shown black women candidates demonstrate the ability to appeal to women and minority voters by their presence on the ballot (Philpot and Walton 2007).

Furthermore, research has shown that black women candidates may mobilize voters by utilizing previous organizing experiences and social networks different from their male counterparts that include churches and black sorority Greek organizations (Fenno 2003; Brown 2014). Specifically, sorority organizations can provide black women candidates an additional advantage compared to their black male counterparts by mobilizing a subset of voters (black women) in support of their candidacy (Brown 2014). Black women historically have strong (Democratic) party and campaign organizing experience on behalf of other candidates (Gallagher 2014). This type of organizing is reflective today as black women exhibit high levels of

volunteerism in campaigns and churches (Verba et al. 1995; Brown 2014) and spearheading present-day civil rights protest movements such as the *Black Lives Matter* movement against deadly incidents involving young people of color and police officers (CAWP and Higher Heights 2015). Therefore, regarding the literature on race/gender dynamics and campaign mobilization tactics, I expect the following:

H4: Black women candidates would report reaching out to black women voters at a higher rate than black men candidates given black women's candidacy has the potential to appeal to women and minorities (Philpot and Walton Jr. 2007).

H4a: Black women encounter experiences that separate them from black male counterparts, particularly in how they can reach out to voters, i.e., women's organizations (Smooth 2012; 2014).

Mobilization Tactics and Partisan Dynamics

Although my interview sample features black Democratic and Republican congressional candidates, I do not have partisan expectations/differences concerning mobilization tactics, given the literature findings pertain mostly to black Democrats. Additionally, my interview sample contains mostly black Democratic women and men candidates and their campaign managers. Hence, I see this study to extract any themes that may arise in mobilization tactics of black Republican and Democratic candidates that can be explored for future study.

Issue Priorities

Racial Dynamics

In conjunction with campaign mobilization tactics are the issues adopted on the campaign trail. Research has shown that many black officeholders employ issues that are either race-neutral (transcend race) or race moderate depending on the characteristics of the district or jurisdiction. Deracialization calls for the employment of campaign issues that embody broad appeal but can be targeted and framed to critical segments of a population, catering to both minority and white voters. Black officeholders running in majority-minority districts have been

shown to either discuss race-specific or race-neutral issues (Canon 1995). Black incumbents in majority-minority districts who are elected during the founding of the Congressional Black Caucus or those who possess a liberal record may adopt race-specific issues, as they run in relatively safe Democratic districts (Canon 1995). Examples of race-specific issues would be "affirmative action, [or] plight of the urban underclass "(McCormick and Jones 1993, 77).

Given the changing demographics of the 21st century in which there is a rise of other minority groups, mainly Latino and Asian Americans, districts are becoming more heterogeneous, where minority elected officials should build a multi-coalition of supporters to win elections (Stokes-Brown 2013). Alternatively, given the limited number of majority-minority districts, black candidates may run in white-majority districts altogether, where the demand to adopt broad issues in a campaign is central. Therefore, in considering the racial dynamics of black women and men congressional candidates I expect:

H5: Issues promoted by black (Democratic) women and men candidates would be race-moderate to race-neutral whether running in a majority-minority or white-majority district.

Gender Dynamics

Scholars have found that women candidates may more likely adopt feminine issues than men candidates depending on the context of the campaign. This phenomenon was evident during the 1992 elections, in which analysts commonly refer to as the "Year of the Woman" in which gender and issues of sexual harassment dominated the political discourse, culminating in the high numbers of women elected for the first time (Fox 1997; Dolan 1998). In a review of campaign communication of television advertising and campaign websites, scholars have found that women candidates tend to focus on “women” issues such as healthcare and education at higher rates than men candidates (Bystrom et al. 2004).

However, other studies have also found that women candidates, in general, focus on similar issues as men candidates (Carroll 1994). Research that surveyed political consultants of various campaigns found that consultants believe women candidates are perceived as being capable and equipped to handle issues such as the economy as men candidates, transcending gender stereotypes (Dittmar 2015). Research has also examined whether men candidates campaign differently when facing a woman candidate, mainly if women opponents are more likely to promote "women" issues, but findings suggest this is not the case (Dolan 2008). Based on the literature concerning gender and issues priorities of a campaign, I expect the following:

H6: Black women candidates regardless of partisanship would more likely address gender-related ("feminine") issues to lever an advantage towards black male candidates (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003).

Race/Gender Dynamics

While the research on black women focuses more on their work as elected officials (Orey et. al 2006; Scola 2006) than their role as candidates (Smooth 2010; Smooth 2012; Brown 2014) some studies suggest that black women candidates would focus on issues related to women and minorities, appealing to both sects of their identity (Smooth 2012; Smooth 2014). Black Democratic women candidates have often sought the endorsement of such women's organizations as *Emily's List*, minority organizations, and labor unions which not only can help with mobilization efforts but provide additional credence to the type of platform they are advocating on their campaigns. Additionally, studies that reviewed the biographies of women and men of color and white women showed a propensity of minority women to highlight gender-related issues and issues related to minority women more than their male counterparts (Brown and Gershon 2016)**.** Therefore, I expect the following:

H7: Black (Democratic) women political candidates would address issues that cut across race and gender at a higher rate than black men candidates do (Orey et al. 2006, Scola 2006; Brown 2014; CAWP 2015).

Partisan Considerations

Studies on black Republican candidates show a propensity to address issues devoid of race and gender as part of a conservative platform (Fauntroy 2007). Alternatively, black Republican candidates may explicitly court minority voters and frame conservative issues around minorities, such as support of school prayer, charter schools and economic security (Wallace and Lewis 2007). Studies suggest that the Republican Party has made concerted efforts to appeal to black voters, particularly during former President George W. Bush's 2004 re-election campaign; however, the Republican Party is still battling the image as being anti-minority in campaign racial appeals and rhetoric (Philpot 2007). The notion of black Republican candidates running on conservative issues to appeal to minorities corresponds with black public opinion that has shown African Americans growing more conservative in policy views of crime and religion (Tate 2003), yet still actively supporting the Democratic Party (Kidd, Diggs, et. al 2007). Thus, I expect the following concerning black Republican women and men candidates in my sample:

H8: Issues promoted by black Republican women and men candidates would be race-neutral and conservative that is typical of the Republican Party platform while targeting to both minorities and white voters.

Below is a summary of my hypotheses guiding this chapter, which reflects my theoretical approach of an *intersectional campaign framework* that examines campaign strategies involving mobilization tactics and issue priorities of black women and men congressional candidates across racial, gendered and race/gendered categories.

Summary of Hypotheses: Perspectives of Mobilization Tactics	
Black Women and Men Candidates and their Campaign Managers	
Hypotheses	**Categories**
H1, H2	Racial Dynamics
H3, H3a	Gender Dynamics
H4 H4a	Racial/Gendered Dynamics
Summary of Hypotheses: Perspectives of Issue Priorities	
Black Women and Men Candidates and their Campaign Managers	
H5	Racial Dynamics
H6	Gender Dynamics
H7	Race/Gendered Dynamics
Partisan Considerations--Black Republican Women and Men Candidates/Campaign Managers	
Hypotheses	**Categories**
H8	Racial Dynamics/Republican

Findings: Perspectives on Mobilization Tactics

Mobilization Tactics and Racial Dynamics

The majority of the black women and men congressional candidates interviewed in this study utilize some form of traditional campaign communications, such as television and radio advertising. Scholars have examined how minority candidates may engage in various campaign activities such as the purchase of television and radio advertising to promote their candidacies (Stokes-Brown 2013).

Beyond traditional campaign communications, minority candidates often utilize the internet to offset fundraising disadvantages and appeal to the electorate in various and targeted ways (Stokes-Brown 2013). Barack Obama's presidential campaign successfully epitomized the use of the internet, i.e., campaign websites and social media networks, to fundraise and mobilize voters in support of his candidacy, becoming the first black elected President of the United States (Stokes-Brown 2013). The majority of black women and men congressional candidates

interviewed utilize the internet to promote their campaigns, with campaign websites as a prime example. The campaign website provides information about their candidacy that includes their issue priorities, fundraising appeals and campaign events (Dolan 2005; Stokes-Brown 2013).[45] Others such as congressional candidates Bonnie Watson Coleman of New Jersey's 12th congressional district and Meshea Poore of West Virginia's 2nd congressional district utilized social networks such as *Facebook* to promote their candidacies (in addition to a campaign website). Facebook is especially popular among young audiences, and racial/ethnic minorities, as well as the social media site *YouTube*[46] to communicate to broad audiences with minimum costs (Stokes-Brown 2015).

For example, in my interview with congressional candidate Watson Coleman, she discussed entering the congressional race through the influence of social media, viz-a-viz *Facebook*. Specifically, Watson Coleman's former colleagues and supporters organized an effort to encourage her to run for Congress through *Facebook* given an open seat had generated given the retirement of then-incumbent Congressman Rush D. Holt. As Watson Coleman described:

> I open[ed] up my [computer], and I see postings on my *Facebook* "Run Bonnie Run!" I said, "What are they talking about run? What?" I knew the people that were doing this [and], so I called them and said, "What is this about?' I did not know in that morning [nor] I did not know the afternoon before [that] my Congress[man] representative had indicated that he was no longer going to serve, [and] that he was going to retire at the end of the term. So [my] friends and acquaintances that I had worked and been with over the years in my political career were the ones that sort of did this movement on my *Facebook* page, so [that] other people can stay connected.

[45] This assessment is based on my research on black women and men candidates interviewed for this dissertation and my review of their campaign websites. Also, some of my interview subjects referenced campaign websites or other forms of internet/social media use during their campaigns. This dissertation does not include a systematic study of campaign websites or other forms of campaign communication as previous studies have utilized; instead it is based on a general background review of black women and men candidates I conducted before securing the interview as campaign website and communication analyses were not the focus of my dissertation.

[46] Congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman (NJ, CD 12), featured a campaign commercial on *YouTube* found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yx0H6-5oJn4

There is variation in how candidates utilize traditional campaign communication based on the competitiveness of the district and the nature of the election. As a result, my first hypothesis (H1) of black women and congressional candidates utilizing a mostly grassroots campaign strategy to mobilize voters, is mostly confirmed; however, it is varied depending on the needs of the campaign and aspects of the race. This finding applies to black women and men congressional candidates from both parties interviewed running in majority-minority and white majority districts considering with some variation and exceptions.

Several of the black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers emphasized utilization of field operations in mobilizing voters as opposed to paid media. As fundraising is often considered more difficult for black candidates than white candidates, many emphasized using resources mostly for field operations. As Congresswoman Yvette Clarke (NY, CD 9) discussed her initial campaigns for Congress in 2004 and 2006 in the context of fundraising and financial infrastructure compared to her then-opponents:

> So, all [of] my money goes into my field operations, [by] making sure we are on the ground. We are getting volunteers [and] we [are] doing everything we need to do to make sure that our voters come out because I'm not going to have the type of money that everyone else has. I have to beat them on the ground (Interview Clarke).

Moreover, many black women and men candidates expressed how maximizing field operations is the best means to mobilize and appeal to voters. David Leonard, political director of Congressman Keith Ellison's campaign (MN, CD 5) discussed the importance of appealing to all constituents when running for office. Given the Congressman's ability to connect on a personal level, his campaign adopted an aggressive grassroots campaign strategy that helped counter opponents' financial advantages including spending from outside interest groups. As Leonard discussed:

> …This is something [that] the Congressman (Ellison) says a lot, [about how] our superior numbers beat theirs and when I say "their" I mean some of the dark money groups in [politics] and [the] things that happen [since the] post-Citizen United [Supreme Court decision]. Our

> superior numbers cancel their superior dollars or beat their superior dollars. …It's about organizing; it's about one- on- one conversations; it's about having discussions about [the] issues that people care about and how people who run for office and would be elected and would work on those issues. So, this was something that he has been doing since he first ran in 2006 (Interview Leonard).

Leonard further elaborated about the importance of grassroots campaigning and its contribution to Congressman Ellison's success as a candidate:

> In fact, I would argue it was a big reason as to why he (Ellison) won in the first place. [He won] because he basically knocked on any door that he could. He talked to every voter he could and do everything he could to not only get his name id out there [but] what he stood for and [has] continued to do that since he's been in office. [It] is, in fact, something that he wanted to continue to do. Of course, he did [as] the Chair of the Progressive Caucus (of the Democratic Party) and he does this [organizing] thing with [the] membership that he [also] does when pushing electoral politics. It's about knocking on the doors, getting on the phones [and] having conversations [that involve] doing one-on-one contact with voters [in order] to build relationships. [It is about] doing the type of function we want to see versus "I'm going to go up with $200,000 in TV ads" [and] "$100,000 [in] radio ads" (Interview Leonard).

Limited Use of Traditional Campaign Communications—Lack of Funds

For congressional candidates such as Meshea Poore, West Virginia's 2nd congressional district, the ability to use paid campaign advertising such as television and radio was extremely limited due to the lack of funds available. Poore along with a majority of black women *and* men congressional candidates in this study perceived difficulty in fundraising and garnering intuitional support that is not the same for white candidates (Personal Interviews 2014-2016). Poore, running in a white majority district, had difficulty raising funds and garnering enough resources to run a media campaign. As a result, Poore relied heavily on a grassroots effort and advertising placement in local newspapers to target and mobilize voters. According to congressional candidate Poore:

> I ran like a four-week ad in one of our free newspapers here. We were very, very grassroots when it came to how we campaigned. One way [in which we campaigned] was in the penny pinchers where people would look for coupons for their groceries or where they get their community announcements that [they] have. [It is] where we advertised (Interview Poore).

In the context of having limited funding and resources for their campaigns, several black women and men candidates and their campaign managers discussed utilizing little-paid campaign media and being strategic in how they use such media, which often involves airing campaign ads to increase voter turnout.

For example, given Republican congressional candidate Erika Harold, Illinois's 13th congressional district, had trouble garnering institutional local party support of her campaign, she consequently employed little-paid campaign advertising. According to our interview, she aired one commercial in the district closer to primary election day, (as a fresh reminder to voters of her candidacy) and several radio ads, which are not as costly as television ads (Interview Harold). When I asked Harold about any other matters about race and/or gender relevant in campaign strategy, she discussed the importance of candidates having sufficient resources to campaign effectively. According to Harold, the challenge is for candidates to have the resources to carry out their campaign message effectively, so voters can be informed and subsequently support them.

The ability to have sufficient resources to campaign effectively was also shared by Democratic candidate Meshea Pore (West Virginia, CD2) who also had little institutional party support of her campaign as she described her use of paid campaign media:

> We didn't have money to be out there to be in the paper. We used money for those four ads to tailor to water issues for those areas that were affected here and that had the largest population, and we did a radio spot for maybe two weeks right before early voting and that's it. We could not do anymore. We did not have the money for it. We had papers that we dropped on cars in parking lots, on [the] massive amount of cars or churches, things [of that nature], grocery stores [or where] people were congregated (Interview Poore).

As political director David Leonard of Congressman Ellison, of Minnesota's 5th congressional district recalled when I asked if he used paid campaign communication in his boss's campaign, he mentioned the following:

> We don't spend any of the money on that stuff. We may have an ad here or there, but it's more of a general get out and vote message and its mainly TV media, [and] so mainly in communities of color typically who have a lower turnout rate just based on average (Interview Leornard).

Preference of Field Operations

Meanwhile, others such as congressional candidate Watson Coleman of New Jersey's 12th congressional district, (white majority district) had a strong campaign organization and used traditional campaign communication on a limited basis. She faced other state legislators in her primary, whom she described as her colleagues, and as a result, wanted to stick close to the issues to broaden her appeal (Interview Watson Coleman). Political analysts suggested that if Watson Coleman won the primary, she was almost sure to win the general election. In my (separate) interviews with Watson Coleman and her campaign manager, both expressed the importance of field operations as the critical aspect of her campaign. As Watson Coleman described the essence of her campaign:

> We announced it (my decision to run) one day, and we were back putting a campaign together the very next day. We had to hire a number of people who would perform different functions: voter analytics, messaging, campaign manager, all [of]that stuff and we did it all pretty much in a quick order. We designed the campaign based on the district, and we decided the best way to use [resources], and we had to raise money at the same time which was probably one of the hardest things for me to do. So, we decided the best way to run this campaign was in the field and just using our resources [to] catch these people (voters) either through their mailbox or knocking on their doors but having that contact. We didn't use television. [Actually] we may have done one ad, but basically [our] money was spent [in] crafting a field campaign (Interview Watson Coleman).

Use of Traditional Campaign Media---Exceptions

However, there were few exceptions to my first hypotheses (H1) as some black congressional candidates heavily used paid media as part of their mobilization efforts to stay competitive and "break out of the pack." Congresswoman Teri Sewell (Alabama, CD 7) and Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II (Missouri, CD 5) are such examples, running in black majority and white majority districts respectively.

Congresswoman Terri Sewell (Alabama, CD 7) launched a massive media campaign during her initial run for Congress in 2010. Congresswoman Sewell was running in a black-majority district and as a then-corporate attorney can be considered part of the new class of black candidates/officeholders who have an Ivy League education, access to financial networks and are not part of traditional black political networks (Gillespie 2010). Congresswoman Sewell was part of several candidates running for an open seat in 2010 and used paid media to break out of the crowded field and distinguish herself from her opponents.

Unlike many black candidates who may struggle to raise money for their campaigns (Wilhite and Theilmann 1986; Theilmann and Wilhite 1986), Sewell joins a select group of black politicians such as Cory Booker (former mayor of Newark NJ and current member of the US Senate), and former President Barack Obama who can raise a substantial amount of money for their campaigns (Gillespie 2010). Sewell ran in the open seat to replace then-Congressman Artur Davis who launched a campaign for Governor. Sewell used the media aggressively to build stronger name recognition, as she was a first-time political candidate with no prior elected office experience. As Emma Tolbert, Congresswoman Sewell's campaign manager described:

> So, her strategy throughout the campaign [was] she was running against a crowded field, but mainly two [as] you could stretch it to three credible candidates that were really out there working hard. You know two of those [candidates] had held elected office before [and] one had been a State Representative [and] the other had been a County Commissioner [and as a result, had] so much higher name recognition. And both of those [candidates] had their faces [well known] in Birmingham which is the largest municipality in the district. The Congresswoman's strategy was to raise the type of money that she needed to raise, [particularly] a large sum of money, in order to be on broadcast television and really be able to share her message with the masses, so she could increase her name recognition to the level that would be needed to compete with the candidates who had a higher level of name recognition (Interview Tolbert).

Having no prior elected official can be both an advantage and disadvantage, with the former, allowing the ability to craft a message without any concern of a past track record and the latter, influencing the perception of not being prepared to serve elected office. Accordingly,

Congresswoman Sewell's campaign used paid media to counter the latter in how opponents would define her on the campaign trail as previously discussed in chapter 3 on campaign styles and strategies. Specifically, Congresswoman Sewell's campaign used a multi-faceted mobilization approach, encompassing television (mainstream and cable), radio, direct mail pieces and field operations to target voters (Interview Tolbert). As Tolbert further described Congresswoman Sewell's media campaign strategy:

> Now the other part of that [campaign strategy] is that [with] the other candidates, people who knew [them know] who they were but they had negative[s]. Once you've been a candidate before [or if] you've been an office holder before, you've taken votes [before on issues]. There are people who have taken sides on whatever vote you've taken and Terri, Congresswomen Sewell really had the opportunity to have a fresh start with her campaign [as] not a lot of people knew who she was. So, she was able to kind of frame her story and tell it her way which was nice. Neither of the other two front-runners were able to raise the type of money to compete on the airways. You know Terri (Congresswoman Sewell) really had a full out [strategic] approach for when we were on broadcast television. We were doing a slow burn on cable TV. We were doing the mail pieces [and] so [as a result] we were in people's mailboxes on a regular basis. You know that in [during] the last six weeks of the campaign, she was doing the radio ads also. So, that was really her strategy. Of course, we had ground troops for the old operations, but we really focused a lot on media for her campaign (Interview Tolbert).

Moreover, even in Congresswoman Sewell's recent 2014 campaign, she used paid media to highlight her record with television and radio ads to counter the primary challenge and lay out her message for the general election (Interview Tolbert). As a result, the Congresswoman won her primary election against challenger Tamara Harris Johnson with 83.9% to 16.1% and was unchallenged in the general election, ultimately winning with 98.4% of the vote.[47]

Meanwhile, Congressman Cleaver's II campaign also utilized a heavy media campaign to counter racial appeal attacks from his opponent (Interview Scaglia). According to Congressman Cleaver's II campaign manager, they did their best to "have an active TV campaign, an active

[47] Ballotpedia. "Terri Sewell" https://ballotpedia.org/Terri_Sewell. (June 15, 2018).

radio campaign as well as [a direct] mail [campaign] and [a] field campaign [in which] we were touching voters at all levels" (Interview Scaglia).

In addition to a mostly field operation concerning campaign strategy and mobilization from black women and men congressional candidates, my second hypothesis (H2) was confirmed with some of the candidates and campaign managers interviewed touched upon racial/ethnic dynamics in mobilization efforts. My second hypothesis (H2) mainly applied to those running in white majority districts where the ability to appeal to various constituents is vital.

