

Missing the Mark?

An Exploration of Targeted Campaign Advertising's Effect on Black Political Engagement

Extant scholarship on campaign advertising focuses on the effectiveness of microtargeting for Latinxs, women, and religious groups, spending little time on the efficacy of advertisements targeted towards Black Americans. In this paper, we examine the ways in which racially targeted advertisements shape perceptions of candidates and the subsequent political mobilization of Blacks. Using a novel survey experiment with approximately 1,410 Black respondents, we explore how Black individuals react to stereotypic appeals in campaign advertisements by manipulating the type of background music (i.e. rap, classical) as well as the race of the candidate making the appeal. We posit and find that the inclusion of rap music in the advertisement leads to negative evaluations of the candidate. Moreover, Black candidates that use rap music in advertisements seem to be doubly punished as increased levels of anger decrease support for the candidate and lead to more negative evaluations. This study adds to our knowledge by not only showing how Black individuals emotionally respond to certain targeted appeals, but also how they view the role and responsibility of potential representatives.

Keywords: African-Americans Campaigns, Campaign Advertisements, Mobilization, Emotions, Anger

DRAFT

The recent turnout of Black voters in pivotal gubernatorial and congressional elections in Alabama, Virginia, Florida, and Georgia has sparked renewed interest in ways to appeal to and mobilize Black voters. Although a great deal of recent literature examines the effects of strategic campaign communication on various populations including religious groups, gender identity groups, and communities of color (Abrajano and Panagopoulos 2011; DeFrancesco Soto and Merolla 2008; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011; Hillygus and Shields 2008; Hersh and Schaffner 2013; Holman, Schneider, and Pondel 2015; Valenzuela and Michelson 2016; Kam, Archer, and Geer 2017), only one study investigates Black responses to targeted advertising (McIlwain and Caliendo 2011). With this paper, we aim to fill that void.

One way that politicians have traditionally reached out to the Black community during campaigns is through radio advertising. Political campaign operatives are keenly aware that Blacks and Hispanics spend more time listening to the radio than any other group and Neilson reports that approximately 31.3 million black Americans listen to the radio each week (Douglas 2016; Rhodan 2016). Moreover, data reveals that approximately 916.1 million dollars went to radio advertising in the 2016 election cycle (Douglas 2016), showing the importance of this medium to appeal to minority populations, particularly the Black community. Although radio advertisements made up nearly 10% of campaign expenditures in the 2016 presidential election, few scholars in political science have examined the implications of radio advertisements (Overby and Barth 2006; Panagopolous and Green 2008) as the campaigning literature largely focuses on television advertisements. As Geer and Geer (2003) mention, “We are a multimedia society” (84). If we are to understand the full functioning of campaign advertisements in the political arena, we need to examine the effectiveness of less studied forms of media like the radio.

In this paper, we ask how and in what ways might racially targeted radio advertisements shape Blacks’ perceptions of candidates and their subsequent political behavior? Moreover, how

might emotional responses to these targeted appeals lead to potential variation in response to these advertisements? Using an original survey experiment that exposes 1,410 self-identified Blacks to original radio advertisements that vary the musical underscoring, we find that the use of rap music leads to negative candidate evaluations. This is particularly true for Black candidates who experience the most significant decrease in candidate evaluations and participants' willingness to mobilize for the candidate. This paper offers a nuanced look at the effectiveness of strategic campaign communication on the evaluations of candidates and mobilization of Black people in politics.

Identity-Based Appeals and Music in Campaign Advertisements

Contemporary political science research examines the concept of micro-targeting, which is a strategy that involves creating multiple advertisements ranging in topics for different constituent blocs across various media platforms like television, radio, and the internet (Hillygus and Shields 2008; Ridout 2009; Nteta and Schaffner 2013). Microtargeting tailors certain aspects of an advertisement (i.e. the background music, imagery, message, and tone of the narrator's voice) to a specific group to elicit various emotional reactions and shape evaluations of the candidate (Brader 2006; Schoening and Kasper 2015; Fowler, Franz, and Ridout 2016). The existing studies on micro-targeting (Abrajano and Panagopoulos 2011; DeFrancesco Soto and Merolla 2008; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011; Hillygus and Shields 2008; Hersh and Schaffner 2013; Holman, Schneider, and Pondel 2015; Valenzuela and Michelson 2016; Kam, Archer, and Geer 2017) provide us with frameworks to understand why identity-based appeals are distinctive from broad based appeals. Holman et al. (2015) define an identity-based appeal as one that includes a "message, symbol, or photograph to clarify the group as a target." We believe it is necessary to broaden this definition to include different genres of music given that many campaign advertisements have musical underscoring that are specific to their target audiences. The campaign advertisements designed to target Blacks on the radio and online seem to bear the extremes of the Holman et al (2015) typology,

being simultaneously less subtle and more overt about their targeted audience as they tend to include stereotypically Black sounding voices as the narrators or slight variations in the background music ranging from rap music to rhythm and blues.

We should care about music in campaign advertisements because extant literature suggests that these slight variations shape evaluations of candidates and political behavior. Brader (2006) finds that changing the music or imagery of advertisements yields drastically different reactions in voter decision-making and Ridout (2016) argues that musical styles are deployed strategically to persuade voters to act in a certain way (2). However, these works code music on the binary (i.e. the presence or absence of music) or for music style (i.e. ominous/tense, uplifting, sad/sorrowful, or other music) and not genre of music (i.e. classical, pop, or rap). We argue that exposure to different genres of music in campaign advertisements will have an effect on how Blacks evaluate candidates and participate in the political arena.

