INTERSECTIONAL ISSUE FRAMING:

A STUDY OF WOMEN OF COLOR CANDIDATES' 2020

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN AGENDAS

by

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ABSTRACT

INTERSECTIONAL ISSUE FRAMING

Research has found that women of color political candidates are more likely to discuss issues of race and gender compared to their white, male counterparts. Yet there is still limited empirical research examining the nuance and variation in how women of color incorporate intersectionality in their campaign rhetoric. This study conducts content analysis of 91 Black and Latina women Democratic candidates' policy positions during the 2020 House of Representatives political race, examining how they discuss intersectionally marginalized groups in their campaign agendas. A mixed-methods approach was used to provide insight into how women of color use intersectional frames in their campaign agendas to address the concerns of intersectionally marginalized groups. Quantitative analysis was conducted using both a Binary Logit model and negative binomial models to test how district-level and candidate-specific characteristics influenced whether candidates used intersectional issue framing to discuss their policy positions. Qualitative analysis was conducted by examining the various issue domains which women of color candidates tended to frame intersectionally. This project contributes to an understanding of how women of color engage in intersectional issue advocacy in the electoral arena before entering political office.

Table of Contents

Introduction

There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives.

– Audre Lorde

Undoubtedly, there is an increasing awareness of intersectional forms of oppression, of the ways in which those who belong to more than one marginalized or oppressed group experience discrimination and oppression in ways that are unique from other groups. For example, a Black low-income individual experiences oppression at the intersection of his or her race (Black) and economic background. Naturally, this increased awareness of intersectional oppression impacts contemporary political discourse, influencing how politicians and political candidates discuss issues such as education, healthcare, and the economy. This study aims to understand the degree, if any, to which this intersectional consciousness is reflected in the way that women of color political candidates frame their issue positions when they run for public office. It also aims to understand women of color candidates' 'homestyle'—the way they present themselves to their constituents in their home district—and the degree to which their homestyle incorporates intersectional issue framing. Research has found that women of color are more intersectional in their political presentation of themselves on the campaign trail and how their political behavior in legislative bodies compared to their white and male political colleagues (Brown, 2014; Brown & Gershon, 2016; Haynie & Reingold, 2020). Little research, however, has examined the intragroup variation in intersectional advocacy among women of color candidates. The goal of this research is twofold: first, to identify the factors which influence whether a woman of color political candidate is more or less likely to use intersectional frames, and second, to highlight the kinds of distinct intersectional frames that women of color employ.

Literature Review

A well-established body of political science scholarship exists on home-style, issue framing, and intersectionality. This study reviews the existing literature on intersectionality, intersectional marginalization, homestyle, and issue framing. However, there is comparatively little research that has bridged these bodies of scholarship to understand how campaigners construct issue frames to emphasize the political concerns of intersectionally marginalized groups.

On Intersectionality and Intersectional Marginalization

The term *intersectionality* was coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her seminal 1989 paper, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," in which she introduced the term *intersectionality* into the scholarly lexicon to highlight how Black women experience gender and race discrimination concurrently due to the presence of both racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). Crenshaw derives the term from an analogy of a traffic intersection, illustrating how multiple forms of discrimination against Black women are co-constituted and create multiple forms of oppression. Crenshaw argues that the intersection of race and gender creates unique forms of marginalization and that single-axis conceptions of discrimination fail to adequately describe the lived experiences of Black women. As she states, "the single-axis framework erases Black women in the conceptualization, identification and remediation of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140).

Other scholarship, informed by intersectional theory, has investigated the relationship between disadvantaged subgroups and political behavior (Cohen 1999; Strolovitch 2007). Cathy

Cohen, in the seminal work *The Boundaries of Blackness*, examines how some issues garner support and mobilization while others — particularly those that are not perceived as impacting the entire Black community — do not. For example, she explores why the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s did not receive attention from Black political leaders and organizations, despite having a disproportionate effect on the Black community. Cohen distinguishes between what she calls "consensus political issues" and "cross-cutting political issues." Cross-cutting political issues are those which are deemed to affect only a subset of members of a marginalized group, while consensus issues are framed as salient to every member of a marginalized community. Cohen argues that consensus issues are more likely to be highlighted on the Black political agenda compared to cross-cutting issues. Issues affecting the prototypical conception of Blackness are often framed as consensus issues and thus perceived as salient to the entire group. Because heterosexual, cisgender, Black men (not Black women, or LGBTQ+ Black individuals) are often perceived as embodying true "Blackness," issues that impact this subgroup of the Black community are more likely to be perceived as consensus issues (and thus to receive more attention and mobilization). For example, as Cohen states, "in Black communities the troubling and very desperate conditions of young Black men, who in increasing numbers face homicide, incarceration, and constant unemployment as their only 'life' options, has been represented as a marker by which we can evaluate the conditions of the whole group" (Cohen, 1999, p. 11). As such, police violence toward Black males is more likely to receive attention from Black political organizations and leaders compared to the Black maternal mortality crisis. She describes the systematic marginalization of cross-cutting issues by Black political leaders and organizations as *secondary marginalization.* Cohen's foundational text demonstrates how certain political issues

impacting subsets of marginalized groups are relegated to the margins of dominant political agendas while others are drawn to the forefront.

Building on the work of Cohen, Dara Strolovitch (2007) in her book *Affirmative Advocacy* distinguishes between four types of issues that impact constituents differently: *universal issues, majority issues, disadvantaged-subgroup issues, and advantaged-subgroup issues*. Strolovitch's policy typology differentiates between types of issues to highlight how issues impact groups of people differently. Strolovitch describes universal issues as those that impact everyone in society as a whole, irrespective of one's social identity. Strolovitch, for example, uses social security or health care reform as examples of universal issues. Majority issues are those that impact members of a social group equally. For women's organizations, Strolovitch uses violence against women as an example of a majority issue. Disadvantaged-subgroup issues are those that disproportionately harm a subgroup of people within a group. Strolovitch presents welfare reform as an example of a disadvantaged subgroup issue, given that this issue disproportionately affects low-income women and women of color. Lastly, in contrast to disadvantaged subgroups, advantaged subgroup issues are those that disproportionately benefit a subgroup of people who are more advantaged than others within a group. Strolovitch presents affirmative action in higher education as an example of an advantaged-subgroup issue for racial minority organizations. In her study of political representation and interest groups, Strolovitch finds that disadvantaged subgroups' issues are least likely to garner attention or be represented on dominant political agendas. As such, Strolovitch develops her theory of *affirmative advocacy*, which she defines as "a framework that encourages organizations to proactively address the challenges associated with achieving equitable representation for intersectionality disadvantaged

groups (Strolovitch, 2007, p. 13). Strolovitch's theory of affirmative action aims to examine how advocacy groups come to highlight the political concerns of disadvantaged subgroups.

The works of both Cohen and Strolovitch demonstrate how policy issues that disproportionately impact intersectionality marginalized groups are not prioritized on political agendas compared to issues that are framed as impacting the entirety of marginalized groups. In this study, I aim to build on such scholarship on intersectional marginalization, exploring how women of color come to practice intersectional issue advocacy on the campaign trail by framing their issues priorities to address the concerns of disadvantaged subgroups or, in Cohen's terms, cross-cutting political issues at the intersection of race, class, and gender.

Home-Style Theory and Presentation of Self

In his now-canonical text *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts,* political scientist Richard Fenno (1977) introduced the concept of home-style. According to Home-Style Theory, House members present themselves in ways designed to build trust and maintain political support from their constituents, and Fenno contends that "[t]he electoral goal is achieved - first and last - not in Washington but at home" (p. 889). More specifically, Fenno presents three features of home-style: first, allocation of resources; second, presentation of self; and third, explanation of behavior in Washington. Fenno asserts that every House representative engages in all three dimensions of home style. Presentation of self, the second feature of home-style, builds on Erving Goffman's (1959) Self-Presentation Theory, which contends that individuals attempt to influence how others perceive them by altering their presentation of self. The focus on political elites' presentation of self, however, remains understudied for racial minorities and women of color.

Research has consistently found that gender, race, and ethnicity influence political elites' and candidates' presentation of self. Scant research, however, has applied an intersectional analysis to understanding House members' self-presentation. Rather, studies have largely examined how race, ethnicity, and gender influence representatives' presentation style on a single axis. Although still understudied, more recently, scholars have begun to apply an intersectional lens to the study of candidates' presentation of self.

Existing scholarship has explored the relationship between gender and elected officials' presentation of self. Research on political communication style is one area of study in which scholars have investigated how public officials present themselves to their constituents. Much scholarship has revealed that women officials differ in their communication styles. For instance, research has regularly found that women officials are more likely to present themselves as advancing traditionally "female" policy issues such as social issues (e.g., gay rights, abortion, women's rights) and social programs (education, welfare, health programs), reflecting widely held gender stereotypes about political competence (Dolan & Kropf, 2004; Fridkin & Woodall, 2005; Kahn, 1996; Warner et al., 2018). In a study of self-presentation through political commercials, Khan (1996), found that gender was a significant predictor of what issues a candidate prioritized in their campaign. Women are more likely to express their commitment to "female" issues compared to men.