Deracialization and a Micro-Targeted Approach

In my interview with James Gee, campaign manager of congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman, New Jersey's 12th congressional district, he discussed how racial/ethnic considerations are a fundamental consideration when a black candidate runs for office in a white majority district. When I asked him, what were the most significant strengths and challenges for Watson Coleman as a congressional candidate, he discussed that the challenges were "getting non-black voters to vote for you" (Interview Gee). Another challenge according to Gee is the assumption that black voters are not going to show up and vote and so black voter turnout is critical (Interview Gee).

Watson Coleman's strengths as a candidate, according to Gee, is her experience as a state legislator, building a record that appeals to various segments of the community. As a result, Watson Coleman campaigned in non-black areas in Mercer County (New Jersey) on (progressive) issues that impact everyone (in the district/region) such as automatic voter registration and bill sponsorship in the New Jersey state legislature on the same issue. Watson Coleman held town

hall meetings in areas of mostly white residents on issues that appeal to various segments of the population[48]

Conversely, in campaigning in black areas, Gee noted that having a diversified campaign staff is also essential to send staff in areas where they are familiar and be best received among constituents. He gave the example of not sending a white campaign staff member to a black church, as they may not understand the church culture nor be able to relate to constituents on the same level as a person of color would (Interview Gee). In general, Watson Coleman's congressional campaign targeted both minority and non-minority areas that they thought they had a chance to win over and obtain enough votes for victory, which involved using sophisticated voting data commonly used in Barack Obama's presidential campaigns to identify potential supporters (Preische 2014; Interview Watson Coleman). The notion of having a diverse campaign staff is not limited to the view of black Democratic candidates and their campaign managers as Republican congressional candidate Erika Harold also spoke about the importance of having a diverse campaign staff that is reflective of diverse perspectives. She prided herself in having a diverse campaign team in carrying her message to various segments of the district (Interview Harold).

Race Appeals on the Campaign Trail

Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II's (Missouri, CD 5) initial campaign for Congress in 2004 also experienced racial dynamics in their mobilization efforts. According to Congressman Cleaver's II campaign manager Phil Scaglia, Cleaver II encountered racist antics on the campaign trail. Scaglia, who as a white man, often acted as a "body person" when attending community events as part of campaigning in white majority areas that are hostile or not as receptive of black

[48] Review of issue priorities discussed by black women and men congressional candidates are examined in the second half of this chapter.

candidates/officeholders, often staying close physically to Congressman Cleaver II as an African American man. Despite the occasional racism encountered on the campaign trail, what aided Congressman Cleaver II in reaching out and mobilizing voters was his record (as Mayor of Kansas City) and genial personality as a Methodist minister. Scaglia discussed the instance on the campaign trail in which Congressman Cleaver II gained the respect of a constituent who was also a Ku Klux Klan member. The Ku Klux Klan constituent appreciated his work on behalf of the constituents as a former Mayor, but because of his racist beliefs he ultimately would not vote for him for Congress. Scaglia vividly described the situation in which Congressman Cleaver II, as a congressional candidate, walked a parade in the district that he frequently attended in a rural community while on the campaign trail:

> So, we are at one these ex-urban parades, community parades, and I'm on one side of the street and Stefan (campaign aide) is on the other side of the street and [the] Congressman and I passed this one guy, and I heard him say "Oh man there's that no good…" and used the N word and I look up and he had an NRA hat on, and I'm like hmm, that's not good let me double back [and] get on the other side because I have one of the younger kids (campaign staff) and with the Congressman on the other side. So, I double back and say let's keep going this way [and] "No, no" the Congressman says "No, no it's about time for me to cross the street." [I suggest to him] "let's go another half block and let's cross," and he's going "No No." I went to get to the other side of the street, and I'm like "Oh no, we're going to have a real problem now" because the guy that just used the n-word is on the other side of the street. So, we cross over, and I'm glued to the Congressman. You know, I'm glued to him [the Congressman] and I'm not any type of security detail whatsoever, but that's "my guy" and I don't want something bad happening to him. So we come up to this guy, and I'm like "Watch this guy with the NRA hat Rev [Cleaver]" and he kind of nods like "I heard you" and we get up there and there's this guy and he kind of steps out in the front and as if lightening [were to] strike me dead if I didn't see it with my own two eyes, this guy says "*Mayor Cleaver, Mayor Cleaver! I just want to shake your hand. I'm not going to vote for you, but I would just like to thank you for helping out with UAW (United Auto Workers union) plan. I'm a retired UAW (union member), and by God, you helped save some of our jobs. Now you know I'm not going to vote for you, but I wanted to shake your hand"* **[**It was the] craziest dog darn thing I've ever seen (Interview Scaglia)!

Also, Congressman Cleaver II was on the receiving end of numerous negative attacks, many considered racial appeals according to Scaglia, by his then-opponent Republican Jeanne Patterson, in an avalanche of television commercials. Patterson was a self-financed candidate with no elected office experience, Particularly, Congressman Cleaver II in his first campaign was

financially outspent by his opponent in campaign advertising. However, according to Scaglia, Congressman Cleaver's II congressional campaign did its best to have an active media campaign in addition to robust field operation, as previously mentioned. Also, Scaglia discussed how some voters depending on where they live in the district could not outwardly support Congressman Cleaver II in his run for Congress, given they may live close to Klan members.

Other candidates such as congressional candidate Erika Harold of Illinois's 13th congressional district discussed how attending campaign events, particularly town hall meetings in areas of the district where constituents may not be as familiar of her candidacy (as a woman of color) and discussion of critical issues help voters see her in a different light (Interview Harold). It appears that in campaigning and reaching out to voters, mobilization, personal contact, and if possible, and active paid advertising campaign to help counter racial dynamics that may occur on the campaign trail.

Influence of President Obama

The ability of black candidates to mobilize different types of voters including minority voters was epitomized by the presidential campaigns of Barack Obama. Obama, as part of a deracialized campaign strategy, could communicate his campaign message to various segments of the electorate, and as a black male presidential candidate, able to communicate race in ways not seen by previous presidential candidates of color that targeted both minorities and whites in different, distinct ways (Price 2016). Obama's popularity among black voters was enormous as it generated the highest turnout among the black electorate as he received 96% of the black vote (Price 2016). Thus, Democratic candidates benefit when he is on the ticket. However, according to former Congressman Steven Horsford, voter turnout was not as high in 2014, as Obama was not on the ticket and consequently, Democratic voter turnout was low in various races, including his re-election campaign (Interview Horsford). The ability to have high turnout among

Democratic and minority voters is crucial in white majority districts such as Horsford's to make up the difference in voter turnout by Republican voters. Obama endorsed several candidates such as Congressman Donald Payne Jr. (Interview Payne Jr.; Cohen and Barnes 2015) and former Congressman Horsford in their re-election campaigns, but the ability to turn out the vote is equally essential.

Mobilization Tactics and Gender Dynamics

My third hypothesis (H3) is confirmed as several black women and men congressional candidates, and their campaign managers mentioned the importance of reaching out to women voters as part of their campaign outreach and mobilization efforts. This finding corresponds with previous research that shows both women and men candidates making concerted efforts to appeal to women voters, as women make up most voters and therefore are a critical demographic in campaign outreach, despite their underrepresentation in elected office (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). A few interview subjects (both black women and men candidates) discussed reaching out to women voters through campaign communication such as direct mail pieces, radio ads and television commercials including the incorporation of women voice-over in such commercials (Personal interviews 2014-2016).

It is important to note that women are not a monolithic group and so the type of women voters targeted is just as important. Interview subjects mentioned different types of women voters such as progressive women, college educated, and non-college educated, single mothers, "soccer moms," and black women voters (Personal interviews 2014-2016). Concerning partisan dynamics, many Democratic candidates and their campaign managers interviewed in this study mentioned women voters in the context of core demographic supporters of the Democratic Party, such as minorities, labor groups, and progressive voters (Personal interview 2014-2016). Republican candidates such as Erika Harold (Illinois's 13th congressional district) also discussed

the importance of reaching out to women, as well as minorities and young people whom the Republican Party does not adequately engage with on conservative values and issues (Interview Harold).

Regarding the addendum of my third hypothesis (H3a), in which black women candidates report reaching out to women voters at higher levels than black men candidates, is not fully confirmed. Black men candidates such as Congressman Hank Johnson (Georgia CD 4), along with Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver's (Missouri, CD 5) political consultant and his campaign manager explicitly spoke about reaching out to women as part of their campaign outreach efforts. The aforementioned candidates and/or their campaign managers faced women opponents and studies show that men candidates may alter their campaign activities to appeal to women voters (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). Such campaign activities include using women surrogates, forming women support groups and hiring women campaign staff (Fox 1997). I did not hypothesize specifically about whether men candidates who faced women opponents alter their campaign outreach efforts, given I did not have enough men candidates who faced women opponents in my interview sample to systematically study this phenomenon, but this finding is the case for a few black men candidates reflected in this study.

For example, in my interview with Congressman Donald Payne Jr. (New Jersey, CD 10) he discussed the importance of reaching out to women voters and having women support his candidacy. As previously mentioned, Payne Jr. ran for Congress in 2012 to succeed his late father's term in an open seat election, that included a primary election of several candidates including a woman, New Jersey State Senator Nia Gill. Gill ran on issues that specifically impacted women **(**Giambusso 2012). When I asked Congressman Payne Jr. about whether he reached out to women voters as part of his campaign outreach efforts, he discussed his first congressional campaign experience in 2012, when he faced several candidates in a primary including a formidable women candidate. As Congressman Payne Jr. discussed when I asked if

he reached out to women voters in his current 2014 campaign, in which he did not face any serious challenges:

> No. I had to in that first race [for Congress] because I was running…Also [as] I mentioned [that] my (Newark Municipal) Council colleague [ran for the office]. I also ran against a very prominent African American State Senator by the name of Nia Gill, who is very prominent and active [and] high profile in the women's movement. She was one of my other opponents and so, it (the race) was definitely [a] women's angle in that race. But you know my attitude… based on what I've done [and] what I've told you about, [is that] I'm for women, [but] just for [the] right woman just like I told you. I just don't think she was the right woman [for the position] at the time (Interview Payne Jr).

Payne Jr.'s first campaign for Congress in 2012 utilized women groups in support of his candidacy as previous research shows regarding men candidates in general (Fox 1997). He relied on women in the district to mobilize groups such as *Women for Payne* to help build his electoral support among women voters. Congressman Payne Jr. continues to rely on this group of women supporters to appeal to women voters. The organizing group holds fundraisers in support of Payne Jr. and features high profile women speakers at their events such as Congresswoman Maxine Waters. The organization *Women for Payne* allows Payne to reach out to women voters in a larger capacity, especially given if he faces a formidable female opponent, as during his first race for Congress in 2012 (Interview Payne Jr.). As Congressman Payne Jr. described the women's support group:

> We have a group called *Women for Payne*. It is very proactive in helping me [by] getting the women voters to understand that I am sensitive to their concerns and [I] have always looked out for them. I have a very strong political group called *Women for Payne* [and] they come out maybe once or twice a year and throw me a fundraiser. We have [a] high profile woman come in and speak, so we identify women that have been successful in the community and we do something with them like once or twice, at least once or twice a year and it's a great gathering of [the] women who support me in my effort [in elected office] (Interview Payne).

Payne Jr. also spoke about his hiring of women in leadership positions in his campaigns, including the campaign manager of his current 2014 campaign and spoke about the importance of having women on a campaign team. Payne won the Democratic primary in 2012 with 60% of the

vote while state senator Nia Gill came in third place with 17% of the vote (Cohen and Barnes 2015). In 2014, he faced token opposition in the primary, winning 91% of the vote and 85% of the vote in the general election against Republican challenger Yolanda Dentely who received 13% of the vote in the heavily Democratic district. Similar with his first congressional race in 2012, he had also had strong party support in several counties in New Jersey (Cohen and Barnes 2015).

Race/Gender Dynamics and Mobilization Tactics

Majority-Minority Districts

Moreover, while several interview subjects spoke about reaching out to women voters as part of their campaigns, another central theme emerged which is the importance of black women voters. Black women traditionally vote in a higher capacity than all other demographic groups, i.e., white men, white women and black men (Carroll 2014; Smooth 2012; Smooth 2014) and for black women and men candidates running in minority-majority districts, black women are a critical voting bloc in these districts. This finding shows the importance of race and gender, where it is not just about "women" in the general sense, but specifically women of color, including black women (Sinclair-Chapman and Price 2008; Smooth 2012; Smooth 2014). The mobilization of black women voters is considered instrumental among the perspectives of *both* black women and men congressional candidates interviewed in this study. As a result, my fourth hypothesis (H4) concerning the targeting/mobilization of black women voters is not entirely confirmed. For example, when I asked Congressman Hank Johnson (Georgia, CD 4) if he reached out to specific groups in his district such as women, blacks and other minorities in either his first or current (2014) campaigns for Congress, he responded with the following: "Yes I heavily appealed to black women and white voters. And that was during my first race" (Interview Johnson).

Additionally, for candidates such as Congressman Donald Payne Jr., not only is it important to reach black women voters but hiring them as part of a campaign is equally important, in generating diverse perspectives and opportunities for women, especially black women. Payne spoke about the importance of hiring women, especially black women in his campaign and elected official work, which only further works to garner appeal among women and black women voters. As Congressman Payne Jr. expressed:

> I'm really cognizant of the opportunities that I can give women and primarily African American women the opportunity to advance in and to get their foot in the door and to and let their talent and take them where take them where they can. So, you know I've tried to [be] understanding [of] the opportunities and blessing[s] and gifts I've been given [and] I've tried to pay it back, you know [by] giving young talented people opportunities they may not have [that] I can afford [to give] them and I try to do that (Interview Payne Jr).

Moreover, when I asked Congresswoman Karen Bass (California, CD 37) if gender matters as part of one's campaign strategy, she expressed the following:

> Gender absolutely matters, and I'll tell you why because [of] the demographics of the voters, the demographic, you know[as] the majority [of] voters in my district even though this does not reflect the majority population. The majority of voters in my district are older African American women (Interview Bass).

White Majority Districts

Moreover, for black women and men congressional candidates running in white majority districts, black women voters may also serve as a surrogate support group (Mansbridge 1999), meaning black women residing outside of the candidate's district may donate and support the campaign. This is an additional finding relative to my fourth hypotheses. Hence, black women voters help serve as critical support for black candidates running in either minority-majority or white- majority districts. A few black women and men candidates and their campaign managers in this study expressed the importance of black women, in general, supporting their campaigns (Personal interviews 2014-2016).

For example, congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman (New Jersey, CD 12) ran on the message of the historical nature of her candidacy as other studies of women statewide candidates have shown (Dittmar 2015). Watson Coleman's campaign message including the milestone of possibly being the first black woman elected to represent the state of New Jersey in Congress. Watson Coleman's record on women, including minority women issues, drew financial support from black women across the country (Interview Gee). According to Watson Coleman's campaign manager James Gee, retired black women gave donations as little as $50.00 per person, as although they could not afford to give much, they gave what they could in support of Watson Coleman's candidacy. Watson Coleman's campaign often held low-dollar fundraisers (as low as $35.00) that raised several thousand dollars for the campaign. These events generated support and enthusiasm for Watson Coleman's candidacy, especially from black women, who as Gee described, "proudly" donated to the campaign with no history of donating to a political campaign previously (Interview Gee).

Influence of Women's Organizations: *Emily's List* for Black Women Candidates

Finally, concerning my fourth addendum hypothesis (H4a) regarding race/gendered and mobilization tactics of black women candidates, it is mostly confirmed. Several black women candidates and their campaign managers discussed the influence of *Emily's List* in providing additional resources to their campaigns (Personal interviews 2014-2016). Besides fundraising, *Emily's List* also provides resources to mobilize voters on behalf of pro-choice Democratic women candidates. Thus, for black women candidates, women's organizations such as *Emily's List* provides an additional avenue to help appeal to voters not pertinent to their black male counterparts (Smooth 2006; Smooth 2012; Smooth 2014). Utilizing *Emily's List* is not exclusive to black women candidates, as Democratic women candidates in general utilize this organization; however, it is worthy here given it is an advantage not available to black men candidates. Hence,

it shows the advantage of gender in a campaign context in relation to black women candidates considering my ***i****ntersectional campaign framework.*

For example, in my interview with Congresswoman Clarke (New York, CD 9), she discussed how she reached out to *Emily's List* during her run for Congress in 2006 to take advantage of the assistance women's organizations can provide to her campaign. Having already been an elected official without the support of *Emily's List*, this was a new approach as she was running for a federal office that generally requires additional funds and resources (Jacobson and Carson 2016). As Congresswoman Clarke (New York, CD 9) expressed:

> I was working with a number of women's organizations. I'm trying to remember [if it was] *Emily's List*. When I first realized I was going to start running, I started to approach different women's organizations, to see what they were about [and] how they polled the race for other candidates. I was already an elected official and I got elected without their support originally. So, I just sort of wanted to feel them out, and see you know what they were [all] about (Interview Clarke).

Not only does *Emily's List* provide financial resources to Democratic women candidates but provide other essential resources such as independent staffing, voter contact lists as well as running independent campaign communications in support of the candidate. So, for black Democratic pro-choice women candidates, not only can they reach out to common groups of the Democratic Party such as labor organizations, but also gain an additional advantage with women's organizations as previous studies have shown (Smooth 2006; Smooth 2012; Smooth 2014). As further highlighted in my interview with Congresswoman Clarke regarding fundraising and *Emily's List* (New York, CD 9):

> Well let me tell you how we did it because they actually turned out to be far more helpful then we expected. Once the polling came out and it showed that I could win this race, all kinds of alliances came to be made. And one of them was between *Emily's List* and *1199[SEIU]*. And unbeknownst to me, there were to [my campaign] basically independent expenditures [and] independent of my campaign, and it ended up being *Emily's List* ended up [doing my] mailing for me, and so did *1199 [SEIU]* (Interview Clarke).

Besides *Emily's List* no other women's organizations were mentioned in my interviews with black women congressional candidates and their campaign managers. Past research suggests black women candidates may utilize other women of color support groups, such as black sororities as part of their campaign efforts (Brown 2014). However, I did not come across this finding in my interviews, but did find, in my research on black news coverage of campaign activities of black women and men candidates, an article addressing the appearances of black women candidates at black sorority sponsored events, which is discussed in chapter 5.

Findings: Perspectives on Issue Priorities

In conjunction with mobilization tactics, I asked black women and men candidates for Congress and their campaign managers about the type of issues discussed in their campaigns. The campaign issues of black women and men candidates interviewed are mostly partisan reflective of either Democratic or Republican Party platforms. Party identification is still a heuristic among voters (Campbell et al. 1960; Lau 1986), and as a result, political candidates mostly addressed issues reflective of party platforms with some variation depending on the candidate, geography of district and context of the campaign.

For example, in my interview with Democratic Congressman Hank Johnson (Georgia, CD 4) when I asked if he could elaborate on the issues he stressed on the campaign trail based on his record, he mentioned issues based off a liberal ideology. As Congressman Johnson said "Well you know, I think my focus [was] on the working people of the nation, [including] those who are less fortunate as opposed to corporate interests. It was sort of a populist appeal that I made to people" (Interview Johnson).

In general, during the 2014 electoral cycle, both Democratic and Republican candidates advocated campaign issues centered on budget/government spending, healthcare and taxes (Cook Political Report 2014). A review of campaign advertisements showed Democratic candidates

mentioning taxes for the wealthy more often than Republican candidates, while Republican candidates were mentioning opposition to the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare and promotion of jobs (Cook Political Report 2014). Issues related to the economy and healthcare dominated the political climate of 2014 (Cook Political Report 2016).

Given that my interview sample includes both incumbents and challengers from the 2014 election cycle, the issues promoted as part of their campaign platform can reflect initial campaigns within the 21st century or current campaigns of 2014. In the next section, I review the perspectives of black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers related to the issue priorities of their campaigns utilizing my *intersectional campaign framework* in which I test gendered differences by consulting three sets of literature around categories of race, gender and the interaction of the two.

Racial Dynamics and Issue Priorities

Race Moderate to Race-Neutral Issue Priorities

Both black women and men congressional candidates running in either majority-minority or white majority districts frame campaign issues in broad terms, which coincides with their campaign style as discussed in chapter 3, as attempts to appeal to voters with a unifying message. My fifth hypothesis (H5) was mostly confirmed regarding priority issues framed in race-neutral to race-moderate terms. Both black women and men congressional candidates ran mainly on standard "cookie-cutter" issues of the economy/jobs, constituent services, and healthcare as well as local issues in their district, as these were the primary campaign issues mentioned most frequently in my interviews. Below is a brief discussion of each of the campaign issues espoused by back women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers.

Economy

Emma Tolbert, political director of Congresswoman Terri Sewell's campaign (Alabama, CD 7), discussed how Sewell campaigned mostly on the economy and job creation due to the high levels of poverty in the district, and the efforts the Congresswoman has utilized to promote job growth in agricultural and urban areas. These are issues Sewell ran on during her first run for Congress in 2010 and continues to the current 2014 election cycle. As Tolbert discussed in our interview:

> ..she has always, sort of, based her campaign on the first campaign. You know that [campaign] was about job creation, [given] unemployment was very high. I couldn't tell you the exact number, but it has come down several points you know since she's been in office. A lot of that is attributed to things that have happened in the economy. We are kind of on an up-kick [as we] were kind of at the bottom when she first took office, but she's done some things specifically to address unemployment and job readiness since she's been in office (Interview Tolbert).