Both Democrats and Republicans vary the narration and music in their campaign advertisements to target Black voters. During the 2012 presidential election campaign, then-President Barack Obama released a radio ad titled, “We’ve Got Your Back.”¹ The ad begins with a funk infused hip-hop beat and the narrator states, “Four years ago *we* made history. Now it’s time to move forward and finish what *we* started together. *We* have to show the president *we* have his back.” The remainder of the ad features quotes by Barack Obama over the same beat with a bluesy choral refrain, “We’ve Got Your Back.” It concludes by imploring listeners to register to vote and encouraging them to vote for the candidate that has supported the black community. During the

¹ Visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbH8XnAEmZI> to hear Barack Obama’s “We’ve GotYour Back” advertisement.

2016 presidential primaries, Republican candidate Dr. Ben Carson released the “Freedom” radio advertisement that featured a hip-hop beat and rapper, which Carson’s campaign argued would “awaken, appeal to and motivate the urban market, specifically catering to younger black voters” (Oh 2015; Faulders 2015).² Dave Wilson, a White Republican, won a local election in Houston, Texas by appealing to Black voters in radio advertisements with stereotypically Black sounding narrators that encouraged the Black community to vote for the candidate fighting for “our [black] neighborhoods.”³ In 2016, presidential candidate Hillary Clinton released many advertisements designed to target the Black community. While her “Disrespect” radio advertisement featured a stereotypically sounding Black narrator, Clinton’s “Real Talk” advertisement featured a Black male narrator speaking about the importance of voting over a hip-hop beat.⁴ In 2018, the National Republican Congressional Committee weaponized rap music in a series of congressional advertisements against Antonio Delgado, a Black man, labeling him the “Big City Rapper” that was

² Visit https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/politics/ben-carson-freedom--campaign-2016/2015/11/06/3bac7370-84aa-11e5-8bd2-680fff868306_video.html to hear Dr. Ben Carson’s “Freedom” advertisement.

³ Visit <http://www.businessinsider.com/dave-wilson-black-candidate-in-houston-white-2013-11> to learn more about the campaign of Dave Wilson. Visit https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24vL_ucC_V0 to hear Dave Wilson’s radio ad.

⁴ To hear the “Disrespect” advertisement visit <https://soundcloud.com/hillary-clinton-976818877/disrespect-hillary-clinton/s-DraGd> . To hear the “Real Talk” advertisement, visit <https://soundcloud.com/hillary-clinton-976818877/real-talk-hillary-clinton/s-BI7gi> .

ill-equipped to handle the politics of his community.⁵ Though these types of advertisements exist, we lack an understanding of how they might stimulate and constrain the political behavior of Blacks.

Conceivably most interesting for our research inquiry is rap music, as it is one of the most hotly debated types of music discussed in research on Black public opinion and political engagement. Research ranges from those who believe rap is an extraordinarily destructive force in black politics because of its promotion of violence, misogyny, and anti-gay attitudes (Cohen 1999), to those who believe it positively shapes Blacks' political behavior, ideology, and policy opinions (Rose 1994; Dyson 2007). Contemporary findings surrounding the political implications of rap music suggest that Blacks that listen to rap music are more likely to support a Black Nationalist ideology (Dawson 1994, 2001; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Bonnette 2015). Yet, what remains unanswered is how the usage of rap music in campaign advertisements might shape Blacks' attitudes towards candidates along with their willingness to mobilize on their behalf.

Candidate Evaluations & Stereotypical Advertisements

We argue that identity-based targeting that relies on stereotypes to address and connect with Black voters will be viewed negatively as blacks will perceive these advertisements to be pandering to the Black community. The notion that all Blacks listen to and enjoy rap music and will therefore appreciate advertisements that rely on that genre of music, draws on racially insensitive assumptions that rely on tropes of the Black community (Steele and Aronson 1995). In an effort to reject that stereotype, *we hypothesize that Blacks will have negative evaluations of campaign advertisements that feature rap music (H1)*. Burge (2014) finds that when Blacks experience negative emotions as members of their

⁵ Visit https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/09/12/nrcc-faces-backlash-over-attack-ad-against-democratic-candidate-former-rapper-antonio-delgado/?utm_term=.0d0c285a6cb0

to see the NRCC's advertisement.

racial group, they are more likely to distance themselves from the racial group as a whole. This distancing takes the form of less favorable evaluations of Blacks and a weaker sense of connectedness to other Blacks (Burge 2014). The use of stereotypical appeals from group members, who are perceived to represent the group in public spaces, will make the desire to distance oneself from the group greater. Given these findings, we hypothesize that *Blacks will have less favorable evaluations of Black candidates that use rap music in their campaign advertisements (H2).*

Emotional Responses to Stereotypical Advertisements

We believe that anger underpins Blacks' reactions (and subsequent behavior) to campaign advertisements that feature rap music. Dr. Ben Carson's "Freedom" radio advertisement that featured a hip-hop beat and rapper was met with an overwhelmingly negative response from many Black voters who believed the advertisement's appeal was both pandering and condescending (Lapowsky 2015). As such, we expect that candidate evaluations from Blacks are worsened by negative emotions, like anger, which may be brought about by the use of stereotypical material in targeted advertisements. Psychology scholars define anger as "a belief that we, or our friends, have been unfairly slighted, which causes in us both painful feelings and a desire or impulse for revenge" (Lazarus 1991). Lickel et al. (2007) state, "In the intergroup literature, it is commonly found that individuals derogate ingroup members particularly harshly when those individuals break the norms of the group.... Anger is the likely candidate for the emotion that drives this social response" (357). We expect that *Blacks exposed to campaign advertisements that feature rap music will experience increased levels of anger (H3).* Since the action tendencies for anger suggest that one has a desire to regain control or impulse for revenge, *we might also expect Blacks' increased levels of anger to be accompanied by lower levels of political engagement on behalf of that candidate (H4).*