Additional research has examined credit claiming as a form of communication style and presentation of self. Consistent with Kahn's findings, subsequent research has found that women are more likely to take credit for traditionally female issues. In a study about credit claims in Congressional newsletters, women were more likely to emphasize their role in improving "female" policy issues in their newsletters to constituents (1996). These findings suggest that

women representatives are more likely to present themselves as advocates for "female" issues compared to their male counterparts. In contrast with past literature, a study of campaign advertisements for the 2016 U.S. House of Representatives found that women discussed traditional "male" issues such as national security and the economy more than men, but that they were also nearly twice as likely to discuss women's issues, and twice as likely to highlight pay equity compared to men (Warner et al., 2018). While some scholars have found that women and men differ in the issues they emphasize (Kahn, 1996; Fridkin & Woodall, 2005; Dodson, 2001), other research has found that men and women do not differ in the kinds of issues they discuss in campaigns (Bystrom et al., 2002; Dolan, 2005).

There remains little scholarship which focuses specifically on racial minorities' presentation style, and those studies which do examine this issue have focused primarily on African American representatives. Multiple scholars have found that African Americans are more likely to emphasize issues related to race in their campaigns compared to other candidates (Canon, 1999; Zilber & Niven, 2000). Other research, however, has found no relationship between race and variation in presentation style, suggesting instead that other factors may potentially play a role in different presentations (Gulati, 2004). Recent scholarship by Gershon and Brown (2016) has examined how accounting for intersectionality further reveals ways that the intersection of race and gender engenders different presentation styles for female minority candidates compared to other women and men running for elected office. In their analysis, they compare minority women to white women, white men, and minority men. In exploring how minority women talk about their identity and issue priorities in their website biographies, they find that minority women's home-style differs from white women, white men, and minority men. For instance, minority women were more likely to advocate for intersectional policies and

generally emphasized their intersectional identity through their websites. This study, however, does not quantitatively examine how other factors may lead to differences in the ways that minority women present themselves with respect to their campaign issue platform.

Framing Theory

Issue framing in political communication is a way for candidates to express their view on an issue, propose a solution to said issue, describe why it exists, and/or emphasize certain aspects of it to influence how their audience perceives the issue. Robert Entman (1993) put forth the most popular definition of issue framing. According to Entman, "[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). The issue of same-sex marriage, for example, can be framed as an equality issue or a morality issue (Gainous & Rhodebeck, 2016). In such cases, a certain aspect of the issue is emphasized in the framing of it: is same-sex marriage about equality the legal level or about morality at a personal/social level? Issue framing shapes such perceptions and impacts how listeners react to the issue.

Much scholarship on issue framing has focused on the "framing effect"—that is, how the political communication of elites shapes public attitudes. For example, various scholars have examined how issue frames employed by political actors and media outlets affect public opinion (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Druckman et al., 2004; Edwards & Wood, 1999; Entman, 2004; Fridkin & Kenney, 2005; Riker, 1996; Scheufele, 1999). Campaigners may also attempt to use frames to emphasize aspects of a policy issue to shape voters' perception of their presentation of self. Perceived group-specific issues can be repurposed or reframed to alter how voters, potential voters, or constituents understand them. For example, through issue framing, activists have

altered the public's perception of maternal mortality, shifting society's understanding of this away from being just a gender issue and toward it being a gender *and* race issue, considering that Black women are disproportionately affected. As Dennis Chong and James Drunkman (2007) wrote, "'[t]raditional' issues can therefore potentially be transformed into 'new' issues by reframing" (p. 108). Drawing on this scholarship, the goal of this paper is to examine how women of color candidates reframe traditional race, gender, and class issues intersectionally.

Research Design

This mixed-methods study was designed to examine the presence of intersectionality in candidates' issue framing. I analyze women of color's campaign agendas, conducting an in-depth content analysis of women of color candidates who ran for the United States House of Representatives in 2020. My content analysis focuses on candidates' archived campaign websites displayed on The Wayback Machine (waybackmachine.archive.org), an archival database that provides access to cached and archived web pages. I focused particularly on pages related to the candidates' issue positions. The archived web address for each candidate website coded in this study can be found in Appendix A.

Analyzing websites is an effective way to gauge women of color candidates' framing strategy, given that virtually all candidates launch official campaign websites expressing their issue positions (Druckman et al. 2009). Campaign websites are a robust measure of candidates' policy priorities. Several scholars have conducted a content analysis for campaign websites to examine how gender and race shape candidates' issue priorities and campaigning (Brown & Gershon, 2016; Dolan 2005; Fridkin & Kenney 2005). For example, Brown and Gershon (2016) relied on a content analysis of U.S. representatives' website biographies and issue positions to determine race-gender differences in presentation of self and the issues candidates choose to

emphasize. Previous research demonstrates that campaign websites can be a useful source for scholars. Each candidate's website is different, and the content on these sites varies widely given the virtually unlimited space to discuss issue priorities. However, because websites offer candidates almost limitless space to discuss their issue positions, it will be clear from a candidate's website whether the candidate chooses to discuss certain issues.

Sample

The initial sample of candidates was 123 (n=123). However, 32 candidates were excluded because their campaign websites were either no longer publicly available or did not discuss their issue positions. The final sample size used in this content analysis was 91 (n=91).

The sample of candidates' websites was collected from two campaign periods: the primary election campaign period and the general election campaign period (both in 2020). In order to maintain the sample size, candidates who did not win the primary election (n=36) remained in the sample.[1] For candidates who won the primary election and advanced to the general election (n=55), I collected samples from their websites which had been posted in October 2020. For candidates who lost in the primary election, I used samples from their websites which had been posted shortly before the primary election date in their respective states. The sample includes the official campaign websites of ninety-one female Black and Latina Democratic candidates. In the final sample, there were 64 Black candidates, 23 Latina candidates, and 2 candidates of mixed race (Black and Latina).

Dependent Variables

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[1] Primary candidates remained in the sample for two reasons: first, because there is no statistically significant difference between intersectional issue frames between primary and general candidates, and second, because this project does not aim to examine how the campaign context influences campaign appeals.

The first dependent variable examined in this study was whether a candidate made a reference to disadvantaged subgroups at the intersection of race, class, and/or gender in their issue positions. Results were coded according to a simple binary scheme: 1 = Yes, 0 = No. Initially, results were coded according to whether or not each candidate invoked an intersectional frame related to race, gender, and/or class. Those that did invoke an intersectional frame were coded as "1"; those that did not invoke an intersectional frame were coded as "0."

The second dependent variable was the type of intersectional issue addressed. For those candidates who received an initial code of "1" (i.e., those who *did* address intersectional issues), each intersectional issue was further coded down and placed into one of four issue categories:

- race-class (issues that impact low-income people of color)

- gender-class (issues that impact low-income women)

- race-gender (issues that impact women of color)

- race-class-gender (issues that impact low-income women of color)

If a candidate did use one (or more) of the four intersectional frames, it was coded as "1" for that category; if they did not use an intersectional frame, it was coded as "0" in that category. The race-class-gender frame was used very infrequently; therefore, it was dropped from most of the statistical analyses. However, I do analyze the race-class-gender frame in the qualitative section of this paper.

Additionally, I coded intersectional frames and the subframes outlined above as a count variable to examine the frequency of intersectional frames. The cumulative count of intersectional frames for use of overall intersectional frames as well as each subframe indicated how often each candidate used intersectional frames. A similar coding method was used by Gershon and Brown (2016).

In order to allow flexible consideration of the various ways that candidates addressed the concerns of disadvantaged subgroups, the coding scheme did not have strict guidelines that relied on specific phrases. For example, rather than requiring the presence of a specific word such as "low-income women" or "poor women" to indicate that a candidate was discussing a gender-class issue, I considered broader and more implicit discussions of class as indicating that the candidate was addressing an issue related to poor women, even if they did not use those specific words. For example, on Robin Wilt's (NY 25) website, in her discussion of racial justice, she states that "The black poverty rate in Columbus is 50% higher than the average. In Franklin County alone, our people comprise nearly 65 percent of those in the homeless system" (see Appendix C for a list of candidates, their districts, and their websites). This reference was coded as a race-class intersectional frame, and thus received a "1" for the race-class frame, given that Wilt highlights how people of color are disproportionately impoverished. Some candidates also discussed issues that impacted categories of identity beyond race, class, and gender (e.g., disability or sexuality); these issues were not included in the results to limit the scope of the analysis.

Independent Variables

The independent variables examined in this study included three Congressional district-level characteristics and four candidate-specific characteristics. The Congressional district-level characteristics considered were the following: racial and ethnic composition (percentage of those who are Black and Latinx), region, and district political affiliation (Democrat or Republican). The candidate-specific characteristics included were the following: candidate age, race, incumbency status, and Congressional seniority.

Measuring Congressional District-Level Characteristics

The goal of measuring the racial and ethnic composition of each district was to determine the relationship between intersectional issue framing and racial and ethnic composition. To measure the racial and ethnic composition of each Congressional district, I relied on demographic data from the 117th My Congressional District collected by the U.S. Census Bureau. Specifically, I gathered information exclusively on the combined percentage of Black and Latinx/Hispanic populations in each district.

The goal of examining the region of the district was to determine to what extent the region is a factor which influences candidates' use of intersectional issue framing. There were women of color candidates who ran in all the following four regions: South, Northeast, West, and Midwest. Each region was coded separately as a binary variable.

Finally, to measure district partisanship in the district, I used data from The Cook Political Report, looking specifically at the Partisan Voter Index (PVI). I included district partisanship to examine whether the Democratic strength of a district influences a candidate's likelihood to employ intersectional framing. I specifically use the PVI data from 2017, given that it was the most recent data before the 2020 Congressional election. The PVI score measures how much more a district voted for a Democratic or Republican Presidential candidate than the country as a whole over two Presidential elections. For example, if the PVI is R (Republican)-15, I coded it as negative 15. Conversely, a PVI of D (Democrat)+15 would be coded as positive 15. Thus, higher PVI scores indicate the Democratic strength of a district while lower scores indicate the inverse — that is, Republican strength.