Similarly, for black congressional candidates running in white-majority districts, the economy and job development were vital campaign issues. According to Luther Washington, political strategist of Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II (Missouri, CD 5), the Congressman continues to campaign on these issues from his first campaign in 2004 to the present day of 2014. As Washington mentioned in our interview:

> You know we see them [issues as] we kind of run on the same thing all [the] time, talking about economic development and what kind of things we can do, to stimulate job production. And [we also discussed the] increase [of] the amount of money, at least federal money, flowing into the district (Interview Washington).

Constituent Services

For incumbent black women and men candidates, the majority in my interview subject pool, promoting these issues in conjunction with their service and public record of accomplishments, reflects incumbent style campaigning (Fenno 1978; Burton, Miller and Shea 2015).

According to Tolbert, Congresswoman Sewell (Alabama, CD 7) ran for re-election in 2014 on one of her signature programs is titled "R.E.A.D. Y" which is an acronym that stands for Realizing Everybody's Ability to Develop Yourself. This program includes workshops on job readiness, job training, interviewing skills, apprenticeship, certification programs, hosted at colleges and community centers. Highlighting the R.E.A.D.Y program was part of her campaign platform for addressing economic and job creation needs. As Tolbert described the R.E.A.D.Y program in addressing constituent needs in her district and campaigning for office:

> Truly, the project R.E.A.D.Y thing was born out of her first year that she decided to host a job fair in Birmingham. A lot of people show up for the job fair that were not ready for the job market. We had the first year a blowout [and] turn out. The job fair was in Birmingham and we had over 5,000 people show up to meet with these employers because people were really looking for jobs, but a lot of them were not [prepared]. They didn't have resumes in hand, they were, you know, wearing jeans and t-shirts [and as a result] not ready to interview for a job and so from that [experience] she created [the] project R.E.A.D.Y [program] and now every year we move [the venue] and have a job fair in a different part of the district. So, we chose between urban and rural and that's how she tries to use her office as a platform to address that problem, in addition to trying to recruit industry [leaders] and to try and move their companies and come to our district and expand and bring their industry to grow their operations in the district (Interview Tolbert).

For Congressman Donald Payne Jr. (New Jersey, CD 10) former Newark City Councilman, he first ran for Congress in 2012 to succeed the seat of his father, the late Donald Payne Sr. who suddenly passed away. As then a former Newark City Councilman, Congressman Payne Jr. campaigned on the importance of constituent services as to continue the legacy of his late father, whom according to him provided strong constituent services to his district.

Healthcare

Besides the economy and constituent services, campaign issues included healthcare, specifically the promotion of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare). According to my interview with Carnela Hill, campaign manager/political director of Congressman G.K Butterfield, the Affordable Care Act was a top priority of the campaign. Butterfield, who first ran for office in 2004, campaigned on the benefits of the Affordable Care Act or known as Obama Care to his

constituents during the 2014 election cycle. As Hill noted in our interview regarding campaign issues during the 2014 election cycle: "[In] 2014 he worked definitely for Obama care. He worked for the community understanding Obamacare and all the ins and outs of it" (Interview Hill).

Race/Ethnicity Specific

While most black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers mentioned running on standard issues framed in a race-neutral to the race-moderate manner as part of their campaign strategy, confirming my fifth hypothesis (H5), other themes of racial dynamics emerged in my findings. Specifically, I found the following: 1) several black women candidates mention race-specific issues, i.e., civil rights/social injustice, as part of their campaign platform, 2) one black man candidate frames an issue in a racialized way (via interview with his campaign manager) and 3) the influence of Barack Obama is prevalent for both black women and men candidates for Congress.

Congresswoman Sewell in her 2014 re-election campaign discussed the importance of voting rights and the anniversary of the Selma Bridge bombing, one of the pivotal events in the civil rights movement (Interview Tolbert). Congresswoman Sewell, as a representative of a black-majority district, the black belt of the South, particularly these issues would resonate with her constituents, given the civil rights history of the district and the state itself (Barnes and Cohen 2016). Tolbert noted that as part of Sewell's campaign communication strategy for the primary in 2014, the campaign focused on voting rights, in addition to the Congresswoman's record on the economy. Congresswoman Sewell faced a primary challenge, Tamara Harris Johnson, but overwhelmingly won the primary 83.9% to Johnson's 16.1% [49] (CAWP 2014). Although her challenger was underfinanced, the Sewell's campaign utilized paid media, campaign television

[49] Ballotpedia. "Tamara Harris Johnson" https://ballotpedia.org/Tamara_Harris_Johnson (June 15, 2018)

commercials, to promote the Congresswoman's record on jobs and voting rights. As Tolbert described their campaign communication strategy regarding issue priorities:

> We did two commercials: one was about jobs, and you can look it up online, [as] it's on the website [and] the second [one] was about voting rights. You know this is the civil rights district. This is the then home of where the poor little girls were killed in the church bombings….so she feels a real responsibility to protect and honor that legacy and make sure we don't forget [it] and but also to carry it forward and [that includes] facing challenges in the justice police system…and leading Congress to make sure that we get [the] preclearance restored in the Voting Rights Act (Interview Tolbert).

Congresswoman Robin Kelly (Illinois, CD 2), majority-minority district, discussed the issue of gun control as gun violence plagued Chicago; it was one of her signature issues during her first run for Congress in 2013. Kelly was running in an open seat in a special election given the resignation of then incumbent Jesse Jackson Jr. due to a scandal.[50] According to Kelly, she used the issue of gun control to advocate on behalf of the residents in Chicago, parts of which is in her district and urban areas across the country plagued by gun violence (Interview Kelly). Chicago, as well as other urban cities areas across the country, has high levels of gang violence and altercations with police involving people of color (Berlatsky 2013). During the time of Congresswoman Kelly's congressional campaign, there were (and still are) controversial incidents of unarmed black teens killed in scenarios involving police officers. These events have sparked protests across the country such as the prevalent *Black Lives Matter Movement*, and advocacy movements for gun safety and gun control (Foran 2015). Kelly used the issue of gun violence in her campaign for Congress, particularly linking the concern over mass shootings with the concern of violence in urban communities. As Kelly discussed on the issue of gun violence as part of her campaign platform:

[50] Special elections are unique circumstances in which an incumbent resigns due to scandal, death or extenuating circumstances.

> Like with [the] gun violence in Chicago I felt like I had to be a voice for the urban community because people always spoke about the mass murders and never the everyday [people] and the people dying and the everyday [occurrences] (Interview Kelly).

Congresswoman Yvette Clarke (New York, CD 9) discussed issues affecting the Caribbean community when she first ran for Congress in 2004 and again in 2006. She won election to Congress in 2006 after long-term incumbent Major Owens decided not to seek re-election. Although native-born African Americans and foreign-born African Americans share the same race, these groups do not always share the same experiences and interests as it relates to citizenship, immigration status and other matters (Rogers 2005). As a result, there has been tension between native-born African American elected officials and African American elected officials of Caribbean descent on the types of representation needed for the growing African American Caribbean population. There are some differences in the issues and experiences between American-born African Americans and Caribbean-born African Americans (Rogers 2005), and as a result, Clarke ran for Congress to address issues affecting the Caribbean community such as immigration reform as this issue was highly debated during the 2006 election cycle (Interview Clarke). As Congresswoman Clarke noted during her initial run for Congress:

> I was a [New York City] Councilwoman at that point in time, and it was a history of, I guess, on the light side, a political rivalry between my mother, who was a former a [New York City] Councilwoman and Congressman Major Owens. The rivalry came about because of the changing sort of Democratic [Party] in the congressional district that [the] congressman was leading. He had been in office for over 20 years [and] at that point, there was an acknowledgment in the change of demographics [in the district] that there needed to be someone far more attentive to the experience of African Americans of Caribbean descent because their [Caribbean] issues were [being] diverted from [the] sort of the long-term stakeholder African American population. That was started when my mother was elected as a Council [member]. She was the first foreign-born woman elected to the City council in New York City. She was from the Caribbean [as] my parents are Jamaican (Interview Clarke).

Although most black women and men candidates framed issues in race moderate to race neutral tone there were cases in which a generic issue exhibited a racial undertone. For example, when I inquired about the role of race in campaign strategy when running in a majority-minority

district, Carnela Hill, campaign manager/pollical director of Congressman G.K Butterfield (North Carolina, CD 1) mentioned the importance of educating constituents on matters such as the Affordable Care Act, Obama's signature policy that revamped America's healthcare system (Goodnough 2008). According to Hill, educating the citizenry should take prominence when running for office to represent a district primarily composed of people of color (Interview Hill), whom statistically do not have access to resources the same as most of the population. Butterfield was a proponent and very active in the promotion of Affordable Care Act for his constituents. As Hill expressed from working on campaigns of Congressman G. K Butterfield (North Carolina, CD 1):

> I just believe that when you're in a district were [a] majority of constituents are minority, you have to educate, and educate, and educate and that one of the things we did as part of the campaign was we educated our constituents and our community to tell them to not just take what we say but look at the facts, because that was [how] Congressman Battlefield approached things. He says "I don't want you to just take my word for it. I want you to listen, keep your eyes and ears open. Don't just want [to] flip a channel blah blah blah and hear the negative. I need you to watch out [the] channel and form your own opinion and make sure, that you understand what the issues are." I go back again to Obamacare, one [person's view] went this way, one [other person's view] went that way [but] he said "I want you to hear all the facts and understand exactly what Obamacare is about." So, it was a lot of education. We spent a lot of time in the campaign educating, educating, [and] educating so [that] the people form educated opinions (Interview Hill).

Here, in this case, educating constituents about the importance of the Affordable Care Act is also in direct response to the attacks the healthcare law has received as its impact can influence many people including minorities. Thus, I would characterize the framing of healthcare by campaign manager/political director of Congressman Butterfield as addressing minority interests of his district. Additionally, the healthcare issue is intricately linked to then President Obama as the Affordable Healthcare Act is one of his signature levitative efforts during his first term in office, hence its label "Obamacare" (Goodnough 2008)

<u>Influence of President Obama</u>

Moreover, then President Barack Obama remained immensely popular among voters in majority-minority and many Democratic districts (Barnes and Cohen 2016) and according to two of my interview subjects, his influence was present in their campaigns. For example, when I asked Congressman Hank Johnson (Georgia CD 4) if national politics played a part his re-election campaign in 2014, he mentioned the importance of Obama's endorsement: "Well, the people in my district love President Obama, and part of my campaign was to emphasize the support that I also exhibit from the President and I think that is a well-known factor that was helpful in my re-election" (Interview Johnson).

Gender Dynamics and Issue Priorities

My sixth hypothesis (H6) produced a mixed result as the majority of black (Democratic) women congressional candidates advocate mainstream issues adopted by both men and women candidates. Only a few black Democratic women and men candidates touched upon women's issues, and it was addressed in the context of larger general issues advocated by both black women and men candidates. However, a few black women candidates explicitly mentioned addressing women's issues as part of their campaign platform. For example, when I asked congressional candidate Brenda Lawrence (D-Michigan) what she thought were the best ways she communicated her message to voters, part of her answer included the following:

> Being a woman and really addressing those women issues I [am] holding [in] my district. Sixty percent of the voters were women in my district [and], so I really worked hard to campaign on those issues that would resonant with women because I needed their vote and it was something that I was very passionate about. But it was something [that] I was [also] attuned to (Interview Lawrence).

When I asked congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ) what issues she specifically campaigned on, she explicitly mentioned women's issues as one of her top priorities along with a slew of issues reflecting a Democratic progressive agenda. As Watson Coleman expressed in our interview:

> Mostly, I campaigned on core Democratic issues that were important toward working family's issues, women's rights issues, issues that empowered the vulnerable, protecting and preserving social security and even increasing social security benefits [and] ensuring there was access to health care. All of those issue[s] I considered to be [of] core value (Interview Watson Coleman).

Race/Gender Dynamics and Issue Priorities

My seventh hypothesis (H7) was slightly confirmed as only a few black women explicitly addressed issues that cut across race and gender. In general, black women candidates spoke more about *their* experiences as a candidate, touching upon their race/gendered identity, than issues that cut across race and gender as part of a campaign platform.

As mentioned earlier, Congresswoman Robin Kelly (Illinois, CD 2) discussed gun violence and gun control as part of her campaign platform, which coincided with events of national attention such as the killing of unarmed black teenager Trayvon Martin (Coates 2013). While issues of gun violence and gun control can be considered race-specific, as it addresses problems that plague communities of color, in our interview, she expanded upon the issue to include its effect on families, which intrinsically includes women and children of color. As Congresswoman Kelly expounded upon the issue of gun violence:

> Maybe the person [who] shot them [was] MAYBE (*emphasis by the interviewee*) in a gang, but the people [who were] dying weren't in a gang. There were cases of people coming home from college or were just coming home from a job, and you know it [is] like [it] almost felt like we expect it there [in urban areas], but "Oh my god!" [look] what happened in the movie theatre, [or] in Colorado or in Newtown [Connecticut] which were horrible and not saying that [it is not important], but people didn't think about the everyday [occurrences of gun violence] and often times they were African American and brown [families] (Interview Kelly).

Partisan Considerations and Issue Priorities

My eighth hypothesis (H8) that considers partisan dynamics is partially confirmed with perspectives from Justin Hollis, campaign manager of Republican congressional candidate Will Hurd (Texas, CD 23). Hurd, as a congressional candidate, ran on a conservative platform on national security as well as economy and jobs (like black Democratic candidates). Notably, the

campaign issues on the economy centered on local importance issues of oil drilling as Texas is an oil state (Interview Hollis). Other campaign issues included border security, trade, and improved constituent services (Interview Hollis). However, Hurd's campaign manager did not explicitly state that Hurd courted minorities in promoting a conservative platform; instead Hurd utilized a message that appealed to all groups in the district. Campaign materials were both in English and in Spanish languages, but there was not a discussion in our interview about concerted efforts to appeal to minority groups with a conservative message (Interview Hollis).

Congressional candidate, Erika Harold (R-Illinois) however, did frame issues to appeal to women, minorities and young people as a means to diversify the Republican Party. While the issues were conservative and race-neutral, Harold discussed the importance of a diverse campaign team and aggressively appealed to young voters and various segments of voters with a conservative message, which upholds conservative values and ideals, confirming my eighth hypotheses (H8).

Analysis/Summary

Similarly, with chapter 3, data in this chapter is drawn from interviews with black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers, to *explicitly* assess gender differences in mobilization tactics and issue priorities of campaign strategies as part of my *intersectional campaign framework*. The first half of this chapter dealt with mobilization tactics and the second half delved into issue priorities of the campaign. My findings show that black women and men share some similarities in how they mobilize voters and the types of issues promoted in their campaigns. However, my findings also highlight some differences in these fronts that can be attributed to the role of gender and the interaction of gender, race and other factors, that includes the status of being an African American woman. These differences set black women candidates apart from their male counterparts. My findings were organized around

the respective categories of race, gender and race/gender (intersectionality) for organizational and clarity purposes only.

Race

Both black women and men congressional candidates highlighted field operations or GOTV efforts as the main source of mobilization tactics of their campaigns. Although many have discussed using television, radio, direct mailing and social media as part of their campaign outreach, there was a general sense of the importance of increasing voter turnout as the most important way to expend funds. The preference for field operations applies to the majority of black women and men candidates running in either minority-majority or white majority districts. Several mentioned that limited campaign funds hindered their ability to spend more money and resources on traditional campaign communication outlets such as television which I cost more than radio and print ads. Moreover, those who mentioned using television commercials used very little in their campaigns, i.e., one to two commercials, given the preference of field activity and increasing the vote.

An exception to the limited use of traditional campaign media involves black women and men candidates in high fundraising campaign contexts. Candidates for Congress such as Congresswoman Terri Sewell (Alabama, CD 7) can raise a substantial amount of money reflective of a new type of black candidate who has access to fundraising networks not available for typical black candidates (Gillespie 2010; 2012). Consequently, these types of black candidates such as Congresswoman Sewell (D-Alabama) can direct funds to a multi-media advertising campaign in addition to field operations. Alternatively, black candidates running against well-financed opponents are also forced to adopt an aggressive campaign media effort—covering television, radio, mail and field operations. In this case, it is not enough to develop some strong field operations to get out the vote but utilize a strong advertising campaign as well.

Such is the case for Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II, who in his first race for Congress in 2004 had to fundraise and campaign aggressively against a female opponent who outspent him 4-1 (Interview Scaglia; Cohen and Barnes 2015).

Moreover, mobilization tactics of black women and men candidates would reflect a micro-targeted approach where the mobilization tactics would be targeted and framed accordingly to different constituencies without losing the broad appeal of the campaign. Obama's presidential campaign deftly used this approach of targeting messages and mobilization efforts to black communities without losing his broad appeal, and similar tactics were discussed by the black women and men candidates and campaign managers interviewed in this study. Different ads in radio and mail were developed and targeted for specific audiences, i.e., black, Latino and women voters (Personal interviews) and these types of developments appear whether a black candidate runs in majority-minority or white majority districts. Particularly, black Democratic candidates who run in mostly Democratic jurisdictions appeal to the base of the Democratic Party that includes minorities, women, young people and labor unions.

Additionally, other racial dynamics involve hiring diverse campaign staff, and particularly how to utilize campaign staff for outreach and mobilization efforts, typically seen in white-majority districts. For instance, sending non-white campaign staff to minority events, or using white campaign staffers to shield any potential racial animosities at campaign events and functions. These instances of racial dynamics illustrate that while black women and men congressional candidates do not explicitly have a race-based mobilization strategy, racial dynamics can still appear under the surface and determine the ways they conduct campaign outreach.

Finally, although extensive research examines the use of racial appeals by white candidates used against minority candidates running in white majority jurisdictions (Mendelberg

2001; Gillespie 2010), there were hardly any in my sample who experienced such racial appeals during their campaigns. Many black women and men candidates in my sample whether running in majority-minority or the white majority have not dealt with implicit racism and racial appeals on the campaign trail. The exceptions included Congresswoman Terri Sewell (D-Alabama) who received racial appeals from minority candidates during her first run for Congress in 2010. Sewell was portrayed as not racially authentic enough as illustrative in campaign strategy #2 (discussed in chapter 2) of minority candidates using racial appeals against each in majority-minority districts. On the other side of the spectrum, Congressman Emmanuel Cleaver II was a receiver of racial appeals during his first run for Congress in 2004. According to his campaign manager and his political consultant, Congressman Cleaver II was portrayed in a racially stereotypical manner by his opponent in television ads. Congressman Cleaver II also experienced racism explicitly during a community event while running for office. However, Congressman Cleaver's II prior record as Mayor (i.e. incumbency and familiarity with his office) helped counter racist attacks.

In conjunction with mobilization tactics, many of the campaign issue priorities of black women and men congressional candidates centered around typical “kitchen sink” issues that appeal to a broad segment of voters. These issue priorities include the economy, jobs, constituent services (Fenno 2003) and healthcare or "Obamacare." In general, these issues were not framed in a racialized manner in my interviews with black congressional women and men candidates and their campaign managers, which substantiates my findings from the previous chapter that showed black women and men congressional candidates prefer a race moderate to race-neutral campaign style. An exception is the campaign manager of Congressman G.K Butterfield who discussed the importance of educating minority constituents on the Affordable Care Act given the attacks the signature law has received. Issues were mostly partisan reflective of a Democratic Party platform coupled with local and constituent interests and concerns.

Interestingly, I found gender differences concerning issue priorities related to race/ethnicity, as several black women candidates and their campaign managers spoke about issues on civil rights, social justice, voting rights, gun violence, and Caribbean issues such as immigration as part of their campaign platforms. Black (Democratic) women spoke about issues directly impacting black and minority voters in ways black male candidates, and their campaign managers did not express in my interviews. Congressman Donald Payne Jr. expressed the importance of minority representation in office and its impact on minority voters and his global work in Africa; however, he was the exception. Most of the black male candidates and their campaign managers spoke about common issues in race-moderate to race-neutral tones, focusing on the needs of the district, whether majority-minority or white majority. Thus, black women congressional candidates spoke about black and minority issues on the campaign trail explicitly in ways not expressed by their male counterparts. Black women candidates appear to be more in the forefront in addressing racial/ethnic issues at higher levels than black men, based on what was expressed in my interviews.

Gender

My findings show the importance of gender for campaigns of *both* black women and men candidates as women voters are considered significant in their mobilization efforts. One does not have to necessarily be a woman to see the value in targeting and mobilizing women voters as part of their campaign strategy. Women make up most voters and are a big part of campaign outreach efforts. This finding supports previous studies showing that women and men candidates aggressively target women voters (Fox 1997; Dittmar 2015). Moreover, my findings show that men congressional candidates such as Congressman Donald Payne Jr. highly consider the value of women not only as voters, but in campaign hiring that includes leadership positions. Furthermore, my interviews highlight findings from previous studies that show men candidates may compensate if they are running against a women candidate by aggressively targeting women

voters using women campaign surrogates or women support groups (Fox 1997). These findings demonstrate the importance of gender, in addition to race, influencing the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates in varying degrees.