Method

We recognize that the effectiveness of targeted advertising is dependent on the frequency of exposure to the content. Numerous scholars have demonstrated that Blacks are not only consumers of intragroup media, but that information garnered from these sources has significant effects on their political views (Harris-Lacewell 2004; Dawson 2001; Cohen 1999; White 2007). The pervasive use of radio for many Blacks, and the fact that many campaign operatives recognize it as a meaningful political tool to reach Black individuals led us to fashion our experimental conditions after targeted radio advertisements that are similar to those that could be found on Black radio networks.⁶

We use an original Qualtrics survey experiment conducted in May of 2017 to test our theory and hypotheses about targeted campaign advertisements among Black Americans. In this survey experiment, we randomly assign our sample of 1,410 self-identified Black respondents to one of nine conditions that vary the type of music and race of the candidate in the advertisements (See Table 1). This methodology allows us to hold confounding factors constant and assess the direct effect of stereotypic racial appeals in campaign advertisements on Black political behavior

⁶ To be clear, we acknowledge that the effectiveness of targeted advertising is dependent on the frequency of exposure to the content. Numerous scholars have demonstrated that blacks are not only consumers of intragroup media, but that information garnered from these sources has significant effects on their political views (Harris-Lacewell 2004; Dawson 2001; Cohen 1999; White 2007). The purpose of this study is to merely gain some insights into what particular kinds of advertisements do to black behavior and attitudes. That said, we would also expect that any effect we witness will be made worse as exposure to these advertisements increases.

(Arceneaux 2010). We include a photo of the candidate, either Black or White, in the same campaign flyer as previously described that is shown before respondents listen to the advertisement.⁷ The Black candidate and the White candidate are shown in three different musical conditions (No Music Ad, Classical Ad, and Rap Ad). Although we are interested in radio advertisements, participants are shown flyers (some feature pictures of the candidate) to simulate real world politics where voters likely to be exposed to candidates across numerous mediums. Additionally, the flyers also serve the purpose of exposing respondents to the candidate’s race to better understand if using stereotypic appeals is more effective than when respondents know the racial identity of the candidate.

As participants in the “No Music” control listen to the radio advertisement, a red, white and blue campaign flyer is presented on the screen, which reads: “Elect James Thompson to Congress.” The “Classical Ad” condition contains the same text as the control but plays a sample from the classical Americana composer Aaron Copland’s song, “Down a Country Lane,” in the background. The “Rap Ad” condition also matches the control, but a rap/hip-hop instrumental is played (See Table 1, row 1). Music from the “Rap Ad” is a sample from a hip-hop group in Atlanta called The Heroes. The two conditions and the control provide a conservative test of our musical appeals and isolate the effect of the music on candidate assessment without cueing the race of the candidate. The narrator in the radio advertisement is consistent with racially targeted advertising in which first person plural pronouns like “we” and “our” are used to prime a sense of collective/group identity.⁸

Table 1. 3 x 3 Experimental Conditions

No Candidate Photo No Music Ad	No Candidate Photo Classical Ad	No Candidate Photo Rap Ad
Black Candidate Photo No Music Ad	Black Candidate Photo Classical Ad	Black Candidate Photo Rap Ad

⁷ See Appendix for images of our fictitious candidates on the flyers.

⁸ See discussion of racially authentic ads in McIlwain and Calliendo (2011).

White Candidate Photo No Music Ad	White Candidate Photo Classical Ad	White Candidate Photo Rap Ad
--------------------------------------	--	------------------------------------

Our completed responses yielded approximately 157 Blacks per each condition. Our sample is evenly balanced in terms of gender, we have 704 males, 705 females, and one respondent that identifies as other. The average age of our respondent is 39 years old with some college education, and an average family income of \$40,000 to \$49,999. We checked for balance in the experimental conditions by examining gender, linked fate, income, region, ideology, age, education, and partisanship.⁹

Variables

Several measures in our post-treatment survey are used to test our hypotheses. We use a binary measure to assess whether the respondent liked the advertisement; evaluations of James Thompson by using a feeling thermometer and scales that measure trustworthiness, the ability of James Thompson to represent one's interests, and willingness to support the candidate. We create an index using four standard political mobilization questions from the American National Election Study to gauge whether individuals might persuade others to vote for James Thompson, display campaign paraphernalia, attend rallies or meetings on behalf of the candidate, and make a contribution to support the candidate.¹⁰

Negative emotional responses to the advertisement are assessed using a modified version of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, and Tellegen 1988). We add a racial group cue to our emotions questions to shift and or specify the lens through which the campaign

⁹ See Appendix for test statistics.

¹⁰ See Appendix for exact question wording of our dependent variable measures.

advertisement is evaluated (see Lazarus 1991). That is, instead of asking respondents how the advertisement made them feel, we ask, “Thinking about the advertisement you just heard, as a Black person, to what extent do you feel angry?” Since we know that groups matter in the political arena, whether racial, religious, partisan, or sexual orientation, the racial group cue should provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the implications of emotional experiences in the political arena (Burge 2014; Burge and Johnson 2018). In their research on Blacks’ emotional reactions to intra- and-intergroup violence, Burge and Johnson (2018) add a group cue to their emotions measures to specify the lens through which the emotion is experienced. Since psychology research suggests that social categorization into groups changes one’s emotional experiences (Mackie and Smith 2017; Ray et al. 2008), we add a group cue to our emotion measures in the hope that it provides us with a more nuanced understanding of collective affective experiences in politics. It is our contention that the negative emotional response will be heightened when a stereotypical appeal (rap music) is employed.