Measuring Candidate-Specific Characteristics

As discussed previously, I took into account four characteristics of the candidates that may have influenced their issue framing: age, race, incumbency status, and Congressional

seniority. First, I recorded the age of each candidate during the 2020 campaign period. Age is included in the analysis to determine whether age impacts the likelihood that a candidate would use intersectional framing. I also coded for the race of the candidate to explore how being a Black or Latina woman influences candidates' issue framing. The race of each candidate was coded as a binary variable, with Black women (coded as "1") and Latina women (coded as"0"). Incumbent status was also coded as a binary variable. Candidates who were incumbents were coded as "1," while non-incumbent candidates were coded as "0." Lastly, to measure seniority, I recorded the number of years an incumbent had served in the House of Representatives prior to the 2020 Congressional election.

Methodological Approach

This study used both a quantitative and qualitative analysis approach. Using R Studio, I conducted two models: logistic regression and a negative binomial regression. I first performed a logistic bivariate and multivariate regression to examine the relationship between intersectional mentions and district and candidate-specific characteristics. Next, I conducted a negative binomial bivariate and multivariate regression to determine how the independent variables influenced how frequently a candidate used an intersectional frame. In the qualitative analysis, I present a more nuanced and detailed discussion of how the candidates used intersectional frames as well as the themes in each of the intersectional frame's categories.

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Quantitative Results

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Table 1 (see Appendix B) provides the summary statistics for the dependent and independent variables. Based on the summary statistics, the mean use of an intersectional frame was 0.58, meaning that 58% of the candidates in the sample used an intersectional frame. As shown in Figure 1, 37 candidates used a gender-class frame; 35 candidates used a race-class

frame; 21 candidates used a race-gender frame, and 5 candidates used a race-class-gender frame. For each category, race-class, gender-class, race-gender, and race-class-gender had a mean of 0.38, 0.41, 0.23, and 0.05 respectively. These averages indicate that women of color candidates were most likely to use a gender-class frame and were least likely to use a race-class-gender frame. As for the independent variables, the average percentage for people of color in each Congressional district was 48%. Based on district partisanship characteristics (the PVI score), women of color candidates were most likely to run in Democratic districts, since $\bar{x} = 10.97$. The majority of women of color candidates ran for office in the South with $\bar{x} = 0.45$. The average age of women of color candidates in the sample was 51. Most candidates were Black women, given $\bar{x}$ is 0.71. 26% of the women of color candidates were incumbents, and the average candidate seniority was 2.4 years.

Figure 1. Descriptive Statistics (N=91)
The chart depicts the number of candidates who employed an intersectional frame in each of the four frame categories.

Model I: Use of Intersectional Frames

To examine the relationship between the use of intersectional frames with the district and candidate-specific characteristics, I ran a logit bivariate regression to examine the association between the dependent and independent variables of interests. However, as stated previously, I did not employ the race-class-gender subframe in the regression model. The bivariate results are displayed in Table 2. As for the intersectional frames variable — that is, whether a candidate used at least one intersectional variable — several variables are significant. In this bivariate analysis, I found that for overall intersectional frames, running in the South ($p < 0.01$), running in the Midwest ($p < 0.05$), and a candidate's age ($p <. 05$) were all statistically significant. Older age and running in the South were negatively associated with intersectional use, while running in the Midwest were positively associated with intersectional use, indicating that older candidates and candidates in the South use these frames less, while younger candidates and those in the Midwest are more likely to use intersectional frames. There was no statistically significant relationship between the use of intersectional frames and the following independent variables: district partisanship, percentage of people of color in the district, Northeast region, West region, candidate race, or incumbency status.

When examining the specific frames used in candidates' campaign agendas, the bivariate results were relatively similar to the topline (intersectional frames) results. For the race-class frame, being older ($p < 0.01$) and being an incumbent were both negatively and significantly associated with use of the race-class frame ($p < 0.05$). For the gender-class frame, running in the South was negatively and statistically significantly associated with using an intersectional frame ($p < 0.01$). Finally, for the race-gender frame, running in the Midwest ($p < 0.05$), the partisanship of a district ($p < 0.05$), and age were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Being older and running

in the Midwest were negatively associated, while the Democratic strength of a district was positively associated with the race-gender frame. While there are several other statistically significant results, all of these correlations are relatively weak given that they are below 0.20.

Next, I conducted a multivariate regression. Table 3 displays the logit regression results. For the overall intersectional frames and the gender-class subframe, there was a statistically significant, negative relationship with running in the South; in other words, candidates in the South were less likely to use any intersectional frame at all, and when they did use an intersectional frame, they were less likely to use the gender-class subframe. The relationship between the use of intersectional frames and the district and candidate characteristics, after holding all variables constant, was largely insignificant. While most of the regression results were insignificant when significance was set at $p < 0.05$, several results emerged as statistically significant when significance was set at $p < 0.1$. For example, age remained a significant and negative relationship with the use of the race-class and gender-class subframes, albeit with a relatively small effect. Overall, the high number of results which did not achieve statistical significance was unexpected.

Table 2: Bivariate Logit Regression: Use of Intersectional Frames

	Intersectional Frames	Race-Class	Gender-Class	Race-Gender
% People of Color	0.001	0.004	0.014749†	-0.014749†
Region: Northeast	-0.074	1.31219†	-0.5754	0.8961
Region: Midwest	-0.560	1.08904	-0.8267	-0.1335
Region: West	-1.69905**	0.07312	-1.9617**	-0.3277
Region: South	1.25276*	-0.9555†	0.6931	-1.2528*
District Partisanship	0.01577	0.01649	-0.1795	0.03384*
Age	-0.041*	-0.05347**	-0.02754†	-0.05450*
Race	-0.4198	-0.893†	0.1283	2.018e-15
Incumbent	-0.6858	-1.125*	-0.1795	-0.5306
Candidate Seniority	-0.075†	-0.099	-0.02717	-0.1943

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable is whether a candidate used an intersectional frame. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$. †$p < .10$.

Table 3: Multivariate Logit Regression: Use of Intersectional Frames

	Intersectional Frames	Race-Class	Gender-Class	Race-Gender
% People of Color	.002 (.004)	-.003 (.004)	-.004 (.004)	.005 (.003)
Region: Northeast	-0.117 (.172)	0.228 (.171)	-0.087 (.176)	0.048 (.146)
Region: Midwest	-----	-----	-----	-----
Region: West	-.171 (.185)	0.145 (.184)	-0.140 (.189)	-0.036 (.157)
Region: South	-.426 (.161)**	.090 (.160)	-.335 (.164)*	.136 (.136)
District Partisanship	.002 (.005)	.007 (.005)	.004 (.005)	.002 (.004)
Age	-.006 (.004)	-.008 (.005)†	-.005 (.004)	-.007 (.004)†
Race	.008 (.134)	-.124 (.132)	.040 (.136)	.181 (.113)
Incumbent	-.119 (.164)	-.250 (.164)	-.016 (.168)	.037 (.140)
Candidate Seniority	-.008 (.015)	.006 (.142)	.0001 (.015)	-.017 (.012)
(Intercept)	1.043***	0.917***	0.969***	0.262
Adjusted R-Squared	0.125	0.1146	0.079	0.140

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Cell entries are Logit regression coefficients. The dependent variable is whether a candidate used an intersectional frame. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$. †$p < .10$.

Model II: Frequency of Use of Intersectional Frames

As a robustness check, I then estimated a negative binomial regression model. In this model, the overall use of intersectional frames and the subframes were measured as count variables to estimate the effects of the district and candidate-specific characteristics on how frequently a candidate invoked an intersectional frame. A negative binomial regression was the most appropriate model due to the over-dispersion of the dependent variables. The summary statistics for the frequency of use of intersectional frames are provided in Table 1. As shown, the mean of intersectional frames was 1.90, indicating that, on average, candidates invoked nearly 2 intersectional issue frames. Angelica Duenas (CA 29) used the most intersectional frames, with a total of 15. The gender-class frames were invoked the most compared to the other categories of frames. The second most frequent intersectional frame invoked was the race-class frame, with a mean of $\bar{x} = 0.7$. Race-gender was the third most common frame, since $\bar{x} = 0.30$, and race-class-gender was the least common frame with $\bar{x} = 0.08$.

Similar to model 1, the race-class-gender frames were excluded from the bivariate and multiple variate analysis due to low frequency. The bivariate results are depicted in Table 4. For the total use of intersectional frames, I found that the variables age ($p<0.01$), South ($p<0.05$), Midwest ($p<0.001$), and district partisanship ($p<0.05$) were all statistically significant. Being older and running in the South was associated with less frequent use of frames, and Democratic strength and running in the Midwest were associated with more frequent use. For the race-class frame, the Northeast ($p<0.05$), Midwest ($p<0.05$), age ($p<0.001$), and district partisanship ($p<0.05$) were all statistically significant. Running in the Northeast and Democratic districts were associated with more frequent use of the race-class frame, while being older and running in the Midwest was associated with less frequent use. For the race-gender frame, Midwest ($p<.05$), district partisanship ($p<.01$), and age ($p<.05$) were all statistically significant. Similar to the results for the race-class frame, running in the Midwest and being older was associated with less frequent use of the race-gender frame, while running in a Democratic district was associated with more frequent use.

