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How Minority Candidates' Intersectional Identities Affect Their Use Of Race And Gender Issue Ownership Campaign Strategies

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HOW MINORITY CANDIDATES' INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES AFFECT THEIR USE OF RACE AND GENDER ISSUE OWNERSHIP CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

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Abstract

This Independent Study explores the ways in which a candidate's intersectional identity affects their use of gender and race issue ownership techniques in their political campaigns. While prior research has studied the campaign strategies of (white) female candidates and black (male) candidates, it has not studied the effects of possessing multiple minority identities on the campaign strategies employed by black female candidates. Scholars have found that female candidates benefit from embracing gender issue ownership in their campaigns, while black candidates benefit from rejecting race issue ownership in their campaigns. I theorize that black female candidates' intersectional identities preclude them from highlighting one aspect of their identity and simultaneously downplaying another. Using a content analysis method, I analyze the 2018 campaign websites of black female, black male, and white female candidates running for the United States House of Representatives. Limited by a small sample size, I do not find statistically significant evidence to support my hypotheses. When looking at gender issue ownership, I do not find that black female candidates embrace gender issue ownership at higher rates than their black male or white female counterparts. However, in regard to race issue ownership, I find that while candidates of all identities do not embrace race issue ownership in their campaigns, black female candidates embrace race issue ownership at higher rates than white female candidates. This study has important implications both for the ways that we understand the theory of deracialization, and as it points to the importance of continuing to employ intersectional frameworks when studying campaign strategies.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"The reality is that I'm Black. And I'm a Black woman.
And I'm a Black woman in politics. And everything that I do is political."
-Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley (MA-7)
January 16, 2020

In 1968, Shirley Chisholm became the first black congresswoman elected to the

United States House of Representatives; fifty years later, on November 6, 2018, a record-

breaking 36 new female legislators won seats in the United States House of

Representatives, bringing the total number of female legislators in the House to an all-

time high of 102 women (Williams 2019). Furthermore, these newly elected women were

highly racially diverse. In fact, 35 of the 102 congresswomen elected in 2018 are

congresswomen of color. This includes nineteen black congresswomen who were elected

to serve in the House. The stories of those who won their elections represent only one

part of the historic campaigns that were run in 2018. In 2018, 84 women of color ran for

Congress—this represents a 42 percent increase from how many women of color

campaigned in 2016 (Chiara 2018).

These increasing levels of descriptive representation have important implications

for democracy. Descriptive representation refers to the idea that when representatives

share a common identity with their constituents—for example, race, class, or gender—the

representative will be more likely to act in the best interests of the group, and will elevate

issues that are important to the group (Swers 2002). Prior research has found that

increased levels of descriptive representation have immense benefits for democracy. For

example, Atkeson and Carrillo found that increased levels of descriptive representation

resulted in increased feelings of external efficacy throughout the general public (2007).

This means that when the government is more descriptively representative of the

population, voters are more likely to feel like the government will be responsive to their needs; this increased faith in government thus helps to bolster democracy. Therefore, as both those who campaign for Congress, and those who win their elections, become more diverse, it becomes even more crucial for scholars to understand the unique ways in which women of color conduct their political campaigns, due to the implications of these campaigns for long-term increases in descriptive representation.

This increase in descriptive representation of the American body politic is additionally important because of the role model effect. As the number of minority candidates who run for—and win—political office increases, scholars have found that the American public's stereotypes of who can be an effective leader change (Mansbridge 1999). As Mansbridge states "If the women representatives are almost all White and the Black representatives are almost all male… the implicit message may be that Black women do not or should not rule" (1999, 649). As in the 2018 elections there was a great increase in the number of women of color who ran and won office, and these women came to serve as political role models who help to change the stereotypes of who can be a politician or a serious candidate in the American system. Furthermore, this increasing presence allows minority politicians to inspire and serve as role models for others to run for office and become more politically active (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006; Mansbridge 1999). Scholars have found that the role model effect, which emerges from the presence of more women in the legislature, leads to increasingly frequent conversations between girls and their parents, which later increase the girls' long-term political participation (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). Therefore, the 2018 increase in female representatives of color may mirror this impact by increasing the number of girls

of color who have higher levels of political participation later in life. This points to the need to further study the campaign strategies employed by women of color, in order to understand the messages and issues that they promote as political role models.

The issues on which each candidate focuses have important implications beyond descriptive representation and on substantive representation. Substantive representation refers to the idea that representatives will legislate in ways that support a group's best interests (Wallace 2014). Previous studies have found that the presence of black and/or female legislators does not necessarily mean that the substantive interests of each group are more likely to be addressed (Mansbridge 1999); however, other studies have also found that minority legislators act substantively differently than their white counterparts (Juenke and Preuhs 2012). Therefore, even as rising levels of descriptive representation are important because of descriptive representation's effects on external efficacy and the role model effect, it may also be important to consider which issues candidates choose to highlight in their political campaigns to determine levels of substantive representation. This is because these issues may be used to indicate the extent to which legislators will embrace issues of substantive importance to their electorate once elected. The issues each candidate highlights are important to consider when thinking about each candidate's potential impact on substantive representation.

Currently, there is not much literature examining how women of color, and specifically black women, conduct their political campaigns. The existing literature and theories either predominately focus on black men or on white women, with very little looking at the intersections of race and gender in campaigns. Furthermore, this poses an issue as the literature promotes conflicting degrees to which black men and white women

should emphasize their minority identities in order to win their elections. The literature on black male candidate's campaigns has culminated in theories of deracialization. These theories state that black male candidates are most successful in non-minority-majority districts when they build multiracial coalitions by not discussing racialized issues, and instead emphasizing race-transcendent issues (McCormick and Jones 1993). In contrast, however, the literature on white female candidates has found that they are most likely to win elections when they embrace gender issue ownership techniques by highlighting issues that are perceived as "women's issues" in their campaigns (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003).

The literature on both deracialization and gender issue ownership focuses only on the campaign strategies employed by those with only one minority identity, rather than employing an intersectional approach. This is problematic as these two strategies are seemingly contradictory: the theory of deracialization asks candidates to play down, and even ignore, an aspect of their identity in their campaign in order to win an election, while the theory of gender issue ownership promises electoral victory to those who purposely emphasize their minority identity. Theories of intersectionality posit that race and gender identities are mutually constituted, and therefore inseparable, implying that black female candidates may not be able to highlight their gender identity without also highlighting their racial identity (Brown and Hudson Banks 2014; Shah, Scott, and Juenke 2019). Therefore, this study seeks to reconcile these two strategies and to fill this gap in the literature on minority candidate's campaign strategies by combining three bodies of literature to answer this research question: *How does a candidate's*

intersectional gender and racial identity affect his/her decision to embrace gender and race issue ownership strategies in his/her electoral campaign?

In analyzing this research question, I posit four hypotheses that seek to understand the effect of intersectional candidate identity on the use of race and gender issue ownership strategies in political campaigns. I expect that black female candidates will be more likely to embrace both race and gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than either black men or white women, as theories of intersectionality suggest that each of these identities individually will interact to create a new and distinct identity. To test these hypotheses, I conduct a content analysis of the gender issue ownership and race issue ownership strategies employed on the campaign websites of black female, black male, and white female candidates running for the U.S. House of Representatives in 2018. In order to determine whether gender or race issue ownership techniques were employed, I created a coding schema based on the literature on stereotypes for black candidates and for female candidates. After coding the candidate's websites, I conducted a statistical analysis of the results.

In addition to the implications of descriptive representation for democracy, this project is significant for a few reasons. Firstly, this work helps to address the large gap in the literature on the campaign strategies of black female candidates. Here, I highlight both the need for an intersectional understanding of the issue ownership techniques of minority candidates, and the ways in which candidates of different minority identities address race and gender on their websites. Secondly, it constitutes one of the first works to systematically study the concept of deracialization. As Orey and Ricks explain, in much of the previous literature on deracialization, scholars have simply asserted whether

or not a campaign was deracialized, without creating a systematic, and empirical instrument with which to measure the deracialization concept (2007).

Throughout the subsequent chapters, I will explore the effects of candidate identity on race and gender issue ownership techniques. In Chapter Two, I explore the literature related to my research question. Specifically, I pull from the literature on deracialization, the racial stereotypes of black candidates, the gendered stereotypes of female candidates, gender issue ownership, and intersectionality. In Chapter Three, I explain my theory, which frames my hypotheses. In this chapter, I also explain the content analysis method that I use to test these hypotheses. Next, in Chapter Four, I present the data that has resulted from my content analysis of candidate websites. I analyze the gathered data using difference of means tests and multivariate regressions in order to confront my four hypotheses. Finally, in Chapter Five, I summarize my findings, and then discuss the limitations to my study, as well as the implications of my findings. This final chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the field of political science, women of color are often overlooked. Their experiences in office, and on the campaign trail, are often assumed to be similar to those of men of color and white women, meaning that scholars fail to study the unique ways in which their intersectional identities affect their experiences as candidates and policy makers. Furthermore, when looking at the experiences of female candidates of color, the literature fails to address how their intersectional identities affect how these candidates discuss both race and gender in their campaigns. Therefore, in this study I will address the research question: *How does a candidate's intersectional gender and racial identity affect his/her decision to embrace gender and race issue ownership strategies in his/her electoral campaign?* In addressing this question, I pull together previously established theories focused both on female candidates' strategies and on the strategies of candidates of color in order to address the unique intersectional strategies of female candidates of color.

Understanding these unique experiences is important to United States democracy because of its implications for representation, and specifically on ideas of descriptive representation. Descriptive representation refers to the idea that "representatives who share a common social identity, such as gender, race, or class will be more likely to act for the interests of their group" (Swers 2002, 2). Increased levels of descriptive representation in the legislature have many positive impacts on democracy. Specifically, scholars have found that increased descriptive representation increases citizen's feelings of external efficacy about their government, increases the empirical legitimacy of the polity, and helps reconstruct social meanings surrounding leadership, effectively

signaling to the public that minorities are capable of leadership and being effective citizens (Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Mansbridge 1999). Therefore, as descriptive representation can have so many positive impacts on the legislature and on citizen's ideas about their democracies, it is important to understand how possessing more than one minority identity adds additional layers to descriptive representation. One must also understand and these ideas of descriptive representation manifest in different candidates' campaign strategies, when talking about different aspects of one's identity may not be a recommended strategy.

As there is a gap in the literature surrounding female candidates of colors' use of both gender issue ownership and deracialization in their campaigns, I draw from existing literature on deracialization (which, currently, is largely focused on male candidates, and furthermore, mostly on black male candidates), the racial stereotypes of black candidates, the gendered stereotypes of female candidates, and campaign success when employing gender issue ownership. Furthermore, to develop my own theoretical argument, I examine the pertinent literature on intersectionality. Then, I look at specifically black female candidates in order to determine what, if any, stereotypic traits are uniquely applied to this group. Finally, I look at the gaps in the literature, which my study will endeavor to address.

Defining Deracialization

The concept of deracialization emerged around three decades ago, following the November 1989 elections wherein a large number of African-American officials were elected to public office on so-called "Black Tuesday." Many scholars turned their attention to explaining why such an unprecedented number of black male officials were

elected on that day, and frequently cited the deracialization strategy employed by so many of the elected officials' campaigns. Although deracialization can colloquially have a negative connotation, in the academic context it is a much less controversial term and is more generally accepted to be a sometimes-necessary tool for candidates of color running campaigns amidst the reality of the American political-racial context.

While deracialization emerged conceptually in 1989, it was not until 1993 when a widely accepted definition emerged. McCormick and Jones (1993) were the first authors to establish a commonly accepted definition of deracialization. They state that deracialization is:

> 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 or maintaining public office (McCormick and Jones 1993, 76).

This definition contains three main pillars. First, it highlights that when running a deracialized campaign, candidates of color will avoid discussing race-specific issues. Authors who followed McCormick and Jones have broadened this definition to include issues that, while not explicitly racial in nature, have been associated with race. For example, an African-American candidate might avoid discussing policy areas that are perceived as being 'black issues,' such as affirmative action or welfare (Orey and Ricks 2007; Wright Austin and Middleton 2004). Contrastingly, a Latinx candidate may refrain from discussing immigration or bilingual education in their campaign, as both issues are racialized for Latinx candidates (Juenke and Sampaio 2010; Wright Austin and Middleton 2004). Furthermore, in order to promote a deracialized image, a Latinx candidate may refrain from publishing campaign materials and/or websites in Spanish,

even as national Democratic and Republican websites are published in both English and Spanish (Juenke and Sampaio 2010). Illustratively, in operationalizing deracialization, Juenke and Sampaio found that, in the 1998 Colorado elections, neither Ken Salazar—in running for the U.S. Senate—nor his brother, John Salazar, in running for the U.S. House of Representatives, discussed immigration in their campaign materials, indicating that their campaigns were deracialized (2010).

The second pillar highlighted in this definition is that a candidate who deracializes his or her campaign will emphasize issues that are seen as racially transcendent, and in some cases, emphasize the importance of race transcendence in and of itself. Therefore, when looking for a deracialized campaign, one would expect to find a candidate who predominately focuses on issues that are either not racialized, or for which politicians of their race are perceived to be less competent in handling than their counterparts of other races. For example, both Ken and John Salazar focused heavily on the economy and rural issues in their campaigns because both of these issues are perceived as nonracial for these two Latino candidates (Juenke and Sampaio 2010). In emphasizing issues of the economy, and issues that affect rural workers at large, such as agriculture and rural development, the Salazar brothers were able to convey to the electorate that they transcended race; that they could be representatives for the people, rather than representatives of their specific racial group. Similarly, African-American candidates like Barack Obama have endeavored to portray race transcendence: in his 2008 presidential campaign, the then-Illinois senator claimed race transcendence by stating that "'We are all Americans'" (Sinclair-Chapman and Price 2008). In claiming transcendence by highlighting his American identity, Obama was able to separate himself from racially

divisive issues in order to allow more focus to be placed on his stances on non-racialized issues.

The final pillar of deracialization explains that deracialization is employed with the goal of creating a multiracial coalition in order to secure or maintain public office. These multiracial coalitions are particularly important for winning major political offices. While black candidates throughout the 1990s were able to win elections in districts that were predominately black all the while still highlighting racialized issues, those living in predominately white districts attained higher levels of success when they employed a deracialized campaign strategy and created a multiracial coalition (Liu 2003). Throughout the same time period, there was a shift in how black candidates campaigned. Rather than targeting black voters and obtaining a small number of crossover votes, black candidates began to employ deracialized campaigns in order to gain higher levels of crossover support, and to create coalitions with the white electorate (Wright Austin and Middleton 2004).

Scholars have found deracialization to be particularly effective in contexts where a candidate of color is campaigning in a district wherein his or her racial group is not a majority, as it is in this context where candidates of color must create a multiracial coalition in order to be elected. As Juenke and Sampaio state, "The most evident context in which this campaign style might be employed is when the candidate's racial or ethnic group is a numerical minority" (2010, 45). To win elections, racial minority candidates who run outside of majority-minority districts must gain electoral support across multiple racial and ethnic groups; these candidates must especially create coalitions that include white voters (Bejarano 2013). Deracialized campaigns are particularly evident in these

instances as it is under these conditions that a multiracial coalition must be built in order to win an election. Therefore, when studying deracialization, or looking for evidence of this technique in a candidate's electoral campaign, it is important to focus on minority candidates who are running for office in districts where their racial identity is in the minority of those who would be their constituency.

The literature on deracialization discusses how, as a highly complex concept, many studies claim deracialization without proving its presence. These studies merely assume or assert that deracialization is present as it is difficult to measure. Illustratively, Orey and Ricks (2007) identify a number of studies on deracialization wherein, although authors concluded that a candidate had run a deracialized campaign, the authors had failed to conduct a systematic analysis, thus weakening their conclusions. This is not to say, however, that it cannot be done. For example, in operationalizing deracialization, Orey and Ricks (2007) conducted surveys of black elected officials, to decipher how the candidates themselves would describe their own campaigns. Other scholars, such as Collet (2008) and Juenke and Sampaio (2010) employ case study and content analysis techniques in order to measure candidates' levels of deracialization. Therefore, in studying deracialization, one must be cautious to systematically demonstrate, rather than simply assert, that deracialization is present in a campaign. Furthermore, while it may be difficult to measure the deracialization concept, it has previously been accomplished using a variety of methods.