Moreover, the role of gender aids in distinguishing black women from their male counterparts. Beyond the importance of women voters, my findings show gender influencing how black women candidates can mobilize voters as women candidates in general. As expected, my interviews highlight black women candidates and their campaign managers the role of *Emily's List* in providing resources — both financial and in campaign staffing -- in reaching out to voters. Most black women and men candidates are strategic politicians meaning they have held previous elected office and as a result, a run for Congress is part of their legislative career. Therefore, utilizing *Emily's List* can be considered a strategic choice among black (Democratic) women congressional candidates given they most likely did not use *Emily's List* in their previous runs for elected office, but saw the benefit for doing so in their run for Congress (Interview Clarke) given the higher costs and stakes of a congressional campaign (Jacobson and Carson 2016).

Nevertheless, issue priorities regarding gender dynamics revealed minor attention to women issues by both black women and men candidates. Only a few black women candidates mentioned women issues as part of their campaign platform, but only in the context of questioning and not part of the general discussion of their campaigns. Exceptions include congressional candidates Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ) and Brenda Lawrence (D-Michigan). So, while targeting and mobilizing women voters are considered significant by both black women and men candidates, issues that explicitly deal with women or gender are not considered as the typical issues of a campaign (as mentioned above). In this case, black women and men candidates mobilize women voters around issues that cater to everyone or have the broadest appeal such as the economy, jobs, and constituent/local concerns.

Intersectionality—Black Women

Lastly, my interviews highlight the importance of race/gendered dynamics in voter targeting and behavior, that is not explained by race nor gender alone. It is not enough to target just "women" as women are not a monolithic group; rather both black women and men candidates expressed the importance of black women voters. Black women voters make up many of the voters in majority-minority districts and are central to the mobilization strategies of *both* black women and men congressional candidates. Black women voters have proven to provide critical results in electoral outcomes, such as then the 2008 presidential primary featuring then US Senator Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, in which black women voters supported Barack Obama, black male, in higher numbers over female candidate Hillary Clinton (Sinclair-Chapman and Price 2008). For majority-minority districts, black women voters make up a crucial voting constituency in outreach efforts. Alternatively, for white-majority districts, black women voters can provide surrogate support for black women candidates, as black women voters residing outside of the district may financially support their campaigns to contribute to the elections of black women/women of color elected into office.

Furthermore, black women also utilize women's organizations such as *Emily's List* to target women voters and provide additional resources—including independent campaign expenditures—black men do not have a privy. Here, black Democratic women share an additional advantage that extends beyond the typical democratic constituency such as labor unions and democratic voters. Despite the marginalization black women may face as candidates and as officeholders (Brown 2014), the ability to use women's organizations such as *Emily's List* to their advantage shows how their status as a black woman can provide additional leverage in outreach efforts, and in some cases, mobilize black women outside of a representative's district in support of their campaigns.

Nevertheless, with my expectation of issues priorities of black women candidates cutting across race and gender, this was not mostly the case. In this study, most black women congressional candidates did not speak about issues cutting across race and gender categories as part of their campaign messaging/agenda in my interviews. Instead, issues raised regarding a race/gender trope dealt with more about *their experiences* as black women running for elected office. They mainly spoke about mainstream issues as with black men candidates, and race-based issues and a few mentioned women's issues (as discussed above). There were a few exceptions. Congresswoman Robin Kelly (D-Illinois) who spoke out against gun violence impacting urban families, which included women and children of color. Campaign manager of Congresswoman Terri Sewell (D-Alabama) talked about the Congresswoman's work in Alabama's legacy in civil rights struggle that includes the murder of the four black girls in a church bombing and the 50th-anniversary commemoration of the march in Selma to Montgomery.

The findings in this chapter demonstrate that black women and men candidates employ similar tactics and considerations regarding mobilization tactics and issue priorities. Both sub-groups are running for elected office in an arena where they are a minority and as a result, may carry out their campaigns differently from their white counterparts. My *intersectional campaign framework* show there are also some differences and as a result, black women may campaign in ways different from their black male counterparts. My interviews varied in time and scope as some subjects had more time than others to address my questions and speak on matters important to them concerning their campaigns. As a result, some interview subjects may not have had a chance to touch upon subject matters dealing with race, gender or both race and gender in ways if there was more time available. Nevertheless, my interviews attempt to capture the perspectives of those who are running for office and their thoughts concerning race, gender and the interaction of the two, given they are on the front lines of the campaign. In the next chapter, I examine campaign strategies of black women and men congressional candidates from a different angle,

through the lens of the black press, given deracialization as a campaign strategy involves crafting a broad appeal while simultaneously connecting with minority voters and the black press is one of the primary vehicles that provide that connection.

CHAPTER 5**:** CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES IN BLACK SPACES: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF BLACK NEWS COVERAGE ON BLACK WOMEN AND MEN CANDIDATES

One of the ways scholars assess campaign strategy is through the prism of the media. The media is one of the primary ways citizens obtain their political information. Analyzing media coverage provides another window into the campaign and how the candidate operates on the campaign trail (Kahn 1996; Fridkin and Kenney 2014). It is especially insightful when considering the dynamics of race, gender and the interaction of the two and how these categories can influence the campaigns of African American, women and women of color candidates and the type of coverage they receive (Kahn 1996; Terkildsen and Damore 1999; Grose 2006; Hayes and Lawless 2015; Gershon 2012; 2012; Ward 2016).

Research on media coverage of political candidates on race (African American), gender and intersectionality are mostly relegated to mainstream/local (non-black/non-minority) newspapers. While this makes sense to ascertain the ways black candidates are received in local media, which in turn influences how their campaigns are executed and received by voters, I am interested in investigating the black press for several reasons.

Notably, the black press can serve a critical function for black women and men candidates. Deracialization as a campaign strategy is a common yolk among many black candidates, in which issues of race may be lessened or neutralized in attempt to appeal to a broader electorate while concurrently appealing to a base of supporters (typically black and minority voters) when running for elected office (McCormick II and Jones 1993; Gillespie 2012). For African American candidates appealing to black and minority voters, the black press is a critical outlet as it provides a voice for black interests (Jacobs 1999) and allows black candidates to reach underserved communities with their message and agenda (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Moreover, the black press serves to counter the images and messages covered by

mainstream/local press of African Americans (or the lack thereof) by providing an alternative perspective for black communities to obtain and use for their betterment (Jacobs 1999; Harris-Lacewell 2004). As Harris-Lacewell noted about the functions of black media "The mass media has been the battleground for a war of images. It is in part, through the black media that African Americans develop alternative images of blackness and the ideologies that are associated with these images" (266).

Furthermore, the significance of the black press in relation to black candidates is reminiscent to the framework of Harris-Lacewell's (2004) study that examines the ways common conversations and interactions among African Americans reflects and produces various sects of black political ideology[51] which in turn, informs how African Americans think, process, evaluate their political world and circumstances. In this case, these black spaces, viz-a-viz the black press, can access and evaluate black candidates in ways mainstream/local press does not and in turn, black candidates can employ these black spaces to promote their agenda as part of their appeal that is reflective of various black experiences and perspectives.[52] Subsequently, black candidates may target their messages to black audiences through the black press as part of their official public service and campaign strategy. Thus, I am interested in how black audiences, which inherently includes the black press, assess and evaluate black candidates. In turn, black candidates may employ the black press to communicate their platform to voters in ways

[51] Harris-Lacewell (2004) examines the ways everyday talk reflects different types of black political ideology (black nationalism, liberal intergrationism, black conservatism, and black feminism) in various settings that black people congregate and dominate vis-visa churches, barbershops, black organizations, public onion/focus groups, and black media, which inherently includes black newspapers as part of this dynamic. This study is not interested in the types of ideologies put forth by black elites, in this case, black women and men candidates, to black communities but how the black press covers black candidates and the types of campaign activities and issue priorities put forth by black candidates considering racial, gender and race/gendered dynamics.

[52] Harris-Lacewell (2004), as part of her analysis, explores the ways black elites communicate to black audiences as part of their appeals to black culture reflective of various tenets of black political ideology and how black audiences are receptive to such appeals.

differently from local press, as a form of triangulation, or presenting different messages to different groups (Cossett 2008).

To investigate how black women and men may campaign in a racialized space, I conduct a content analysis of black newspaper coverage of black women and men congressional candidates during their primary campaigns. This content analysis supplements my interviews with black women and men congressional candidates and their campaign managers of the 2014 election cycle as discussed in chapters 3 and 4. An analysis of black media coverage allows me to assess campaign activity and strategy through the lens of the black press, and to ascertain the ways gender and the interaction of the two can influence how black women and men present and organize their campaigns. I conduct a content analysis of the black press utilizing my intersectional campaign framework in which I consult three sets of literature pertaining to race, gender and the interaction of the two, to test gendered differences of media coverage and the campaign strategies that result of black women and men candidates. The *intersectional campaign framework* is informed by the intersectionality-plus framework by Weldon (2006) as it allows me to compare across categories of race and gender and test gendered differences among African American candidates and their campaign strategies particularly within a "racialized" context of black newspaper coverage. As with the other chapters in this dissertation, I expect the coverage and activities of black women and men candidates to be similar as informed by race, different as informed by gender and further different as informed by both race and gender and other factors that cannot be attributed by a race-only or gender-only analysis.

A summary of this research on local press coverage is briefly discussed in the next section around the respective categories (race, gender, and the interaction of the two) regarding local coverage, as the bulk of research lies in this area. I use findings from local press coverage research coupled with research on minority publications and black candidates to test several hypotheses on black women and men candidates' coverage and campaign activities. In

employing my *intersectional campaign framework*, I discuss my methodology, findings and implications for further research.

Mainstream/Local Coverage

Race

The extant literature on African American candidates shows they receive less coverage in mainstream/local newspapers compared to white candidates, particularly in biracial contests (in which one candidate is black, and the other is white). Black candidates are often racialized, in which the race of the black candidate and black voters is mentioned, about their viability as a candidate (ability to win over voters) especially in bi-racial contests (Reeves 1997; Terkildsen and Damore 1999). Black candidates' partisanship and racial/ethnic composition of a district are also highlighted more than white candidates. Black candidates in competitive races receive less coverage than white candidates (Terkildsen and Damore 1999). Moreover, black candidates are more likely to reference their race in same- race contests in which both candidates are black than in bi-racial contests (Terkildsen and Damore 1999). Meanwhile, other studies have found that the race of black candidates is mentioned more in contests in which both candidates are African American or non-white, running in minority-majority districts and statewide races (Caliendo and Mcllwain 2006). Contests featuring only white candidates have higher levels of issue coverage than in contests featuring both black and white candidates (bi-racial contests). Also, in contests in which one candidate is a minority, there is a greater tendency to include a picture of the minority candidate (Caliendo and Mcllwain 2006). Consequently, African American candidates running for office, especially in non-minority jurisdictions may utilize deracialized campaign strategies given the media's propensity to racialize the candidate which may interfere in appealing to a broader electorate.

Gender

The literature on gender and mainstream/local media coverage centers around the frequency, tone, and issues of women and men candidates, mostly for statewide offices such as Senate and Governor, as well as federal office such as President (Heldman, Carroll and Olson 2005; Dittmar and Carroll 2014). Earlier research showed that women candidates receive less coverage than male candidates do and coverage that focuses on horserace characteristics, i.e., the viability of a woman's candidacy, than male candidates (Kahn 1996). The media is more likely to cover policy initiatives of male candidates more than female candidates. Women candidates also face more coverage concerning their physical appearance more than male candidates (Kahn 1996; MacManus et al. 2013). Meeks' (2012) analysis of mixed-gender races for legislative, executive and presidential races found women candidates receiving more gendered news coverage in various electoral races in which a woman's gender and uniqueness label, i.e., "first woman," were frequently mentioned (Meeks 2012).

However, recent studies suggest that media coverage of women candidates, including candidate traits and issues, is more comparable to male candidates. Fridkin and Kenney (2014) found both female and male candidates receive coverage on "communal" or stereotypical "soft" issues such as education, healthcare, and the environment, while female candidates (Senators) receive more coverage for competitive issues such as the economy. In their study of male and female members of Congress during the 2010 House elections, Hayes and Lawless (2015) found no difference in volume or content of campaign coverage between women and men candidates. Both male and female candidates are likely to be covered on "masculine" issues as well as "feminine" issues (Hayes and Lawless 2015). Subsequently, female candidates may play against gender and gender stereotypes (Dittmar 2015) or play towards gender stereotypes depending on the context as part of their campaign strategy (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003; Brooks 2013).

Intersectionality—Women of Color Candidates

Meanwhile, recent research has examined how the intersectionality of race and gender influences the coverage of women of color officeholders during an election cycle. In her analysis of media coverage of black, Latina Congresswomen, and white Congresswomen during the 2006 election cycle, Gershon (2012) found that white Congresswomen receive more coverage than black and Latina Congresswomen. However, African American Congresswomen received coverage that is slightly more positive compared to white and Latina Congresswomen. Also, black and Latina Congresswomen were criticized for running in non-competitive races while white Congresswomen were criticized for being too liberal. Moreover, women's issues were not mentioned in the coverage of black, Latina and white Congresswomen; however, civil rights issues were mentioned in the coverage of black Congresswomen, while the issue of immigration was mentioned in the coverage of Latina Congresswomen.

In another study, Gershon (2012) examined the differences in coverage of minority Congresswomen and Congressmen compared to white Congresswomen and Congressmen during the 2006 election. In this analysis, black and Latina Congresswomen are lumped into the category of "minority women" while black and Latino Congressmen are lumped into the category of "minority men." Findings from this study show that minority Congressmen (black and Latino) are covered the same rate as white Congresswomen while minority Congresswomen (black and Latina) are covered the least. Also, minority Congresswomen receive more negative press coverage compared to minority Congressmen and white Congresswomen (Gershon 2012 b).

Building on Gershon's (2012b) study, Ward (2016) examines local coverage of minority Congresswomen and Congressmen compared to white Congresswomen and Congressmen during the 2012 election cycle around areas of frequency and tone of coverage as well as foregrounding of female candidates' gender. Similarly, Ward (2016) collapsed black, Latina/Latino, and Asian Americans into the categories of "minority Congresswomen" and "minority Congressmen." Ward (2016) found minority women candidates receive less coverage than minority men, white men,

and white women candidates, as well as coverage that are more negative. White Congresswomen were less likely to have their gender foregrounded compared to minority Congresswomen, holding all other variables constant. Some black women candidates' gender was accentuated while other black women candidates adopted gendered frames of "firsts." Moreover, Ward (2016) found that partisanship influences the coverage of minority women candidates, such as Mia Love, a black Republican woman candidate, who received coverage that was more substantial than other minority women congressional candidates. Love often was described by novelty labels such as "first black Republican woman to be elected to Congress."

In another study by Ward (2016), a qualitative approach was used to assess media frames of black women congressional candidates regarding race/gendered stereotypes and coverage unique to black women candidates. This exploratory study focused exclusively on local and national coverage of 16 black women congressional candidates during the 2012 election cycle. Findings include varied levels of coverage for black women candidates such as Mia Love who received the most coverage while others such as Congresswoman Yvette Clarke received no coverage. Moreover, the media frames of black women often include novelty labels such as "first," race/gendered identity labels of "black woman" or racial identity label of "black." Hardly any gendered identity labels of just "woman" were used in the coverage of black women candidates. In horserace coverage, there was more attention and mention of black women's race than gender, as linked to their viability as a candidate. As with her previous study, Ward (2016) found Mia Love as a congressional candidate receives substantially more coverage. Examples of media frames of Love include the "historic first" label (as first black Republican woman to possibly be elected to Congress), "black woman" label, as well as frames concerning diversity and representation of the Republican Party (Ward 2016).[53] Subsequently, research has found

[53]This research also found race/gender stereotypes such as the "Angry Black Woman" and "strong" black woman" tropes (Harris-Perry 2013) but these stereotypes are not the focus in this chapter due to the lack of findings in this area.

black women candidates working to appeal to both groups, women and African Americans, as part of their constituency and platform. Black women candidates would court the support of women's organizations and minority groups for electoral support and fundraising (Smooth 2006; Smooth 2012).

Minority Coverage--What is Known

Studies have found minority publications (black and Latino newspapers) cover minority members of Congress at a higher frequency than white candidates (Grose 2006). In a case study that compared local and minority news coverage of Mark Mallory, first African American elected Mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio, McClerking (2013) found that racialization of Mallory occurred both as a candidate and during his mayoral tenure in minority newspapers, but not in local papers possibly due to incumbency and voter familiarity (Hajnal 2007; McClerking 2013). Moreover, the racialization of Mallory's tenure while in office shows the influence of deracialization—the targeted appeal and outreach of a minority candidate and officeholder to different audiences (minority versus non-minority publications).

What is Lacking in Current Research and Hypotheses

Despite the extant literature on mainstream/local and minority media coverage of political candidates on race, gender and the interaction of two there are areas worthy of further examination, specifically concerning minority publications, and intersectionality research as discussed below.

While we know that black and minority candidates receive more coverage from minority newspapers (Grose 2006) and more racialized in tone during their initial campaign and throughout their tenure in office (McKlerking 2013), we do not know if these findings apply to black women candidates and officeholders. There is no gender breakdown/analysis between black women and men in the coverage of minority newspapers compared to national and local

news coverage. We do not know how the role of gender influence the coverage of African American women and men candidates. Mainly, we do not know how race, gender and the interaction of the two operate in a black space or racialized context of black newspapers and black candidates. Furthermore, the current literature in minority publications does not address how gender can influence this dynamic.

Moreover, although previous studies (Gershon 2012a; 2012b; Ward 2016) utilize an intersectionality approach to examine gendered differences in media coverage of minority women and men candidates, these studies tend to collapse minorities into gendered categories of "minority women" or "minority men" that include African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans. This methodology makes sense to understand the dynamics of minority women and men on a broader scale and resolves the issue of small-n problems, as these analyses include other minorities to enlarge the sample size of candidates studied. However, I seek to examine gendered differences between African American women and men exclusively, as that is the focus of my dissertation. I also believe the attributes of minorities should not necessarily be conflated into one category. As Cohen (2003) argues in her essay on the future direction of women of color and politics:

> However, the varied lived experiences of women of color, as well as the unequal and skewered distribution of the limited knowledge we do have, necessitates that we further breakdown our categories of analysis. I am, of course, calling for the type of disaggregation that would include a separation of the category of women of color into distinct racial groups (203, 2003).

Finally, while we know that mainstream and local coverage of African American men candidates is higher and slightly more favorable compared to African American women candidates, this pertains to general election coverage, which includes mostly incumbents. However, we currently do not know the type of coverage black men and women candidates receive in primary races. There currently is not much of a gendered analysis among black

candidates concerning primary races, as studies treat gender and race/ethnicity as separate variables. For example, research shows that competition for women (Matland and King 2003) and minority candidates (Bratton 2009) typically occur during primary races. As Matland and King (2003) posit in their study on gender effects in Republican primary races "the true competition in these districts is in the party primaries, especially when a seat opens because of an incumbent retires, runs for higher office, or dies in office" (120). This dynamic certainly applies to African American candidates, whom for many, the competition lies mostly in primary elections as the general election often produces a safe seat given redistricting and partisanship of the district (Cohen and Barnes 2015; personal interviews 2014-2016).

Therefore, based on the extant literature, I compare media coverage of black women and men candidates in black newspapers to investigate how race and gender potentially operate as part of a campaign strategy. As an exploratory study, I examine gender dynamics in a racialized space and subsequently test findings from previous studies on mainstream, local and minority news coverage of black, women, and women of color candidates. Specifically, I am interested in the ways black women and men are covered in potential racialized, gendered and race/gendered frames concerning the tone of coverage (positive, negative, neutral), campaign activities and issue priorities (broadly defined). Thus, the general research questions driving this chapter are twofold: a) How are black women and men congressional candidates covered in black newspapers and b) in what ways can categories of race, gender or the interaction of both influence the campaign coverage of black women and men candidates?

My hypotheses draw from the literatures on race, gender and intersectionality on media coverage of black, women and black women/women of color candidates to uncover gender similarities and differences between black women and men congressional candidates (Weldon 2006). I expect the role of gender to have some influence in the coverage and self-promotion of black women and men candidates, whether separately or interacted with other factors such as

race—creating a possible unique coverage and strategy for black women that is separate from their black male counterparts. My hypotheses are further broken down as follows:

Racial Dynamics (Racialized Frame)

H1: I expect black newspapers to have a similar tone, whether positive, neutral or negative, in the coverage of black women and men candidates, as minority candidates, in general, would have higher coverage in minority newspapers (Grose 2006) and in theory, race would trump gender. As such, this can technically be considered a null hypothesis as I do not expect much difference in the tone of coverage of black women and men candidates.

H1a: I anticipate similar levels of racialization of black women and men candidates in black newspapers (McClerking 2013). As such, this is also technically the null hypothesis where I do not expect a significant difference in the racialized coverage of black women and men candidates- as both groups are part of the same ethnicity group. (Racialized here includes the mentioning of the race of the candidates, voters/voter support, addressing minority or black audiences (Ward 2016).

Gender Dynamics (Gendered Frame)

H2: I expect black women candidates to have their gender mentioned at higher levels than black men candidates and more likely to have gender referenced than black men in black newspapers.