The multivariate binomial results are presented in Table 5. Just as in the logit multivariate regression results, most of the variables are not statistically significant at the .05 level, while one variable is significant. After holding all variables constant, age remained statistically significant, indicating that being older has a negative relationship with how frequently a candidate uses the race-class frame in their campaign agenda.

At the bivariate level, the results from both the logit and negative binomial model suggest that the Democratic strength of the district, the region of the district, and the age of the candidates are significant factors in determining candidates' use of intersectional frames, as well as how frequently they invoke such frames. At the multivariate level, overall, these results do not

indicate that most district and candidate-specific characteristics cause variation in women of

color's intersectional issue framing in their campaign agendas.

Table 4: Bivariate Negative Binomial Regression: Frequency of Use of Intersectional Frames

	Intersectional Frames	Race-Class	Gender-Class	Race-Gender
% People of Color	.004 (.006)	1.16 (.564)*	.001 (.007)	.010 (.007)
Region: Northeast	.275 (.438)	-.945*	-.083 (.860)	.309 (.560)
Region: Midwest	.823**	1.13† (.578)	.245	-.945*
Region: West	.132 (.456)	.121 (.536)	-.245 (.620)	-.377 (.675)
Region: South	-.80 (.389)*	.023 (.009)*	-1.19 (.441)**	-.823 (.572)
District Partisanship	.019 (.008)*	-.051 (.000)***	.007 (.009)	.036 (.012)**
Age	.034(.001)**	-.601 (.109)†	.021 (.013)	-.045* (.018)
Race	-.180 (.334)	-.783 (.458)†	.150 (.392)	.134 (.785)
Incumbent	-.275 (.351)	.100 (.069)†	.166 (.389)	-.455 (.539)
Candidate Seniority	-.058 (.032)†	.100 (.069)†	-.011 (.034)	-.175 (.112)

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Cell entries are negative binomial regression coefficients. Bivariate relationship between how many intersectional frames a candidate uses and district-level and candidate-specific characteristics. The dependent variable is the frequency of intersectional frames. *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p < 0.05. †*p* < .10.

Table 5: Multivariate Negative Binomial Regression: Frequency of Use of Intersectional Frames

	Intersectional Frames	Race-Class	Gender-Class	Race-Gender
% People of Color	-.005 (.010)	-.009 (.011)	-.013 (.012)†	.026 (.016)
Region: Northeast	.023 (.449)	.908 (.580)	.031 (.506)†	-.801 (.621)
Region: Midwest	-----	-----	-----	-----
Region: West	.078 (.490)	.912 (.631)	-.030 (.557)†	-.135 (0.788)
Region: South	-.511 (.440)	.469 (.590)	-.786 (.511)†	-1.41(.744)†
District Partisanship	.021 (.013)	.028 (.016)†	.013 (.016)†	.016 (.022)
Age	-.024 (.0123)†	-.035 (.016)*	-.014 (.015)†	-.019 (.019)
Race	.215 (.362)	.079 (.415)	.224 (.438)†	.979 (.580)
Incumbent	-.120 (.491)	-.469 (.669)	.339 (.549)†	3.73 (1.975)†

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Cell entries are negative binomial regression coefficients. Multivariate relationship between how many intersectional frames a candidate uses and district-level and candidate-specific characteristics. The dependent variable is the frequency of intersectional frames. Midwest is the references region. *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; *p < 0.05. †*p* < .10.

While the quantitative data provides insights into what factors determine women of color

candidates' decision to employ an intersectional frame, these results do not tell us the distinct

and varied ways that candidates invoke intersectional frames. In the following section of this study, I qualitatively examine *how* women of color candidates use intersectional frames in their campaign agendas at the intersection of race, class, and gender. Analyzing intersectional frames through both a quantitative and qualitative lens will not only give insight into which women of color candidates are most likely to use intersectional frames but also how they use such frames.

Qualitative Results

In addition to analyzing the quantitative data as described above, I also examined the results qualitatively, looking at the candidates' direct language as a means of better understanding how the women of color among them perceive and use the various intersectional frames.

Gender-Class Intersections

First, I examined women of color's intersectional issue framing with respect to gender and class. Most of the women of color candidates in this study invoked a gender-class frame in their campaign agendas to address the political concerns of poor women. As Figure 3 shows, many of the gender-class frames pay attention to women's concerns about affordable childcare. For example, Georgette Gomez (CA 53), a Democratic candidate from California's 30th Congressional district, stated, "In San Diego, we've taken emergency action to provide childcare to frontline workers, but we need a new federal commitment to supporting childcare, including incentives for employers who provide childcare to frontline workers." Similarly, Rosey Ramos Abuabara (TX 23) states, "Low-cost subsidized or free childcare for working women is critical to economic security for lower-income parents. I endorse Elizabeth Warren's plan for Universal Childcare" (Abuabara 2020). These examples are typical of how women of color candidates

explicitly discussed how access to affordable childcare is critical for low-income women in the workforce, and thus are prioritized in their campaign agendas.

The second most frequent issue women of color raised in their campaigns was access to reproductive health care for low-income women. For example. Kristine Reeves (WA 10) of Washington's 30th Congressional District states, "In Congress, I will fight to enshrine the right to abortion as a civil right, I'll support fully restoring funding for Planned Parenthood, and I will support eliminating the Hyde Amendment — the Supreme Court has found that women have a constitutional right to abortion, and that means it shouldn't be limited only to women who can afford it." Congresswoman Reeves explicitly declares her opposition to the Hyde Amendment, which prohibits the use of taxpayers' dollars to fund abortion. Additionally, candidate Mckayla Wilkes (MD 5) expresses support for abortion rights on her campaign website, saying "Mckayla supports: Providing federally-funded, free birth control for all…Ensuring that the constitutional right to an abortion is accessible regardless of income or geography." These examples demonstrate how women of color candidates' frames go beyond framing reproductive healthcare access (e.g., access to abortion) as a legal issue. Instead, they address this issue as one of particular relevance to low-income women. In addition, although not frequently, some candidates advocated for improving general access to health care for low-income women.

There were also several examples of women of color candidates framing women's economic justice as an issue at the intersection of gender and class. Vanessa Enoch (OH 8), for example, makes a direct reference to economic justice on her webpage, stating that "women deserve economic justice (the right to be paid a living wage, protection from job discrimination, and pay equity." Some candidates mentioned women's economic justice as pertaining to poverty. For example, Gwen Moore (WI 4) references statistics on women's poverty levels on her

webpage: "We now find ourselves facing one of the worst poverty crises in the history of our country. Today, more than 43 million Americans including 14.7 million children live in poverty. Additionally, the poverty rate among women climbed to 14.5 percent in 2010, the highest in 17 years." Rather than discussing poverty broadly, Congresswoman Moore frames economic justice at the intersection of gender and class by highlighting women in poverty.
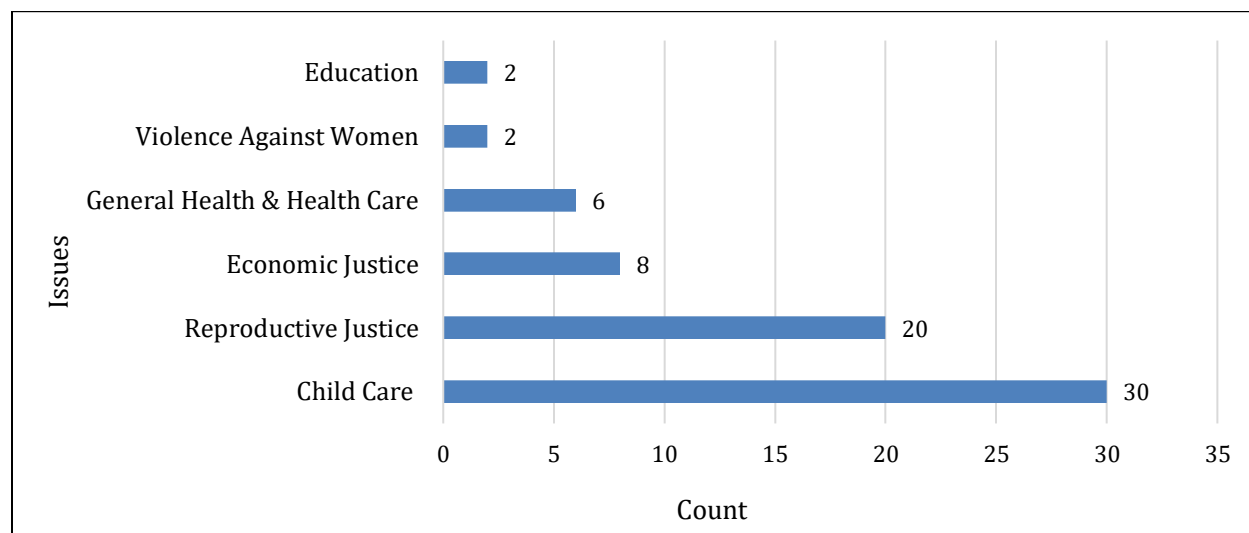

Figure 3. Chart displays the various policy issues framed in terms of gender and class.