Racial Stereotypes of Black Candidates

Voters use partisan stereotypes to help them make voting decisions, especially when they do not have much prior knowledge of the candidates. As candidates become

increasingly less white and male, voters also increasingly use stereotypes based on demographic characteristics in order to choose which candidate to vote for in an election (McDermott 1998). Furthermore, stereotypes significantly influence how we evaluate candidates as both "Racial and gender stereotypes are pervasive and culturally embedded" (Carey and Lizotte 2017). Unlike the literature on deracialization, the literature on racial stereotypes of black candidates is more inclusive of candidates running for national office; however, much of the literature on racial stereotypes still primarily addresses the stereotypes associated with black male candidates. The literature on racial stereotypes focuses specifically on what stereotypes voters employ when choosing between a white candidate and a black candidate. It is important to note that studies have found that voters view black politicians, and therefore candidates, as a subtype (rather than a subgroup) of the larger black population (Schneider and Bos 2011). This means that while the literature has found that black people are generally associated with stereotypes such as laziness and poverty, black politicians are stereotyped quite differently and distinctly (Schneider and Bos 2011). When choosing which candidate to elect, voters often rely on stereotypes of black candidates in three main categories, which pertain to the supposed voting patterns of the candidates, traits that black candidates are stereotyped to possess, and the stereotyped political affiliation of black candidates.

Black candidates face a number of issue stereotypes. A first issue stereotype faced by black candidates is that voters often believe that black elected officials will only represent their own racial group (Citrin, Green and Sears 1990; Sinclair-Chapman and Price 2008; Wintersieck and Carle 2019). That is to say (specifically white) voters may believe that black candidates will vote with only the interests of their black constituents

in mind and will focus primarily on issues that are perceived to mainly benefit black constituents, such as affirmative action. Furthermore, black candidates may be viewed as being more concerned with racial issues—issues which explicitly reference promoting racial equality or addressing racial discrimination—than their white counterparts (McDermott 1998; Philpot and Walton 2007). For black voters, this may lead to higher levels of support for black candidates, as they believe that black candidates will be substantively representative and will pay particular attention to their racial group's economic and social interests; in this way, black voting behavior is "a function of a sense of group identification" (Philpot and Walton 2007, 50). White voters may believe that a black candidate is more likely to be concerned with racial issues as they assume that black candidate's first-hand experience with racial discrimination would cause them to be more committed to issues of racial equality (McDermott 1998). This stereotype leads voters to prefer candidates that are descriptively more similar to themselves; therefore, non-black voters are often less inclined to vote for black candidates (Wintersieck and Carle 2019).

Outside of being stereotyped as focusing primarily on issue that affect their racial group, black candidates face a number of other issue stereotypes as black politicians are stereotyped as more competent in certain policy areas when compared to politicians in general. Black politicians are perceived as more capable of dealing with policy issues related to "civil/equal rights, affirmative action for Blacks, race relations, welfare programs, poverty/homelessness, equal opportunity, unemployment/job creation, and urban issues" (Schneider and Bos 2011, 219). They are also seen as being more competent in issues that relate to helping the poor (Sigelman et al. 1995). Furthermore,

federal aid for minorities, crime, and the Affordable Care Act are racialized issues for which black candidates are seen as more competent than their white counterparts (Tesler 2016). As these policy issues are seen as racialized for black politicians, frequent references to these issues may indicate that a black candidate is not deracializing her campaign. Issue stereotypes for which black candidates are seen to be more competent are summarized in Table 2.1.

Furthermore, Schneider and Bos found that politicians in general are seen as being more competent on issues including "taxes, national security/defense, economy, military, [and] terrorism," meaning that these issues are specifically not racialized for black politicians, as they are perceived as being race transcendent (2011, 219). A campaign that specifically focuses on these issues, without mention of those that black politicians stereotyped as being more competent on, may indicate that the campaign has been deracialized. White voters often view black candidates to be less qualified than white candidates to handle certain public policy-related issues (Carey and Lizotte 2017). Black politicians are also perceived as being less likely than white politicians to "reduce drug abuse, improve public education, reduce taxes, reduce the federal deficit, reduce foreign imports, increase economic growth, [and] help farmers" (Sigelman et al. 1995, 245). This means that these issues are not racialized for black politicians. Issues for which black politicians are seen as being less competent or no-more competent than their white counterparts are summarized in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1: Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (More Competent)

Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (More Competent)			
Affirmative Action for Blacks	Affordable Care Act	Civil/Equal Rights	Crime
Equal Opportunity	Federal Aid for Minorities	Helping the Poor	Homelessness
Job Creation	More Concerned with Racial Issues	Poverty	Race Relations
Represent own Racial Group	Unemployment	Urban Issues	Welfare Programs

Table 2.2: Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (No More or Less Competent)

Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (No More or Less Competent)			
Defense	Economy	Helping Farmers	Improving Public Education
Military	National Security	Reducing Drug Abuse	Reducing Federal Deficit
Reducing Foreign Imports	Reducing Taxes	Taxes	Terrorism

Aside from issue stereotypes, black candidates also face ideological stereotypes. The main ideological stereotype that black candidates face is that they are more liberal than their white counterparts. This stereotype arises from the voting behavior of the black electorate, and is a stereotype held by both black and white voters and is employed when making electoral decisions (McDermott 1998; Sigelman et al. 1995; Wintersieck and Carle 2019). The belief that black candidates are more liberal than their white counterparts may affect a voter's decision in choosing to vote for the black candidate. For example, as both black and white voters are more likely to believe that black politicians will focus on helping the poor, and therefore, those voters who believe that helping the poor is important will be more inclined to vote for the black candidate (McDermott 1998). Furthermore, in her 1998 study McDermott found that self-described liberals are

more likely to vote for black candidates in low-information elections due to the stereotype that black candidates are more likely to share their ideology. This has serious political ramifications, as it means that voters may focus less on the actual competency of black candidates and more on their presumed liberalism; for conservative voters, this may mean that they would be more likely to vote for white candidates who they do not presume to be as liberal as black candidates (Sigelman et al. 1995). Ideological stereotypes of black candidates are summarized below in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Trait and Ideological Stereotypes of Black Candidates

Trait and Ideological Stereotypes for Black Candidates			
More Liberal	Ambitious	Charismatic	Compassionate
Fair	Motivated	More Educated	

Black candidates are also stereotyped to possess certain traits. Black candidates are judged by voters to be more compassionate than white candidates (Sigelman et al. 1995). Furthermore, moderate and conservative black candidates are often stereotyped as being able to handle social issues more fairly and compassionately than their white counterparts, which may give moderate and conservative black candidates an electoral advantage (Sigelman et al. 1995). This remains true even when the policy positions of black candidates do not include compassionate stances on social issues. It is important to note that the trait stereotypes of black politicians also differ from those that the public holds of the black population; for example, Schneider and Bos found that black politicians are stereotyped to be more educated, charismatic, ambitious, and motivated that blacks in general, and black people at large are stereotyped to be poorer, more athletic, and more religious than black politicians (2011). Trait stereotypes of black candidates are summarized above in Table 2.3.

Gender Stereotypes of Candidates

Just as candidates of color face stereotypes, female candidates also face stereotypes. Female candidates face two main stereotypes: (1) that they are more competent on "nurturing issues" than men, and (2) that they are more liberal than their male counterparts. Therefore, just as black candidates face three types of stereotypes, female candidates also face ideological, trait, and issue stereotypes. Again, similarly to candidates of color, stereotypes about gender are so embedded in United States culture that they affect how voters evaluate candidates (Carey and Lizotte 2017).

Female candidates face a number of trait stereotypes, many of which relate to women's ability to be leaders. Trait stereotypes have emerged from two of the oldest stereotypes in Western tradition: that men are rational and that women are emotional (Hawkensworth 2003). Women are stereotyped as possessing communal traits, such as being trustworthy, warm, caring, gentle, kind, passive, communal, sympathetic, dependable, affectionate, helpful, interpersonally sensitive and compassionate (Bauer 2019; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Wintersieck and Carle 2019). Furthermore, female candidates are stereotyped as being "more compassionate, expressive, honest, and better able to deal with constituents than men" (Dolan 2014, 97). Trait stereotypes for female candidates are summarized in Table 2.4. Contrastingly, men are stereotyped as possessing agentic traits, such as being strong, tough and competent, which are traits often associated with effective leadership (Wintersieck and Carle 2019). As leaders are traditionally perceived as needing to exhibit agentic traits, female candidates may be hindered by female trait stereotypes, which do not align with the traits that the electorate often associates with leadership. Voters are less likely to view female politicians as possessing

leadership traits associated with political positions (Carey and Lizotte 2017). This means that female candidates may be at a disadvantage as the traits they possess are not seen as congruous with those traits that voters perceive leaders to have.

Table 2.4:Trait and Ideological Stereotypes for Female Candidates

Trait and Ideological Stereotypes for Female Candidates			
More Liberal	Affectionate	Better with Constituents	Caring
Communal	Compassionate	Dependable	Emotional
Expressive	Gentle	Helpful	Honest
Interpersonally Sensitive	Kind	Passive	Sympathetic
Trustworthy	Warm		

The stereotypes of which issues women perceived as being most skilled in largely stem from these trait stereotypes of each gender. Voters stereotype male candidates as being stronger leaders and more equipped to handle crises than female candidates (Dolan 2014). Male candidates are also seen as being more able to handle "masculine" or "force and violence" issues, such as war, terrorism, military crises, big business, defense, crime, foreign policy and the economy (Carey and Lizotte 2017; Dittmar 2015; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Issue stereotypes for which women are seen as less competent are summarized in Table 2.5. Contrastingly, women are seen as being more capable of handling "feminine" or "compassion" issues, such as education, child care, traditional values, helping the poor, income redistribution, working with the elderly, health policy-related issues, domestic issues, social welfare issues, and ethical government (Carew 2016; Carey and Lizotte 2017; Dittmar 2015; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Women are also viewed as more competent in handling the Equal Rights Amendment and "women's issues," such as abortion rights and

contraception (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003). Issue stereotypes for which women are

seen as more competent are summarized in Table 2.6. Especially in low-information

elections, voters may tend to vote for candidates based on how gender stereotypes line up

with their beliefs; for example, a voter who believes that universal preschool is one of the

most important issues would be more likely to vote for a female candidate because

female candidates are perceived as more apt to handle issues surrounding education and

childcare.

Table 2.5: Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (No More or Less Competent)

Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (Less Competent)			
Big Business	Crime	Defense	Economy
Force and Violence Issues	Foreign Policy	Military Crises	Terrorism
War			

Table 2.6: Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (More Competent)

Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (More Competent)			
Childcare	Compassion Issues	Domestic Issues	Education
Equal Rights Amendment	Ethical Government	Health-Related Policy	Helping the Poor
Income Redistribution	Nurturing Issues	Reproductive Rights	Social Welfare Issues
Traditional Values	Women's/Feminine Issues	Working with the Elderly	

Similarly, to how black candidates are stereotyped as more liberal than white

candidates, female candidates face the ideological stereotype that they are more liberal

than male candidates. This stereotype holds across parties, as both female Democratic

and Republican candidates are perceived as being more liberal than male Democrats and

Republicans (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003). Therefore, voters who identify

themselves as more liberal are more likely to vote for female candidates, whereas self-

identified conservative voters are more likely to vote for male candidates (McDermott 1998; Wintersieck and Carle 2019). Ideological stereotypes of female candidates are summarized above in Table 2.4.

Female Candidate Campaign Success

Just as the high levels of electoral success for black candidates caused the 1989 elections to be labeled "Black Tuesday," the immense electoral success of female candidates in 1992 resulted in its labeling as the "Year of the Woman." Many of the women who won these elections did so on campaign platforms that emphasized their feminine traits and their stances on "women's issues," and played into female stereotypes (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003). To describe this trend, the concept of "gender issue ownership" was employed. Gender issue ownership describes the phenomena when women run for office and highlight "women's issues," such as ethical government and childcare, while simultaneously targeting women voters; those who employ this strategy have been found to perform better at the polls than other women (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003).

As Kelly Dittmar found in surveying and interviewing campaign consultants, being a woman can have both positive and negative implications for campaign success. One of the consultants she interviewed, Brett Feinstein, stated "'There are stereotypical advantages and disadvantages that are inherent or intrinsic in a campaign that matches man versus woman" (2015, 21). This means that while women may be at a disadvantage due to the role incongruency between stereotypical female traits and the traits associated with leaders, women may also be at a strategic advantage because of the stereotypes that they do possess, such as honesty and compassion. When female candidates target women

in their campaigning and emphasize issues that are favorably associated with female candidates, they gain a strategic advantage. As Herrnson, Lay and Stokes found, "When women choose to capitalize on gender stereotypes by focusing on issues that are favorably associated with women candidates and targeting women or other social groups, they improve their prospects of electoral success" (2003, 251). For example, campaign consultants believe that a female candidate's stress on a compassion theme—that is, playing on the stereotype that female candidates are highly compassionate—is likely to give the candidate a strategic advantage in her campaign (Dittmar 2015). Therefore, the employment of gender issue ownership can be a useful strategy to positively employ gender stereotypes to advantage female candidates.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality emerged out of multiple disciplines, beginning in the 1980s. Theories of intersectionality were initially articulated in Kimberlé Crenshaw's foundational text, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," in which she demonstrated that "individuals facing discrimination based on their membership in two groups were essentially invisible under discrimination law, which was premised on protecting individuals who, but for one status (such as race or gender) would not face discrimination" (Cole and Haniff 2007, 36). Illustratively, the interplay of black women's race and gender leads them to be linked to the race-consciousness of black men, even as they are marginalized within their race by sexism (Brown and Hudson Banks 2014). Intersectionality highlights how these identities are inextricably intertwined. Intersectional identities can involve any identity characteristic, from

race/ethnicity and gender, to sexuality, physical ability, religion, class, age, and immigrant status (Bejarano 2017). These intersecting identities create a network of multiple oppressions within marginalized groups that combine to create new challenges for those with multiple identities (Bejarano 2017). Furthermore, political scientists recommend that one should "treat intersectionality as 'a normative and empirical research paradigm' that will enable understanding and articulation of the 'multiple oppressions that all marginalized groups face,'" meaning that it is imperative to study intersectionality empirically (Bejarano 2017, 113).

Today, intersectionality is often referenced when an individual can claim simultaneous membership in more than one minority category, as the fields of Critical Legal Studies and Women and Gender Studies contend that it is important to highlight how the status of each individual is shaped by their racial and gender identities, and economic statuses (Pinderhughes 2008). Intersectional identities, such as gender and race/ethnicity, are "interactive and mutually constitutive" which leads women of color to face challenges distinct from those of white women (Shah, Scott, and Juenke 2019, 431). For example, historically, as black women fought for gender equality alongside white women, they have also struggled for racial equality in white feminist movements (Brown and Hudson Banks 2014). Therefore, it is important to study minority women's experiences in campaigns and elections through an intersectional lens, as minority women have identities separate from, and face challenges unique from, their white female and minority male counterparts. As much of the previous literature on deracialization has been focused on black male candidates, and as much of the research on gender issue ownership and stereotypes of female electoral candidates has focused on white woman,

employing theories of intersectionality is crucial to understand the decisions made by minority women in their campaigns.

An intersectional approach must be implemented when studying legislators who are women of color, as their identities are mutually constituted. That is, when observing a black female legislator, one must consider how her race and gender interact to render "Black women simultaneously invisible and hypervisible" (Brown and Hudson Banks 2014, 165). While in many ways black women are highlighted for the multiple ways in which they deviate from society's idea of the prototypical person (a heterosexual white male), black women are not only thrust into the public sphere for their differences, but also largely ignored as each of their identities may be individually protected, but not when simultaneously present (Bejarano 2017). In the political world, this may manifest as a black female candidate is hyper-focused on by the media and is seen to stand for all other black women, or as the media renders her invisible by ignoring her, or as she is denied recognition for her policies by whites (Hawkesworth 2003). Therefore, it is important to consider intersectionality when looking at the campaign strategies of women of color, as one must note how the interaction between the two identities renders female candidates of color both invisible and hyper-visible, in a way not engendered by each individual identity.

When multiple identities interact, they form intersectional stereotypes. These unique stereotypes are formed as the electorate blends those together from a candidate's multiple identities. For example, the fact that voters often associate 'blackness' and 'maleness' may lead voters to further "assume that Black men and women are both more masculine than their White counterparts" (Bejarano 2017, 123). This means that as a

result of their multiple identities, black women may face obstacles from their stereotypes that are unique from those faced by either white women or black men. These intersectional stereotypes have not been studied in as much depth as those found to pertain specifically to women or specifically to black individuals. However, it is still important to recognize how the electorate views each minority group while still working to understand that the two identities may interact. In looking at the stereotypes of black female candidates, it is important to understand that their intersectional identities are created not only by one set of stereotypes, but by two sets which interact to also create additional stereotypes unique to black women.