H3: I expect black women candidates to be referenced by their physical appearance more than black male candidates in black newspapers (Kahn 1996; MacManus et al. 2013).

H4: I expect a slight difference between black women and men in the level of discussion of issues appealing to women. According to my interview data, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, a few black women candidates and their campaign managers explicitly mentioned women as part of their campaign appeal efforts, but only after either discussing mainstream issues or when asked explicitly about appeals to women voters. Overall, I expect a subtle, if slight difference, in campaign appeals addressed to women or about women's issues as part of campaign priorities.

Racial and Racial/Gendered Dynamics (Race/Gendered Frame)

H5: Race/gender labels would most likely frame black women candidates compared to black men candidates (Brown and Gershon 2016) such as "black woman" and novelty labels of being "first" (Ward 2016).

H6: I expect an interaction of race/ethnicity and gender in the type of issues (broadly defined) addressed by black women compared to black men in black newspapers.

H7: I expect black women congressional candidates to navigate areas in campaign activity and outreach that cannot be attributed by race or gender alone factors (Brown 2014).

Data and Methodology

I examine news coverage of black women and men congressional candidates during their 2014 primary election cycle. Newspaper coverage studies typically involve examining one month of coverage before the general election (Gershon 2012a; Gershon 2012b) Banwart, Bystrom and Robertson 2003). However, unlike previous studies, coverage here covers two months before their primary election given my exclusivity of African American candidates of the 21st century and therefore, must capture a broader set of articles as coverage of congressional candidates is lower compared to statewide candidates.[54] Additionally, I am interested in analyzing the coverage of primary races as competition for minority candidates (Bratton 2009) and women (Carroll 1994) tend to be in primaries and not general election races. Articles were drawn from black newspapers (either black-owned or catered to African American audiences).[55]

The newspaper sample includes black women and men candidates for Congress during the 2014 election cycle, including both incumbents and challengers. For incumbents, the criteria are black women and men congressional candidates who ran or elected within the 21st century (2000-2014 respectively), to consider the context variable, as coined by Walton Jr. (1997), in examining how black women and men campaign for office. Challenger candidates must receive at least 40% of the vote in a primary or run in what were competitive districts according to the

[54]Please note that there were a few cases where a single article mentioned several black women and men candidates simultaneously and as a result, the article was coded per candidate, which may or may not fall within the two-month range before their primary election. Otherwise, all other articles fell within the range of coverage as mentioned.

[55] See newspaper sample in the Appendix.

Cook's Political Report, to capture real campaigns (i.e., campaign organization and fundraising) and not merely "name only" candidacies. Table 5.1 list the black women and men congressional candidates covered by black newspapers for this chapter.

TABLE 5.1: LIST OF BLACK CANDIDATES COVERED BY BLACK NEWSPAPERS

	Frequency	Percent	Congressional Black Caucus
Alma Adams	2	2.3	non-member
Andre Carson	3	3.5	member
Bonnie Watson Coleman	1	1.2	non-member
Brenda Lawrence	4	4.7	member
Cedric Richmond	2	2.3	member
David Scott	2	2.3	member
Donna Edwards	3	3.5	member
Emmanuel Cleaver II	1	1.2	member
Erika Harold	1	1.2	non-member
Frederica Wilson	6	7.0	member
G.K. Butterfield	2	2.3	member
Gwen Moore	7	8.1	member
Hakeem Jeffries	2	2.3	member
Karen Bass	4	4.7	member
Keith Ellison	9	10.5	member
Marc Veasey	1	1.2	member
Marcia Fudge	19	22.1	member
Mia Love	3	3.5	non-member
Robin Kelly	2	2.3	member
Steven Horsford	5	5.8	member
Terri Sewell	1	1.2	member
William Lacy Clay Jr	2	2.3	member
Yvette Clarke	4	4.7	member
Total	86	100.0	

Newspaper articles were obtained through Rutgers University's library database, *EthnicWatch* database in which I searched under the category African American newspapers. I used a date range covering two months before the candidate's primary election date in 2014 and a keyword search of the candidate's name and search terms such as "Rep," "Congress" and "primary." I chose the election year 2014 to correspond with the context of my elite interviews covered in chapters 3 and 4. A total of 86 newspaper articles were collected and coded. Criteria for articles in this sample include subject heading featuring the candidate's name and article containing brief discussion/mention of the candidate and their activities, policy positions or electoral activities. Articles that merely mentioned a candidate's name with no other content were removed from the sample. Additionally, articles written by the candidate or Representative were removed from the sample as I was interested in articles written by journalists and not the candidates/officeholders themselves[56]. Frequencies tables and chi-square analyses were employed to analyze statistical significance of crosstab data across groups of candidates (black women and black men) against various variables of interest.[57]

As an exploratory study, the coding was done by hand without the aid of a research assistant or coding software given the complexity of the subject matter (uncovering racial and gender dynamics of black women and men candidates). The coding scheme is influenced by several works that assessed coverage of women (Meeks 2012: Hayes and Lawless 2015), women and minority candidates (Gershon 2012), women of color candidates (Gershon 2012; Ward 2016) and black women public figures (Gillespie 2016). I code variables to assess the quality of candidates and types of coverage black women and men candidates receive in the black press.

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[56] There were only a few articles (10 or less) that were written by representatives/congressional candidates that would be worthy to include in a sample to systematically analyze how candidates' *directly* appeal to black audiences through authored articles. However, future studies can perhaps examine articles sent specifically to black newspapers covering several election cycles to track such communication efforts of black representatives/candidates.

[57] Pleases see coding of content analysis in the Appendix.

Additionally, I am interested in how racial, gender and the interaction of the two can influence the coverage and activities during a campaign. I coded articles to uncover a racialized frame, gendered frame, and race/gendered frame. The coding scheme reflects hypotheses I seek to examine, using keywords to reflect race, gender, and race/gender and issue priorities. I coded most variables in a binary fashion (1 if the characteristic was represented in the article; 0 if it was not) and variables with more than 2 categories were coded categorically.

Findings

Quality of Candidates

Given the high level of incumbency among black elected officials (as black candidates typically run and win in safe seats (Fenno 2003), it is not surprising that the majority of black women and men candidates featured in this sample are incumbents, 75 (87.2%) followed by challengers, 4 (4.7%) and open seat candidacies 7 (8.1%). The challengers are articles of black Republican women candidates running in white majority districts: Erica Harold (D-Illinois) who challenged a Republican incumbent in the primary and lost, and Mia Love (R-Utah) who challenged a Democratic incumbent (for a second time) in the general election (as there was no primary held that year but a party convention) and won. Open seat candidacies featured black Democratic women candidates, running in either white majority districts (Bonnie Watson Coleman D-NJ) or minority-majority districts respectively (Alma Adams (D-NC), and Brenda Lawrence (D-MI).

Frequency of Coverage and District Type

Moreover, most black women and men congressional candidates covered in the black press are from majority-minority districts with 56 articles (65.1%) compared to 30 articles (34.9%) from white- majority districts. In terms of gender distribution and district type, there were 11 (19.6%) articles of black men candidates and 45 (80.4%) articles of black women

candidates from majority-minority districts while 18 (60.0%) articles featured black men and 12 (40.0%) articles featured black women. This coverage reflects the state of black politics, in which most black candidates run for Congress in majority-minority districts. In my sample of 21st century black women and men congressional candidates during the 2014 primary season, 37 ran in majority-minority districts and 16 ran in white-majority districts, as illustrated in the table of *2014 Black Candidates of the 21st Century* located in chapter 1.

Notably, there appears to be a gender difference in black press coverage that favors black women candidates running in majority-minority districts. Black women running/representing majority-minority districts are featured the most, as their constituencies (black or minority based) most likely read the sample of papers in this study that are catered to African American audiences. As illustrated in Table 5.2, there appears to be a statistically significant correlation between gender and the type of district that is covered in black newspapers with a Pearson chi value of 14.236 with a significance of .000 at the .05 level.

TABLE 5.2: BLACK PRESS COVERAGE IN RELATION TO GENDER AND DISTRICT TYPE

GENDER	**TYPE OF SEAT**			**P-VALUE**
	Majority-minority	**White - majority**	**Total**	***0.000**
BLACK MEN	11 (19.6%)	18 (60.0%)	29 (33.7%)	
BLACK WOMEN	45 (80.4%)	12 (40.0%)	57 (66.3%)	
TOTAL N	56 (100%)	30 (100%)	86 (100%)	

*P < .05 two-tailed test

Interestingly, black press's coverage of black women candidates does not correlate with the reality of how black candidates are distributed across district type. As previously mentioned, during the 2014 primary season, 37 black candidates ran in majority-minority districts, and 16 black candidates ran in white-majority districts. When considering the gender distribution in

these districts, 12 black women and 25 black men ran in majority-minority districts while 6 black women and 10 black men ran in white-majority districts. Based on this reality, black men candidates should receive more coverage in the black press, as there are more of them running in majority-minority districts. However, findings from this study illustrate that black women candidates running in majority-minority districts receive more coverage than their male counterparts that is statistically significant.

Frequency of Coverage Beyond District Type

In general, black women candidates in this study receive more coverage than black men candidates, with 57 articles (66.3%) to 29 articles (33.7%) respectively. This finding is a bit surprising given my target sample (as illustrated in the table of *2014 Black Candidates of the 21st Century* located in chapter 1) includes an equal number of black women and men candidates for Congress: 15 black women candidates and 15 black men candidates, totaling to 30 candidates for Congress respectively.[58] Nevertheless, out of my target sample of 30 black candidates, only 23 of them were covered by the black press: 13 black women compared to 10 black men. Thus, 56.5% of my newspaper sample were of black women candidates compared to 43.4% of black men candidates. Therefore, the frequency of coverage of black women candidates (66.3%) produces a gender advantage of 9.8 points while the frequency of coverage of black men candidates (33.7%) produces a gender deficit of 9.7 points as illustrated in Table 5.3.

[58] Table of black women and men candidates during the 2014 cycle for this study is in chapter 1.

TABLE 5.3: TOTAL NUMBER OF BLACK CANDIDATES AND FREQUENCY OF COVERAGE IN THE BLACK PRESS

	Black women candidates	**Black men candidates**	**Total N**
TARGETED SAMPLE OF 2014 BLACK CANDIDATES	15	15	30
TOTAL N-SAMPLE OF BLACK CANDIDATES COVERED BY THE BLACK PRESS	13 (56.5%)	10 (43.4%)	23
FREQUENCY OF COVERAGE	57 (66.3%)	29 (33.7%)	86
GENDER GAP	9.8 advantage	9.7 deficit	
GENDER DIFFERENCE +/-0.1			

Hence, there appears to be a slight propensity by the black press to cover black women candidates compared to black men candidates. This finding slightly contrasts with previous studies that analyze local media coverage of minority Congressmen and Congresswomen, in which minority Congressmen received more coverage than minority Congresswomen, with coverage like white Congresswomen (Gershon 2012). Perhaps, gender differences among minority groups in local coverage do translate the same in minority publications, focusing exclusively on one ethnic group (African Americans). There appears to be a gender imbalance in the black press favoring black women candidates considering the universe of black women and men running for Congress in these districts.

In the next section, I test hypotheses related to research on race, gender and intersectionality of race and gender to access ways it may apply and not apply to black women and men. I analyzed the coverage around the respective categories of race, gender and the interaction of the two for organizational and clarity purposes.

Racial Dynamics—Racialized Frame

Type of Coverage

In this study, the tone was measured by how the article treated the black candidate in the context of the article, not merely how the article was written. The majority of the articles had a neutral tone, neither positive or negative on behalf of the candidate. There were 49 articles (57%) with a neutral tone, 18 articles that with a positive tone (20.9%) and 19 articles (22.1%) negative in tone. As a result, my first hypotheses (H1), or the null hypothesis, is proven incorrect. Several articles were positive in tone and over 20% of the articles were negative in tone, contrasting the null hypothesis which would state that there is neither none or little difference in tone in the coverage of black women and men congressional candidates in black newspapers. The theory of race trumping gender in this regard is incorrect as there appears to be gender differences among black candidates in the type of coverage they receive in the black press.

Specifically, with respect to positive news coverage, black women candidates appear to favor in this regard. There were 16 articles (88.9%) of black women candidates with a positive tone compared to 2 articles (11.1%) of black men candidates. Overall, 28.1% of black women candidates received positive coverage compared to 6.9% of black men candidates in this sample. In testing the relationship between gender and tone of coverage, I found a chi-square correlation with a p level slightly above the .05 level missing the level of statistical significance as shown in Table 5.4. However, this finding is still noteworthy as it substantiates previous studies of local newspaper coverage that showed black women receiving more favorable coverage than other groups of women: white and Latino women (Gershon 2012). In this case, black newspapers and local newspapers are similar regardless of the targeted audiences these papers serve (mainstream/general population vs. a predominantly African American audience).

TABLE 5.4: CANDIDATE GENDER AND TONE OF ARTICLES

GENDER	TONE OF ARTICLE				P-VALUE
	Positive	**Neutral**	**Negative**	**Total**	0.052
BLACK MEN	2 (11.1%)	18 (36.7%)	9 (47.4%)	29 (100%)	
BLACK WOMEN	16 (88.9%)	31 (63.3%)	10 (52.6%)	57 (100%)	
TOTAL N	18 (100%)	49 (100%)	19 (100%)	86)100%)	

P < .05, two-tailed test

On the contrary, a small subset of articles dealt with the notion of black candidates/officeholders serving against black interests, which highlights the diversity in black public opinion and ideologies as it pertains to black elites (Harris-Lacewell (2004). Particularly, 11 articles were critical of black candidates/members of Congress and in considering gender, this type of criticism was almost evenly distributed with 6 black men and 5 black women in the sample. This type of criticism of black candidates addresses the role the black press provides in cultivating views and opinions reflective of black culture and addressing the collective needs of African Americans in relation to the representative roles of black elected officials (Harris-Lacewell 2004). The various forms of racialization (or the lack thereof) of black women and men candidates is addressed further in this section.

Racial Indicators

To examine racialization in the coverage of black women and men congressional candidates in the black press, I looked for such items as race labels that mentioned the candidate, candidate's opponent, or voters, any forms of racial appeals such as membership of a black organization and speaking on behalf of black interests or minorities. Given I am examining

coverage in black newspapers, I expect there to be racialization of both black women and men congressional candidates with little difference between the two sub-groups.

I found mixed results regarding levels of racialization for black women and men congressional candidates. Some results confirmed my second (null) hypothesis (H2) where there is little difference between black women and men candidates on how they are racialized in articles in the black press. The data showed only a small number of black both women and men candidates were referenced by their race: 6 articles of a black men candidate and 11 articles of a black women candidate. I performed a chi-square analysis on gender and the mentioning of black candidates' race and it yielded a statically insignificant result. Thus, there is no statistically significant relationship between gender and racializing of black candidates by mention of their race/ethnicity. Most black women and men candidates in this sample were not referenced by their race in the articles nor were the voters and opponents were hardly mentioned. Perhaps it is the notion that these are papers catered to the African American community that race of the candidate is a given and here, it does not need to be said as opposed to black candidates running against a white candidate covered in local papers as previous studies have found (Terkildsen; and Damore 1999; Caliendo and Mcllwain 2006).

However, many of the articles referenced the Representatives' membership in a black organization, in this case, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), in how they mentioned or discussed the candidates. Specifically, black men Representatives were referenced by their CBC membership in 9 articles while black women Representatives were referenced by their CBC membership in 22 articles. Thus, the black press seems to reference black women Representatives' membership in the Congressional Black Caucus at higher levels compared to their male counterparts. This finding reflects a gender discrepancy as it relates to my black newspaper sample that features 10 black men to 8 black women. Hence, black men candidates could expectedly be covered at higher levels, if even slightly, than black women candidates.

Moreover, there are 13 male CBC members compared to 9 CBC members in my sample of 2014 black candidates for Congress. Therefore, black men Representatives should yield higher levels of reference of their Congressional Black Caucus membership, but instead it is of black women Representatives.

Particularly, Congresswoman Marcia Fudge (D-Ohio) was often referenced as Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus in any discussion of her, including public appearances at community events and policy positions. In fact, Congresswoman Marcia Fudge (D-Ohio) received the most coverage out of all black candidates in the sample with 19 articles, which can be attributed to her-then leadership role of the CBC, as leadership roles, by their nature, typically garner higher press coverage. Thus, an observer may propose that the frequency of Congresswoman Fudge's coverage is less about her status as a woman, but more about her leadership role of a prominent African American organization. While the leadership factor does drive the frequency numbers, several articles featured Congresswoman Fudge along with several black women members of Congress; thus, Congresswoman Fudge's role as Chair of the CBC and issues relevant among black Congresswomen appear to contribute to high frequency of black women candidates.

Meanwhile, the black press referencing Congresswoman Fudge's CBC chairmanship lends credence to Fudge's position/stance on an issue as it provides a "voice" for the Congressional Black Caucus. Besides Congresswoman Fudge (D-Ohio) other black women Representatives were referenced by their Congressional Black Caucus membership and do not have a leadership role within the organization, such as Congresswoman Gwen Moore (D-Wisconsin). Meanwhile, CBC member Congressman Keith Ellison (D-Minnesota) received the highest level of coverage out of the men candidates with 9 articles. A chi-square cross tab correlation showed no statistically significant relationship between gender and references to a black organization. Nevertheless, black women Representatives appear to be racialized at higher

levels with respect to the mentioning of their Congressional Black Caucus's membership compared to their black male counterparts.

Racialized Issues/Black Public Spaces

Part of campaigning for elected office is appearing at public events and speaking out on issues of interest to your constituency to bring visibility to your candidacy and the upcoming election. Most of the articles focused on policy positions/platforms, press conferences, appearances at community/district events of black women and men candidates, whether they were incumbents, challengers or running in an open election. Less attention was paid to horse race coverage of elections, even with open seat candidates such as Brenda Lawrence (D-Michigan), Alma Adams (D-North Carolina) and Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ). Articles of both incumbent and open seat candidates focused mostly on their platform as an elected official. To capture possible racialization of public events, statements or appearances during a primary campaign season, I coded articles (as one in the same) of candidates either speaking or appearing in front of a black audience. I found 9 articles of black men and 23 articles of black women speaking on behalf or appear before a black audience. There was no statistically significant correlation between gender and speaking on behalf of interests of blacks or appearance before a black audience. Thus, gender is not dependent on black women and men candidates speaking out or appearing in front of black audiences as part of their campaign coverage.

Additionally, I coded black interests separately from the interests of minorities or people of color, given one can explicitly address the interest of African Americans or remain broad and inclusive by using the term minorities or people of color. Here, I found 13 articles of black men and 21 articles of black women speaking on behalf of the interests of minorities or people of color. There appears to be a slightly higher occurrence of speaking on behalf of interests of minorities or people of color, than African Americans exclusively. For example, several articles

featured black Congresswomen and men speaking favorably about then-President Barack Obama's initiative to help young men of color entitled "My Brother's Keeper," spearheaded during his second presidential term; it is an initiative geared towards black and Latino young men, not African Americans exclusively. Moreover, in considering gender differences, there appears to be slightly more coverage of black women congressional candidates speaking on behalf of black interests exclusively than interests of minorities/people of color, whereas for black men congressional candidates the reverse is the case. Similarly, as with black interests, there was no statistically significant correlation between gender and speaking on behalf or appearing before an audience of minorities or people of color. Thus, gender is not dependent on black women and men candidates speaking out or appearing in front of minorities or people of color as part of their campaign coverage. Results regarding the coverage of black women and men candidates addressing black interests and minority interests are illustrated in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: BLACK INTERESTS, MINORITY INTERESTS AND BLACK CANDIDATES

VARIABLES	BLACK MEN	BLACK WOMEN	TOTAL	P-VALUE
ADDRESS BLACK INTERESTS	9 (28.1%)	23 (71.9%)	32 (100%)	0.398
DOES NOT ADDRESS BLACK INTERESTS	20 (37.0%)	34 (63.0%)	54 (100%)	
TOTAL N	**29**	**57**	**86**	
ADDRESS MINORITY INTERESTS	13 (38.2%)	21 (61.8%)	34 (100%)	0.474
DOES NOT ADDRESS MINORITY INTERESTS	16 (30.8%)	36 (69.2%)	52 (100%)	
TOTAL N	**29**	**57**	**86**	

P < .05, two-tailed test

District Type Influence

Although I did not hypothesize a relationship between district type and propensity to speak on behalf of black interests and minority interests, this study produced interesting findings in these areas.

Research in black public opinion has shown that the presence of black representatives provides feelings of connectedness to their elected official and to the political process (Tate 1999; Tate 2003). Therefore, it should not be surprising to find that candidates/ officeholders representing majority-minority districts are more likely to speak about issues related to African Americans and minorities than those running/representing in non-minority districts.

However, I found that black women and men congressional candidates whether running in majority-minority or white-majority districts appear to speak on issues on behalf of minorities or people of color as covered in the black press. The difference between district type is subtle with 16 articles of black candidates from white-majority districts compared to 18 articles of black candidates from majority-minority districts speaking on interests of minorities or people of color. I performed a chi-square analysis that showed a slight statistical correlation between the type of district and propensity to speak on interests of minorities or people of color that is slightly above the statistical significance level of .05, but it is worth acknowledging.