Race-Class Intersections

The second most frequent intersection frame employed by women of color candidates was the race-class frame. Criminal justice reform was the most common policy issue these candidates discussed as a part of the frame. For example, Ayanna Pressley (MA 7) explains the connection between racial disparities and criminal justice policies that punish the poor, stating that "for years, policymakers, advocates, and community members have known that our criminal legal system disproportionately punishes black and brown people, yet we have seen too little progress made towards addressing these inequities…The disastrous consequences of the war of drugs, the incarceration that results directly from the imposition of cash bail and exorbitant court costs, the perverse incentive for the for-profit prison industry – each of these is a policy decision that has

led to the disproportionate incarceration of people of color." Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley describes how the criminal legal system criminalizes poverty, discussing how people of color are disproportionately harmed by such policies. In the same vein, Jill Carter (MD 7) emphasizes how cash bail and civil asset forfeiture both exploit people of color in financially precarious circumstances. As she declares, "As the People's Champion, I will take the fight against racist policing, the failed War on Drugs, and mass incarceration to the halls of Congress. From ending cash bail to civil asset forfeiture and felon disenfranchisement, I will be a champion for *all* people, and will advocate and legislate to end unjust practices that target and exploit people of color." These statements demonstrate how women of color candidates moved beyond solely discussing issues of racial inequality in the criminal justice system, instead calling attention to the disproportionate impact on what Soss & Weaver (2017) call "race-class subjugated communities" (p. 562). Said communities consist predominantly of Black and Latino populations.

Secondly, women of color frequently expressed concern for economic justice for low-income people of color. There are various ways women of color discussed issues of economic justice, ranging from topics including income inequality, employment discrimination, and unemployment to homeownership and poverty. Adrienne Bell (TX 14), for example, expressed concern about the poverty rate within communities of color: "Couple this with our country's long history of racial and economic discrimination in our workplaces and financial systems -- and we are left with a system that disproportionately leaves Black and Latino communities in poverty." Likewise, Morgan Harper (OH 3) referenced statistics on Black poverty to express her concern for low-income communities of color. She stated, "The black poverty rate in Columbus is 50% higher than the average. In Franklin County alone, our people comprise nearly 65 percent of

those in the homeless system. Across Central Ohio, black women earn 65 cents for every dollar earned by men. The median net worth in the U.S. for a black family is now $9,000, compared with $132,000 for a white family. The time for merely studying these issues has passed. The time for remedies is now."

Moreover, women of color advocated for the Green New Deal to create economic opportunities for people of color. On Agatha Bacelar's (CA 12) webpage, she states, "The Green New Deal puts people at the center of a plan for a transition to a sustainable world. It provides Americans with the training, education and job guarantees needed to ensure a just transition, especially for those communities that are least responsible for climate change but are most affected by it: working class, low-income, people of color, and indigenous peoples." She expresses hope that the Green New Deal will mitigate income inequality for communities of colors, and in doing so, she uses a race-class frame to discuss the issue. Other candidates focus on issues like homeownership, discussing them through a race-class lens. Keeda Haynes (TN 5) states, "In Congress, I will support: Investing in communities that have been discriminated against due to racially discriminative policies and practices regarding home ownership." She addresses how racial disparities in homeownership exacerbate the racial wealth gap, thereby drawing attention to this issue as one which particularly impacts those at the intersection of race and class. In this study, concern for economic justice for low-income people of color constituted the second largest type of the race-class frames.

Followed by criminal justice reform and economic justice, there were also several examples of race-class frames for issues of education, immigration, and health care. Women of color were concerned with increasing access to education and health care for low-income people of color. For example, Patricia Timmons-Goodson (NC 8) said that, if elected, she intended to

advocate for more funding to school districts that predominantly serve students of color as a way to close the achievement gap between white students and students of color. She even noted that the gap in funding created hardships for students of color during the Covid-19 pandemic, since "many Black and Brown students do not have access to the technology or internet connection needed for online learning, putting vulnerable students at higher risk of falling behind." In this category, several women of color also discussed immigration reform. Ayanna Pressley (MA 7) held that "we must remember that the challenges facing immigrant communities go beyond immigration status; we must be committed to making healthcare, education, and public institutions more inclusive and accessible to immigrant communities, to create greater opportunity for all." These examples illustrate typical ways that women of color candidates framed education, immigration, and health care issues through a race-class lens. The issues of climate change and paid family leave were each mentioned only once in this category.
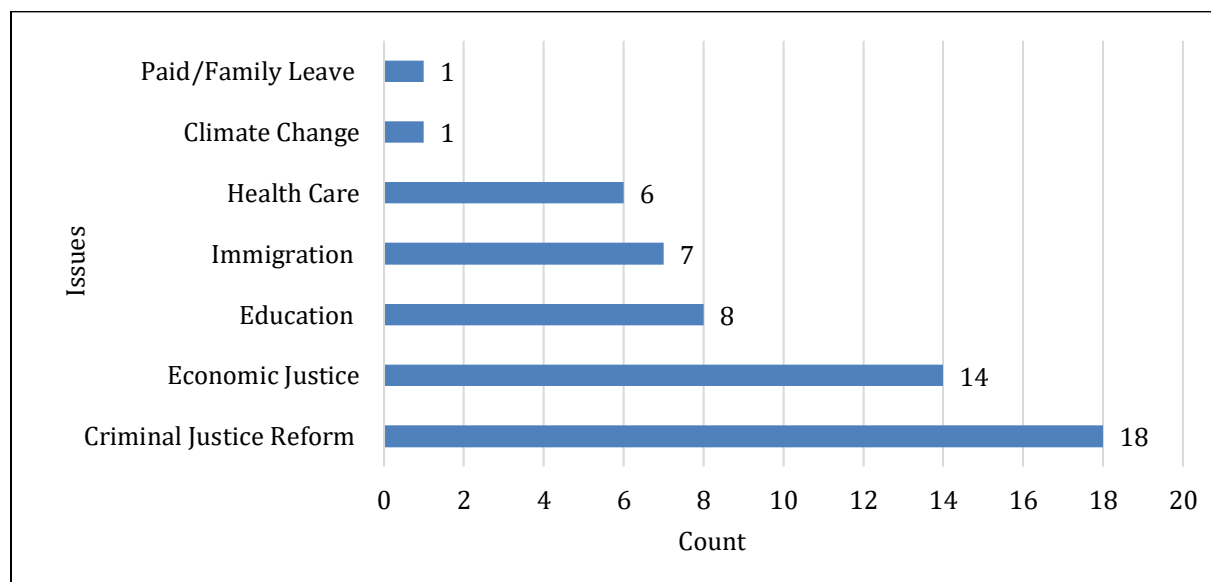

Figure 4. Chart displays the various policy issues framed in terms of race and class.

Gender-Race Intersections

Women of color also invoked the race-gender frame. Candidates predominantly engaged in race-gender framing to address their concern for the maternal mortality crisis and the gender

pay gap. The maternal healthcare crisis affects Black women in unique ways. Shelia Bryant (MD 4) directly addressed her concern for racial disparities in relation to the maternal mortality crisis on her webpage, saying, "maternal health in this country [is] a national tragedy. As your Congresswoman, I will aid the Black Maternity Caucus in passing legislation to make life safer for Black women and Black children in the United States." Additionally, Candace Valenzuela (TX 24) states, "Texas has a high maternal mortality rate for women of color, and millennials in general are opting to have fewer kids later, if at all, because the cost of healthcare and childcare are so prohibitive." Some women of color candidates highlighted their awareness of the maternal healthcare crisis by directly referencing statistics on the issue. Ayanna Pressley (MA 7), for example, in her discussion of health disparities asserted, "When Black women remain nearly four times as likely to die from childbirth complications as white women – our system is broken." This study demonstrates that women of color political candidates are directly addressing issues impacting Black women in their campaign agendas.

Another common policy issue women of color discussed by using the race-gender frame was the gender pay gap. Candidates explicitly discussed how women of color are disproportionately impacted by gender pay discrimination. For example, Michelle De La Isla (KS 2) stated, "Kansas women are the backbones of many of our families. Yet they are paid $0.77 by their employers for every dollar earned by their male counterparts. Women of color are paid even less, even though female employees consistently perform the exact same work as male employees. This must change." Furthermore, candidates discussed the infant mortality rate among Black mothers. Angelica Duenas (CA 29) declared, "Systemic racism throughout our healthcare system leaves Black, Indigenous, and Latinx communities with disproportionately higher rates of disease and death. For example, infant mortality rates among Black Americans