Possessing an intersectional identity can both help and hinder a woman of color in her campaign. When an intersectional identity is formed, some scholars argue that the identity traits are additive, meaning that minority women face "double disadvantages." This means that female candidates of color face discrimination based on both their sex and their race, which makes it harder for them to win elections than those facing only one minority identity, such as black men or white women (Bejarano 2013). Other scholars have found that intersectional identities can actually aid minority female politicians throughout the electoral process. The "gender-inclusive advantage" refers to how it is possible for minority women to "soften" their ethnic/racial identity by emphasizing their identities as women and mothers in order to reduce race-based white backlash (Fraga et at. 2005). This theory emphasizes how one's female identity can be used to reduce tensions that white voters possess about one's racial identity. Furthermore, intersectional identities can aid individuals in the electoral process by allowing minority women to

build electoral coalitions across both gender and race, and to therefore gain support both from women and their minority racial/ethnic group (Bejarano 2013).

Understanding that female candidates of color possess intersectional identities which affect their worldview and experiences, and create an identity unique from those of white women and men of color means that it is important to recognize that the strategies of these candidates may not fit with the traditional theories of deracialization and gender-based campaign strategy laid out in the aforementioned literatures. This is especially important to recognize as these two strategies are largely contradictory. While the deracialization literature states that it will be beneficial for black male candidates to refrain from discussing typically racialized issues in favor of emphasizing race-transcendent issues, the gender issue ownership literature states that white female candidates may benefit from actively emphasizing their femininity and competence in areas that are considered to be feminized.

Therefore, it is unclear how a black female candidate—who possesses an intersectional identity resulting in the recommendation of not addressing race in her campaign whilst simultaneously highlighting her gender—should reconcile these two conflicting strategies. In other words, as black female candidates' intersectional identities mean that their racial and gendered experiences are inextricably intertwined, it is unclear whether black female candidates should highlight their gendered and racialized traits, thus losing the benefits that deracialization can provide in a campaign, or, conversely, if black female candidates would benefit more from avoiding to address gendered and racialized issues in their campaigns, thus gaining the benefits of deracialization while losing the benefits gained from gender issue ownership. Alternatively, as female

candidates of color possess unique identities, it is also possible that there is a unique and unstudied campaign strategy that they employ which will provide them with the most benefits.

Black Female Candidates

Overall, the field of Political Science lacks an intersectional framework to understand black female candidate's campaign strategies. Instead, it has been assumed that the campaign strategies of black women have been fully observed through studies of (predominately white) female candidate's campaign strategies, and (predominately male) black candidate's campaign strategies. These literatures are kept separate, meaning that scholars have not addressed how the conflicting strategies of deracialization and gender issue ownership are addressed in the campaigns of black female candidates. The separation of these literatures assumes that black female candidates design their campaign strategy around a single aspect of their identity; when a scholar is studying women, black female candidates are assumed to design their campaigns around their womanhood, and when studying black candidates, scholars assume that black female candidates design their campaign around their race. It is important for scholars to employ intersectional frameworks to see how black female candidates rectify the gender literature's recommendation that they emphasize their gender in order to be elected with how the race literature recommends deracializing in order to be elected.

As intersectional theory indicates, black women form an identity that is unique from, and incorporates, their gender and racial identities. The stereotypes for blacks indicated previously emerge from a body of literature that primarily studies black men; furthermore, the body of literature on female stereotypes largely looks only at white

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women. The literature on intersectionality indicates that black women possess some stereotypes that are unique from those of either black men or white women. Therefore, it is important to highlight some of the unique stereotypes that emerge for black female candidates. In terms of issue stereotypes, black female candidates are viewed as less competent than other candidates at issues surrounding the economy, jobs, immigration, security, and the military (Carew 2012). Elite black women are viewed as more compassionate than their white male, white female, or black male opponents (Carew 2016). They are perceived to be more hard working than white women and are more likely to be viewed as trustworthy than elite whites (Carew 2016). Finally, while black men are seen as more ethical than black women, black women are seen as more ethical than white men (Carew 2016).

Regarding ideological stereotypes, black women are viewed as more socially and economically liberal than white women, white men, or black men (Carew 2012; Carew 2016). This indicates that stereotypes of black women may be influenced by the intersectional identities of her opposing candidate: "the degree to which a Black woman is viewed as holding a trait relative to her opponent is contingent upon the race and gender of the opponent" (Carew 2016, 109).

Black female candidates also face colorism in their campaigns. As Carew describes, perceptions of issue competence for black women vary based on the shade of their skin, with lighter skinned black women being viewed generally more favorably than darker skinned black women (2016). Black female candidates with darker skin tones are perceived by voters as being more competent than all of her opponents in terms of welfare, and less competent than her candidates on issues of ethics; lighter skinned black

female candidates are seen as more competent than all other opponents regarding welfare, civil rights, and ethics (Carew 2012). Therefore, the skin tone of a black female candidate may affect the stereotypes that voters hold of her.

Gaps in the Literature

The main gaps in the literature pertain to the intersection of race and gender in campaigning. While there is a body of literature that looks at both race and gender stereotypes separately, very little looks at the interplay between the two. Studies looking at 'female candidates,' typically focus on *white* female candidates, and studies focusing on 'black candidates' typically focus on black *male* candidates, likely due to the fact that historically there have been more candidates and politicians of these two identities than there have been of black female candidates. The gendered gap in the race literature is particularly prominent as the vast majority of deracialization studies focus on black male candidates, and when not focusing on black male candidates, focus on male candidates of a different minority group. Furthermore, much of the deracialization literature focuses on the state and local level. By studying candidate's race and gender in isolation, scholars fail to see the intrinsic connectedness of the two, an interplay that is particularly important to female candidates of color.

Chapter 3: Methods and Theoretical Argument

While Chapter Two explored the foundational scholarship in deracialization, stereotypes, gender issue ownership, and intersectionality that are used to frame the question in this study, Chapter Three puts forth a method to answer the aforementioned research question. Through the content analysis of campaign websites, this chapter endeavors to lay out a framework through which the following question can be answered: *How does a candidate's intersectional gender and racial identity affect his/her decision to embrace gender and race issue ownership strategies in his/her electoral campaign?* In analyzing this question, I consider how a female candidate of color's gender and race interact to shape the campaign that she chooses to run. I propose hypotheses that seek to understand a correlation between a candidate's identity and his/her decision to employ both race and gender issue ownership strategies in his/her campaign.

Theoretical Argument and Hypotheses

In operationalizing issue ownership strategies, I define gender issue ownership, for both male and female candidates, as embracing female issue- and trait-stereotypes in their campaign, and I define race issue ownership, for both black and white candidates, as embracing black candidate issue- and trait-stereotypes in their campaigns. In my definition, issue ownership involves 'owning' both trait and issue stereotypes. Keeping theories of intersectionality, gender issue ownership and deracialization in mind, I hypothesize that the gender and racial identities of candidates will affect their likelihood to use race and gender issue ownership strategies.

Figure 3.1: Arrow Diagram of How Candidate Identity Affects Campaign Strategy

Intersectional Candidate Identity (Black Female Candidates)	**+** →	Level of Implementation of Issue Ownership Strategies
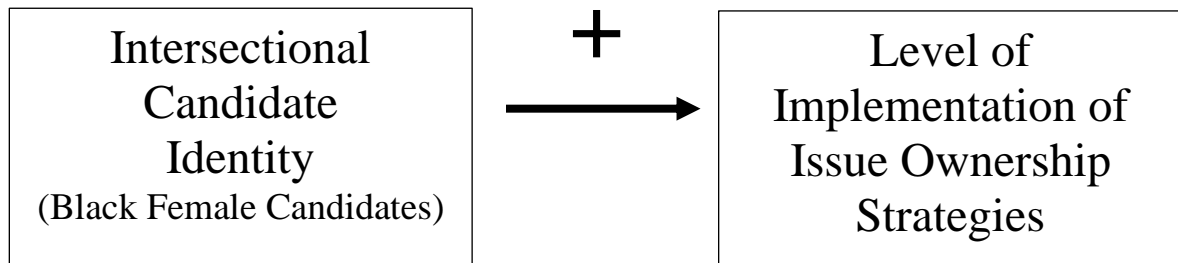
Black candidates may benefit from employing a deracialization strategy, and therefore may benefit from avoiding race issue ownership, however, as was previously shown, female candidates may benefit from gender issue ownership, and may, therefore, choose to embrace gender issue ownership in their campaigns. However, for women of color, the theory of intersectionality states that this may not be an option; black women may not be able to entirely avoid discussing race and racialized issues while still running a campaign employing gender issue ownership as the theory of intersectionality suggests that their identities as black and as women are mutually constituted and inseparable. As Mansbridge and Tate state, "Race constructs the way Black women experience gender; gender constructs the way Black women experience race," (1992, 488) which means that these two identities inform each other and cannot be unlinked. This also means that it is important to look at how a black woman's race and gender interact to shape her campaign. Therefore, from the aforementioned research question, this thesis posits the following hypotheses:

H1: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ race issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates.*

H2: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates.*

H3: *White female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than black male candidates.*

H4: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ both race and gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female and black male candidates.*

In order to aid in the visualization of these hypotheses, I have created the following table to display the levels to which I expect candidates with each intersectional identity to employ issue ownership techniques in their electoral campaigns:

Table 3.1: Degree to Which Candidates of Different Intersectional Identities will Implement Issue Ownership Strategies

	Black Women	**White Women**	**Black Men**
Race Issue Ownership	High	Low	Low
Gender Issue Ownership	High	Moderate	Low

As this table shows, I expect for black women to demonstrate the highest levels of both race and gender issue ownership in their campaigns when compared to white women and black men. This is because, as the theory of intersectionality states, the intersection of black women's gender and racial identities interact, each identity becomes more salient. Therefore, whereas other candidates can choose to emphasize or deemphasize the degree to which either their gender or racial identity is congruous or incongruous with the traditional idea of a white male politician (Schneider and Bos 2014), black women cannot choose only one aspect of their intersectional identity to emphasize, and thus will demonstrate the highest levels of both race and gender issue ownership.

White women may still employ gender issue ownership as it may positively benefit their campaigns, however, as their racial identity does not also counter the current norm of politicians being perceived as predominately white, their race issue ownership is likely to be low. Similarly, black male candidates will likely display low levels of gender

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issue ownership, as their gender aligns with stereotypes that masculinize the role of politician. Contrastingly, however, I also expect black men to show low levels of race issue ownership, as the deracialization literature suggests that black men can benefit from not discussing race, and can build multiracial coalitions by refraining from discussing this aspect of their identity (Bejarano 2017); black men are able to benefit from not discussing race, as only part of their identity must be downplayed in order to make them seem congruous with the stereotypes voters hold about politicians.

Content Analysis Method

In order to test these hypotheses, I will be employing a content analysis method, comparing the campaign websites of black female candidates running for the United States House of Representatives, to those of black male and white female candidates running for the U.S. House. My units of analysis will be publicly available campaign materials, and more specifically campaign websites. This unit of analysis is effective as "virtually all congressional campaigns launch Web sites, which is critical for capturing a representative sample of the population of congressional campaigns" (Druckman et al. 2010, 7). Employing a content analysis method will allow me to systematically and quantitatively study the qualitative aspects of congressional campaign websites (Feliciano 1967). This method will help me to avoid one of the frequent weaknesses of studies on deracialization; a frequent failure to study deracialization (and therefore race issue ownership) empirically. To determine whether a candidate has deracialized his or her campaign, scholars frequently look at the campaign materials that they present to the public. For example, Collet (2008) used candidates' mailers to indicate the degree to which candidates highlighted their race to different constituencies. Furthermore, Juenke

and Sampaio (2010) analyzed the campaign websites of the Latino Salazar brothers to show that neither brother prioritized immigration in his campaign, an omission which was used to support findings that their campaigns were deracialized. Therefore, the systematic analysis of campaign materials is a common method that scholars employ to determine whether a candidate has deracialized.

Content analysis of campaign websites has also been used by scholars to determine gender differences in the top priorities of candidates, and other studies have analyzed male and female candidate websites to determine gendered campaign differences. This shows not only that content analysis is an accepted methodology by scholars, but also highlights the validity of campaign websites as a unit of analysis (Dolan 2005; Fridkin and Kenney 2014). For example, Schneider used content analysis of the home page, biography page, and issues page to determine gendered differences in stereotypes that candidates choose to emphasize (2014). Focusing specifically on campaign websites can be useful for scholars, as candidates may be more likely "to present information on a broad range of issues knowing that their sites are most often visited by engaged voters seeking detailed information," meaning that campaign websites may be very carefully crafted to include a wide variety of information, rendering them effective units of analysis (Druckman et al. 2010, 5). Therefore, with the nearly unlimited space to discuss issues on websites, it will be highly apparent if any issues are intentionally excluded from the website to avoid issue ownership.

Traditionally, it is suggested to employ content analysis on materials that were written or spoken by the person of interest herself (Powner 2015). In the case of determining whether a candidate is employing gender or race issue ownership, however,

this is not necessary. In studying both race and gender issue ownership, it is less important to determine either how the candidate sees the world or sees herself than it is to determine how the candidate would like for others to view her. So, even though a team may work together to create a candidate's website, whether or not her campaign emphasizes gender issues and/or racial issues should be apparent. Therefore, it is important to use campaign websites as an unit of analysis to study issue ownership, rather than other mediums such as media coverage, as they can help to provide unobstructed insight into the campaign's policy message, as the information on campaign websites is unmediated by those outside of the campaign (Druckman et al. 2010). In this way, one is truly able to observe campaign strategy rather than personal identity for each candidate. Employing a content analysis method will accomplish the goals of this study given that this method allows for systematically analyzing the presence of gender and race issue ownership in each campaign.

In order to provide consistency between the world and campaign context of each election cycle, I will be using Archive-It (archive-it.org) and the Wayback Machine (waybackmachine.archive.org), which are internet archives that allow users to visit archived versions of websites. Archive-It provides direct links to candidate websites, whereas the Wayback Machine allows users to visit the archived websites by inputting the site's URL. Archive-It actually helps to populate the Wayback Machine, however, sometimes dropdown menus, particularly for candidate issue pages, are more functional on Archive-It than on the Wayback Machine. Therefore, I will first be looking on Archive-It, and for websites that do not remain fully functional on Archive-It, I will then look on the Wayback Machine using the web address provided on Archive-It. These

archives will allow me to look specifically at how the website looked while the candidate was running for office in each election cycle, and to look at websites for candidates who may no longer have live websites. In order to ensure consistency in campaign context, I will only look at website archives dated in late October and early November of the election year, looking at the first available version of the website before election day.

Case Selection

In working to study this, I will be selecting cases to compare the campaign websites of black women to those of white women and black men. As there are fewer black women who have run for office than any of the other two groups, I will be working with the entire universe of black women who ran for the House of Representatives in 2018. While women of other racial minority backgrounds also have intersectional identities, the deracialization literature emphasizes that it is important to look specifically within one race when studying deracialization, as different issues and stereotypes are racialized for different races. For example, as was previously discussed in Chapter 2's section on deracialization, a Latina candidate may refrain from discussing bilingual education initiatives as a part of her deracialized campaign (Juenke and Sampaio 2010; Wright Austin and Middleton 2004), therefore not indicating race issue ownership was not present. However, as bilingual education is not a racialized issue for black candidates, the fact that a black candidate mentioned bilingual education during her campaign would not be a sign of race issue ownership.

Therefore, as it is important to control for the race of the candidate when testing for race issue ownership, this study will look only at the campaign websites of black female candidates, rather than those of other minority female candidates. Black female

candidates were selected to be the female racial minority group in this study as they constitute the largest female racial minority group to have been elected to the House of Representatives, meaning that they provide the most data points. Candidates for the U.S. Senate will not be observed in this study, as there are fewer black women who have run for the U.S. Senate, which provides different data points; furthermore, as senators serve constituencies of different sizes and racial compositions than their counterparts in the House, candidates must build different coalitions than those running for the House, resulting in different campaign strategies.