Results: Stereotypic Appeals and Candidate Evaluations

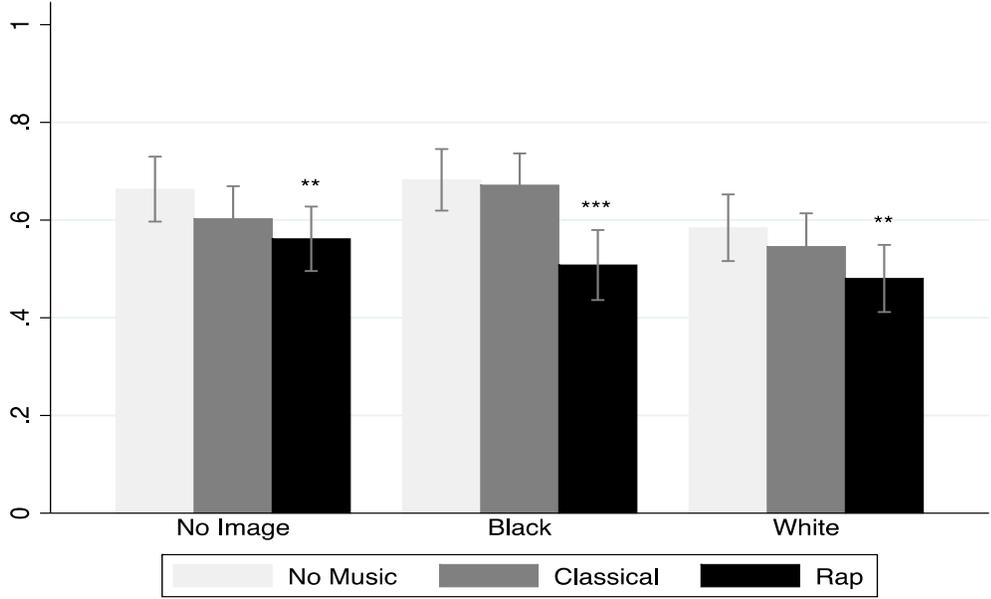
To show the effect of different music genres on candidate evaluations, we provide average differences across our experimental conditions by both music genre and race of the candidate with 95% confidence intervals. The “No Image” portion of Figures 1 through 4 show the proportional or average responses from respondents who hear a radio advertisement from a candidate whose race is not specified. This provides insight into how Black Americans respond when the race of the candidate is unknown and offers an experimental baseline for us to observe the effect of candidate race across various evaluations¹¹. The “Black” and “White” portions of the figures provide results for those assigned to conditions where the image of our fictitious candidate, James Thompson, is either Black or White.

¹¹ All of our dependent variables are rescaled from 0 to 1 for comparability.

Our findings in Figures 1 through 3 confirm our first and second hypotheses. When compared to the conditions without music, findings in Figure 1 reveal that Black respondents have the most negative evaluations of campaign advertisements that feature rap music. When a Black candidate uses rap music in his appeal, findings in Figure 2 suggest that he suffers the most significant punishment: decreases in the respondents' average willingness to support the candidate, decreased in feeling thermometer ratings, lower levels of perceived trustworthiness, and reduced abilities to represent interests, when compared to the control ($p < .01$). Using our additive political mobilization index (made up of four standard questions from the ANES: displaying campaign paraphernalia, contacting official, attending meetings, and persuading people to vote for candidate), we find that Black voters are more likely to be mobilized in ways that could potentially lead to a favorable outcome for the candidate when he is an in-group member and has an advertisement with no musical underscoring.

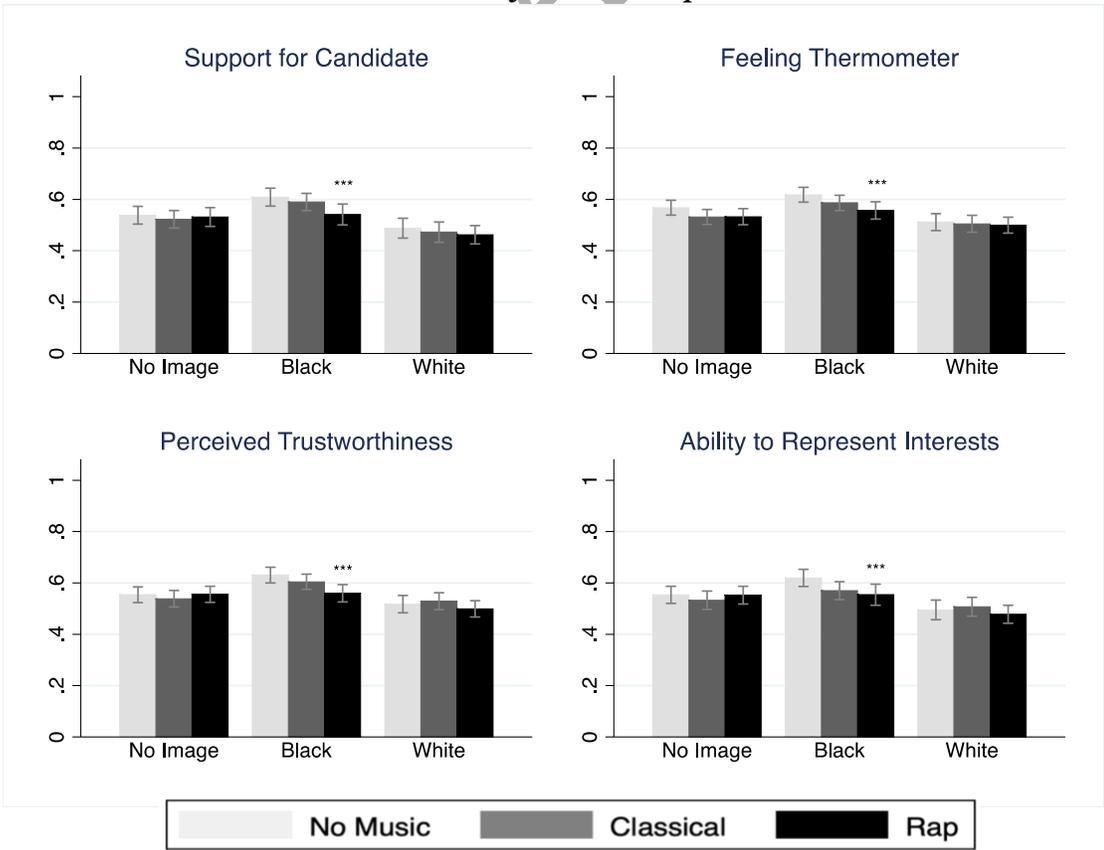
Together, these findings reveal the heightened nature with which Black voters view and evaluate co-racial candidates; suggesting that Black candidates have more to lose from their usage of targeted stereotypic appeals than their White counterparts. Extant literature suggests that Black voters are more critical of the actions and political choices of co-racial candidates (Walters and Smith 1999) and are more likely to police the actions of in-group members who are perceived as working against the group's political interests or presenting the racial group in a negative or stereotypical way (Cohen 1999; White et al 2014). One might expect that the costs for using stereotypical appeals in advertisements may be higher for candidates who are known and well respected in the Black community.