are 2.3 times higher than for Whites." These examples from the campaign websites of women of color political candidates illustrate the ways that these candidates use intersectional lenses to frame broad issues such as pay discrepancy and criminal justice reform.
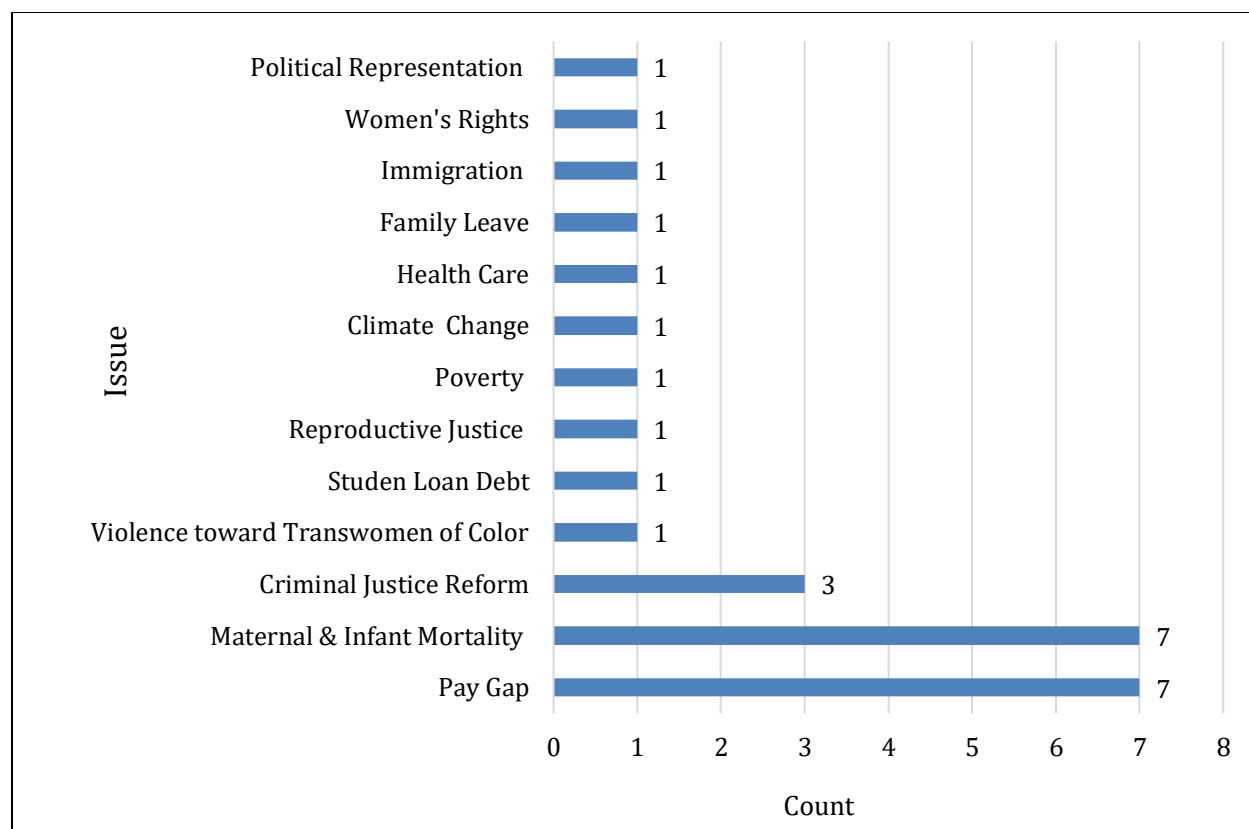
Figure 5. Chart displays the various policy issues framed in terms of race and gender.

As figure 5 demonstrates, women of color also invoke an intersectional frame on several other issues. Marlene J. Tapper (NY 15) discussed issues of political representation: "Currently, women are 23% (126) of 535 seats in the House of Representatives and in the US Senate 26 women (26%) serve in the U.S. Senate. In regards to women of color they make up 37% in the House of Representatives or 8.8% and there are three in the US Senate." Ilhan Omar (MN 5) discussed violence against women at the intersection of race and gender by stating, "Fatal violence against transgender people in the United States is on the rise, disproportionately impacting transgender women of color." Cori Bush (MO 1) highlighted how Black women are

disproportionately affected by the student loan debt crisis when she stated, "Black Women hold the highest debt, more than any other racial or ethnic group. Women of color take longer to pay back student loans in part due to wage inequality." As demonstrated by figure 5, within the race-gender frame, women of color discussed a wide array of issues — more than in any other subframe category. This demonstrates that candidates view race-gendered issue advocacy in various ways.

Race-Class-Gender Intersections

In this study, candidates employed the race-class gender frame the least. The limited number of times that the candidates invoked the race-class-gender frame means that there is not sufficient data to draw broad thematic conclusions. Nevertheless, I will discuss how women of color candidates did use this frame to discuss various issues. Three candidates incorporated this frame in their discussion of economic justice. Cori Bush (MO 1), for example, describes the intersection between race, gender, and poverty, noting that "Women, and particularly women of color, will continue to face a higher risk of entering poverty, even with an improved minimum wage. Women will continue to struggle to exit the chains of poverty under a representative who has, for twenty years, failed to understand the economic implications and job barriers which come with the gender pay gap, and that is why we need someone who has been there before." Similarly, Ilhan Omar (MN 5) invokes a race-class-gender frame to advocate for economic justice, stating, "Due to the intersection of bigotry and transphobia, Black transgender people face higher levels of unemployment and housing discrimination, police brutality, and health care disparities." She outlines how economic insecurity disproportionately affects Black transgender people. Cori Bush (MO 1) highlighted women of color as a distinct group when discussing reproductive justice: "As your Congresswoman, I will: Advocate for reproductive justice to

ensure low-income women, women of color, and trans people have access to comprehensive reproductive healthcare that includes education, prevention, treatment, assistance, and support." While reproductive justice was largely framed as a gender-class issue, Cori Bush mentioned women of color as a distinct group, thereby expressing her concern for the ways they uniquely struggle with access to reproductive health care.
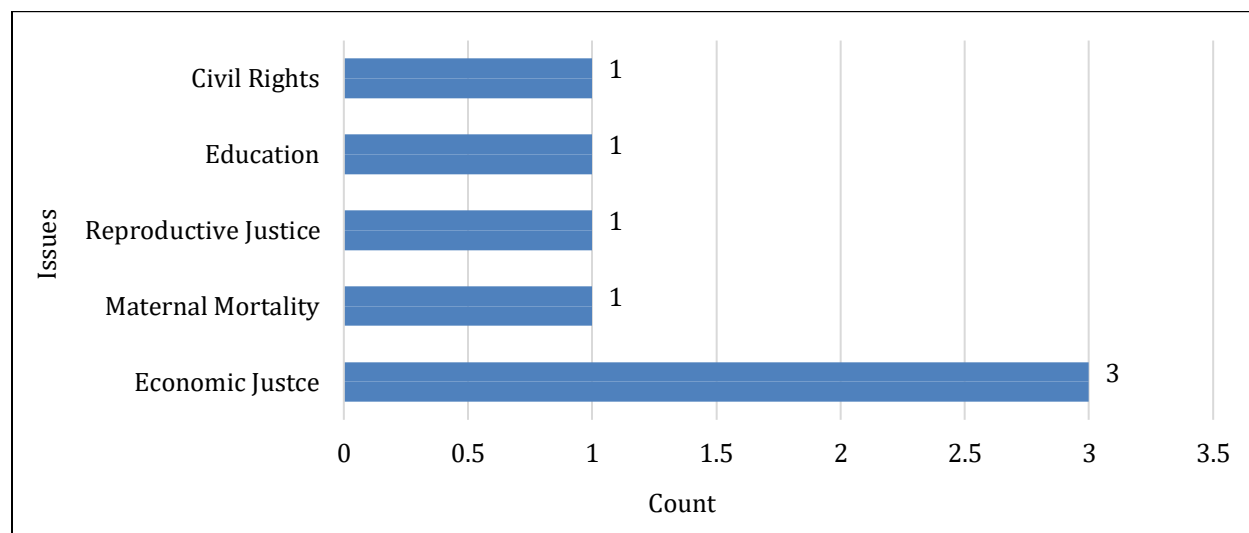
Figure 6. Chart displays the various policy issues framed in terms of race and gender.

Discussion

The results of the quantitative analysis provide insight into which candidates are more or less likely to employ intersectional frames. Even though the majority of the variables in both quantitative models did not reach significance at the .05 level, some variables were statistically significant. In particular, increased candidate age and running for office in the Southern region consistently demonstrated a negative relationship with the use of intersectional frames either at the .05 or .1 levels. In other words, older candidates and those running in the South were significantly less likely to use intersectional frames to discuss issues, and when they did use such frames, they used them less frequently than their younger counterparts or those running for office in other regions of the country. Such results are by no means conclusive, but they do suggest that

being older and running in the south are both factors which influence the likelihood and frequency of a candidate's using an intersectional frame.

The qualitative findings demonstrated the different ways that women of color employed intersectional frames in their campaign rhetoric. The most frequently used frame was the gender-class frame, while the race-class-gender frame was used the least. The two issues most often framed intersectionally as being gender-class issues were child-care and reproductive justice. The two issues most often framed intersectionally as race-class issues were criminal justice reform and economic justice. The two issues most often framed intersectionally as race-gender issues were the gender pay gap and the maternal healthcare crisis. For the most part, women of color used intersectional rhetoric to frame their policy positions on these six issues (child-care, reproductive justice, criminal justice reform, economic justice, pay gaps, and maternal healthcare crisis). As my findings show, women of color often take an intersectional approach to advocating for intersectionally marginalized groups. Overall, these findings suggest that women of color political candidates bring a uniquely intersectional perspective to important political policy issues and underscore the importance of the increased number of women of color seeking political office.

Limitations

There are clear limitations in this analysis. First, this study was limited by the number of women of color candidates who ran for the House of Representatives in 2020. Time constraints prevented me from conducting a content analysis for women of color candidates who ran in other elections (besides the 2020 House of Representatives election). Moving forward, it would be beneficial to examine women of color's intersectional framing over two or three election cycles to consider different political contexts, especially considering several unprecedented events took

place in 2020, such as the Black Lives Matter protests during the summer of 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the 2020 United States Presidential election.

Secondly, sample size attrition was a limiting factor. The initial sample was n=126; however, 34 candidates were excluded from the analysis either because their websites were not archived on the Wayback Machine or because they did not discuss their issue positions on their campaign web pages. As a result, the results from this study do not represent the totality of all the women of color who ran for the House of Representatives in 2020. Not having access to 32 candidates' campaign websites could potentially have skewed the results.