Further, this study will look only at black women who had the backing of their political party on the ballot, as indicated by having won a party nomination via an election. This helps, in part, to control for the quality of the candidates. Furthermore, controlling for this variable is important because of the ideological stereotypes that both women and black candidates face. As both black candidates and female candidates are stereotyped as being more ideologically liberal than their white and male counterparts (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; McDermott 1998; Wintersieck and Carle 2019), it is important to note the party affiliation of candidates as a way to determine their ideological leanings to later make comparisons across political parties.

Aside from candidate-level factors, there are also district-level factors that preclude certain black female candidates from being included in this study. The main district-level factor is the racial composition of the district. As the deracialization literature explains, deracialization is only effective for black politicians when it is used to build multiracial coalitions by gaining crossover support from white voters; therefore, it is only important to deracialize in non-majority black districts (Wright Austin and

Middleton 2004). Thus, I will only be considering black female candidates who ran for office in districts that were less than 51 percent black; this will ensure that in order to be elected, they had to create a multiracial coalition. This is because, as the literature finds, black men have had success in employing deracialization strategies in districts wherein they are in the racial minority; therefore, in districts that are less than 51 percent black, I will expect to see black male candidates using deracialization techniques and not employing race issue ownership techniques. The process by which I select which black female candidates to include in this study is shown below in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Candidate- and District-Level Factors Considered when Selecting Black Female Candidates

Black Female Candidates

Won a Primary Election

Running in a District
<51% Black
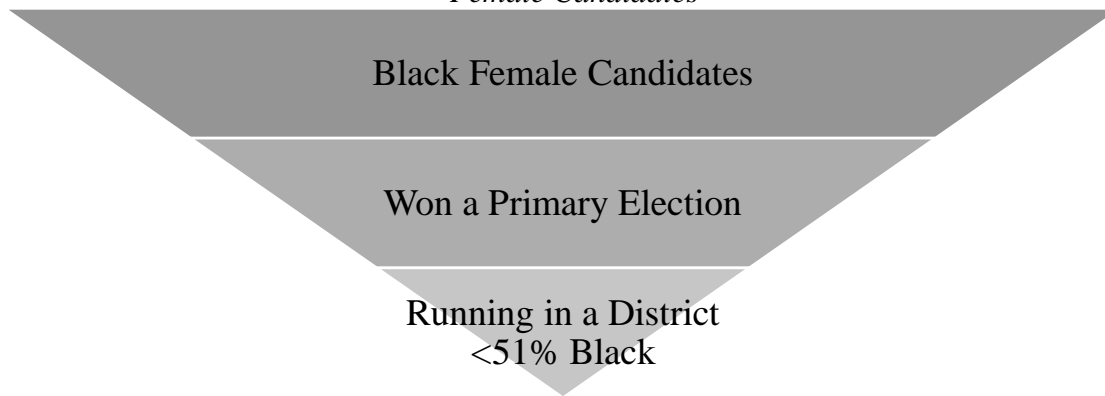
In order to select paired samples of black women, white women and black men, I will be matching these black women to those with other identities through a sample matching process in which I will match black female candidates with black male and white female candidates based on a few candidate-level factors. These candidate-level factors include the election year, political party, winning a primary election, and incumbency status. For comparison, all black male, black female, and white female candidates will be paired from the same election year to help to prevent outside factors from influencing campaign techniques. The candidates that are selected to match with each black female politician must also have won a party nomination through a primary

election to ensure that the quality of these candidates is comparable to that of the black female candidates, and also to help control for ideological factors, just as was applicable with the black female candidates.

A second factor to consider when matching candidates for comparison is political party. As Petrocik states, political party can affect the effectiveness of certain issue ownership techniques, especially as "the linkage between a party's issue agenda and the social characteristics of its supporters is quite strong" (1996, 828). This means that candidates often argue positions that align with the strengths of their party; candidates from different parties may choose to address different areas, or may address the same areas differently, in their campaigns (Petrocik 1996). Therefore, it is important that black female candidates are matched with black male and white female candidates of the same political party to ensure that it is the candidate's racial and gender identity, rather than their party identity, that is affecting their issue ownership strategies.

Another factor to consider when pairing candidates is incumbency status. White female and black male candidates will only be paired with black female candidates of the same incumbency status. The incumbency status of candidates must remain consistent when matching candidates due to the substantial advantages that incumbent legislators face during elections (Cox and Morgenstern 1993). This advantage stems from a number of factors, including franking privileges, being able to perform casework for constituents, and that voters use incumbency status as a cue during elections; incumbency status is beneficial for politicians as it can help them to win reelection (Cox and Morgenstern 1993). Therefore, to ensure that some candidates are not privileged over others due to incumbency status, and that candidates are not altering their campaign tactics based on

their advantage as an incumbent, I will pair black female candidates with candidates of

other race and gender identities who share her incumbency status. Figure 3.3 below

displays the steps by which I have narrowed the possible black male and white female

candidates to be paired with black female candidates based on candidate-level factors.

Figure 3.3: Candidate-Level Factors Considered When Pairing Black Male and White Female Candidates to Black Female Candidates

Black Male and White Female Candidates

Same Election Year (2018)

Same Political Party

Similar Incumbency Status
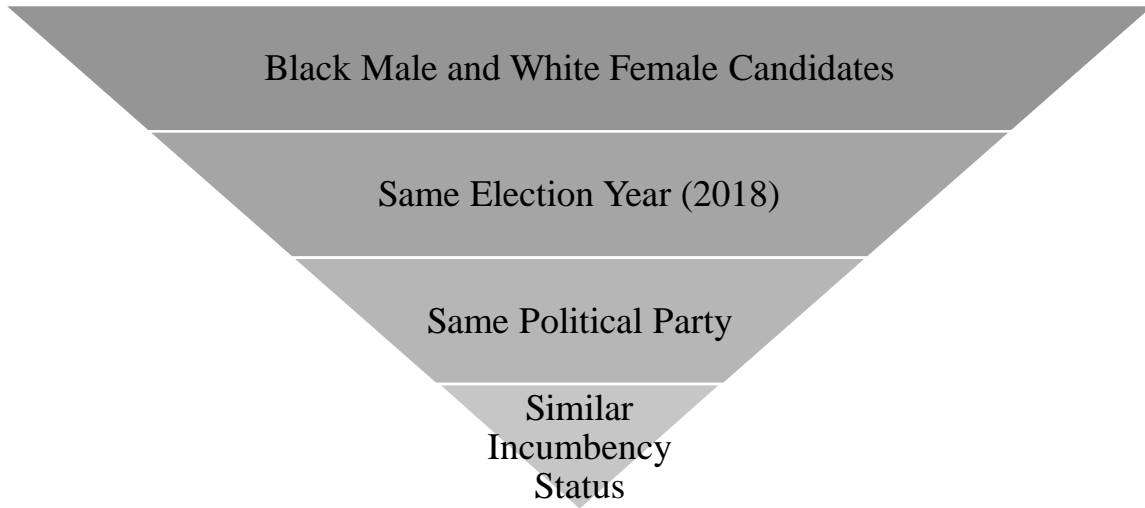
When matching candidates of various intersectional identities, it is also important

to pay attention to the district-level factor of racial composition because the literature has

found that deracialization strategies are only necessary in non-majority-minority districts.

In order to control for this aspect of deracialization, I will not be matching black female

candidates with any candidates in districts that are 51 percent or more black.

Furthermore, I will be matching black male and white female candidates with

percentages of the ±3 percent of the black population in the black female candidate's

district with whom they are matched. This will help to ensure that in each district, a black

candidate would have to create a multiracial coalition, and that the districts of matched

candidates are of similar racial compositions. Figure 3.4 displays the processes by which

black male and white female candidates are narrowed based on district level factors before being paired with a black female candidate.

Figure 3.4: District-Level Factors Considered When Pairing Black Male and White Female Candidates to Black Female Candidates
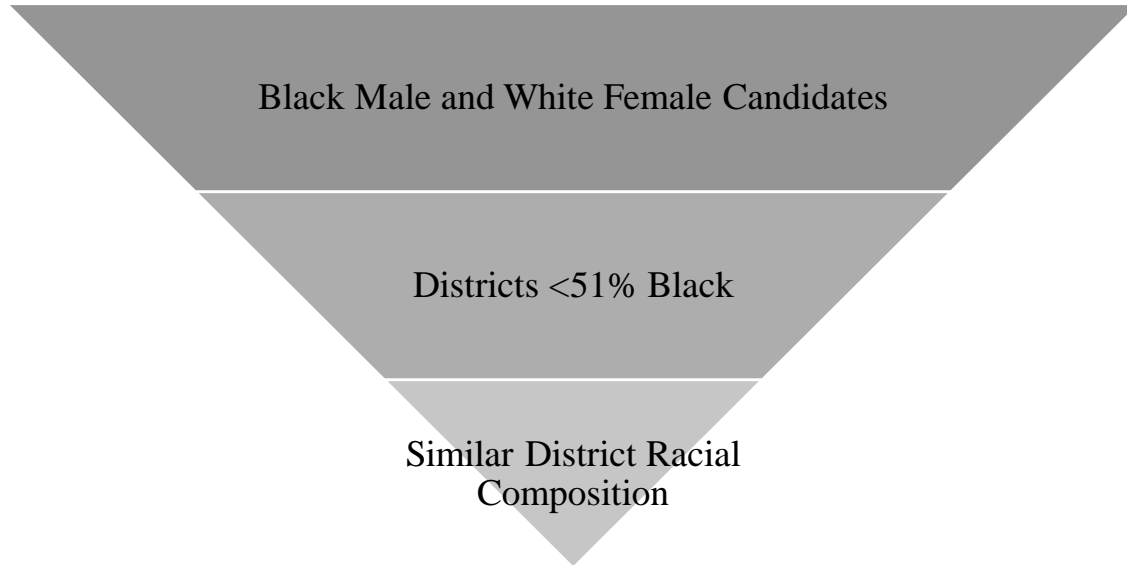
For each black female candidate in this study's universe, I narrow down the eligible comparable black male and white female candidates to be paired with the black female candidate. After narrowing each of these lists, I will alphabetize each set of candidates by last name, and then use a random number generator to select a comparable candidate from each list to pair with each black female candidate. In order to maximize matches, however, I may rematch candidates to allow for the maximum number of potential matches based on district composition. I repeat this process until each black female candidate has been paired with a comparable black male and white female candidate, which will serve as my sample. Below, Figure 3.5 represents the process by which I paired black male and white female candidates with black female candidates based on candidate-level and district-level factors.

Figure 3.5: Ordered Candidate-Level and District-Level Factors to Consider When Pairing Black Male and White Female Candidates to Black Female Candidates

Black Male and White Female Candidates

Same Election Year (2018)

Same Political Party

Similar Incumbency Status

District <51% Black

Similar District Racial Composition
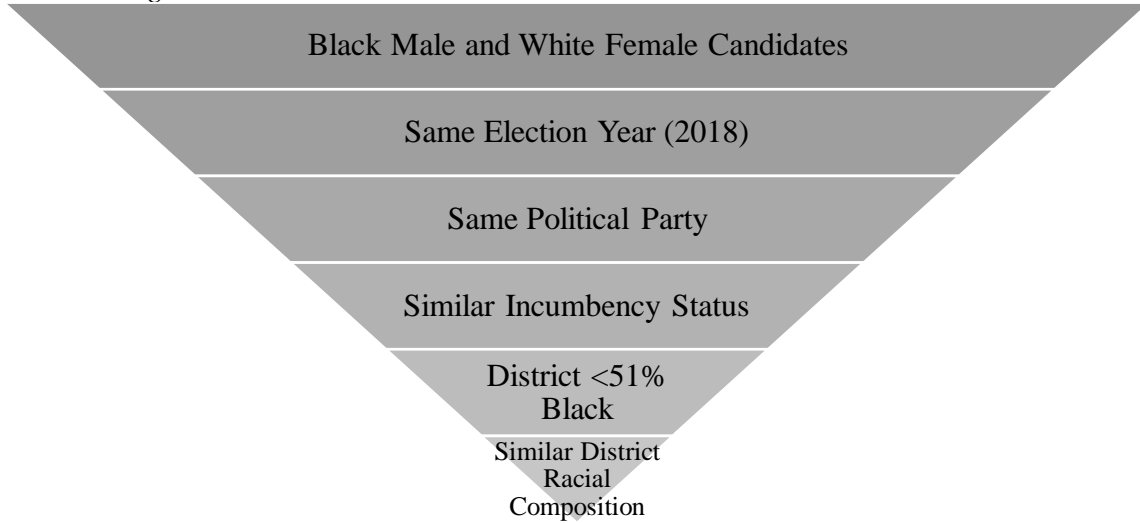
Coding Schema

After compiling an exhaustive list of 32 black female candidates who meet the criteria discussed above and matching these women with comparable black male and white female candidates, I will expect to have 96 congressional candidates in my study. For each of these candidates, I complete two coding sheets, one which codes for race issue ownership, and one which codes for gender issue ownership. These two coding sheets are completed separately to ensure accuracy, as there are some traits and issues which are indicators of both gender and race issue ownership. I first code for race issue ownership, and then go back through the website to code of gender issue ownership.

In coding for gender and race issue ownership techniques, I will only be looking at the home page, 'issues' page, and the biography page of each candidate's website. Although Schneider (2014) concentrated on the issues page, home page, and biography page of candidate websites, meaning that there is precedent to observe these three pages, I could not find any literature on which pages were most commonly visited by voters. Therefore, I chose these three website locations by two means. First, I decided that it

made intuitive sense to check these three pages first; these are the three pages that I first look at on candidate websites, and therefore I reasoned that others may also frequent these pages. Second, I looked at a small sample of eight websites of Asian and Latina candidates, who I knew would not be in my sample, in order to confirm my suspicions as to which pages were frequently detailed and present on each candidate's website, and which contained a varying discussion of issues. I will be looking only at the hard text of the page; I will not be looking at images, nor at linked news articles or social media posts. I will refrain from looking at images in order to eliminate the subjectivity of coder bias, and I will not look at linked news articles or social media posts, as I want to observe only what has been specifically crafted in collaboration with the candidate in order to represent them and their policies.

While coding for race issue ownership, I look for three components: issues that black candidates are stereotyped to be more competent on, issues that black candidates are stereotyped to be less (or no more) competent on, and trait stereotypes that voters hold of black candidates. A higher presence of trait stereotypes and issues that black candidates are stereotyped to be more competent on indicates that a candidate is embracing race issue ownership, while a higher presence of issues that black candidates are stereotyped to be less or no more competent on indicates that a candidate is rejecting race issue ownership and is instead trespassing into areas in which black candidates are stereotypically seen as less competent. The traits and issues which I classify as falling in each of these categories are found in Table 2.1, Table 2.2 and Table 2.3. These traits and issues are indicated below in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Issue, Trait and Ideological Stereotypes of Black Candidates

Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (More Competent)			
Affirmative Action for Blacks	Affordable Care Act	Civil/Equal Rights	Crime
Equal Opportunity	Federal Aid for Minorities	Helping the Poor	Homelessness
Job Creation	More Concerned with Racial Issues	Poverty	Race Relations
Represent own Racial Group	Unemployment	Urban Issues	Welfare Programs
Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (No More or Less Competent)			
Defense	Economy	Helping Farmers	Improving Public Education
Military	National Security	Reducing Drug Abuse	Reducing Federal Deficit
Reducing Foreign Imports	Reducing Taxes	Taxes	Terrorism
Trait and Ideological Stereotypes for Black Candidates			
More Liberal	Ambitious	Charismatic	Compassionate
Fair	Motivated	More Educated	

Similarly, as I code for gender issue ownership, I look for three components: issues that female candidates are stereotyped to be more competent on, issues that female candidates are stereotyped to be less competent on, and trait stereotypes that voters hold of female candidates. Just as was the case for race issue ownership, a higher presence of trait stereotypes and issues that female candidates are stereotyped to be more competent on indicates that a candidate is embracing gender issue ownership, while a higher presence of issues that female candidates are stereotyped to be less (or no more) competent on indicates that a candidate is rejecting gender issue ownership. Traits and issues that fall in each of these aforementioned categories are found in Table 2.4, Table 2.5, and Table 2.6, and are recreated below in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Issue, Trait, and Ideological Stereotypes of Female Candidates

Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (More Competent)			
Childcare	Compassion Issues	Domestic Issues	Education
Equal Rights Amendment	Ethical Government	Health-Related Policy	Helping the Poor
Income Redistribution	Social Welfare Issues	Traditional Values	Women's/Feminine Issues
Working with the Elderly			
Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (No More or Less Competent)			
Big Business	Crime	Defense	Economy
Force and Violence Issues	Foreign Policy	Military Crises	Terrorism
War			
Trait and Ideological Stereotypes for Female Candidates			
More Liberal	Affectionate	Better with Constituents	Caring
Communal	Compassionate	Dependable	Emotional
Expressive	Gentle	Helpful	Honest
Interpersonally Sensitive	Kind	Passive	Sympathetic
Trustworthy	Warm		

I observe trait stereotypes and issue stereotypes separately and assigning point values to each. Firstly, I will look at issues for which black/female candidates are stereotyped as more or less competent in handling. For issues that candidates are perceived to be more competent in, they will earn points (+1) and for those issues which they are seen as less competent in, one point will be subtracted (-1). This system, of adding and subtracting candidate 'points' based on the issues that they address that black and female candidates are perceived to be more/less competent in allows me to account both for whether candidates are explicitly avoiding racialized or feminized issues, or if they are actively embracing issues that are stereotypically racialized or feminized. Issue mentions are assigned point values based on prominence on the website. Each time that an issue is mentioned, it earns a score of one, and each of these issues earns an additional

point each time they are mentioned on a different webpage on the website. Beyond just earning a point for mentioning each stereotypical issue, a candidate can also earn more than one point depending on the depth in which they highlight each issue in different website sections and based on where on the website they highlight it. For every three sentences which discuss a certain issue or mention a certain trait in each section of the website, an additional half-point is assigned; this will help to weigh how important the candidate believe that highlighting this issue will be for their constituency. Next, on the issues page, the first three issues mentioned will each receive an additional half point for prominence, and to help weight for which issues each candidate believe are most important for their constituents to understand their position on. Finally, any issues that are highlighted in the banner of the candidate's webpage are assigned an additional half-point value to weight for the prominence of that issue.