Although gender is not statistically significant on the ability to speak on behalf of black interests and minority interest, it is important to consider the gender distribution of black candidates in these districts relative to the type of black or minority-based interests they may promote. When considering black candidates speaking on behalf of minority interests or people of color, I found the coverage of black women are those concentrated in mostly minority districts while the coverage of black men candidates is those mostly in white-majority districts. Additionally, I found more black women speaking on behalf of black interests exclusively compared to black men, while more black men appear speaking on behalf of minority interests or people of color than on black interests exclusively. Speaking on minority interests, or people of color, is a more inclusive identity category that can appeal to a broader electorate. Thus, these findings show that race is a strong factor in the coverage of black women and men candidates and gender, not statistically significant, should also be considered a factor in coverage of black women and men candidates pertaining to issues concerning African Americans and people of color.

TABLE 5.6: BLACK INTERESTS, MINORITY INTERESTS AND DISTRICT TYPE

	DISTRICT TYPE			
	Majority-Minority	**White-Majority**	**Total**	**P-value**
ADDRESS BLACK INTERESTS	**21 (65.6%)**	**11 (34.4%)**	**32 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*19*	*4*	*23*	
BLACK MEN	*2*	*7*	*9*	0.939
DOES NOT ADDRESS BLACK INTERESTS	**35 (64.8%)**	**19 (35.2%)**	**54 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*26*	8	34	
BLACK MEN	*9*	*11*	*20*	
TOTAL N	**56**	**30**	**86**	
ADDRESS MINORITY INTERESTS	**18 (52.9%)**	**16 (47.1%)**	**34 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*17*	*4*	*21*	
BLACK MEN	*1*	*12*	*13*	0.055
DOES NOT ADDRESS MINORITY INTERESTS	**38 (73.1%)**	**14 (26.9%)**	**52 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*28*	8	36	
BLACK MEN	*10*	*6*	*16*	
TOTAL N	**56**	**30**	**86**	

*P < .05, two-tailed test

Gender Dynamics—Gendered Frame

Gender Indicators

Meanwhile, black women congressional candidates were more likely to be referenced by their gender than black men congressional candidates, with the label "Congresswoman" as the common indicator. One may not think this is explicitly addressing gender, but some articles used the gender-neutral term "Representative" in discussing women members of Congress/candidate while several more used "Congresswomen" as an indicator. There was only 1 article of a black male candidate where his gender, male, was explicitly mentioned, while 22 articles featured black

members of Congress/candidates with a gender label. This finding showed a strong statistically significant relationship of chi-square value of 9.205 with a P value of .002. Thus, my third hypothesis (H3) is confirmed where the black press references black women by their gender at higher levels than black men, showing a difference in how they are covered and presented to the public, as illustrated in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7: GENDER INFLUENCE AND COVERAGE OF BLACK CANDIDATES

	BLACK MEN	**BLACK WOMEN**	**TOTAL**	**P-VALUE**
REFERENCED BY THEIR GENDER	1 (3.4%)	22 (38.6%)	23	*0.002
NOT REFERENCED BY THEIR GENDER	28 (96.6%)	35 (61.4%)	63	
TOTAL N	**29 (100%)**	**57 (100%)**	**86**	

*P < .05, two-tailed test

While black women candidates for Congress are more likely to be referenced as "women" there were hardly any mentions of their physical appearance as seen in previous studies of local coverage of women in general. Thus, my fourth hypotheses (H4) is proven incorrect. Only 1 article referenced the physical appearance of a black woman candidate, particularly, black Republican congressional candidate Erika Harold (R-Illinois) who ran in the 7th district for Congress in Illinois. Harold, a former Beauty pageant winner, was mentioned regarding her physical attractiveness and name recognition from her beauty pageant days in the context of whether black Republican candidates can make electoral inroads. There was no reference to the physical appearance of black women and men congressional Democratic candidates. Unlike my interview data, as discussed in chapter 3, black women's physical appearance was not featured in their coverage in the black press.

Lastly, I examined whether there were any differences in how black women and men candidates appeal to women voters. The majority of articles of black women and men congressional candidates did not feature a discussion of women's issues (explicitly defined) or appearances before women. Only 6 articles (10.5%) include discussion of outreach to women or appearance before women, and these 6 articles were of black women candidates. The remaining 51 articles of black women candidates (89.5%) did not address women's issues. There were no articles featuring black men candidates speaking on women's issues or in front of women audiences, despite research showing both men and women reaching out to women voters given their numbers and high political participation.

This finding runs counter to my interviews as discussed in chapters 3 and 4 in which a few of black men congressional candidates and their campaign managers discussed appealing to women voters as part of their campaign strategy. Additionally, only a few articles featured black women candidates addressing women's issues or women groups, mainly from Congresswoman Gwen Moore (D-MI) and then Congresswoman Donna Edwards (D-MD). Particularly, in the article discussing Congresswoman Donna Edwards (D-MD) work on women's issues, it highlighted her appearance on a black radio station as part of black History month, which one can argue illustrates how black women are using black media outlets like black radio, to speak on issues affecting women. Still, most articles on black women and men candidates did not feature appeals to women or discussion of women's issues. Thus, my sixth hypothesis (H6) was not entirely confirmed.

Race/Gendered Dynamics—Race/Gender Frame

In assessing the extent that racial and gender dynamics are present in the coverage and self-presentation of black women and men congressional candidates, an intersectionality framework (Crenshaw 1989; Junn and Brown 2008; Smooth 2006; Nash 2008) provides

additional insight to see what ways that race, and gender categories alone cannot explain or attribute to the coverage and campaign activities of black women. Results from this study suggest that previous findings on black women and local press coverage may not apply similarly to black newspapers, perhaps given the nature of the black press, where an emphasis is on black interests and less on women's (generally speaking) interests per se.

Most articles in the sample do not include race/gender labels for black women congressional candidates. Specifically, the term "label" refers to the identity of an individual, which in this case a race/gender label refers to a black candidate being referred as a "black woman" or a "black man." Overall, 77 articles (89.5%) did not feature race/gender labels for black women congressional candidates. Only 9 articles (10.5%) feature race/gender labels for black women candidates. Also, the race/gender labels for black men congressional candidates was not mentioned nor was there hardly any mention of race/gender labels in the discussion of voters or supporters of the candidates. Only policy positions such as then-President Obama's "My Brother's Keeper" that both black women and men Congressmembers expressed support where gender is explicitly tied to black men as well. I was unable to do a chi-square goodness of fit test as one of the assumptions is violated in the data, as 1 cell had over 20% of an expected count of 5 and more, possibly due to the lack of race/gender labels attributed to black men candidates in the coverage. Additionally, only 7 articles (8.1%) featured black women candidates with novelty labels as being "first" as part of their accomplishments compared to the 68 articles that do not mention novelty labels. Although previous studies of local news coverage of black women candidates/officeholders found black women often referenced with novelty labels as part of their biographical accomplishments, for black newspapers, only a few articles described black women candidates in this fashion. Thus, my fifth hypotheses (H5) is not entirely confirmed.

However, for my sixth hypothesis (H6), I found 15 or 17.4% of articles featuring black women and men candidates addressing issues affecting black women exclusively or attending

events that are sponsored by black women. Specifically, 14 of these articles featured black women candidates and 1 article featured a black man candidate. Overall, there were 24.6% of articles of black women candidates and 3.4% of articles of black men candidates that addressed issues concerning black women or women of color. These are interests that are specific to women of color, particularly black women, that are separate from black men. Many of these articles discussed black Congresswomen's support of then-First Lady Michelle Obama protests the kidnapping of Nigerian girls, speaking on behalf of young girls everywhere, which while a gender issue, it addresses the global predicament of young girls of color and inhumane conditions they have experienced. Issues dealing with the mistreatment of young girls of color are not adequately addressed with the same fervor (Crenshaw 1997), so black women such as former First Lady Michelle Obama along with several black Congresswomen provide an additional voice to these girls in need. I tested the statistical correlation between gender and speaking on behalf of black women/women of color and found it statistically significant with a chi-square value of 5.950 at .015 significance level as illustrated in Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.8: BLACK CANDIDATES AND BLACK WOMEN/WOMEN OF COLOR INTERESTS

	BLACK MEN	BLACK WOMEN	TOTAL	P-VALUE
ADDRESS BLACK WOMEN INTERESTS	1 (6.7%)	14 (93.3%)	15 (100%)	*.015
DOES NOT ADDRESS BLACK WOMEN INTERESTS	28 (39.4%)	43 (60.6%)	71 (100%)	
TOTAL N	**29**	**57**	**86**	

*P < .05, two-tailed test

Besides gender, the type of district a black candidate represents/runs for also shows a statistically significant correlation at a statistically significant level of .012, which is less than .05 level, as illustrated in Table 5.9. Accordingly, black candidates, who run or represent majority-minority districts are more likely to discuss interests related to women of color (not just women in general) than black candidates in white-majority districts. In this case, these black candidates from minority-majority districts are black women exclusively. Notably, when considering the gender distribution of black candidates in these districts, 13 articles of black women candidates who speak on behalf of black women interests are based in majority-minority districts, while only 1 article of black women candidate is based in white-majority district. I tried to do a three-way chi-square analysis to determine statistical significance by introducing gender into the analysis, but it violated the assumptions of chi-square analysis as gender-based cells (male/female) had more than 20% of expected count less than 5. As a result, the consideration of gender is not statistically significant in the relationship between district type and addressing interests of black women or women of color. Nevertheless, this study demonstrates how race/gender variable can play a role in the ways black candidates address issues of black women or women of color.

TABLE 5.9: RACE/GENDER INFLUENCE AND DISTRICT TYPE ON BLACK CANDIDATES

	DISTRICT TYPE			
	Majority-Minority	**White-Majority**	**Total**	**P-value**
ADDRESSES BLACK WOMEN/WOMAN OF COLOR INTERESTS	**14 (93.3%)**	**1 (6.7%)**	**15 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*13*	*1*	*14*	
BLACK MEN	*1*	*0*	*1*	
				*0.012
DOES NOT ADDRESS BLACK WOMEN/WOMEN OF COLOR INTERESTS	**42 (59.2%)**	**29 (40.8%)**	**71 (100%)**	
BLACK WOMEN	*32*	11	43	
BLACK MEN	*10*	*18*	*28*	
TOTAL N	**56**	**30**	**86**	

*P < .05, two-tailed test

Lastly, outside of race/gender indicators of black women officeholders[59], and the type of issues addressed on behalf of black women, I did not uncover many campaign activities or areas that can be linked to black women exclusively, separate from their male counterparts. An example of such a difference could be the use of fashion by black women as part of their self-presentation style, given the attention women candidates receive for their physical appearance in comparison to men. Notably, my interview evidence from chapter 3 showed how several black women congressional candidates use fashion to their advantage as part of their self-presentation. Black women candidates work around the constraints of physical appearance by employing stylistic choices to stand out from the crowd. Only one article addressed black women's use of fashion as part of her appeal, which was an event entitled "Pumps, Pearls, and Politics" in which

[59] Race/gender indicators such as "black woman" were made mostly by the media and in some instances by the officeholders/candidates themselves.

Congresswoman Frederica Wilson (D-FL) provided the keynote address that sought to bring women (of color) together to discuss politics and activism. This event was co-sponsored by various black women's organizations such as the National Council for Negro Women. Another article mentioned Congresswoman Robin Kelly (D-Illinois) as being honored by a black women's sorority with a "Woman of the Year" award. However, most articles did not reference activities and behaviors explainable by race/gender experiences. As a result, my seventh hypotheses (H7) was not entirely confirmed.

Analysis/Summary

The content analysis of black news coverage enables one to assess the ways black women and men communicate their message to the black press, as the black press' purpose is to inform and provide a voice for the African American community in ways not covered by the mainstream media (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Additionally, the black press provides an outlet for African American communities to engage with one another in ways not permissible by mainstream/local press media, as the focus in mainstream/local press is not primarily about the interests/concerns of black audiences, as is the case with the black press (Jacobs 1999; Harris-Lacewell 2004). Subsequently, black women and men candidates, in an effort to appeal to black audiences, may target aspects of their messaging and agenda to the black press (Harris-Lacewell 2004).

In considering black press coverage, this chapter investigated gender differences in the coverage and messaging of black women and men congressional candidates as another avenue to assess campaign strategy and presentation in a racialized context. This chapter (and dissertation) contributes to the growing work that examines gendered differences in media coverage within people of color (Gershon 2012a; Gershon 2012b; Ward 2016) but exclusively with African American candidates.

Notably, I examined black women and men candidates for Congress who ran within the 21st century to provide context as more minority-majority districts are becoming more heterogeneous and the popularity of a deracialized campaign strategy as epitomized with the election of Barack Obama as first African American president. My findings illustrate that while race/ethnicity is salient in some ways but not in others, gender is also relevant in the ways black women and men candidates are covered and how gender coupled with race influences the type of issues promoted, highlighting gendered differences between black women and black men candidates. Drawing from my *intersectional campaign framework,* I organize findings around the respective categories of race, gender and race/gender (intersectionality) for organizational and clarity purposes.

One of the main findings from this chapter shows black women covered in the black press at higher levels than their black male counterparts, despite more black men candidates running for Congress in 2014 overall and more black men candidates featured in my newspaper sample. This study shows the black press having a propensity to cover black women candidates at higher rate than their male counterparts, showing the importance of gender when considering the coverage of black candidates.

Besides frequency of coverage, there appears to be some variation in the tone of coverage for black women and men congressional candidates. Despite the majority of articles of black women and men congressional candidates being written in a neutral tone, again, there is a gender difference here. There were more articles of black women congressional candidates with positive coverage than articles of black men congressional candidates.

Race

There is little work that assesses the coverage of black women and men exclusively, as black women and men are often lumped with other minority groups (Gershon 2012) or black

women are compared against white women and women of color, perhaps to handle issues surrounding large-n studies (Gershon 2012; Ward 2016). In addition, historically the consideration of any intra-differences among African Americans in political experiences were submerged for the sake of racial unity (Harris Lacewell 2004; Cohen 1999). As a result, I initially suspected little difference concerning tone and racialization of coverage, given both sub-groups (black women and men) share the same racial group and theoretically race would trump gender in this regard. However, my findings show that black women were more racialized than black men congressional candidates in instances concerning membership affiliation with the Congressional Black Caucus. This finding reflects a gender imbalance in the coverage of black candidates given there are more black men CBC members than black women CBC members in my sample.

The higher levels of racialization of black women can perhaps be contributed to the higher number of articles featuring black women candidates than black men, which again does not proportionally reflect the universe of black women and men candidates running for Congress in 2014. Thus, this finding shows the importance of gender in assessing coverage of black women and men candidates considering a racialized space, in which black women candidates appear to be favored.

Meanwhile, there were a few articles in my sample that were critical of both black women and men congressional candidates, specifically working against black interests as a black elected official and member of the Congressional Black Caucus. This criticism of black candidates was linked to both black women and men members of Congress with little gender difference, illustrating that when it comes to race-specific matters and perceived collective interests there is little distinction in the coverage of black women and men candidates. Both subsets of groups (black women and black men) would be criticized by the black press accordingly as it pertains to race-specific issues, showing the significant role black press has in monitoring the actions and policy positions of black elites.

Gender

Testing to see the relevance of gender between black women and men congressional candidates, I found that it mostly matters for the description of black candidates with black women more likely to be referenced by their gender than black men. Labels such as "Congresswoman" was more likely to be applied to black women than the gender-neutral label of "Rep" or "Representative" that can be applied to both black women and men. Hardly any references were made about a black woman's physical appearance despite black women officeholders such as Frederica Wilson (D-FL) purposely dressing in colorful hats that have gained media attention in the past (Cohen and Barnes 2015). In this case, the physical appearance matters little in coverage of black women and men candidates in the black press, but rather the issues/platform at-hand along with their presence at community events and local matters.

Despite my interviews with black male congressional candidates covered in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation showing some acknowledgment of women voters as part of campaign appeals and strategy, this sentiment is not captured in the black press coverage of black women and men congressional candidates. No articles featured black men candidates appealing to women voters either by issues addressed or community events attended. Overall, more attention is paid to issues related to race and ethnicity than to women's issues, which demonstrates the saliency of race/ethnicity in black press coverage.

Race/Gender

While there are some similarities that black women share with black men congressional candidates, particularly how their race is mentioned and the mention of black interests, other findings show further differences that contribute to a race/gendered dynamic that is separate from black men. Issues related to a race/gender identity were present in the coverage of black women men candidates. Here, the advocacy of black Congresswomen on behalf of black girls and

women was highly present, demonstrating a statistical significant relationship, which distinguishes them from their black male counterparts.

However, articles that addressed advocacy on behalf of black women did not link the Congresswomen to their race/gendered identity, but rather to their female identity within a black organization. For example, such common phrases were “female members of the Congressional Black Caucus” or “first African American” or “first female.” There appears to be less reluctance to identify black women congressional candidates as a "black woman" as opposed to being just “female” or “African American” which contrasts previous studies on content analysis of black women elected officials in local media showing the contrary (Ward 2016). Additionally, in the discussion of community events attended by black Congresswomen, it is often mentioned as just “women” although the audience or benefactor are women of color. However, some articles feature black women such a Congresswoman Marcia Fudge (D-Ohio), highlighting their status as a black woman and that of other black women when discussing issues such as military policy against women of color hairstyles.

So, in these instances, the race/gender label is not necessarily explicitly stated when discussing black women, but the constituency and issues of discussion are implied and geared towards black women or women of color. It is as if the race/ethnicity is already present and does not need to be stated as it is obvious. Similarly, as discussed in the previous chapters my interview findings highlight congressional candidates' self-awareness of their racial identity, but this self-awareness does not get in the way of their campaigning for office. Mainly, congressional candidates Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ) and Brenda Lawrence (D-Michigan) both mentioned how race is always present, as it is the first thing people see when they walk into a room, but it is how one serves their constituency that matters the most (Interview Watson Coleman).

Limitations

Although the findings in this content analysis study illustrate the influence of gender and the interaction of such in a racialized context (black press) for black women and men candidates, there is the caveat of generalizability to one election year. Only the 2014 primary election year cycle was analyzed, and perhaps a comparison of two primary election cycles can increase the generalizability of primary campaign news coverage and increase the universe of articles studied as 86 articles (systematically drawn) may be considered a small sample to produce generalizable results.

Given many black candidates in my sample are incumbents, it may be possible that the black press does not capture gender-related issues during a primary election season as the general election may be observed more closely by the media when horse race coverage (at least in mainstream/local media) is more common. Future studies can compare the coverage in a primary election to general election of black women and men candidates in the black press to see if such a difference exists, which can also produce a broader universe of articles to analyze. Another alternative would be to compare the coverage of the primary election cycle of black women and men candidates from local news press to the black press to see any differences in the racialization and "genderization" of black women and men candidates, as both sets of newspapers reflect different types of audiences and agendas. Specifically, local/mainstream newspapers most likely would focus heavily on horse race aspect of campaigns, which includes viability of a candidate's fundraising and ability to win an election (Reeves 1997; Terkildsen and Damore 1999; Caliendo and Mcllwain 2006). Black newspapers, on the other hand, are less about horse race coverage, and more about the policy positions of the candidates and their connectedness and impact on black communities whether directly or indirectly (Grose 2006), based on findings from this study. In both types of newspapers, I suspect racial, gendered and race/gendered dynamics in the coverage of black women and men candidates considering the characteristics aforementioned. Notably, gendered dynamics would involve references to gender for black women candidates

including women voters and support organizations and race/gendered dynamics would involve references to the candidacies of black women.

Running for office involves communicating a message that connects voters to a platform and keeps them engaged in the political process. For black women and men candidates, it involves utilizing the black press to communicate, inform and engage with the black electorate. The general argument of this chapter is that gender may influence how black women and men are covered including self-presentation and issues priorities. My findings suggest that within a black space, viz-à-viz, the black press, while race/ethnicity is salient in some ways, gendered differences do coexist in black candidates' coverage and campaign activities and consequently, these differences set black women apart from black male counterparts in promoting an agenda to the black electorate.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

"Run Sister Run" is a common adage used when encouraging black women to run for elected office.[60] It is the name of the auxiliary workshop catered to black women interested in running for elected office that is sponsored by the Center for American Women and Politics' *New Jersey Ready to Run Diversity Initiative*. The *New Jersey Ready to Run Diversity Initiative* is a campaign training program designed for women of color (Sanbonmatsu 2015).[61] Campaign training programs such as *New Jersey Ready to Run* help women navigate the process of running for elected office and for black women participants these training programs provide support and representation otherwise not available as women and women of color remain underrepresented in elected office (Sanbonmatsu 2015).

Considering campaign training workshops such as "Run Sister Run," I investigated the ways black women run for elected office including their strategic calculations compared to their male counterparts. It is not enough to look at black women alone as both sub-groups deal with issues of race as reflected in the campaign strategy of deracialization. I believe comparing black women to black men candidates provides additional insight as both sub-groups share commonalities on race and as a result, must figure out ways to appeal to the broader electorate while also simultaneously appealing to black/minority voters who often are their base of support. However, both sub-groups also share electoral differences, possibly due to gender and other related factors.