A final limitation in this study is that, due to a lack of resources for this undergraduate research project, there was not a second coder to test for intercoder reliability. Considering that the qualitative content analysis did not abide by a strict and rigid coding scheme in order to consider the various ways women of color candidates employed intersectional issue framing, this study would have especially benefited from having a second coder to ensure that the content was coded similarly among several people. Instead, this study relied on other means to test for intercoder reliability. For instance, several members of my senior thesis committee looked over the already coded content to ensure that it was both intersectional and was coded as the proper subframe. Secondly, I conducted several rounds of coding. However, despite these precautions, it is possible that having a single coder skewed the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Future Research

There are four areas for potential future research. First, future research might consider additional candidate-specific variables, as the four-candidate specific independent variables included in this study are by no means an exhaustive list of all the personal characteristics that

may have influenced women of color candidates' decisions to incorporate intersectional rhetoric in their campaign agendas. For example, future research could examine how women of color's socioeconomic background may cause variation in candidates' issue framing and campaign agendas. Perhaps, a more in-depth content analysis of candidates' campaign biographies could be used to gauge information on their socioeconomic background.

Second, while this study analyzes 91 campaign webpages, future work could also examine how women of color employ intersectional issue framing in other aspects of their campaigns such as interviews and campaign speeches. Third, interviewing women of color candidates may be a potential area of future research. Asking candidates about how they came to construct their campaign agendas could help explain the variation in whether candidates use intersectional issue framing as well as how they employ such framing. Finally, future research could examine the outliers in this study. For example, on average, candidates used 1.9 intersectional frames, with a range of 15. There were several candidates, however, who employed significantly more intersectional frames than the average candidate, and there were three candidates who used 10 or more intersectional frames. Angelica Duenas (CA 29) used 15 intersectional frames, while Cori Bush (MO 1) used 13 intersectional frames. Cori Bush was also an outlier given that she employed 3 out of the 7 total race-class-gender frames, which was the most of all the candidates. Mckayla Wilkes (MD 5) used 10 intersectional frames. Additionally, Ilhan Omar (MN 5), Ayanna Pressley (MA 7), Patricia Timmons-Goodson (NC 8), and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (NY 14) were also outliers among the candidates in the sample, invoking a count of 8, 8, 8, and 7 intersectional frames respectively. An in-depth analysis of outlier candidates could be useful to understand variation in women of color's issue framing in their campaign agendas.

Conclusion

While previous research has focused on the ways in which women of color, as a distinct category, discuss their issues positions differently compared to other groups, this study explored intersectional variation among women of color political candidates. Combining both a quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study aimed to understand which women of color candidates were more likely to use intersectional frames, what intersectional frames they were most likely to employ, the factors (both district-level characteristics and candidate characteristics) which impacted intersectional frame use, and the various ways they used intersectional frames in their campaign agendas to advocate for intersectionally marginalized groups. Understanding how women of color political candidates discuss policy issues, how likely they are to frame issues intersectionally, and the factors which may impact their decisions about issue framing helps illuminate the unique perspectives which women of color bring to the political arena and highlights the need for more such candidates.

APPENDIX A: WEB ADDRESSES FOR EACH ARCHIVED WEBSITE ANALYZED

Candidate Name	Archived Candidate Website
Phyllis Harvey-Hall	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101113241/https://harveyhall2congress.com/
Terri Sewell	https://web.archive.org/web/20201031181309/https://sewellforcongress.com/issues/
Joyce Elliott	https://web.archive.org/web/20201102025712/https://www.joyceelliott.com/policies
Agatha Bacelar	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101011741/https://www.agathaforcongress.com/
Nanette Barragan	https://web.archive.org/web/20201028072156/https://barragan.house.gov/transportation-the-port-of-los-angeles/
Karen Bass	https://web.archive.org/web/20201015073653/https://www.karenbass.com/
Angelica Duenas	https://web.archive.org/web/20201103184216/https://www.angelica4congress.com/civil-rights
Georgette Gomez	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101095054/https://georgettegomez.org/
Barbara Lee	https://web.archive.org/web/20 https://web.archive.org/web/20191122214113/https://fym2020.com/policy/ 201029160507/https://lee.house.gov/
Frances Yasmeen Motiwalla	https://web.archive.org/web/20191122214113/https://fym2020.com/policy/
Lucille Roybal-Allard	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101044813/https://roybal-allard.house.gov/
Linda Sanchez	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101042848/https://lindasanchez.house.gov/
Suzette Santori	https://web.archive.org/web/20200217113030/http://suzettesantori.com/
Norma Torres	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101162623/https://torres.house.gov/
Grace Williams	https://web.archive.org/web/20201106023953/https://www.drgracewilliams.com/issues/
Jahana Hayes	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101124958/https://jahanahayes.com/
LaShonda Holloway	https://web.archive.org/web/20200817132334/http://www.ljhollowayforcongress.com/
Pam Keith	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101131909/https://www.pamkeithfl.com/
Sakinah Lehtola	https://web.archive.org/web/20200816180554/https://www.sakinahforcongress.com/
Debbie Mucarsel-Powell	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101053927/https://www.debbiemucarselpowell.com/
Kimberly Walker	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101132826/https://kimberlyforcongress.com/
Frederica Wilson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201027191303/https://wilson.house.gov/issues/
Elaine Amankwah Nietmann	https://web.archive.org/web/20200207135119/https://www.elaine4congress.com/copy-of-about-our-district

Joyce Marie Griggs	https://web.archive.org/web/20201022000407/https://griggsforcongress.com/
Liz Johnson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101011239/https://www.lizjohnsonforcongress.com/
Tabitha Johnson-Green	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101035346/https://tabitha2020.com/
Brenda Lopez Romero	https://web.archive.org/web/20200530212510/www.brendaforcongress.com/
Lucy McBath	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101084652/https://lucyforcongress.com/
Jannquell Peters	https://web.archive.org/web/20200406134328/www.jannquellpeters.com/
Nikema Williams	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101080344/https://www.nikemaforcongress.com/
Kina Collins	https://web.archive.org/web/20200223084932/https://kinaforcongress.com/
Robin L. Kelly	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101120757/http://www.robinkellyforcongress.org/
Lauren Underwood	https://web.archive.org/web/20201029025957/https://underwoodforcongress.com/
Erika C. Weaver	https://web.archive.org/web/20201031013415/https://www.weaverforillinois.com/
Jeannine Lee Lake	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101010414/https://jeannineleelakeforcongress.com/
Mara Candelaria Reardon	https://web.archive.org/web/20200828064002/https://www.maraforindiana.com/issues
Dee Thornton	https://web.archive.org/web/20200531000017/https://www.deethorntonforcongress.com/
Michelle de la Isla	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101160046/https://www.michelleforkansas.com/
Candy Chistophe	https://web.archive.org/web/20201031223026/https://www.candychristophe4congress.com/
Ayanna Pressley	https://web.archive.org/web/20201026181256/https://ayannapressley.com/issues/
Sheila Bryant	https://web.archive.org/web/20191101191431/https://www.bryantforcongress.com/
Jill Carter	https://web.archive.org/web/20200527181232/http://www.jillcarterforcongress.com/
Briana Urbina	https://web.archive.org/web/20191126020732/https://www.urbinaforus.com/
Mckayla Wilkes	https://web.archive.org/web/20200601233757/https://www.mckayla2020.com/
Alberder Gillespie	https://web.archive.org/web/20201020034146/https://www.gillespieforcongress.com/platform
Ilhan Omar	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101195831/https://ilhanomar.com/
Gwen S. Moore	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101230241/https://gwenmoore.house.gov/
Cori Bush	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101185345/https://coribush.org/

Gena Ross	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101120058/https://www.rossforuscongress.net/
Dorothy Benford	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101093025/https://dorothydotbenfordforcongress.rocks/
Marilyn Strickland	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101054334/https://stricklandforwashington.com/
Kristine Reeves	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101022331/https://kristinereeves.com/
Alma Adams	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101075103/https://almaadamsforcongress.com/
Rhonda Foxx	https://web.archive.org/web/20200305162800/https://rhondafoxx.com/
Patricia Timmons-Goodson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101162804/https://www.timmonsgoodsonforcongress.com/
Cynthia L. Wallace	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101060013/https://www.cynthiawallace.com/
Bonnie Watson Coleman	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101224533/https://watsoncoleman.house.gov/
Laura Montoya	https://web.archive.org/web/20200528190159/https://www.lauramontoya4nm.com/
Xochitl Torres Small	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101140416/http://www.xochforcongress.com/
Jackie Gordon	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101103256/https://jackiegordonforcongress.com/
Samelys Lopez	https://web.archive.org/web/20200530012957/https://lopezforthepeople.com/
Melissa Mark-Viverito	https://web.archive.org/web/20200605105905/https://mmvforthebronx.com/
Chivona Renee Newsome	https://web.archive.org/web/20200616153334/https://chivonanewsomeforcongress.com/
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	https://web.archive.org/web/20201017034155/https://www.ocasiocortez.com/issues
Marlene J. Tapper	https://web.archive.org/web/20200616173014/https://www.marlenetapper.com/
Nydia M. Velazquez	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101050133/https://velazquez.house.gov/
Robin Wilt	https://web.archive.org/web/20200417025417/https://wiltforcongress.com/
Joyce B. Beatty	https://web.archive.org/web/20201027201734/https://beattyforcongress.com/
Vanessa Enoch	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101085156/https://enochforcongress.com/
Marcia L. Fudge	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101034611/http://marcialfudge.com/
Morgan Harper	https://web.archive.org/web/20200406232507/https://morganharper.org/
Desiree Tims	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101112650/https://www.timsforcongress.com/
Danyell Lanier	https://web.archive.org/web/20201102122345/https://www.danyellforcongress.com/