**Figure 1:
Evaluation of Campaign Advertisement**

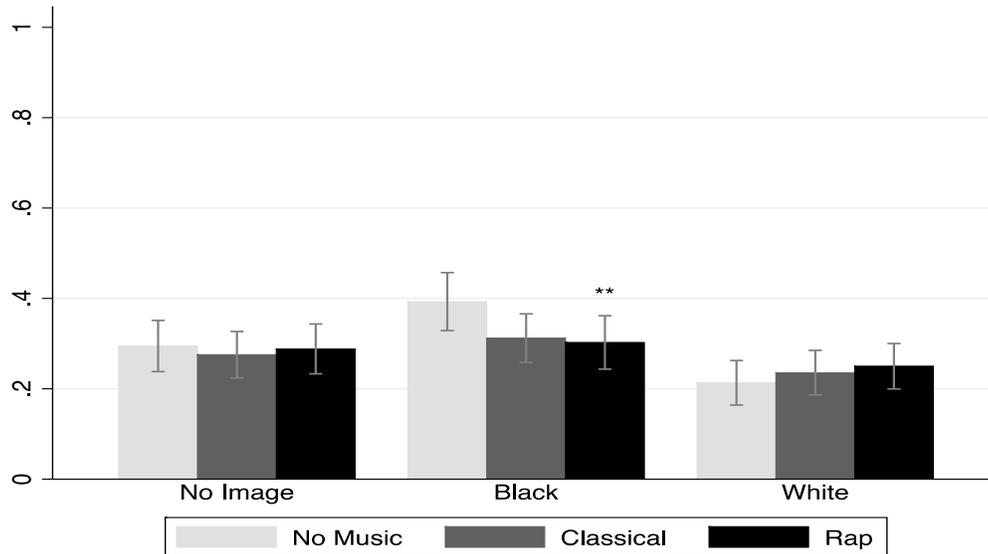


Note: $p < .05^{**}$; $p < .01^{***}$

**Figure 2:
Evaluations of James Thompson**



**Figure 3:
Mobilization**

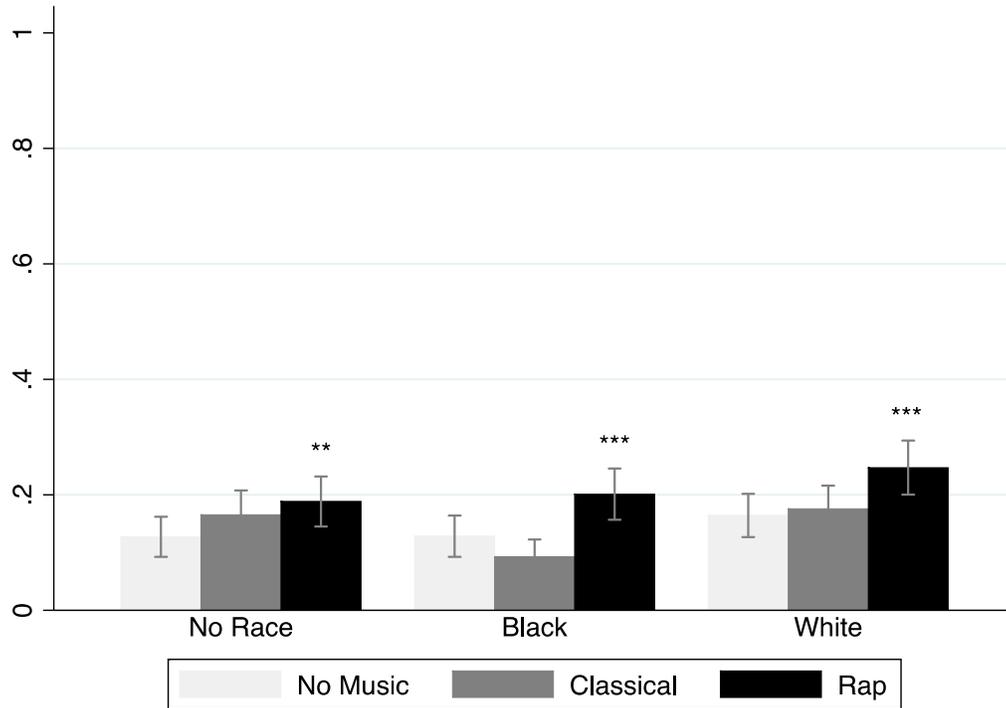


Note: $p < .05^{**}$; $p < .01^{***}$

Results: Stereotypic Appeals and Emotional Responses

Our next series of analyses investigate how anger further drives reactions to campaign advertisements with stereotypic appeals. In our third hypothesis, we argued that Black people should exhibit the highest levels of anger when a campaign advertisement features rap music. Our findings in Figure 4 confirm this hypothesis; when compared to those in the No Music condition, respondents are more likely to be angry when advertisements use rap music. Thus far, we have shown that stereotypical appeals, which we operationalize as rap music, lead to less favorable evaluations of candidates. We have also shown that stereotypical appeals lead to an increase in anger. These results, while consistent in explaining the negative effect of stereotypical appeals on candidate evaluations and emotional responses, do not tell us how the increase in negative emotions shape behavior on behalf of the candidate.

**Figure 4:
Levels of Anger Across Experimental Conditions**



We expect and find that anger mediates the observed effect rap music has on candidate evaluations. Findings in Figure 5, which contain OLS Regression analyses margins, confirm our argument pertaining to the mediating role of anger when the candidate is Black: as one’s level of anger increases, one is less likely to support the candidate and less likely to engage in mobilization efforts on behalf of the candidate. Several scholars have examined the extent to which campaign advertisements mobilize voters (Ansolabehere et al 1994; Wattenberg and Brians 1999). A great deal of literature finds that anger is a mobilizing emotion that leads individuals to vote and engage in more costly forms of political participation (Valentino et al 2011; Banks 2014). Scholars fail to consider the alternative: the extent to which invoking anger might demobilize the electorate. Lazarus (1991) argues that anger causes a desire or impulse for revenge. Our findings suggest that as the anger Blacks experience increases, their willingness to mobilize on behalf of the Black candidate

decreases; that is, this desire or impulse for revenge might manifest in engaging in behaviors that might reduce the electoral prospects of a candidate.

Perhaps most interesting is that emotions only mediate the effect when the candidate is Black and uses rap music; this statistically significant effect does not appear for those assigned to the classical advertisement, nor does it appear when the candidate is White (see Figure 6).¹² We believe that this confirms that Black respondents' low evaluations of the White candidate represent a floor effect that negative emotions do not exacerbate.¹³ This result surrounding anger is confirmatory as respondents might believe the Black candidate should know how to address fellow racial groups members, have an awareness of Black individuals would respond to the use of a stereotypical appeal. Therefore, the punishment for the Black candidate is more severe. Electoral gains could be muted, and turnout severely affected if targeted advertisements make Blacks feel angry.

DRAFT

¹² 69% of the 215 individuals in the “No Candidate Picture” condition who heard the advertisement with rap music believed the candidate to be black.

¹³ See Appendix for full regression analyses.

Figure 5:
OLS Regression Margins of Willingness to Support and Mobilize on Behalf of
Black Candidate with Anger as a Mediator
(Baseline = No Music Condition)