In looking at trait stereotypes, I will be looking at a narrower area of the website, and for more specific wording. In searching for trait stereotypes, I will only look at the biography page of each candidate, where candidates may be the most likely to use adjectives to describe themselves and their life experiences; it is on this page that candidates may be most likely to try and align themselves with specific traits. Further, rather than attempting to interpret the text that they use to code for implied traits, I will be looking for exact wording. Illustratively, instead of coding a candidate as nurturing for stating that they had previous experience working as a kindergarten teacher, I would code a candidate as nurturing only if they explicitly stated that they were nurturing. In this way, I will be able to control for my own biases and ensure that this study is more replicable, as those repeating this methodology in the future will be using a less

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subjective coding mechanism. For each time a trait stereotype that is explicitly mentioned, candidates will receive one point.

Finally, candidates will earn points by specifically referencing their gender or race, as these very explicit references most clearly indicate whether or not a candidate is specifically utilizing a race or gender issue ownership strategy. If a candidate explicitly mentions their race on any of the three observed pages (home, biography, issues), they will gain three points, however, if they do not mention race, they will lose three points. Similarly, if a candidate mentions their gender identity, gendered marital status, or parental status on any of the three pages, they will gain three points; if they do not mention any of these statuses on any of the pages then they will lose three points.

Next, I will combine the points that each candidate earns from each category. Once I have totaled the number of trait stereotypes, I will add this to the number of points that the candidate earned for mentioning issue areas wherein black candidates are seen to be more competent, and then I will add the negative number of issue stereotypes for those mentioned in which black candidates are seen as less competent. In adding this positive number and negative number together, I am able to control for the number of sentences that each candidate has on their website. I will then repeat this process with gender traits and issue stereotypes. If a candidate receives a positive number, it will mean that they embraced issue ownership in their campaign; for example, with regard to race issues, a positive number will indicate that they embraced race issue ownership in their campaign, meaning that they did not deracialize, whereas a negative total number would mean that they deracialized their campaign by not embracing race issue ownership. An example of my full race issue ownership coding sheet can be found below in Table 3.4, and of my

full gender issue ownership coding sheet can be found below in Table 3.5. Further details

about the coding sheet, including the operationalization of each issue, can be found in

Appendix A.

When creating a coding mechanism and employing a content analysis method, it

is important to test for intercoder reliability. In order to do so, a second coder will be used

to test for intercoder reliability. They will code ten to fifteen percent of the observed

websites using the same coding mechanism shown below in Table 3.4. The websites

which the second coder will code will be randomly selected from the final list of coded

websites using a random number generator. The sheet of instructions given to the second

coder can be found in Appendix B.

Table 3.4: Race Issue Ownership Coding Mechanism

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Home Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	IN BANNER?	TOTAL POINTS
Affirmative Action for Blacks				
Affordable Care Act				
Civil/Equal Rights				
Crime				
Equal Opportunity				
Federal Aid for Minorities				
Helping the Poor				
Homelessness				
Job Creation				
Poverty				
Race Relations				
Racial Issues				
Represents own Racial Group				
Unemployment				
Urban Issues				
Welfare Programs				

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Home Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	IN BANNER?	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Defense				
Economy				
Helping Farmers				
Improving Public Education				

Military			
National Security			
Reducing Drug Abuse			
Reducing Foreign Imports			
Reducing the Federal Deficit			
Taxes/ Reducing Taxes			
Terrorism			

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Issues Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	FIRST THREE ISSUE?	TOTAL POINTS
Affirmative Action for Blacks				
Affordable Care Act				
Civil/Equal Rights				
Crime				
Equal Opportunity				
Federal Aid for Minorities				
Helping the Poor				
Homelessness				
Job Creation				
Poverty				
Race Relations				
Racial Issues				
Represents own Racial Group				
Unemployment				
Urban Issues				
Welfare Programs				

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Issues Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	FIRST THREE ISSUE?	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Defense				
Economy				
Helping Farmers				
Improving Public Education				
Military				
National Security				
Reducing Drug Abuse				
Reducing Foreign Imports				
Reducing the Federal Deficit				
Taxes/ Reducing Taxes				
Terrorism				

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Biography Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS
Affirmative Action for Blacks			

Affordable Care Act			
Civil/Equal Rights			
Crime			
Equal Opportunity			
Federal Aid for Minorities			
Helping the Poor			
Homelessness			
Job Creation			
Poverty			
Race Relations			
Racial Issues			
Represents own Racial Group			
Unemployment			
Urban Issues			
Welfare Programs			

Race Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Biography Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Defense			
Economy			
Helping Farmers			
Improving Public Education			
Military			
National Security			
Reducing Drug Abuse			
Reducing Foreign Imports			
Reducing the Federal Deficit			
Taxes/ Reducing Taxes			
Terrorism			

Race Issue Ownership: Trait Stereotypes (Biography Page)

TRAIT	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS
Ambitious			
Charismatic			
Compassionate			
Fair			
More Educated			
Motivated			

Total Issue (More Competent) Points:_____

Total Issue (Less Competent) Points:_____

Total Trait Stereotype Points:_____

Race Mentioned?:_____ **(Page:_____)**

TOTAL POINTS:_____

Table 3.5: Gender Issue Ownership Coding Mechanism

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Home Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	IN BANNER?	TOTAL POINTS
Childcare				
Compassion Issues				
Domestic Issues				
Education				
Equal Rights Amendment				
Ethical Government				
Feminine Issues/ Women's Issues				
Health-Related Policy				
Helping the Poor				
Income Redistribution				
Social Welfare Issues				
Traditional Values				
Working with the Elderly				

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Home Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	IN BANNER?	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Big Business				
Crime				
Defense				
Economy				
Force and Violence Issues				
Foreign Policy				
Military Crises				
Terrorism				
War				

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Issues Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	FIRST THREE ISSUE?	TOTAL POINTS
Childcare				
Compassion Issues				
Domestic Issues				
Education				
Equal Rights Amendment				
Ethical Government				
Feminine Issues/ Women's Issues				
Health-Related Policy				
Helping the Poor				
Income Redistribution				
Social Welfare Issues				
Traditional Values				
Working with the Elderly				

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Issues Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	FIRST THREE ISSUE?	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Big Business				
Crime				
Defense				
Economy				
Force and Violence Issues				
Foreign Policy				
Military Crises				
Terrorism				
War				

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*More* Competent (Biography Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS
Childcare			
Compassion Issues			
Domestic Issues			
Education			
Equal Rights Amendment			
Ethical Government			
Feminine Issues/ Women's Issues			
Health-Related Policy			
Helping the Poor			
Income Redistribution			
Social Welfare Issues			
Traditional Values			
Working with the Elderly			

Gender Issue Ownership: Issue Stereotypes-*Less* Competent (Biography Page)

ISSUE	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS (-)
Big Business			
Crime			
Defense			
Economy			
Force and Violence Issues			
Foreign Policy			
Military Crises			
Terrorism			
War			

Gender Issue Ownership: Trait Stereotypes (Biography Page)

TRAIT	MENTIONED?	# OF SENTENCES PER MENTION	TOTAL POINTS
Better with Constituents			
Caring			
Communal			

Compassionate			
Dependable			
Emotional			
Expressive			
Gentle			
Honest			
Kind			
Passive			
Trustworthy			
Warm			

Total Issue (More Competent) Points:_____

Total Issue (Less Competent) Points:_____

Total Trait Stereotype Points:_____

Gender/Marital/Parental Status Mentioned?:_____ **(page:_____)**

TOTAL POINTS:_____

Analytical Method

Once this data has been collected for each set of candidates through the content

analysis of their websites, I will analyze it using SPSS. In SPSS, I will be conducting two

types of tests: a difference of means test, and a multivariate regression. I will first

perform a difference of means test on this data in order to determine whether a

relationship between intersectional candidate identity and the implementation of gender

and race issue ownership strategies exists. In doing so, I will test my hypotheses. To find

support of my first hypothesis, I would expect to find that black women would have the

highest mean score on race issue ownership strategies when compared to white women

and black men, and for the relationship to be statistically significant. In testing my second

and third hypothesis, I would expect to find that black women have embraced gender

issue ownership at higher (but not necessarily statistically significantly higher) rates than

white women, and that both white women and black women will have embraced gender

issue ownership at rates statistically significantly higher than black male candidates. In

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order to find support for my fourth hypothesis, I will find support for both my first and second hypotheses.

Further, I will perform a multivariate regression to predict the strength of the relationship between variables, and to predict the dependent variable of gender and race issue ownership strategy employment given any of the three intersectional identities. In order to find support for my hypotheses, I will be looking for black women to score statistically significantly higher than black male and white female candidates on race issue ownership and gender issue ownership. For those relationships I find to be statistically significant, I will then perform further tests including incumbency and the percentage of the candidate's district that is black as additional independent variables, to ensure that the relationships remain statistically significant when controlling for these additional variables.

Aside from SPSS, I will also graphically represent my results. In scatterplots, I will represent candidates in order from least to most gender issue ownership in one graph, and least to most race issue ownership in another. I will color-code each candidate for their intersectional identity. This will allow me to search for visual trends in the data. In the following chapter, I will review my findings on the impact of a candidate's intersectional identity on the use of issue ownership strategies in his/her campaign.

Chapter 4: Results

After coding each candidate in my sample's website according to the procedure

detailed above, I was able to conduct statistical analyses in SPSS of the data that I

collected. In this chapter, I discuss how I was able to end up with 59 observed elements; I

then outline the descriptive statistics of those in my sample in regard to both gender and

race issue ownership. I then detail the results of the difference of means tests and

multivariate regressions that I conducted in order to assess my data and collect results. I

used these results to evaluate my findings in terms of my hypotheses, which are stated

below:

H_1: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ race issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates.*

H_2: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates.*

H_3: *White female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than black male candidates.*

H_4: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ both race and gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female and black male candidates.*

Sample Size

Altogether, 32 black women ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 2018

and fit the aforementioned requirements of winning a primary election and running for

office in a district that was less than 51 percent black. Therefore, I began with the

potential to have a sample size of 96 cases total following the sample matching process.

When I proceeded to sample match, however, not every black female candidate could be

sample matched to a white female and black male candidate who fit each of the matching

requirements. There were six black female candidates who could not be sample matched to white female candidates, and eleven black female candidates who could not be sample matched to black male candidates. This narrowed my sample down to 77 possible cases.

However, not every candidate's website was captured on Archive-It or the Wayback Machine. Four black female candidates had web addresses that were either not captured by an archive (Jeannine Lee Lake, D-IN 6; Aja L. Brown, D-CA 44), or had websites that were not functionally captured by the archives, and therefore could not be observed (Shirley McKellar, D-TX 1; Maxine Waters, D-CA 43). Therefore, I removed these four black female candidates, and those with whom they had been sample-matched, from my sample, reducing my sample to 65 candidates. The two aforementioned barriers, of uncaptured websites and web addresses further removed six additional candidates (one white female and five black male) from my sample, resulting in a final sample size of 59 candidates total. Ultimately, 28 black female candidates, 19 white female candidates, and 12 black male candidates were included in this study.

Intercoder Reliability

To test for intercoder reliability, a second coder re-coded fifteen percent of the coded websites, or nine websites total. Intercoder reliability for race issue ownership was assessed in two ways. Firstly, it was assessed through noting how often there was not a difference between the race issue ownership scores (for both more-competent and less-competent categories) and race trait issue ownership scores for each candidate between each coder. Using this method, both coders found the exact same result 35 percent of the time for race issue ownership and 78 percent of the time for race trait issue ownership. The second method of assessment involved including not only those instances wherein

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there was no difference between coders, but also for each category in which the two coders found scores that differed by (+/-1) point. This allows for each coder to have differed by a few sentences when coding a website, thus accounting for some of the human error that may have occurred. With this measure, there was 61 percent intercoder reliability for race issue ownership, and 89 percent intercoder reliability for race trait issue ownership.

The same tests were conducted to assess intercoder reliability for gender issue ownership. The first test, measuring how often both coders found the exact same score for the different categories of each candidate, found 31 percent intercoder reliability for gender issue ownership, and 89 percent intercoder reliability for gender trait issue ownership. In conducting the second test, which includes all categories in which both coders were within (+/- 1) point of each other, I found a 56 percent intercoder reliability rate for gender issue ownership, and a 100 percent inter coder reliability rate for gender trait issue ownership. It is likely that gender issue ownership had slightly lower intercoder reliability rates due to the nature of some of the issues that are gendered for female candidates, as many of the categories are much more general, whereas those for race issue ownership tend to be more specific. For example, female candidates are perceived as more apt to handle 'domestic issues,' however this category includes many sub-issues, which had to be operationalized; this may explain the lower intercoder reliability rate.

Descriptive Statistics for Race Issue Ownership

When coding each candidate's website, candidates received (+1) point for each issue they discussed which voters believed that black candidates would be more competent to handle, and (-1) point for each issue they included for which voters believed

black candidates would be less apt to handle. Furthermore, for every three sentences that a candidate used to discuss an issue, they would receive an additional half point; candidates could also earn additional half points for prominence if the issue was one of the top three listed on their 'Issues' page, or if it was indicated in their banner on the 'Home' page. Further, candidates received a point for every trait they mentioned on their 'Biography' page that was stereotypically associated with black candidates. Lastly, if a candidate explicitly referenced their race on any of the three pages, they received three additional points. If they did not mention their race on any of the three pages, they lost three points. As the number of sentences on each website varied, the positive scores associated with traits and issues that black candidates are perceived to be more competent on were added to the negative scores associated with issues that black candidates are perceived to be less competent on to result in a cumulative score indicating the level of race issue ownership present on the candidate's website. A positive number indicates that the candidate embraced race issue ownership, while a negative number indicates that the candidate rejected race issue ownership in favor of a deracialization campaign strategy.

In regard to race issue ownership, the total sample of candidates had a range of 29 points. The highest score, with 14 points, was that of Ayanna S. Pressley (D-MA 7). This score of 14 points indicates that race issue ownership was present in her 2018 campaign for the House of Representatives. The lowest score, indicating the campaigns with the lowest level of race issue ownership—the most deracialized campaigns—were those of Dee Thornton (D-IN 5) and Denise Adams (D-NC 5), each scoring -15 points. Ayanna Pressley, Dee Thornton and Denise Adams are all black female candidates. The overall race issue ownership mean for the sample was -3.331 points, meaning that, on average,

candidates of all intersectional identities did not embrace race issue ownership in their campaigns. The web address to each candidate website analyzed in this study can be found in Appendix C.