To examine gendered differences between black women and men candidates, I utilized my *intersectional campaign framework* to *explicitly* assess the ways identity categories of race,

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[60] Vanessa K. De-Luca. 2017. "Run Sister Run" in Let's Talk: A Letter from the Editor. *Essence*, November, 10

[61] The Diversity Initiative provide workshops to women of color to help navigate the complicated process of running for elected office as women of color are further underrepresented in elected office (Sanbonmatsu 2015).

gender and the combination of race and gender can shape campaign strategies. I used these categories as an organizational tool to examine the similarities and differences between black women and men candidates with the understanding that such categories are not static but can change over time (Duerst-Lahti 2014; Omi and Winant 2016; Carbabo, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson 2013). Thus, I used my *intersectional campaign framework* to compare how black women and men campaign for elected office, assessing how previous findings related to race, gender and interaction of race and gender apply to black candidates (Weldon 2006).

I examined campaign strategies of black women and men political candidates around three central areas: style, mobilization tactics, and issue priorities, as these areas are used in characterizing a deracialized campaign strategy. Additionally, I considered the media coverage of black women and men candidates in the black press to understand how the categories mentioned above influence the type of coverage black candidates receive and the type of campaign activities and issues promoted to a predominantly black audience.

In examining campaign strategies of black women and men political candidates, I also consider partisan dynamics, given the rise of black Republican elected officials in US Congress (Manning 2016). There are currently three black Republican Representatives: two in the House of Representatives, Mia Love (R-Utah) and Will Hurd (R-Texas) (whose campaign manager was interviewed for this study) and one in the Senate with Tim Scott (R-South Carolina) (Manning 2016). Although most black elected officials are Democrats, I think it is important to consider partisan implications when we discuss campaign strategies of black women and men candidates, to further enrich our understanding of race, gender and interaction of the two in campaigns and elections.

As a result, I find that black women candidates share similarities with their male counterparts but also differences attributed to their gender and status as a black woman candidate.

More importantly, I find that these differences vary *within* and *across* categories of race, gender and race/gender, showing the complexity in campaign strategies and experiences of black women and men candidates. This finding also applies to black Republican women and men candidates. A central finding is that all three categories of identity—race, gender, and race/gender --influence the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates in various ways. Central findings around these categories and their implications are discussed below.

Campaign Style

I find that most black women candidates employ a race-moderate to race-neutral message in appealing to voters. Given the nature of black congressional districts which are highly partisan and consider safe seats, hardly any of the black candidates consider racial stereotypes when running for office. They are aware of the existence of racial stereotypes, but the stereotypes do not have much relevance in their campaigns. Besides, only a few experienced racial appeals during their campaigns and these experiences reflect gender differences. Black women candidates and their campaign managers discussed notions of not being "black enough" given their education and occupation. Perhaps, this perception is reflective of black women's progress, as being the highest educated group among whites and blacks, despite their incomes not reflecting such advances. On the other hand, it appears issues related to racial stereotypes and racial appeals apply to a few black men candidates and those running in white majority districts. These findings show the variances within racial dynamics regarding campaign strategies and experiences of black women and men candidates.

Ultimately race does matter in campaign strategy in varying degrees according to most of my interview subjects. Notably, for black women and men candidates running in white majority districts, it is not only about the issue of race, but other factors such as access to resources to compete competitively in these districts. The type of messaging and campaign organization is not

sufficient if black candidates are unable to raise sufficient funds to carry out their campaigns. Furthermore, black Republican candidates are less likely to mention race as a factor, attributing campaign dynamics to unique circumstances and local characteristics.

Moreover, I find that gender matters in the campaign strategies for black women and men candidates. The majority of black women candidates attest to the issue of gender stereotypes and working to counter them in how they appeal to voters, something not entirely attributed to black men candidates and their campaign managers. Stereotypes of being tough and strong, and looking their best stood out in my conversations. Moreover, both black women and men candidates and their campaign managers discussed reaching out to women voters (that make up the Democratic party coalition) as part of their campaign strategy, and for black men candidates who face women opponents, support from women's organizations also factor significantly in a campaign strategy. Black (Democratic) women candidates also report securing additional resources from women's organizations such as *Emily's List* and make broader inroads, as they appeal to women and minorities.

In assessing race/gender dynamics, further insightful findings emerge regarding black women candidates. I find the marginalization black women experience on their campaigns regarding hair choices (Brown 2014), whether to wear their hairstyles natural reflective of black culture or conservative reflective of non-ethnic standards, as illustrated in my interview with congressional candidate Meshea Poore running in West Virginia's 2nd congressional district[62]. However, black women can also turn a burdensome situation into an advantageous one as part of their campaign strategy. Several black women candidates discussed taking advantage of being the only woman in a race and choosing fashion choices that make them stand out from the crowd. A few black men candidates also discussed the importance of fashion choices in how they present

[62] As previously mentioned, Poore is the only woman candidate that shared this experience in my interviews, so while this finding is illuminating it should not be overstated.

themselves to voters. Still, black women's ability to use fashion, i.e., use of bright colors, as part of their self-presentation redefines how black candidates can be seen and heard.

When considering black women's identity regarding campaign strategies, black women candidates referenced their identity across all three mentioned categories at different times depending on the context and circumstance. African American women candidates at some points referenced herself as either a woman, African American or as an African-American woman in discussing her campaign and experiences affecting both black women and men candidates. This insight into black women's identity is important as it shows that categories of race, gender and the combination of race and gender are malleable given the contexts, as *my intersectional campaign framework* for analyzing the campaign strategies of black women and men candidates attempts to illustrate.

Mobilization Tactics

Here, most black women and men candidates share a preference of utilizing field operations as part of their outreach strategy, as it is essential to increase minority voter turnout. Those running in white-majority districts discussed issues related to having a culturally diversified staff for outreach purposes, venturing in unfamiliar areas in the district that can be mediated by either employing different types of people depending on the circumstance.

More importantly, black women voters are a crucial target in mobilization efforts, illustrating important race/gendered dynamics. It is not just about women in the general sense, but specifically about black women who tend to be the biggest supporters of these candidates. Many black women and men candidates and their campaign managers spoke about the importance of appealing to black women. However, for black women candidates, they have the advantage of drawing support from black women voters (Stokes and Dolan 2008) in ways not attributed to their male counterparts, as support of their candidacies can extend beyond an

individual district. It reflects the adage of "black women supporting other black women" regarding political candidacy and voter support.

Issue Priorities

Issue priorities of black women and men candidates are generally reflective of typical issues of a campaign: economy, jobs, constituent services, and healthcare. Black women and men candidates mostly frame issue priorities in partisan (Democrat/liberal or Republican/conservative ideology) and race-neutral terms, implying the importance of serving all individuals in a district. There is some gender influence regarding issue priorities, as a few black women candidates explicitly mentioned addressing women's issues as part of their campaigns. So, while both black women and men candidates recognize the importance in mobilizing and targeting women voters, especially black women voters when it comes to women's issues (broadly defined), they are not a priority in the campaign platform for most black women and men candidates and their campaign managers.

Black News Coverage—Campaigning in a Racialized Space

I find that the category of race is heightened in the black news coverage and activities of black women and men candidates compared to my interviews. For many of the black women interviewed, being a black woman is part of who they are, but it is not a focus in their campaigns. However, in the coverage of black women, they are racialized more than their male counterparts, through their membership in the Congressional Black Caucus. Additionally, their gender is recognized compared to their male counterparts. Particularly, their gender as a woman is emphasized. Thus, gender mattered in the coverage of black women candidates considering black news outlets. It is not merely about race. Gender differences reveal black women receive more coverage and more favorable coverage than their male counterparts. Notably, it is their

gender as a woman and not their race/gendered status as a “black woman” that is mostly acknowledged by the black press.

Nonetheless, the type of district has a statistically significant correlation to the type of issues addressed by black women and men candidates, showing the influence of race. Minority issues (not necessary only black interests) are addressed by both black women and men candidates running in majority-minority and white-majority districts. However, the likelihood of addressing minority issues is more significant for a black candidate running/representing in a majority-minority district. The implications of this finding can be viewed as troublesome if minority elected officials may not speak as fervently on minority issues when their constituency is not minority based. The implications may suggest that black candidates are less likely to speak on minority issues if they have a mostly white constituency and what does this mean for black voters within and beyond the district lines? If black women and men candidates seek higher office, would black interests still be adequately addressed (Price 2016)?

However, this study found that black women (mostly from majority-minority districts) are more likely to speak on issues addressing women of color than their male counterparts. I found articles that featured black women representing majority-minority and white-majority districts, speaking on issues concerning women of color such as military policies affecting black women's hairstyles and the kidnapping of Nigerian girls. Thus, it is not entirely clear that if black women candidates propel to higher offices that issues relating to minorities and women of color would not be addressed. However, black women Representatives have the propensity to speak on issues impacting minorities and women of color; therefore, if black women seek higher office, it would most likely continue.

Implications

This study suggests that for black women and men candidates to compete successfully they need access to funding networks to compete primarily in white-majority districts adequately. For black women candidates who wish to serve public office outside of state or federal representative offices, access to funding networks and resources are crucial (CAWP and Higher Heights 2015; Interview, Staff Member B). To date, state legislator Stacey Abrams recently won the gubernatorial primary in Georgia, and if she wins the general election, she will become the first black woman elected as a Governor in the United States (CAWP 2018). Black women can transcend barriers women face in self-presentation, mobilize various sects of voters and address issues impacting minorities, women of color and women in general. However, if they do not have the adequate means to compete, then the advantages black women candidates can bring are not fully realized.

Caveats

Although this study produced interesting findings, some caveats need to be mentioned. First, this study includes only one election year (2014) for analysis instead of at least two or more election years as most studies. Given these elite interviews were with candidates for Congress, many of whom were incumbents, it was difficult to secure an interview and therefore to secure interviews with candidates beyond a single election year.

Additionally, although this study shows that gender matters in campaign strategies of black women and men candidates, we do not have a complete picture concerning self-presentation of families on the campaign trail (Stalsburg 2010) and negative campaigning (Lau and Rovner 2009), two areas scholars have examined regarding gender difference between men and women candidates. There was not enough data from my interviews to extrapolate a *comparative* analysis between black women and men candidates. First, there were time constraints as I had to prioritize questions of importance based on time available to do the

interview. Also, given the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format, I allowed interview subjects to discuss topics as they saw fit.

Second, the nature of my interview sample, poses a challenge to explore these areas. For example, in considering family presentation on the campaign trail, many of the black women candidates in my sample either had no children (Interview Poore), or their children were too old to consider their relevancy in self-presentation on the campaign trail (Interview Kelly; Interview Watson Coleman). Black women have different life experiences regarding family obligations compared to white women, having to work and head single-parent households and enter politics at a later age (Garcia Bedolla, Tate and Wong 2005; Gamble 2010; Interview Kelly).

Nevertheless, the feedback I was able to obtain from interview subjects on the nature of family considerations and campaign strategy, warrant future study regarding black women and men candidates. For example, when I asked congressional candidate Meshea Poore of West Virginia's 2nd congressional district if she believes voters evaluate men and women candidates differently, she alluded to the questions and societal pressures women candidates constantly face (in her view) when running for public office such as, "…are you married, are you not married?" "Why are you not married?" "Where are your kids?" "What does your husband think of that?" (Interview Poore).

Meanwhile, my interviews with a few black men candidates revealed they discuss their candidacies with their families before running for Congress and incorporate them as part of their campaign presentation (Interview Payne Jr.; Interview Horsford). When I asked former Congressman Horsford (D-Nevada) if he brought his family on the campaign trail and about his thoughts and experiences on the matter, he mentioned the following:

> Yeah. My family has always been a part I view public service as a family endeavor. It's not just the sacrifice as the individual [it involves] my wife and kids. Because of the public service they were very much part of that process. We approached it that way. My wife was as involved in the community even if she wasn't on the ballot. So yes. So, they were part of it. In

> 2012, we had mailers that had my family and me. It was bio mailer [as] it was introducing me to constituents who didn't know me. Because so much about of what I stand for is around the family. One of the ways to communicate is to show who your family is. In 2014 we did not do that because it wasn't about introducing me. It was showing people what we have done and were we are at (Interview Horsford)

In essence, my interviews touched upon these areas but there was not enough data from *both* black women and men candidates to provide a full systematic analysis on family presentation and campaign strategies.

Similarly, regarding negative campaigning, there was not enough data regarding black women and men candidates facing opponents of the opposite sex to examine this closely. My interviews with Congressman Hank Johnson Jr. (D-Georgia) and Congressman Donald Payne Jr. gives some insight on the ways black men campaign against black women candidates in a majority-minority districts, but further analysis would be needed to assess how gender impacts negative campaigning for both black women and men candidates.

Future Research

Going forward, scholars can examine the ways institutional factors such as fundraising and party support can influence campaign strategies of black women and men political candidates. Studies have shown that women and minority candidates often report having fewer resources needed to run a successful campaign (Fox 1997; Semiatin 2013; Thurber and Nelson 2014). Thus, candidates' experiences in running for elected office, particularly the role of fundraising and party support, can shape a campaign and the type of strategies utilized to win (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Brown 2014). As previously mentioned, my findings suggest that black women and men candidates need adequate resources to compete, and further examination of the type of experiences they encounter during the campaign process, would be insightful and further help us understand the similarities and differences black women and men candidates experience in their campaign strategies.

Additionally, scholars can extend the content analysis in this dissertation to include coverage of both local and black newspapers to fully assess how black women and men candidates campaign for office considering multiple audiences. This study provides insight on how black women and men congressional candidates are covered in the black press during a primary campaign cycle coupled with the insight of these candidates and their campaign managers into their campaign experiences and strategic choices. However, going forward one can do a study encompassing a review of coverage covering multiple election years and from both local and minority press outlets. An ambitious project, but one that can further inform us of how the categories of race, gender, and the interaction of the two can impact campaign strategies of black women and men candidates.

As we assess the state of Black Politics, scholars should think about the importance of gender, and the significant contribution of black women. As James Gee, campaign manager of then-congressional candidate Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ) poignantly reflected during the close of our interview "As a practitioner, there is no black male politics. The black voter is Woman.[63] And even black men are elected by black women. And who runs their campaigns, black women"[64] (Interview Gee).

[63] I capitalize the term woman here to emphasize that the interviewee specifically said it in vein equivalent to the lyrics of women empowerment song "I am Woman" by Helen Ready, where the phrase is specifically "I am Woman" and not "I am a Woman."

[64] James Gee is referencing the actual work done on campaigns, not necessarily those who hold the titles or high positions. Based on his experience, black women often lead the actual every-day volunteer work that is crucial to running a successful campaign organization. Watson Coleman's campaign team, for example, included several women and a few men according to Gee.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Letters
Harden Russell Recruitment Letter(s) for Members of Congress[65]

Date

Name
Address
City, State, Zip Code

Dear [Name]:

My name is Aiisha Harden Russell and I am a PhD candidate in the political science department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I am writing to request an interview with you as part of my study on Black candidates for Congress. Specifically, my research project attempts to explore the ways in which Black women and men campaign for elected office. I seek to interview Black female and male members of Congress and/or their campaign staff who worked on the campaign during the 2014 election cycle.

I appreciate that your time is valuable. For this reason, I would limit my questions to 15-20 minutes, if you are able to commit to such a time frame. I would like to meet with you personally at your convenience in your office on Capitol Hill. Alternatively, I could conduct the interview by telephone.

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. At the time of the interview, I will provide a written explanation and your role in the project which you will be asked to provide your consent. I would like to tape record the interview, but I would also be happy to conduct the interview without using a tape recorder if you prefer. The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. At the time of our scheduled interview, I will have a form upon which you may indicate your preference of confidentiality. Alternatively, if it is a phone interview, I will verbally explain the project and read you an oral consent statement which will request for you to indicate your confidentiality.

I hope you will agree to participate in this study. Your insight would be extremely helpful as it would contribute to the political science discipline as well as to the broader comparative understanding of campaign strategies of Black female and male candidates.

If you are willing and able to participate in this study, please contact me via phone or email (aharden@rci.rutgers.edu) to schedule a time at your earliest convenience. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have further questions about the interview logistics, research focus, or anything else related to your participation.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to share your experience and perspective on this topic. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

[65] Recruitment letters and informed consent forms were printed on official Rutgers University letterhead.

Sincerely,

Aiisha Harden Russell
PhD Candidate in Political Science
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
aharden@rci.rutgers.edu

For additional information, you may contact my project advisor:

Kira Sanbonmatsu, Ph.D.
Professor of Political Science and Senior Scholar
Eagleton Institute of Politics
sanbon@rutgers.edu
(848) 932-8798

Harden Russell Recruitment Letter for Non-Members of Congress

Date

Name
Address
City, State, Zip Code

Dear [Name]:

My name is Aiisha Harden Russell and I am a PhD candidate in the political science department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I am writing to request an interview with you as part of my study on Black candidates for Congress. Specifically, my research project attempts to explore the ways in which Black women and men campaign for elected office. I seek to interview Black female and male political candidates for Congress and/or their campaign staff who worked on the campaign during the 2014 election cycle.

I appreciate that your time is valuable. For this reason, I would limit my questions to 30-60 minutes, if you are able to commit to such a time frame.

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. At the time of the interview, I will provide a written explanation and your role in the project which you will be asked to provide your consent. I would like to tape record the interview, but I would also be happy to conduct the interview without using a tape recorder if you prefer. The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. At the time of our scheduled interview, I will have a form upon which you may indicate your preference of confidentiality. Alternatively, if it is a phone interview, I will verbally explain the project and read you an oral consent statement which will request for you to indicate your confidentiality.

I hope you will agree to participate in this study. Your insight would be extremely helpful as it would contribute to the political science discipline as well as to the broader comparative understanding of campaign strategies of Black female and male candidates.

If you are willing and able to participate in this study, please contact me via phone (or email (aharden@rci.rutgers.edu) to schedule a time at your earliest convenience. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have further questions about the interview logistics, research focus, or anything else related to your participation.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to share your experience and perspective on this topic. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Aiisha Harden Russell
PhD Candidate in Political Science
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
aharden@rci.rutgers.edu

For additional information, you may contact my project advisor:

Kira Sanbonmatsu, Ph.D.
Professor of Political Science and Senior Scholar
Eagleton Institute of Politics
sanbon@rutgers.edu
(848) 932-8798

Appendix B: Informed Consent

Harden Russell Informed Consent for Members of Congress

Please be advised:

This interview is to be used for the purposes of scholarly research. This research explores the campaign strategies of Black congressional candidates. I anticipate no risks to you associated with this interview and you are welcome to refuse to answer any question which you do not feel comfortable answering. Benefits include a better comprehensive understanding of how Black women and men campaign for elected office. I will be interviewing approximately 20-30 subjects including Black congressional candidates and their campaign managers.

I would like to conduct a semi-structured interview with you either in person or over the phone. The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. If you prefer, our conversation can be completely off the record and in my published research, I do not have to quote from the interview. Or, with your permission, in my published work I could attribute to you any direct quotations from the interview. Alternatively, I could use quotations from the interview without attributing them to you. I am happy to treat the interview with the level of confidentiality that you prefer.

Level of Confidentiality. Please initial ONE of the following:

_____ I agree to be quoted, which means any direct remarks I give in the interview would be attributed to me and published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to be quoted anonymously, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me but would be published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to have our conversation completely off the record, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me nor published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

I anticipate that our interview will last from 15-20 minutes. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary, and there is no penalty for non-participation or for discontinuation of participation once the interview has begun. There will be no financial compensation for your participation in this study. I remain accessible to you if you have further questions or otherwise wish to contact me after the interview. I can be reached at:

Dept. of Political Science
Rutgers University
89 George Street
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
aharden@rci.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about this project or your potential participation, you may also direct questions to the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Kira Sanbonmatsu, at 848-932-8798 or. sanbon@rutgers.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:
Institutional Review Board
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Liberty Plaza / Suite 3200
335 George Street, 3rd Floor
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: 732-235-9806
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.
Agreement of Informed Consent:

I swear that I give this interview to Aiisha Harden Russell, Rutgers University, of my own free will, without duress. I attest also that I have read the information above concerning my rights and understand its contents. Aiisha Harden Russell may cite either directly or indirectly from this interview for her project concerning differences in how Black women and men run for elected office. I maintain the right to confidential use of the contents of the interview, that is, I may insist that my name not be revealed in written or oral reference to the contents of this interview.

Level of Confidentiality. Please initial ONE of the following:

_____ I agree to be quoted, which means any direct remarks I give in the interview would be attributed to me and published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to be quoted anonymously, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me but would be published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to have our conversation completely off the record, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me nor published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

Signature_____ **Date: _____**

Agreement for audio taping of subjects:

To make gathering and understanding information easier audio taping might be used. These will remain confidential unless you wish to explicitly waive your right to confidentiality.

I agree to allow audio taping _____

Principal Investigator: _____ Date:_____

Harden Russell Informed Consent for Non-Members of Congress

Please be advised:

This interview is to be used for the purposes of scholarly research. This research explores the campaign strategies of Black congressional candidates. I anticipate no risks to you associated with this interview and you are welcome to refuse to answer any question which you do not feel comfortable answering. Benefits include a better comprehensive understanding of how Black women and men campaign for elected office. I will be interviewing approximately 20-30 subjects including Black congressional candidates and their campaign managers.