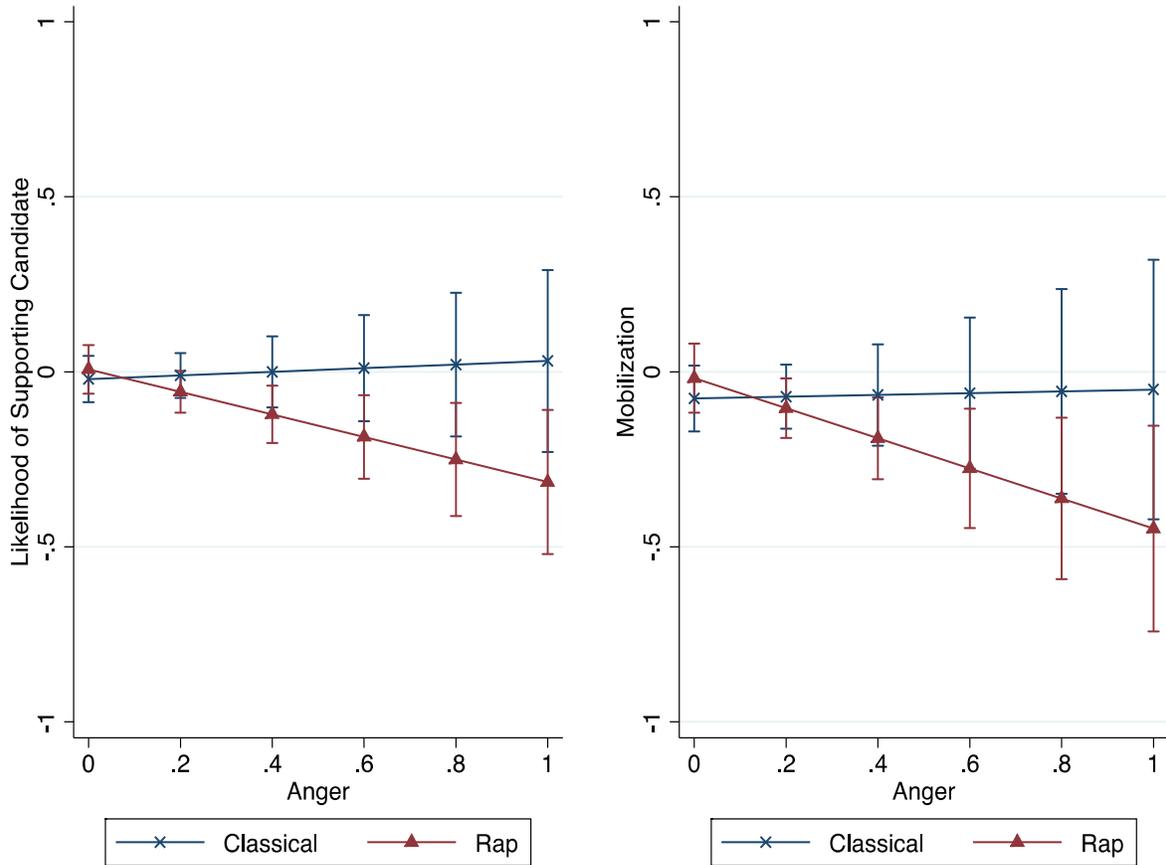
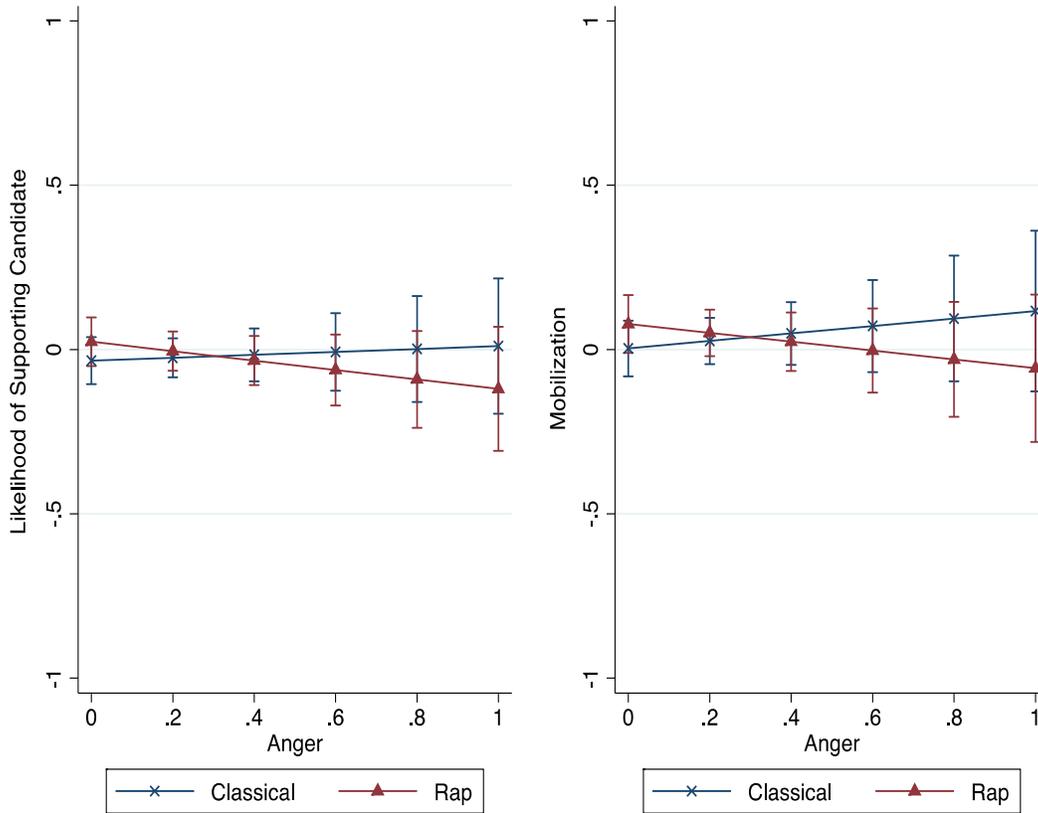


Figure 6:
OLS Regression Margins of Willingness to Support and Mobilize on Behalf of
White Candidate with Anger as a Mediator
(Baseline = No Music Condition)



Conclusion

This study argues that the use of stereotypical appeals in targeted campaign advertisements leads to negative emotional responses that have strong implications for how candidates are viewed, and Black individuals' willingness to engage in the political arena. Using a novel experimental test on an all-Black sample that varies the musical genres as well as the race of the candidate in original radio advertisements, we find strong evidence in support of our argument that the use of stereotypical appeals in radio advertisements can be costly to politicians' evaluations and their mobilization efforts.

Certainly, not all music in campaign advertisements constrain political behavior. To the contrary, extant literature suggests that background music in campaign advertisements motivates voters to turnout on behalf of the candidate and benefits candidates by increasing favorable evaluations (Brader 2006; Shea 2012; Schoening and Kasper 2012; Ridout 2016). While many of these works examine the presence or absence of music or code for the tone of background music (i.e. ominous, uplifting, or sad), they do not examine the type of music. In this way, our paper moves the literature forward by suggesting that the type of music used in campaign advertisements has significant effects on political decision-making; especially for Black voters.

Another surprising finding in this study is the seemingly immovable low evaluations of the white candidate regardless of the presence of stereotypical musical appeals or no music at all. These results suggest that simply being white was enough to lead black voters to perceive and ultimately evaluate the candidate negatively. What is less clear, and what extant literature provides very little insight into, is why the white candidate's evaluations were low enough that even the use of rap music could move them no lower. Given the dearth of literature, we can only provide conjecture to explain this finding, but believe that the general lack of trust many within the black community have towards out-group members, as well as towards politicians broadly construed, informs the evaluations we found in this study (Nunnally 2012). If nothing else, these findings open an important door for future research.