Descriptive Statistics for Gender Issue Ownership

The same point system as outlined above was employed to find each candidate's gender issue ownership score. Candidates received points for highlighting issues and traits that aligned with those that female candidates are perceived to be more competent to handle, and lost points for discussing issues that female candidates are perceived to be less apt at handling. Again, a positive cumulative score indicated that a candidate embraced gender issue ownership on their campaign website, while a negative total score indicated that they did not embrace a gender issue ownership strategy.

The gender issue ownership for all candidates had a total range of 109.5 points. This large range indicates a substantial difference between individual candidate's gender issue ownership strategies. Just as she had scored the highest for race issue ownership, Ayanna Pressley (D-MA 7) also scored the highest for gender issue ownership, with an overall score of 101.5 points, indicating a high level of gender issue ownership. The lowest score, -7.5 points, was earned by Will Hurd (R-TX 23), indicating that he did not embrace gender issue ownership in his campaign. Overall, the mean for gender issue ownership was 10.373 points, indicating that, on average, candidates of all intersectional identities embraced gender issue ownership in their campaigns.

Difference of Means Tests

While these aggregate findings are interesting, they do not directly test my hypotheses. In order to test my four hypotheses, I found the means of each intersectional

identity by race issue ownership and by gender issue ownership, and then conducted a

difference of means t-test. The results of these tests are summarized below in Table 4.1,

which is a replication of Table 3.1 from my previous chapter. In analyzing the means

shown below in Table 4.1, it is apparent, due to the negative values, that regardless of

race, candidates of each identity, on average, *did not* embrace race issue ownership on

their campaign website. Similarly, it is apparent because of the positive values that

candidates of all intersectional identities, on average, *did* embrace gender issue

ownership on their campaign website.

Table 4.1: Mean Race and Gender Issue Ownership Levels by Intersectional Identity

	Black Women N=28	**White Women N=17**	**Black Men N=12**
Race Issue Ownership	-1.339A	-6.816AC	-2.458C
Gender Issue Ownership	12.750	11.447C	3.125C

AStatistical Significance at the 0.05 level comparing Black Women to White Women
BStatistical Significance at the 0.05 level comparing Black Women to Black Men
cStatistical Significance at the 0.05 level comparing White Women to Black Men

These results show statistical significance in the difference of means tests at the

.05 level for race issue ownership between black women and white women (p=.002), and

black men and white women (p=.012). This suggests partial support for my first

hypothesis (*H1: Black female candidates will be more likely to employ race issue*

ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black

male candidates). While I find support that black female candidates are more likely than

white female candidates to employ race issue ownership strategies in their campaigns, I

do not find support that black female candidates are more likely than black male

candidates to employ race issue ownership strategies in their campaigns; therefore, I

cannot reject the null hypothesis to H1. Furthermore, it is important to reiterate that even

where the data did not yield statistically significant results, the direction of the data

follows the predicted directions; the lack of statistical significance to the small sample size.

In regard to gender issue ownership, these results show statistical significance at the .05 level only when comparing white female candidates to black male candidates. Therefore, I cannot reject the null to my second hypothesis (*H2: Black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates*). In accordance with these results, however, I am able to find support for my third hypothesis. I find support for my hypothesis (H3) that white female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than black male candidates (p=.007).

Multivariate Regressions

Another way to test my hypotheses is through multivariate regression. I performed separate multivariate regressions to predict gender issue ownership and race issue ownership based on intersectional identity. Ideally, I would ultimately perform multivariate regressions that control for incumbency and the percentage of the population that is black in a candidate's district, however, with a small sample size, I did not perform this test on regressions where the main effect of intersectional identity was not initially statistically significant.

Initially, I conducted a multivariate regression of black female candidates against all other candidates in my study. I estimated a regression model to determine if a black female candidate's identity can predict her likelihood to discuss race issue ownership when compared with other combined identity groups, I found that black women,

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compared to a dummy independent variable combining white women and black men, are more likely to use race issue ownership in their campaigns. I found this to be statistically significant at the $p<0.03$ level. This relationship holds true, and remains significant, even when controlling for the percent of black constituents in the district. These results can be seen below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Effect of Black Female Identity on Race Issue Ownership

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error	Significance
Black Women as compared to White Women and Black Men	3.157	1.336	.022**
Incumbency	1.672	1.461	.257
% Black of District	23.742	6.534	.001***

* p<0.05
**p<0.03
***p<0.01

In attempting a multivariate regression using combined identity categories as independent variables to predict gender issue ownership strategies, I found that while there was a positive trend in the data, indicating the correct direction of the relationship based on my predictions, the results were not statistically significant. This means that while the data indicates that black women may discuss gender in their campaigns more than black men or white women, however, as the results were not statistically significant, this is not a strong trend. As the trend follows the predicted directionality, but is not statistically significant, it is likely that the lack of statistical significance may be due to the small sample size of minority candidates available in 2018.

I conducted further multivariate regressions to compare black women to white women and black men individually. The results of these two regressions are summarized below in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Directionality and Significance of Effect of Intersectionality on Issue Ownership Strategies

	Race Issue Ownership	Gender Issue Ownership
Black Women as compared to White Women	+**	+ns
Black Women as compared to Black Men	+ns	+ns

nsRelationship is not statistically significant
* Relationship is statistically significant at the 0.05 level
**Relationship is statistically significant at the 0.03 level

This table again shows that while the directionality is correct when comparing black women to both white women and black men on gender issue ownership, the results are not significant. Although neither relationship is statistically significant, the positive coefficient on each follows with my second hypothesis that black female candidates would be more likely to employ gender issue ownership in their electoral campaign than white female or black male candidates. Further, as Table 3.1 indicates, I would not necessarily expect there to be statistical significance between black women and white women on gender issue ownership, as I expected black women to exhibit high levels of gender issue ownership and white women to exhibit moderate levels (that is, levels that are still high, but not as high as black female candidates) of gender issue ownership. As these results were not statistically significant, however, I do not find support for my second hypothesis that black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female and black male candidates.

In terms of race issue ownership, I found both statistically significant and non-statistically significant results. In terms of comparing black male and black female

candidates, I did not find statistically significant results in using black female candidate's identity to predict levels of race issue ownership. As this was also true when looking at the difference of means tests, this test yielded a coefficient in the correct direction to support my hypotheses (H_1), despite not being statistically significant. Therefore, it is again possible that this test did not yield statistically significant results because of the small sample size, particularly of black male candidates.

Using a black woman's intersectional identity to predict her use of race issue ownership was statistically significant when compared to white female candidates. This relationship was statistically significant at the $p<0.03$ level, indicating that race of the candidate is statistically significant when comparing two female candidates to determine whether they will embrace gender issue ownership in their electoral campaigns. After finding this statistically significant result, I conducted an additional multivariate regression specifically comparing black female candidates to white female candidates while controlling for the percent of the candidate's district that is black, and the candidate's incumbency status. Even when controlling for these two additional variables, a black female candidate's identity remained a statistically significant predictor of the level of race issue ownership she would employ in her electoral campaign—in fact, when controlling for these two additional variables, this became statistically significant at the $p<0.01$ level. This is shown below in Table 4.4.

Although the relationship between incumbency status and race issue ownership, and the size of the black population of a district and race issue ownership should be consistent across regressions, I show it below in Table 4.4, as here it is grouped with the only other statistically significant results from the multivariate regressions. This

regression also shows that while incumbent status was not statistically significant in

predicting whether a candidate will embrace race issue ownership in their campaign, the

size of the black population of the district is significant. The percent of the district that

black was statistically significant in the positive direction, indicating that the higher

percentage of black electorate in a district, the more likely a candidate is to employ race

issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaign. Furthermore, the slope of this line

is quite large, indicating that it is quite a dramatic increase in race issue ownership

strategies as the black population of a candidate's district increases. This means that

candidates are more likely to embrace race issue ownership in their campaigns when

campaigning in districts with larger black populations.

Table 4.4: Effect of Black Female Identity on Race Issue Ownership

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error	Significance
Black Women as compared to White Women	4.438	1.629	.009***
Incumbency	1.787	1.731	.308
% Black of District	18.543	8.163	.028**

* p<0.05
**p<0.03
***p<0.01

Overall, the results of these multivariate regressions find only partial support for

my hypotheses. As the directionality is correct on each regression testing race and gender

issue ownership, I am able to find some support of my first and second hypotheses. For

my first hypothesis (*H1: Black female candidates will be more likely to employ race issue*

ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black

male candidates), I find partial support, in that the directionality of the coefficient

indicates a relationship trending in this direction when comparing black female

candidates to both white female and black male candidates. Further, the statistical

significance I find when conducting a regression using black female candidates compared

to white female candidates to predict the degree of race issue ownership even while controlling for the racial composition of the district and incumbency status of the candidate, leads me to find support for half of this hypothesis, that black female candidates are more likely to employ race issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than their white female counterparts. However, as the regression comparing black women to black men was not statistically significant, I ultimately cannot reject the null of my first hypothesis.

In regard to my second hypothesis, (*H2: Black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates*), and the results from these multivariate regressions, I do not find support for my hypothesis. Therefore, I am not able to reject the null hypothesis. Although the directionality of each coefficient was correct in aligning with my hypothesis, none of the gender issue ownership multivariate regressions were statistically significant. This may be due to the very small sample size of black male candidates, whom I hypothesized would be significantly less likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies than black female candidates.

Finally, I therefore do not find support for my fourth hypothesis (*H4: Black female candidates will be more likely to employ both race and gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female and black male candidates*). As I was not able to find support for and reject the null of either my first or second hypotheses, I cannot reject the null of this final hypothesis. However, each coefficient in these multivariate regressions indicates directionality in line with my final hypothesis,

suggesting that perhaps with a larger sample size, I may have found support for this fourth hypothesis.

Visual Representations of the Data

This data can also be represented visually, to understand the patterns in the data. Below, in Figure 4.1, we can see a visual representation of race issue ownership levels, color coded by candidate's intersectional identity. There are three main trends and ideas that become readily apparent when looking at this data when it is listed by candidate from lowest levels of observed race issue ownership to highest levels of observed race issue ownership. Firstly, we can see that white female candidates tend to have scores that land them on the lower half of the graph, visually indicating that they largely have lower levels of race issue ownership than their black male and black female counterparts. Secondly, we see that there is not a single white female candidate who ended up with a positive number of points. This means that no single white female candidate in this sample embraced race issue ownership techniques on her 2018 campaign website. Finally, we see that black male candidates are relatively evenly spread throughout the ordered lineup of race issue ownership levels. This may help to explain why we did not find statistically significant results when comparing race issue ownership strategies of black male candidates to those of black female candidates.

Figure 4.1: Race Issue Ownership Levels, Color-Coded by Identity
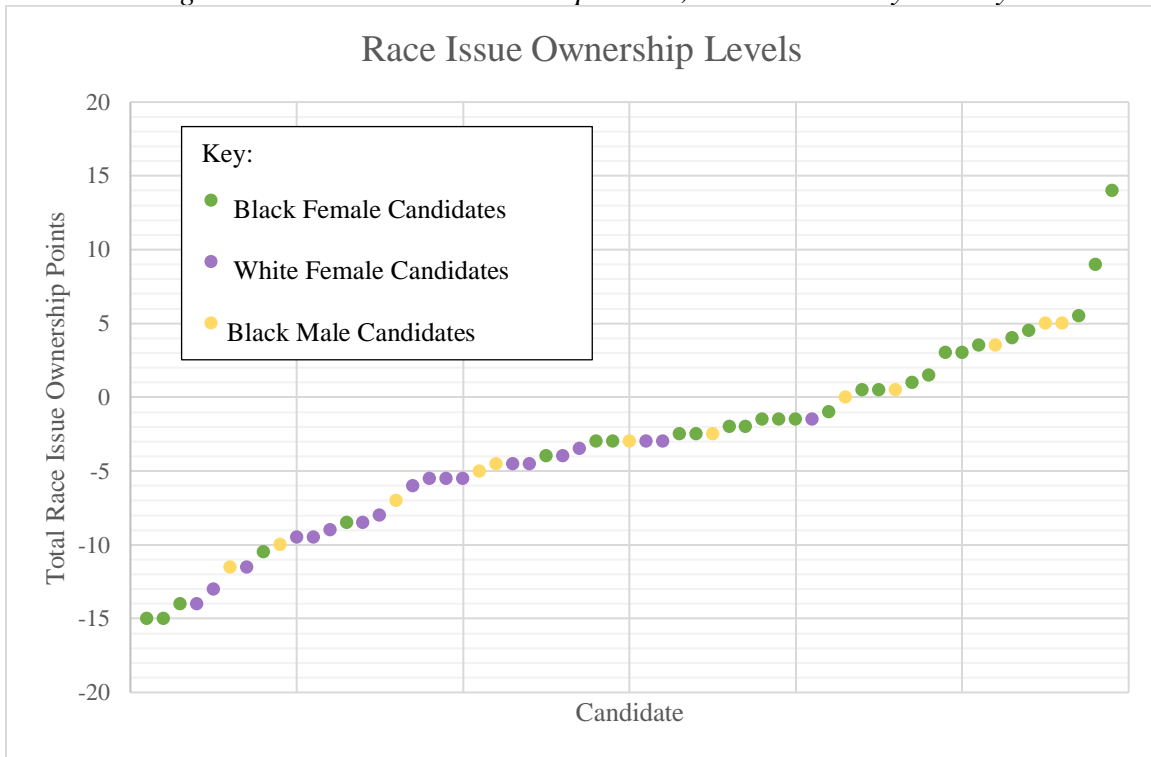
This data is further represented in Appendix D, wherein the names of each candidate are listed in order from least race issue ownership to most race issue ownership; this appendix also indicates the candidate's district, the proportion of the population of that district that is black, the candidate's intersectional identity, and the exact numerical race issue ownership score of each candidate.

Figure 4.2 shows us the level of gender issue ownership for each candidate, color coded by candidate identity. This graph provides us with visual evidence of two main trends. Firstly, we can see that both black female and white female candidates are split fairly evenly above and below the median of the data, visually indicating a reason why the difference between the two was not statistically significant. However, we see that black male candidates are largely found in the bottom half of the data—furthermore, they

are largely clustered around the very lowest scores of the data. This indicates that perhaps with a bigger sample size, we would have found more statistically significant results.

Figure 4.2: Gender Issue Ownership Levels, Color-Coded by Identity

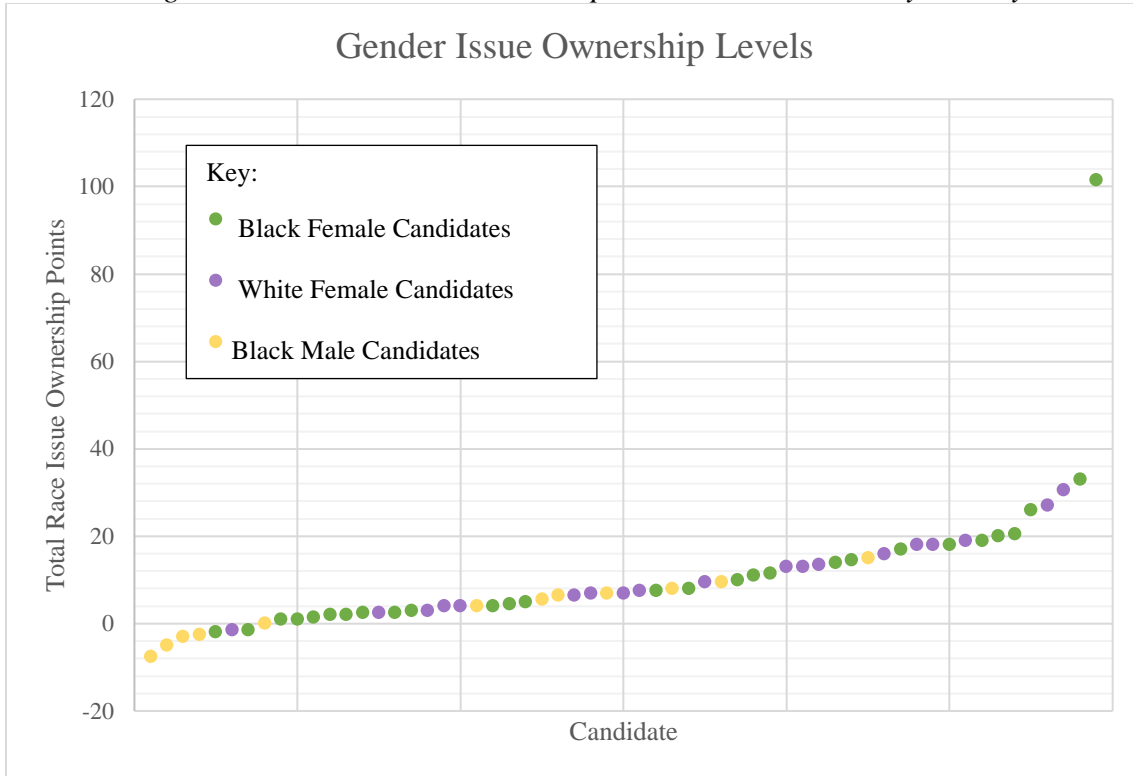This data is further represented in Appendix E, wherein the names of each candidate are listed in order from least gender issue ownership to most gender issue ownership; this appendix also indicates the candidate's district, the proportion of the population of that district that is black, the candidate's intersectional identity, and the exact numerical gender issue ownership score of each candidate.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Previous literature on race and gender in politics has failed to adequately address the intersections between these identities. Most of the literature on deracialization—and therefore, on race issue ownership—has been primarily focused on black male candidates; similarly, the literature on women in politics and on gender issue ownership largely focuses on white women. This study represents the first work to attempt to reconcile the two bodies of literature. Furthermore, while there have not historically been as many black female candidates as black male or white female candidates for the United States House of Representatives, the number of black female candidates dramatically increased between 2016 and 2018, pointing to the heightened importance in understanding the intricacies of their campaign strategies.