I would like to conduct a semi-structured interview with you either in person or over the phone. The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. If you prefer, our conversation can be completely off the record and in my published research, I do not have to quote from the interview. Or, with your permission, in my published work I could attribute to you any direct quotations from the interview. Alternatively, I could use quotations from the interview without attributing them to you. I am happy to treat the interview with the level of confidentiality that you prefer.

Level of Confidentiality. Please initial ONE of the following:

_____ I agree to be quoted, which means any direct remarks I give in the interview would be attributed to me and published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to be quoted anonymously, which means any remarks I give in the interview would <u>not</u> be attributed to me but would be published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to have our conversation completely off the record, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me nor published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

I anticipate that our interview will last from 30-60 minutes. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary, and there is no penalty for non-participation or for discontinuation of participation once the interview has begun. There will be no financial compensation for your participation in this study. I remain accessible to you if you have further questions or otherwise wish to contact me after the interview. I can be reached at:

Dept. of Political Science
Rutgers University
89 George Street
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
aharden@rci.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about this project or your potential participation, you may also direct questions to the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Kira Sanbonmatsu, at 848-932-8798 or sanbon@rutgers.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:

Institutional Review Board
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Liberty Plaza / Suite 3200
335 George Street, 3rd Floor
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: 732-235-9806
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Agreement of Informed Consent:

I swear that I give this interview to Aiisha Harden Russell, Rutgers University, of my own free will, without duress. I attest also that I have read the information above concerning my rights and understand its contents. Aiisha Harden Russell may cite either directly or indirectly from this interview for her project concerning differences in how Black women and men run for elected office. I maintain the right to confidential use of the contents of the interview, that is, I may insist that my name not be revealed in written or oral reference to the contents of this interview.

Level of Confidentiality. Please initial ONE of the following:

_____ I agree to be quoted, which means any direct remarks I give in the interview would be attributed to me and published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to be quoted anonymously, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me but would be published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

_____ I agree to have our conversation completely off the record, which means any remarks I give in the interview would not be attributed to me nor published in the research of Aiisha Harden Russell.

Signature_____ **Date: _____**

Agreement for audio taping of subjects:

To make gathering and understanding information easier audio taping might be used. These will remain confidential unless you wish to explicitly waive your right to confidentiality.

I agree to allow audio taping _____

Principal Investigator: _____ Date:_____

Appendix C: Oral Informed Consent

Harden Russell Oral Assent/Oral Consent Statement for Members of Congress

Oral Assent/Oral Consent applies to phone interviews only; oral assent/oral consent is in lieu of written consent obtained from in-person interviews.

Hello. My name is Aiisha Harden Russell and I am a PhD candidate in the Political Science department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I would like to interview you today by phone as part of my research project that explores the campaign strategies of Black congressional candidates. I anticipate no risks to you associated with this interview and you are welcome to not answer any question that you are not comfortable answering. Benefits include a better comprehensive understanding of how Black women and men campaign for elected office. I will be interviewing approximately 20-30 subjects including Black congressional candidates and their campaign managers.

The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. I am happy to treat the interview with the level of confidentiality that you prefer; in my published research, I can either keep our interview off the record, attribute quotes directly from you or quote you anonymously.

I anticipate our interview lasting from 15-20 minutes. Your participation is strictly voluntary, and there is no penalty for non-participation or for discontinuation of participation once the interview has begun. You will not be financially compensated for participating in this study.

I remain accessible if you have further questions or otherwise wish to contact me after this interview. I can be reached at:

Email: aharden@rci.rutgers.edu
Dept. of Political Science
Rutgers University
89 George Street
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
If you have any questions about this project or your potential participation, you may also direct questions to the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Kira Sanbonmatsu at 848-932-8798 or sanbon@rutgers.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:

Institutional Review Board
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Liberty Plaza/Suite 3200
335 George Street, 3rd Floor
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: 732-235-9806
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

If you agree to participate in this study, I need to read you the following oral consent statement.

Agreement of Informed Consent

So, on (date) ……____

Do you agree to give this interview to me, Aiisha Harden Russell, out of your own free will without duress? Yes or no? [66]

If answer yes, proceed with the rest of the script below. If answer no, ask if there is another appropriate person from their team I can speak with. If not, kindly thank them for their time and end the conversation).

Which level of confidentiality do you prefer?[67]

(1) completely off the record and in my published research, I do not have to quote from the interview OR
(2) With your permission, in my published research, I could attribute to you any direct quotations from the interview OR
(3) I could use quotations from the interview without attributing them to you.

Do you agree to give this interview to me, Aiisha Harden Russell, based on the level of confidentiality indicated above? (i.e. first option, second option, or third option)

By agreeing to be interviewed for this study, do you attest that you understand your rights and its contents as specifically stated (i.e. participation is voluntary, no penalty for discontinuation of interview once begun, level of confidentiality, etc.?) (Yes or no?)[68]

Agreement of Audio Taping of Subjects

Additionally, I would like to audio tape our interview to make gathering and understanding information easier. These audio recordings will remain confidential unless you wish to explicitly waive your right to confidentiality.

Do you agree to allow me to audio tape our interview? (Yes or no?)[69]

Thank you for agreeing to give me an interview as part of my scholarly research. Let's begin.

[66] *I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of their oral consent of the interview

[67] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of their level of preferred confidentiality.

[68] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of understanding their rights as a subject in this study.

[69] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of audio taping.

Harden Russell Oral Assent/Oral Consent Statement for Non-Members of Congress

Oral Assent/Oral Consent applies to phone interviews only; oral assent/oral consent is in lieu of written consent obtained from in-person interviews.

Hello. My name is Aiisha Harden Russell and I am a PhD candidate in the Political Science department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I would like to interview you today by phone as part of my research project that explores the campaign strategies of Black congressional candidates. I anticipate no risks to you associated with this interview and you are welcome to not answer any question that you are not comfortable answering. Benefits include a better comprehensive understanding of how Black women and men campaign for elected office. I will be interviewing approximately 20-30 subjects including Black congressional candidates and their campaign managers.

The level of confidentiality of the interview is entirely up to you. I am happy to treat the interview with the level of confidentiality that you prefer; in my published research, I can either keep our interview off the record, attribute quotes directly from you or quote you anonymously.

I anticipate our interview lasting from 30-60 minutes. Your participation is strictly voluntary, and there is no penalty for non-participation or for discontinuation of participation once the interview has begun. You will not be financially compensated for participating in this study.

I remain accessible if you have further questions or otherwise wish to contact me after this interview. I can be reached at:

Email: aharden@rci.rutgers.edu
Dept. of Political Science
Rutgers University
89 George Street
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

If you have any questions about this project or your potential participation, you may also direct questions to the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Kira Sanbonmatsu, at 848-932-8798 or sanbon@rutgers.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:

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Phone: 732-235-9806
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

If you agree to participate in this study, I need to read you the following oral consent statement.

Agreement of Informed Consent

So, on (date) ……_____

Do you agree to give this interview to me, Aiisha Harden Russell, out of your own free will without duress? Yes or no? [70]

If answer yes, proceed with the rest of the script below. If answer no, ask if there is another appropriate person whom I can speak with. If not, kindly thank them for their time and end the conversation).

Which level of confidentiality do you prefer?[71]

(4) completely off the record and in my published research, I do not have to quote from the interview OR
(5) With your permission, in my published research, I could attribute to you any direct quotations from the interview OR
(6) I could use quotations from the interview without attributing them to you.

Do you agree to give this interview to me, Aiisha Harden Russell, based on the level of confidentiality indicated above? (i.e. first option, second option, or third option)

By agreeing to be interviewed for this study, do you attest that you understand your rights and its contents as specifically stated (i.e. participation is voluntary, no penalty for discontinuation of interview once begun, level of confidentiality, etc.?) (Yes or no?)[72]

Agreement of Audio Taping of Subjects

Additionally, I would like to audio tape our interview to make gathering and understanding information easier. These audio recordings will remain confidential unless you wish to explicitly waive your right to confidentiality.

Do you agree to allow me to audio tape our interview? (Yes or no?)[73]

Thank you for agreeing to give me an interview as part of my scholarly research. Let's begin.

[70] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of their oral consent of the interview

[71] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of their level of preferred confidentiality.

[72] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of understanding their rights as a subject in this study.

[73] I will record in my notes what subjects agree to over the phone in terms of audio taping.

Appendix D: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
Interview Questions for Black Members of U.S Congress

Overview—Campaign Presentation

1. Tell me about your campaign for U.S Congress?
2. Did/Do you feel that you and your campaign were effective in communicating this image and message to voters? Why/why not?
3. What issues did you campaign on? (Probe to see if they cut across race and gender)
4. Did national politics influence the direction of the campaign? In what ways? (*political context variable)*

Personal Background:

5. What motivated you to run for U.S Congress? (i.e. community activism, prior political/elected experience, etc.)
6. Were you recruited or encouraged to run? If so whom-party organizations, community leaders, church leaders, etc.
7. How is your experience raising money for your campaign/candidacy? Do you find it challenging and in what ways?

Perceived Voter Evaluation:

8. In general – and based on your experience in electoral politics – do you think voters view female candidates differently from male candidates? How so?
    - Stereotypes that are a challenge to women? Challenge to men? (i.e. non-family man)
    - Stereotypes that benefit women? Benefit men?
9. Do you think voters view African American candidates differently from non-African American candidates? How so?
    - Stereotypes that are a challenge and/or advantageous to Black political candidates
    - Stereotypes that are a challenge and/or advantageous to Black women? Black men?

Self-Presentation

10. Did you make direct appeals to voters based on your identity as a Black man/woman? Did you appeal directly to Black voters? Women voters?

11. Do you think race matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent) at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
12. Do you think gender matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
13. Families and children are inevitably brought into the fray of political campaigns, especially in helping to present a candidate's personal side and values.
    - Did/Do you feature your family on the campaign trail? If so how?
    - Do you think that families play different roles for Black male and female candidates given the high rate of Black women who are single mothers and the reports of absentee Black fathers?
14. Do you think your physical appearance matters to voters? Do you craft your campaign around this issue, including things such as style of hair (long, short, relaxed, natural) and clothing. Does it get in the way of issues/concerns you want to stress?
15. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your experiences in campaigns, elections with respect to race, and gender?

****Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate it. Have a good day!****

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
Interview Questions for Campaign Managerial Staff for Black Members of Congress

1. What is your role in the [candidate] campaign? When did you sign on to the campaign? What role did you play for [candidate's] campaign?
2. Upon beginning your work for the campaign, what did you perceive as the greatest strengths and biggest challenges to [candidate]? To the campaign environment?
3. Do you think race matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent) at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
4. Do you think gender matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
5. It's been said that Black female/male candidates have to strike a balance as being appealing and authoritative without coming across too combative or angry. Do you feel Black candidates have to strike this balance?
6. It's been said that Black political candidates in general when running in non-minority majority districts have to make the delicate balancing act of appealing to base of supporters, i.e. Black voters, while branching out to appeal to other groups. Is this something you see Black political candidates experiencing, in the age of Obama?

7. Overall, do you feel that your candidate's personal life (over political experience) received any more/less scrutiny than his opponent? Why? How do you deal with that in terms of strategy? Did you focus on personal attributes?
8. In any campaign, there are important milestones or events that might lead to an adjustment in strategy or focus. Were there any critical points in the campaign where you felt the campaign needed to adjust strategy or approach due to shifts in the political landscape or due to your opponents' tactics or successes?
9. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your experiences in campaigns, elections with respect to race, and gender?
10. Final question: Is there anyone else you recommend I speak to from the campaign? Was/were there any consultants that worked closely with the campaign with whom you'd recommend I speak?

Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate it. Have a good day!

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
Interview Questions for Black Political Candidates for U.S Congress (nonmembers of U.S Congress)

Overview—Campaign Presentation

1. Tell me about your campaign for U.S Congress?
2. What was the image you hoped to present to voters?
3. What was the message or the themes your campaign tried to emphasize most in ads, mail, and on the campaign trail?
4. Did/Do you feel that you and your campaign were effective in communicating this image and message to voters? Why/why not?
5. What issues did you campaign on? (Probe to see if they cut across race and gender
6. Given the political context of 2012 or 2014, what would you say were the most important factors shaping your campaign's approach? What do you believe contributed to your loss/victory in the primary? (I.e. money, political climate, incumbency, lack of political support, quality of opponent)

Personal Background:

7. What motivated you to run for U.S Congress? (i.e. community activism, prior political/elected experience, etc.)
8. Were you recruited or encouraged to run? If so whom-party organizations, community leaders, church leaders, etc.
9. How is your experience raising money for your campaign/candidacy? Do you find it challenging and in what ways?
10. Although this is a primary race, did you receive any support/encouragement from party organizations? (Note: research shows that Black political candidates, including women of color report receiving less support/political party recruitment than White female candidates).

Perceived Voter Evaluation:

11. In general – and based on your experience in electoral politics – do you think voters view female candidates differently from male candidates? How so?
    - Stereotypes that are a challenge to women? Challenge to men? (i.e. non-family man)
    - Stereotypes that benefit women? Benefit men?
12. Do you think voters view African American candidates differently from non-African American candidates? How so?

- Stereotypes that are a challenge and/or advantageous to Black political candidates
- Stereotypes that are a challenge and/or advantageous to Black women? Black men?

Self-Presentation

13. Did you target any particular group(s) of voters? How/why? (African Americans? Latinos? Women?)
14. Did you make direct appeals to voters based on your identity as a Black man/woman? Did you appeal directly to Black voters? Latino voters? Women voters?
15. Do you think race matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent) at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
16. Do you think gender matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
17. Families and children are inevitably brought into the fray of political campaigns, especially in helping to present a candidate's personal side and values.
    - Did/Do you feature your family on the campaign trail? If so how?
    - Do you think that families play different roles for Black male and female candidates given the high rate of Black women who are single mothers and the reports of absentee Black fathers?
18. Do you think your physical appearance matters to voters? Do you craft your campaign around this issue, including things such as style of hair (long, short, relaxed, natural) and clothing? Does it get in the way of issues/concerns you want to stress?
19. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your experiences in campaigns, elections with respect to race, and gender?

****Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate it. Have a good day!****

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Interview Questions for Campaign Managerial Staff for Black Political Candidates for US Congress (non-members of U.S Congress)

1. What is your role in the [candidate] campaign? When did you sign on to the campaign? What role did you play for [candidate's] campaign?
2. Upon beginning your work for the campaign, what did you perceive as the greatest

strengths and biggest challenges to [candidate]? To the campaign environment?

3. In what ways, if any, do you feel that this campaign would have been different if your candidate was a man? And does the race of the man matter i.e. a White man or a Black man?
4. Do you think being a Black female/male candidate altered media coverage/attention, voter perceptions, or the strategies and/or tactics that you/your candidate or your/their opponents adopted/executed?
5. Do you think that [candidate] being a Black woman/man brought any advantages or disadvantages to your campaign?
6 Do you think race matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent) at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
7. Do you think gender matters (either of the candidate and/or opponent at all in campaign strategy/tactics? How?
8. Do you think being a Black female/male candidate altered media coverage/attention, voter perceptions, or the strategies and/or tactics that you/your candidate or your/their opponents adopted/executed?
9. It's been said that Black female/male candidates have to strike a balance as being appealing and authoritative without coming across too combative or angry. Do you feel Black candidates have to strike this balance?
10. It's been said that Black political candidates in general when running in non-minority majority districts have to make the delicate balancing act of appealing to base of supporters, i.e. Black voters, while branching out to appeal to other groups. Is this something you see Black political candidates experiencing, in the age of Obama?
11. Overall, do you feel that your candidate's personal life (over political experience) received any more/less scrutiny than his opponent? Why? How do you deal with that in terms of strategy? Did you focus on personal attributes?
12. In any campaign, there are important milestones or events that might lead to an adjustment in strategy or focus. Were there any critical points in the campaign where you felt the campaign needed to adjust strategy or approach due to shifts in the political landscape or due to your opponents' tactics or successes?
13. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your experiences in campaigns, elections with respect to race, and gender?

14. Final question: Is there anyone else you recommend I speak to from the campaign? Was/were there any consultants that worked closely with the campaign with whom you'd recommend I speak?

****Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate it. Have a good day!****

Appendix E: A Note on Race of Interviewer Effects

Given most of my interviews were conducted over the phone (except for two), I do not believe there were high levels of race of interviewer effects (Twine and Warren 2000) in which my presence as an African American woman interviewing congressional candidates of the same race would lead to censored responses or social desirability effects**.** However, there were some instances where race of interviewer effects could be possible if minor.

My first name is Muslim in origin or "ethnic" sounding (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004), and perhaps, may lend possible assumptions about my race and ethnicity (as an African American). While in the field trying to secure interviews, I met a few staffers of members of Congress and as a result, I garnered interviews with their bosses (so to speak), but otherwise, little direct reference about my race and ethnicity was made in my interviews. I do not think that my shared identity helped me secure interviews per se, but rather the topic itself, the study of black women's and men's campaign strategies, that drew interest. A few of the women congressional candidates specifically thanked me for doing this study besides wished me luck as with everyone.

Nevertheless, in one instance towards the end of an interview, as part of the general flow of the conversation, a campaign manager identified their background, in which I then identified mine. In another instance, another campaign manager revealed their ethnicity (as African American) and apologized for assuming I shared the same ethnicity. Additionally, a congressional candidate halfway during the interview apologized for assuming my race/ethnicity, as the conversation strayed about race and handling one's self in diverse settings and pointed to my experience in academia as an example (few PhD candidates of color in academia). Finally, in one case, my demographic background (born and raised in the Bronx, NY) revealed itself in an interview as both myself and the interview subject grew up in New York City. From my perspective, other than the actual congressional candidates and/or members of Congress as public figures, I do not necessarily know the race and ethnicity of the campaign managers I spoke with

for this dissertation. Thus, I believe my background had minimal effects with interview subjects, especially given that a few interview subjects did not know of my background until towards the end of the interview through conversation.

Appendix F: Code Sheet of Media Content Analysis

An Assessment of Coverage in Black Newspapers

General overview of the article:

1. **Newspaper code**: what is the name of the newspaper?
2. **Geography code**: what state is newspaper covering?
3. **Date of the article**: what is the date of the article?
4. **Candidate code**: what is code of candidate

Quality of Black Candidate

5. Type of candidate running: incumbent, challenger, open seat or appointment?

District Type

6. What type of district candidate is running in: minority-majority or white-majority?

The tone of the article:

7. **Tone of the article**: What is the overall tone of the article? Positive? Negative? Neutral?

Negative Coverage Frame:

8. **Criticisms of candidate**: Does the article have criticisms of the candidate? (Gershon 2012)
9. **Source of criticisms of the candidate:** Reporter? Polling data? Fundraising? Viability? (Gershon 2012)

Positive Coverage Frame:

10. **Number of compliments of candidate**: Did the candidate receive compliments? If so how many? (Gershon 2012)
11. **Source of the complement for the candidate**: author? Polling data? (Gershon 2012)
12. **Newspaper endorsement**: Is the paper endorsing the candidate? (Gershon 2012)

The substance of the article:

13. **What is the article primarily about?** Is the article about an endorsement? Close race? Issues? Campaign event? Voter support or non-support? Scandal? (Gershon 2012)

Racialized Frame:

14. **The candidate appears before or speaks about minorities**: Does the article depict candidate appearing before a minority audience or space? (Gillespie 2016)

15. **The candidate appears before or speaks about a Black audience**: Does the candidate appears or speaks about an African American constituency. (Gillespie 2016)
16. **Race label**: Is candidate or voters labeled African American? Black? Caribbean? Congressional Black Caucus? (Gillespie 2016)

Gendered Frame:

17. **Gender label**: Is candidate or voters labeled as a woman? Wife? Mother? Family? Member of a women organization? Endorsed by a women organization? "first" (Meeks 2012; Gillespie 2016)
18. **The candidate appears before or speaks about women**: Does the article depict candidate appearing before women audience or space? (Gillespie 2016)
19. **Fashionable candidate**: Does the article mention the candidate's clothing or describes her or his clothes, image or physical appearance? (Gillespie 2016)
20. **Candidate traits:** Honest, tough, experienced, compassionate, emotional, altruism, congeniality, knowledgeable (Meeks 2012; Brooks 2013; Hayes and Lawless 2015)

Race/Gendered Frame:

21. **The candidate is referenced as a Black woman**: candidate referenced as an African American woman. Voters referenced as Black women voters or minority women voters? Are African American woman organizations referenced? (Gillespie 2016)
22. **The candidate appears before or speaks about Black women/women of color**: Does the article depict candidate appearing before Black or a minority women audience? (Gillespie 2016)
23. **Candidate traits**: Is candidate referred by Black women stereotypes, such as irrational anger or strength? (Ward 2016; Gillespie 2016)
24. **Candidate speak positively about fashion choices or utilize fashion to an advantage** (Based on Interview evidence 2018)

Appendix G: Sample of Black Newspapers

Afro-American Red Star
Call & Post
Charlotte Post
Chicago Defender
Columbus Times
Los Angeles Sentinel
Miami Times
Michigan Chronicle
Milwaukee Courier
New York Amsterdam News
New York Beacon
Oakland Post
Philadelphia Tribune
Precinct Reporter
Recorder
Sacramento Observer
South Florida Times
Speakin Out News
Sun Reporter
The Louisiana Weekly
Tri-State Defender
Washington Informer
Westside Gazette