Heidi Briones	https://web.archive.org/web/20200422044309/https://www.heidiforcongress2020.com/
Melissa Watson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101071618/https://www.melissawatsonforcongress.com/
Keeda Haynes	https://web.archive.org/web/20200719160427/https://keedahaynes.com/
Renee Hoyos	https://web.archive.org/web/20201026133913/https://hoyosforcongress.com/
Erika Stotts Pearson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101105831/https://erikastottspearson.com/
Rosey Ramos Abuabara	https://web.archive.org/web/20200116160346/http://roseyfortx23.com/
Sanjanetta Barnes	https://web.archive.org/web/20200217180451/https://sanjanettabarnes.com/
Adrienne Bell	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101131751/https://www.voteforbell.com/
Barbara Mallary Caraway	https://web.archive.org/web/20191229072054/https://barbaramallorycarawayforcongress.org/
Jessica Cisneros	https://web.archive.org/web/20200226050927/https://jessicacisnerosforcongress.com/
Shenita Cleveland	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101011241/https://clevelandfor30.com/
Veronica Escobar	https://web.archive.org/web/20201023055448/https://veronicaescobar.com/
Sylvia R. Garcia	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101145516/https://www.sylviaforcongress.com/
Elizabeth Hernandez	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101134413/https://lizfortx8.com/
Sheila Jackson Lee	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101042936/https://jacksonlee.house.gov/
Eddie Bernice Johnson	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101011238/http://www.ebjcampaign.com/
Candace Valenzuela	https://web.archive.org/web/20201101162810/https://candacefor24.com/
Melissa M. Wilson	https://web.archive.org/web/20191229072059/https://melissamechelle.org/donate.html

APPENDIX B: SUMMARY STATISTICS

Table 1: Summary Statistics (n=91)

Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent Variable(s)				
Model 1: Use of Intersectional Frames				
Intersectional Frames	0.58	0.50	0	1
Race-Class	0.38	0.49	0	1
Gender-Class	0.41	0.49	0	1
Race-Gender	0.23	0.42	0	1
Race-Class-Gender	0.05	0.23	0	1
Model 2: Frequency of Use of Intersectional Frames				
Intersectional Frames	1.90	2.81	0	15
Race-Class	0.70	1.29	0	8
Gender-Class	1.41	1.28	0	5
Race-Gender	0.61	0.61	0	3
Race-Class-Gender	0.08	0.37	0	3
Independent Variable (s)				
% People of Color in District	48.26	25.27	5.2	94.3
District Partisanship	10.97	19.73	-28	44
Region: Northeast	0.19	0.39	0	1
Region: West	0.16	0.37	0	1
Region: South	0.45	0.50	0	1
Region: Midwest	0.20	0.40	0	1
Age	51	13.73	25	84
Race	.71	.45	0	1
Incumbent	.26	.44	0	1
Candidate Seniority	2.43	5.68	0	29

APPENDIX C: INTERSECTIONAL FRAMES BY CANDIDATE

Candidate Name	District	Identity	Number of Intersectional Frames
Phyllis Harvey-Hall	AL 2	Black Woman	0
Terri Sewell	AL 7	Black Woman	0
Joyce Elliott	AR 2	Black Woman	0
Agatha Bacelar	CA 12	Latina	4
Nanette Barragan	CA 44	Latina	1
Karen Bass	CA 37	Black Woman	0
Angelica Duenas	CA 29	Latina	15
Georgette Gomez	CA 53	Latina	2
Barbara Lee	CA 13	Black Woman	2
Frances Yasmeen Motiwalla	CA 34	Latina/AP	2
Lucille Roybal-Allard	CA 40	Latina	2
Linda Sanchez	CA 38	Latina	3
Suzette Santori	CA 53	Latina	0
Norma Torres	CA 35	Latina	0
Grace Williams	CA 42	Black Woman	0
Jahana Hayes	CT 5	Black Woman	3
LaShonda Holloway	FL 5	Black Woman	0
Pam Keith	FL 18	Black Woman	1
Sakinah Lehtola	FL 24	Black Woman	0
Debbie Mucarsel-Powell	FL 26	Latina	1
Kimberly Walker	FL 12	Black Woman	0
Frederica Wilson	FL 24	Black Woman	0
Elaine Amankwah Nietmann	GA 4	Black Woman	0
Joyce Marie Griggs	GA 1	Black Woman	0
Liz Johnson	GA 12	Black Woman	0
Tabitha Johnson-Green	GA 10	Black Woman	2
Brenda Lopez Romero	GA 7	Latina	0
Lucy McBath	GA 6	Black Woman	0
Jannquell Peters	GA 13	Black Woman	2
Nikema Williams	GA 5	Black Woman	2
Kina Collins	IL 7	Black Woman	1
Robin L. Kelly	IL 2	Black Woman	1
Lauren Underwood	IL 14	Black Woman	1
Erika C. Weaver	IL 15	Black Woman	1
Jeannine Lee Lake	IN 6	Black Woman	1
Mara Candelaria Reardon	IN 1	Latina	1
Dee Thornton	IN 5	Black Woman	1
Michelle de la Isla	KS 2	Latina/White/Black	5
Candy Chistophe	LA 5	Black Woman	0
Ayanna Pressley	MA 7	Black Woman	8
Sheila Bryant	MD 4	Black Woman	3
Jill Carter	MD 7	Black Woman	2
Briana Urbina	MD 5	Latina	1
Mckayla Wilkes	MD 5	Black Woman	10
Alberder Gillespie	MN 4	Black Woman	0
Ilhan Omar	MN 5	Black Woman	8
Gwen S. Moore	WI 4	Black Woman	3
Cori Bush	MO 1	Black Woman	13

Gena Ross	MO 6	Black Woman	1
Dorothy Benford	MS 3	Black Woman	0
Marilyn Strickland	WA 10	AP/Black Woman	4
Kristine Reeves	WA 10	Black Woman	4
Alma Adams	NC 12	Black Woman	2
Rhonda Foxx	NC 6	Black Woman	0
Patricia Timmons-Goodson	NC 8	Black Woman	8
Cynthia L. Wallace	NC 9	Black Woman	0
Bonnie Watson Coleman	NJ 12	Black Woman	0
Laura Montoya	NM 3	Latina	0
Xochitl Torres Small	NM 3	Latina	0
Jackie Gordon	NY 2	Black Woman	1
Samelys Lopez	NY 15	Latina	5
Melissa Mark-Viverito	NY 15	Latina	0
Chivona Renee Newsome	NY 15	Black Woman	3
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	NY 14	Latina	7
Marlene J. Tapper	NY 15	Black Woman	2
Nydia M. Velazquez	NY 7	Latina	0
Robin Wilt	NY 25	Black Woman	4
Joyce B. Beatty	OH 3	Black Woman	0
Vanessa Enoch	OH 8	Black Woman	2
Marcia L. Fudge	OH 11	Black Woman	0
Morgan Harper	OH 3	Black Woman	2
Desiree Tims	OH 10	Black Woman	0
Danyell Lanier	OK 2	Black Woman	0
Heidi Briones	OR 1	Latina//White	0
Melissa Watson	SC 7	Black Woman	2
Keeda Haynes	TN 5	Black Woman	3
Renee Hoyos	TN 2	Latina	1
Erika Stotts Pearson	TN 8	Black Woman	0
Rosey Ramos Abuabara	TX 23	Latina	2
Sanjanetta Barnes	TX 14	Black Woman	0
Adrienne Bell	TX 14	Black Woman	1
Barbara Mallary Caraway	TX 30	Black Woman	0
Jessica Cisneros	TX 28	Latina	4
Shenita Cleveland	TX 30	Black Woman	5
Veronica Escobar	TX 16	Latina	0
Sylvia R. Garcia	TX 29	Latina	0
Elizabeth Hernandez	TX 8	Latina	3
Sheila Jackson Lee	TX 18	Black Woman	0
Eddie Bernice Johnson	TX 30	Black Woman	0
Candace Valenzuela	TX 24	Black/Latina	3
Melissa M. Wilson	TX 9	Black Female	1
Adia McClellan Winfrey	AL 3	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Marisa Calderon	CA 50	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Annette Meza	CA 53	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Keanakay Scott	CA 34	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Esmeralda Soria	CA 16	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Maxine Waters	CA 43	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Lisa Blunt Rochester	AL	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick	FL 20	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Val B. Demings	FL 10	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Barbara Seidman	GA 1	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE

Carrie Castro	IN 1	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Shannon Fabert	KY 4	AP/ Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Alicia D. Brown	MD 7	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Maya Rockeymoore Cummings	MD 7	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Kim A. Shelton	MD 4	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Brenda L. Lawrence	MI 13	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Tiffini Flynn Forslund	MN 4	White/Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Katherine Bruckner	MO 1	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Ramona Farris	MO 6	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Sonia Rathbun	MS 2	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Monika Johnson-Hostler	NC 2	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Yvette D. Clarke	NY 9	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Teresa Leger Fernandez	NM 3	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Chrstina Hale	IN 5	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Brenda Jones	MI 13	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Ameena Matthews	IL 1	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Nyanza Moore	TX 22	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Gladys Harrison	NE 2	Latina/White	UNAVAILABLE
Asha Castleberry-Hernandez	NY 17	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
R. Cazel Levine	VA 4	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Grace Napolitano	CA 32	Latina	UNAVAILABLE
Keisha Sean Waites	GA 13	Black Woman	UNAVAILABLE
Vanessa Marie Hoffman	MD 5	Latina/White	UNAVAILABLE

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