This study aimed to build a bridge between the existing deracialization and gender issue ownership by applying theories of intersectionality, in regard to this research question: *How does a candidate's intersectional identity affect his/her decision to embrace gender and race issue ownership strategies in his/her electoral campaign?* As the theory of intersectionality stated that black women possess a unique identity, wherein their racial and gender identities are intrinsically linked and inseparable, I posited four hypotheses to address this question, which each found various levels of support. I tested these four hypotheses by employing a content analysis method, which allowed me to determine the level of gender issue ownership and race issue ownership present on 2018 black female, black male, and white female candidate's websites, and operationalized with the candidate's references to issues that black and female candidates are stereotyped as being more or less competent in.

I found partial support for my first hypothesis (H1: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ race issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidates*). While the results of a difference of means test and a multivariate regression found statistically significant support that black female candidates are more likely to employ race issue ownership in their campaigns than white female candidates, neither test found statistically significant support that black female candidates employed race issue ownership more than black male candidates. However, in both the multivariate regression and the difference of means test, the directionality of the relationships all followed those predicted by the hypothesis; this suggests that with a larger sample size, future researchers may find support for this hypothesis.

The statistically significant relationship showing that black female candidates are more likely to employ race issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates held in the multivariate regression when controlling both for incumbency status and for the racial composition of the candidate's district. Furthermore, controlling for the racial composition of the district yielded statistically significant results. These results indicated that the larger the black population of a given district, the more likely that candidates are to employ race issue ownership strategies. In fact, the coefficient found by this test indicates that the trend is quite dramatic—for every additional percentage point black that a district is, a candidate employs about 18.5 more points of race issue ownership. This is important as it aligns with the theory of deracialization. As the black population of a district increases, the less necessary it is for candidates to deracialize, as they can create a winning multiracial coalition with fewer

votes from those of races different than their own—this allows them to embrace race issue ownership strategies in their campaign more strongly without hurting their chances at building a multiracial coalition.

Furthermore, my findings have important implications for the theory of deracialization in and of itself. Finding that black male candidates did not deracialize at rates different than those of black female candidates does not counter the theory of deracialization; this finding is likely due to the fact that the theory of deracialization does not expect to see gendered differences between black candidates in terms of deracialization. While the theory, in its initial conception in the early 1990s, did not differentiate between the experiences and tactics used by black male and black female candidates, it did assert that the most important group to compare black candidates to in order to prove deracialization was white candidates. However, the findings from the difference of means test challenge this notion. It is highly surprising that I found that white women embraced race issue ownership at the lowest rate when compared to black men and women, as this means that white women had the most deracialized campaign websites. This suggests that in the aggregate, black candidates are not deracializing as compared to white women.

This finding is highly surprising, and points to three ideas. Firstly, it points to the idea that future research should explore; perhaps it is not as much that black candidates deracialize in non-majority black districts, but that *all* candidates deracialize in non-majority black districts. Secondly, it suggests that perhaps true neutrality (for example, gaining zero points in my coding mechanism) is not the level against which one should determine whether or not a candidate has deracialized. Perhaps scholars should determine

the average amount that candidates of *all* races and ethnicities 'deracialize' then compare campaigns to this point rather than true neutrality to determine deracialization or race issue ownership levels. Finally, this finding highlights a flaw in the deracialization literature. As many scholars have failed to develop a systematic method with which to study deracialization, they have also failed to create a systematic method that allows for comparison for campaign techniques between races. Therefore, this finding points to a need for further literature on deracialization, systematically comparing the use of campaign techniques between candidates of different races in districts of similar racial compositions.

In regard to my second hypothesis, (H2: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female candidates and black male candidate*), I again found only partial support. Neither the difference of means tests nor the multivariate regression showed statistically significant results. The coefficients of my results did, however, show the predicted directionality of this relationship, again meaning that perhaps with a greater sample size, statistically significant results for this hypothesis may be yielded.

My third hypothesis, (H3: *White female candidates will be more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than black male candidates*), was the only hypothesis for which I found full support. The results of the difference of means t-test found statistically significant support that white women are more likely to employ gender issue ownership strategies than black men; this aids with my theory, in that while I believed that black women would display the *highest* levels of

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gender issue ownership, I also believed that white women would display moderate-to-high levels of gender issue ownership.

Finally, I did not find support for my last hypothesis (H4: *Black female candidates will be more likely to employ both race and gender issue ownership strategies in their electoral campaigns than white female and black male candidates*). As I was not able to find full, statistically significant support for both my first and second hypotheses, I was not able to reject the null of my fourth hypothesis. Once again, however, as each coefficient displayed the predicted directionality, there is the possibility that further studies may find support for this hypothesis should they be able to include a greater sample size.

This study was not without limitations. Firstly, this study was limited by number of black female candidates who ran for the House of Representatives in 2018. More black female candidates ran for the House in 2018 than did in 2014 and 2016 combined. However, only 32 black female candidates ran in 2018 who fit the parameters necessary to be included in this study. This limitation is common when looking at minority candidates, especially in the national legislature, as historically, and even currently, minority candidates have run for these offices at much lower rates than their white male counterparts.

Secondly, another limitation to this study was the barriers posed by studying campaign communications after the campaign has ended. Although the sample had the promise to include 96 elements had each black female candidate initially included in the sample been effectively paired, I was only able to have 59 observed elements. This was due to a variety of factors. Firstly, not every black female candidate could be sample

matched to comparable black male and white female candidates. Secondly, neither ArchiveIt.org, nor the Wayback Machine captured and archived functional versions of the websites of four black female candidates in 2018, meaning that both these four black female candidates, and any potential black male and white female matches had to be excluded from the study to promote the integrity of comparability. Next, five black male and one white female candidate did not have websites that were captured or functional on the archival software, which ultimately resulted in my study observing only 59 candidates total. As the campaigns were all over, and I was relying of the archival work of others to be able to complete this study, I was limited by the failure of technology to functionally capture each website.

This led to a final, and arguably most important limitation: the final sample size. Ultimately, I only had 59 observed elements in my study, due to the aforementioned barriers. This limitation very well may have affected my results, as the low sample sizes for each identity group may have caused results to be statistically insignificant which otherwise may have been significant with more observed elements.

Although only 32 black female candidates from 2018 initially fit the requirements necessary to be included in this study, even fewer were eligible from previous years, meaning that 2018 actually offered a previously unavailable opportunity to look at the campaign strategies of black female candidates in a single election cycle. In fact, only eleven black female candidates in 2016 would have fit the parameters; therefore, 2018 represents almost a 200% increase in black female candidates who could be included in this study. Should this trend continue, it would be beneficial to repeat this study with a

larger sample size, to determine if statistical significance would be achieved by increasing the study's sample size.

Acknowledging both these findings and limitations, several important conclusions can be deduced from this study. Firstly, the partial support found for both the first and second hypotheses with the coefficient directions aligning with my theory suggests that intersectional identity may, in fact, have a strong influence on a candidate's likelihood to embrace gender and race issue ownership tactics in their campaign. This finding has important implications in that it suggests that candidates of different intersectional identities should not be observed as a single bloc, or as in terms of only one identity; candidates must be observed and grouped by intersectional identity to gain the fullest picture of what drives campaign strategy. Specifically, the statistically significant differences between how black female and white female candidates embrace gender issue ownership help to support the theories of intersectionality's claim that gender and race work together to create an identity that cannot be explained simply by examining both parts individually; grouping black women solely with white women to study gender would not account for this different in race issue ownership strategy (Shah, Scott, and Juenke 2019). Furthermore, in looking at the raw data, it is apparent that female candidates—and particularly black female—have websites that contain more information (both racialized for more and less competent and gendered for more and less competent) than male candidates. This supports theories that female candidates must prove that they are *overqualified* in order to be perceived by the public as equally as competent as male candidates and win elections (Lawless and Pearson 2008; Mo 2015).

Furthermore, this study has important implications for democracy in terms of descriptive representation. Specifically, when considering the statistically significant result that candidates are much more likely to embrace race issue ownership techniques as the black population of their constituency increases, it becomes apparent that candidates recognize the importance of appealing to their electorate's descriptive identities and want for descriptive representation. The fact that candidates increase their discussion of racialized issues as a district becomes more black illustrates that candidates recognize that voters want to elect representatives who descriptively *and* substantively represent them; they want to elect representatives who they perceive as sharing their race and as being likely to act in the best interests for their racial group (Swers 2002). This is especially important to consider as increased descriptive representation increases the general public's feelings of external efficacy and increases the public's capability to see minorities as effective citizens and capable of leadership (Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Mansbridge 1999). Furthermore, this finding implies that candidates take the racial composition of their electorate into account when designing their campaign strategy.

This study also suggests a few avenues for future research, outside of repeated studies which increase the sample size. Firstly, it suggests that further research is needed to link the literature on race and gender. For example, this study looked primarily at *what* issues candidates of different gender and racial identities discussed in their political campaigns; further research should focus on *how* candidates of different intersectional identities framed and discussed particular issues in their campaigns in order to determine if differences exist based on identity. Further, another avenue for future research would involve looking into the effectiveness of race and gender issue ownership strategies for

black female candidates; while this literature exists for white women and black men, it does not yet exist for black female candidates. Next, the literature on stereotypes of candidates and politicians with different intersectional identities should be expanded. There is currently more literature focused on stereotypes about female candidates than black candidates, suggesting that the literature on voter's stereotypes of black candidates should be expanded; furthermore, an additional branch of the literature should be pursued to establish a list of stereotypes that voters hold about issues black female candidates are more/less competent to handle. Finally, this work should be replicated with other racial minority groups. It will become increasingly vital to expand this work as female candidates of color from other racial minority groups continue to campaign at higher rates.

APPENDIX A: ISSUE STEREOTYPE OPERATIONALIZATION

The tables below indicate the operationalization of many of the less clear issues that were coded. Not every associated issue is listed for each issue, and not every issue's operationalization is shown; only those associated issues that may fit into multiple categories are shown below.

Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (More Competent)	
Issue	**Operationalization/Associated Issues**
Affirmative Action for Blacks	
Affordable Care Act	
Civil/Equal Rights	Includes civil/equal rights for all minority groups
Crime	Crime and the Criminal Justice System
Equal Opportunity	
Federal Aid for Minorities	
Helping the Poor	
Homelessness	Public Housing as a remedy for Homelessness
Job Creation	
Racial Issues	
Poverty	
Race Relations	
Represents own Racial Group	Indicating affiliation with a historically black organization (ex: Congressional Black Caucus, Delta Sigma Theta sorority, HBCUs, NAACP); Highlighting status as a "first"
Unemployment	
Urban Issues	Gentrification
Welfare Programs	Medicaid, TANF, etc.
Issue Stereotypes for Black Candidates (No More or Less Competent)	
Issue	**Operationalization/Associated Issues**
Defense	Border Security
Economy	
Helping Farmers	
Improving Public Education	Must *explicitly* reference public education
Military	
National Security	
Reducing Drug Abuse	Opioid Epidemic
Reducing the Federal Deficit	
Reducing Foreign Imports	
Taxes/Reducing Taxes	
Terrorism	

Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (More Competent)	
Issue	**Operationalization/Associated Issues**
Childcare	
Compassion Issues	Foster Care System; Helping Refugees; Helping Human Trafficking Survivors
Domestic Issues	Animal Rights; Constitutional rights (ex: freedom of speech, right to bear arms) Infrastructure; Environment (domestic frame); Immigration (domestic frame—ex: DACA, Dreamers); Gun control; Homelessness; LGBTQIA+ Issues; Veterans and Military Families
Education	
Equal Rights Amendment	
Ethical Government	Campaign Finance Reform; Fair Bidding Practices
Feminine Issues/Women's Issues	Abortion/Reproductive Rights; Contraceptives; Title IX; Women's March for Equality
Health-Related Policy	Anything referred to as a public health crisis (may include gun control or the environment for some candidates); Medicaid/Medicare; Opioid Epidemic; Sexual Assault Prevention
Helping the Poor	
Income Redistribution	
Social Welfare Issues	
Traditional Values	
Working with the Elderly	
Issue Stereotypes for Female Candidates (No More or Less Competent)	
Issue	**Operationalization/Associated Issues**
Big Business	
Crime	Crime and the Criminal Justice System
Defense	Border Security
Economy	
Force and Violence Issues	
Foreign Policy	Environment (international relations frame); Immigration (international relations frame)
Military Crises	
Terrorism	
War	

APPENDIX B: SECOND CODER CODING GUIDE AND INSTRUCTIONS

OVERALL:
1. Websites should be coded one at a time, and each website should be coded for either race or gender in a single sitting. First code an entire website for race, then for gender. Code only words, not images.
2. +3 points if the candidate's own race is mentioned on any of the three pages (words to look for: black, white, African American)→-3 points if not mentioned on any page
3. +3 points if the candidate's own gender, gendered parental role, or gendered marital status is mentioned on any of the three pages (words to look for: congresswoman, man, woman, male, female, father, mother, husband, wife)

Home Page:
1. Code page for race, then gender
2. +0.5 point per issue if listed in header
3. +1 when an issue is first mentioned
4. Tally every sentence in which an issue is explicitly mentioned, including the first sentence
    a. +0.5 points for every three sentences on an issue (ex: 2 sentences=0 points, 4 sentences=+0.5 points, 12 sentences=+2 points)
5. Add all points together from each issue

Issues Page:
1. Code page for race, then gender
2. Unless they are the only text available about each issue, headings do NOT count as mentions or sentences
3. +1 when an issue is first mentioned
4. +0.5 point for each of the first three issues mentioned (MUST be explicitly mentioned→infrastructure does not gain a point for domestic issues, education gains .5 points in race if the text mentions public education and gains .5 points in gender)
5. Tally every sentence in which an issue is explicitly mentioned, including the first sentence
    a. +0.5 points for every three sentences on an issue (ex: 2 sentences=0 points, 4 sentences=+0.5 points, 12 sentences=+2 points)
6. Add all points together from each issue

Biography Page
1. Code page for race, then gender
2. Issues:
    a. +1 when an issue is first mentioned
    b. Tally every sentence in which an issue is explicitly mentioned, including the first sentence

      i. +0.5 points for every three sentences on an issue (ex: 2 sentences=0 points, 4 sentences=+0.5 points, 12 sentences=+2 points)

3. Traits:
   a. Must EXPLICITLY refer to the trait (do not look for 'implied' traits)
   b. +1 when an issue is first mentioned
   c. Tally every sentence in which an issue is explicitly mentioned, including the first sentence
      i. +0.5 points for every three sentences on an issue (ex: 2 sentences=0 points, 4 sentences=+0.5 points, 12 sentences=+2 points)

- Each issue may only be attributed to one category, meaning that each sentence should usually only be attributed to one category.
  o The exception is when issues are *listed*; for example, four gender (more) points could be gained if a candidate said, "I value education, healthcare, building our infrastructure, and preserving social security for the elderly."
  o Do not count headings towards sentences unless they are the only information about an issue on a page

APPENDIX C: WEB ADDRESSES FOR EACH WEBSITE ANALYZED

The table below includes the web addresses for each of the observed 69 candidates in this study. These are links to the archived versions of each website.

Candidate Name	Archived Candidate Website
A. Donald McEachin	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024003716/https://www.donaldmceachin.com/
Adrienne Bell	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181026185226/https://www.bell2018.com/
Aja L. Brown	*Website Not Captured*
Aja Smith	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200009/https://www.ajaforcongress.com/
Al Green	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023222659/https://algreen.org/
Allen Ellison	*Website Not Captured*
Antonio Delgado	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201926/https://delgadoforcongress.com/
Ayanna S. Pressley	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023204242/https://ayannapressley.com/
Barbara Lee	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200209/http://www.barbaraleeforcongress.org/
Betty McCollum	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202028/https://www.mccollumforcongress.com/
Bonnie Watson Coleman	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202340/http://www.bonnieforcongress.com/
Brandon Brown	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024020130/https://brandonpbrown.com/
Carolyn Bourdeaux	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200336/https://www.carolyn4congress.com/
Cathy McMorris Rodgers	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023230109/http://www.cathyforcongress.com/
Colin Allred	*Website Not Captured*
Dee Thornton	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201954/http://deethorntonforcongress.com/
Denise Adams	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023203047/http://ddadamsforcongress.com/
Eddie Bernice Johnson	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023205051/https://ebjcampaign.com/
Elaine Luria	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023230106/ https://elaineforcongress.com/
Emanuel Cleaver II	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201834/http://cleaverforcongress.com/home.php/#modal1
Erika Stotts Pearson	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024120124/https://erikastottspearson.com/

Flynn Broady Jr.	*Website Not Captured*
Gwen S. Moore	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024001914/https://www.gwenmooreforcongress.com/
Hayden Shamel	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200017/https://www.haydenforcongress.com/
Henry Martin	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202623/https://www.henrymartinforcongress.com/
Ilhan Omar	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202112/https://www.ilhanomar.com/
Jahana Hayes	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200202/https://www.jahanahayes.com/
Jeannine Lee Lake	*Website Not Captured*
Jeff Dove	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024161211/http://www.doveforcongress.com/
Jennie Lou Leeder	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023222700/http://jennielouleeder.com/
Jeramey Anderson	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202009/https://www.jerameyformississippi.com/
Jineea Butler	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201727/https://www.jineeabutlerforcongress.com/
Joyce Beatty	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181026140830/http://www.beattyforcongress.com/
Kara Eastman	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202623/http://eastmanforcongress.com/
Karen Bass	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200606/http://www.karenbass.com/
Kathleen M. Rice	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201939/https://www.kathleenrice.com/
Kathy Castor	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200312/http://www.castorforcongress.com/
Kathy Manning	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202551/https://kathymanning2018.com/
Kyle Horton	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202430/https://www.drkyleforcongress.com/
Lauren Underwood	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200301/https://www.underwoodforcongress.com/
Linda Coleman	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023201702/http://lindacolemanforcongress.com/
Lisa Blunt Rochester	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200312/https://lisabluntrochester.com/
Liz Matory	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181005200133/https://www.lizmatory.com/
Lucy McBath	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200414/https://lucyforcongress.com/
M.J. Hegar	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023205528/https://www.mjfortexas.com/
Marc Veasey	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023223559/http://marcveasey.com/

Marcy Kaptur	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023202802/https://marcykaptur.com/
Mary Geren	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024015211/https://marygeren.com/
Maxine Waters	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200331/https://maxinewatersforcongress.com/
Mia B. Love	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024044605/https://love4utah.com/
Morgan Murtaugh	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200315/http://morganmurtaugh.com/
Nancy Soderberg	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200249/https://soderbergforcongress.com/
Renee Hoagenson	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023204028/https://reneehoagenson.com/
Renee Hoyos	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181025193211/http://hoyosforcongress.com/
Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024135237/http://www.bobbyscottforcongress.com/
Robert Kennedy Jr.	https://web.archive.org/web/20181023200126/http://www.kennedy4alabama.org
Sheila Jackson Lee	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024055103/http://www.sheilajacksonlee18.com/
Shirley McKellar	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024024253/https://www.votemckellar.com/
Stephany Rose Spaulding	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200207/https://www.stephanyroseforcongress.com/
Steven Horsford	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11168/20181023202626/https://www.stevenhorsford.com/
Tabitha Isner	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023201639/http://www.tabithaisner.com/
Tabitha Johnson-Green	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200104/https://www.johnsongreenforcongress2018.com/
Talley Sergent	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024162658/http://www.talleysergent.com/
Tim Rogers	*Website Not Captured*
Val Demings	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200328/http://www.valdemings.com/
Vanessa Enoch	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181023203243/https://enochforcongress.com/
Vangie Williams	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181025140656/https://www.vangieforcongress.com/
Will Hurd	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11170/20181024040059/http://www.hurdforcongress.com/
Yvonne Hayes Hinson	https://wayback.archive-it.org/11166/20181023200301/https://www.yvonneforcongress.com/

APPENDIX D: RACE ISSUE OWNERSHIP SCORE BY CANDIDATE

The table below represents the race issue ownership score of each candidate, from least race issue ownership to most race issue ownership displayed on the candidate's website. Each color represents a different intersectional identity. Green represents black female candidates, yellow represents black male candidates, and purple represents white female candidates. The final ten rows, colored grey, represent candidates whose websites were not accessible on The Wayback Machine, or on ArchiveIt.org, and therefore could not be coded.

Candidate Name	District and Party	Identity	District % Black	Race Issue Ownership Score
Dee Thornton	IN 5 (D)	Black Female	10%	-15
Denise Adams	NC 5 (D)	Black Female	13.6%	-15
Mia B. Love	UT 4 (R)	Black Female	2%	-14
Nancy Soderberg	FL 6 (1)	White Female	10.3%	-14
Cathy McMorris Rodgers	WA 5 (R)	White Female	2.9%	-13
Will Hurd	TX 23 (R)	Black Male	3.6%	-11.5
Kyle Horton	NC 7 (D)	White Female	17.8%	-11.5
Erika Stotts Pearson	TN 8 (D)	Black Female	21.5%	-10.5
Antonio Delgado	NY 19 (D)	Black Male	5.7%	-10
M.J. Hegar	TX 31 (D)	White Female	5.7%	-9.5
Kathy Manning	NC 13 (D)	White Female	19.8%	-9.5
Elaine Luria	VA 2 (D)	White Female	24.1%	-9
Linda Coleman	NC 2 (D)	Black Female	18.4%	-8.5
Renee Hoyos	TN 2 (D)	White Female	7.1%	-8.5
Renee Hoagenson	MO 4 (D)	White Female	6.6%	-8
Marc Veasey	TX 33 (D)	Black Male	17%	-7
Morgan Murtaugh	CA 53 (R)	White Female	11.1%	-6
Kathy Castor	FL 14 (D)	White Female	28.4%	-5.5
Marcy Kaptur	OH 9 (D)	White Female	20.2%	-5.5
Carolyn Bordeaux	GA 7 (D)	White Female	22.1%	-5.5
Henry Martin	MO 6 (D)	Black Male	5.7%	-5
Robert Kennedy Jr.	AL 1 (D)	Black Male	28.9%	-4.5
Jennie Lou Leeder	TX 11 (D)	White Female	4.5%	-4.5
Kathleen M. Rice	NY 4 (D)	White Female	16.9%	-4.5
Liz Matory	MD 2 (R)	Black Female	36.5%	-4
Hayden Shamel	AR 4 (D)	White Female	20.4%	-4
Betty McCollum	MN 4 (D)	White Female	11.9%	-3.5
Lauren Underwood	IL 14 (D)	Black Female	4.1%	-3
Jahana Hayes	CT 5 (D)	Black Female	7.9%	-3
Steven Horsford	NV 4 (D)	Black Male	16.8%	-3
Kara Eastman	NE 2 (D)	White Female	11.3%	-3
Mary Geren	SC 3 (D)	White Female	19.2%	-3
Stephany Rose Spaulding	CO 5 (D)	Black Female	8%	-2.5
Tabitha Johnson-Green	GA 10 (D)	Black Female	26.6%	-2.5
Jeff Dove	VA 11 (R)	Black Male	13.5%	-2.5
Yvonne Hayes Hinson	FL 3 (D)	Black Female	15%	-2
Eddie Bernice Johnson	TX 30 (D)	Black Female	44.7%	-2
Adrienne Bell	TX 14 (D)	Black Female	20.6%	-1.5

Jineea Butler	NY 13 (R)	Black Female	32.6%	-1.5
Joyce Beatty	OH 3 (D)	Black Female	35.7%	-1.5
Tabitha Isner	AL 2 (D)	White Female	32.4%	-1.5
Ilhan Omar	MN 5 (D)	Black Female	19.1%	-1
Brandon Brown	SC 4 (D)	Black Male	20.8%	0
Vanessa Enoch	OH 8 (D)	Black Female	7.4%	0.5
Vangie Williams	VA 1 (D)	Black Female	19.5%	0.5
A. Donald McEachin	VA 4 (D)	Black Male	33.1%	0.5
Val Demings	FL 10 (D)	Black Female	14%	1
Aja Smith	CA 41 (R)	Black Female	10.6%	1.5
Lisa Blunt Rochester	DE 1 (D)	Black Female	23.6%	3
Sheila Jackson Lee	TX 18 (D)	Black Female	37.1%	3
Lucy McBath	GA 6 (D)	Black Female	14.3%	3.5
Al Green	TX 9 (D)	Black Male	38.7%	3.5
Karen Bass	CA 37 (D)	Black Female	25.1%	4
Bonnie Watson Coleman	NJ 12 (D)	Black Female	19.1%	4.5
Emanuel Cleaver II	MO 5 (D)	Black Male	23.4%	5
Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	VA 3 (D)	Black Male	45.9%	5
Gwen S. Moore	WI 4 (D)	Black Female	35.7%	5.5
Barbara Lee	CA 13 (D)	Black Female	20%	9
Ayanna S. Pressley	MA 7 (D)	Black Female	31.1%	14
Jeannine Lee Lake	IN 6 (D)	Black Female	3.6%	MISSING
Aja L. Brown	CA 44 (D)	Black Female	16%	MISSING
Shirley McKellar	TX 1 (D)	Black Female	19%	MISSING
Maxine Waters	CA 43 (D)	Black Female	24%	MISSING
Tim Rogers	WI 4 (R)	Black Male	35.7%	MISSING
Allen Ellison	FL 17 (D)	Black Male	10.8%	MISSING
Flynn Broady Jr.	GA 11 (D)	Black Male	16.9%	MISSING
Colin Allred	TX 32 (D)	Black Male	15%	MISSING
Jeramey Anderson	MS 4 (D)	Black Male	25%	MISSING
Talley Sergent	WV 2 (D)	White Female	6.2%	MISSING

APPENDIX E: GENDER ISSUE OWNERSHIP SCORE BY CANDIDATE

The table below represents the gender issue ownership score of each candidate, from least gender issue ownership to most gender issue ownership displayed on the candidate's website. Each color represents a different intersectional identity. Green represents black female candidates, yellow represents black male candidates, and purple represents white female candidates. The final ten rows, colored grey, represent candidates whose websites were not accessible on The Wayback Machine, or on ArchiveIt.org, and therefore could not be coded.

Candidate Name	District and Party	Identity	District % Black	Gender Issue Ownership Score
Will Hurd	TX 23 (R)	Black Male	3.6%	-7.5
Emanuel Cleaver II	MO 5 (D)	Black Male	23.4%	-5
Steven Horsford	NV 4 (D)	Black Male	16.8%	-3
Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	VA 3 (D)	Black Male	45.9%	-2.5
Jahana Hayes	CT 5 (D)	Black Female	7.9%	-2
Nancy Soderberg	FL 6 (D)	White Female	10.3%	-1.5
Aja Smith	CA 41 (R)	Black Female	10.6%	-1.5
Brandon Brown	SC 4 (D)	Black Male	20.8%	0
Yvonne Hayes Hinson	FL 3 (D)	Black Female	15%	1
Lisa Blunt Rochester	DE 1 (D)	Black Female	23.6%	1
Jineea Butler	NY 13 (R)	Black Female	32.6%	1.5
Denise Adams	NC 5 (D)	Black Female	13.6%	2
Liz Matory	MD 2 (R)	Black Female	36.5%	2
Linda Coleman	NC 2 (D)	Black Female	18.4%	2.5
Morgan Murtaugh	CA 53 (R)	White Female	11.1%	2.5
Lauren Underwood	IL 14 (D)	Black Female	4.1%	2.5
Erika Stotts Pearson	TN 8 (D)	Black Female	21.5%	3
Hayden Shamel	AR 4 (D)	White Female	20.4%	3
Elaine Luria	VA 2 (D)	White Female	24.1%	4
Kathleen M. Rice	NY 4 (D)	White Female	16.9%	4
A. Donald McEachin	VA 4 (D)	Black Male	33.1%	4
Karen Bass	CA 37 (D)	Black Female	25.1%	4
Val Demings	FL 10 (D)	Black Female	14%	4.5
Joyce Beatty	OH 3(D)	Black Female	35.7%	5
Jeff Dove	VA 11 (R)	Black Male	13.5%	5.5
Antonio Delgado	NY 19 (D)	Black Male	5.7%	6.5
Kathy Castor	FL 14 (D)	White Female	28.4%	6.5
Kyle Horton	NC 7 (D)	White Female	17.8%	7
Marc Veasey	TX 33 (D)	Black Male	17%	7
Marcy Kaptur	OH 9 (D)	White Female	20.2%	7
Jennie Lou Leeder	TX 11 (D)	White Female	4.5%	7.5
Gwen S. Moore	WI 4 (D)	Black Female	35.7%	7.5
Henry Martin	MO 6 (D)	Black Male	5.7%	8
Stephany Rose Spaulding	CO 5 (D)	Black Female	8%	8
Renee Hoagenson	MO 4 (D)	White Female	6.6%	9.5
Robert Kennedy Jr.	AL 1 (D)	Black Male	28.9%	9.5
Mia B. Love	UT 4 (R)	Black Female	2%	10
Lucy McBath	GA 6 (D)	Black Female	14.3%	11
Sheila Jackson Lee	TX 18 (D)	Black Female	37.1%	11.5
M.J. Hegar	TX 31 (D)	White Female	13.2%	13
Tabitha Isner	AL 2 (D)	White Female	32.4%	13

Betty McCollum	MN 4 (D)	White Female	11.9%	13.5
Tabitha Johnson-Green	GA 10 (D)	Black Female	26.6%	14
Barbara Lee	CA 13 (D)	Black Female	20%	14.5
Al Green	TX 9 (D)	Black Male	38.7%	15
Cathy McMorris Rodgers	WA 5 (R)	White Female	2.9%	16
Bonnie Watson Coleman	NJ 12 (D)	Black Female	19.1%	17
Renee Hoyos	TN 2 (D)	White Female	7.1%	18
Kara Eastman	NE 2 (D)	White Female	11.3%	18
Vanessa Enoch	OH 8 (D)	Black Female	7.4%	18
Kathy Manning	NC 13 (D)	White Female	19.8%	19
Adrienne Bell	TX 14 (D)	Black Female	20.6%	19
Eddie Bernice Johnson	TX 30 (D)	Black Female	44.7%	20
Ilhan Omar	MN 5 (D)	Black Female	19.1%	20.5
Dee Thornton	IN 5 (D)	Black Female	10%	26
Mary Geren	SC 3 (D)	White Female	19.2%	27
Carolyn Bourdeaux	GA 7 (D)	White Female	22.1%	30.5
Vangie Williams	VA 1 (D)	Black Female	19.5%	33
Ayanna S. Pressley	MA 7 (D)	Black Female	31.1%	101.5
Jeannine Lee Lake	IN 6 (D)	Black Female	3.6%	MISSING
Aja L. Brown	CA 44 (D)	Black Female	16%	MISSING
Shirley McKellar	TX 1 (D)	Black Female	19%	MISSING
Maxine Waters	CA 43 (D)	Black Female	24%	MISSING
Tim Rogers	WI 4 (R)	Black Male	35.7%	MISSING
Allen Ellison	FL 17 (D)	Black Male	10.8%	MISSING
Flynn Broady Jr.	GA 11 (D)	Black Male	16.9%	MISSING
Colin Allred	TX 32 (D)	Black Male	15%	MISSING
Jeramey Anderson	MS 4 (D)	Black Male	25%	MISSING
Talley Sergent	WV 2 (D)	White Female	6.2%	MISSING

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