Conversely and perhaps, most notably, we find that the evaluations for co-racial candidates are the most volatile when we account for emotions and the use of rap music underscoring in radio advertisements. These results offer a unique contribution to our understanding of the relationship between Black voters and Black representatives by consistently showing that stereotypical appeals from Black politicians leads to significant decreases in evaluations, and these decreases are made worse when negative emotions such as anger are accounted for. Confirming the arguments made in

existing literature, these results suggest that, because they are held to higher standards as socio-political representatives of the racial group, Black candidates do not have the luxury of assuming that phenotypic similarities will make them impervious to the judgments and punishments of same race constituents. Indeed, it is these similarities that put co-racial candidates more at risk for punishments because black voters desire a certain behavior from them and will police that behavior by way of not supporting or mobilizing for those who rely on stereotypic appeals to ensure proper representation of the racial group. In other words, black candidates have more to lose than their white counterparts whose evaluations were consistently low across evaluations regardless of the musical genre used in the advertisement.

The broader implications of this research are extensive. Fraga, McElwee, Rhodes, and Schaffner (2017) argue that the reason Hillary Clinton lost in 2016 is because more whites and fewer blacks turned out to vote. If one subscribes to this belief, it becomes all the more critical to consider the ways in which black voters might be mobilized and demobilized because they are a key voting bloc for both white and black Democratic candidates. The outcomes of several recent congressional elections illustrate the importance of mobilizing black voters. In April of 2017, the Democratic candidate Jon Ossoff lost to Republican candidate Karen Handel in the special election of Georgia's 6th district. Cohn (2017) notes that the lagged turnout among black voters is an indication for Democrats that they need to move beyond only using traditional mobilization efforts if they have an expectation of increasing the black share of the electorate. In the case of this special election, the lack of innovative targeted advertising toward a key bloc in the Democratic electorate—blacks—led to a missed opportunity even though copious amounts of money were spent on the campaign. However, turnout among black women and targeted advertising were credited with the victory of Doug Jones in the special Senate election in Alabama (Summers 2017). This emphasis on microtargeting led Alabamans to elect the state's first Democratic senator in 25 years.

As time presses on, targeted populations will be integral to the success of many politicians. Campaigns could find themselves with missed opportunities and tight electoral margins if the advertisements that were intended to motivate subsets of voters to turnout, financially support, and promote the campaign through signage, are emotionally distressing to needed populations. This reality was made apparent in the 2018 midterm elections; the primacy of understanding the effect of targeted advertisements and the nuance in emotional responses of targeted populations is imperative. Thus, the ways in which these politicians and their campaigns seek to engage with these populations will be of the utmost importance. Will they ignore them? Will they use stereotypes to appeal to them? Whatever strategy they choose, this paper makes it clear that how these populations *feel* about those choices will be a determining factor in how candidates fare.

DRAFT

References

- Abrajano, Marisa and Costas Panagopoulos. 2011. "Does Language Matter? The Impact of Spanish Versus English-Language GOTV Efforts on Latino Turnout." *American Politics Research* 39:643-663.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nick Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *The American Political Science Review* 88 (4): 829-838.
- Areceneaux, Kevin. 2010. "The Benefits of Experimental Methods for the Study of Campaign Effects." *Political Communication* 27:199-215.
- Banks, Antoine. 2014. *Anger and Racial Politics: The Emotional Foundation of Racial Attitudes in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonnette, Lakeyta. 2015. *Pulse of the People: Political Rap and Black Politics*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Brader, Ted. 2005. "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 388-405.
- Burge, Camille. 2014. *Fired Up, Ready to Go: The Effects of Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions in Politics*. Vanderbilt University <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/46929607.pdf>
- Burge, Camille D. and Gbemende Johnson. 2018. "Race, Crime, and Emotions." *Research & Politics* July-September:1-9.
- Cohen, Cathy J., 1999. *The boundaries of blackness: AIDS and the breakdown of black politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Cohn, Nate. "Democrats' Turnout in Georgia Blew Past Typical Off-Year Levels; *The New York Times* June 26, 2017 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/26/upshot/why-strong-turnout-was-not-enough-for-democrats-in-georgia.html>
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in American Politics*. Princeton

- University Press.
- Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. The University of Chicago Press.
- DeFrancesco Soto, Victoria M. and Jennifer Merolla. 2008. “Se Habla Espanol: Ethnic Campaign Strategies and Latino Voting Behavior,” in *New Race Politics: Understanding Minority and Immigrant Voting*, New York: Cambridge University Press, eds. Jane Junn and Kerry L. Haynie.
- Douglas, William. “Black-owned Media Wonder, Where are the campaign ads?” 21 September 2016 <http://www.thenewstribune.com/news/politics-government/article103053677.html>
- Dyson, Michael Eric. 2007. *Know What I Mean?: Reflections on Hip-Hop*. Basic Books.
- Fallis, Timothy W. 2014. “Political Advertising,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*
- Faulders, Katherine. “Listen to Ben Carson’s New Rap Ad Aimed at African-American Voters.” 05 November 2016 <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/listen-ben-carsons-rap-ad-aimed-african-american/story?id=34988082>
- Fraga, Bernard L., Sean McElwee, Jesse Rhodes, and Brian Schaffner. 2017. “Why did Trump win? More whites – and fewer blacks- actually voted.” https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/08/why-did-trump-win-more-whites-and-fewer-blacks-than-normal-actually-voted/?utm_term=.0e74923028f8
- Geer, John G. and James H. Geer. 2003. “Remembering Attack Ads: An Experimental Investigation of Radio.” *Political Behavior* 25:69-95.
- Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2004. *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hersh, Eitan D. and Brian F. Schaffner. 2013. “Targeted Campaign Appeals and the Value of

- Ambiguity.” *The Journal of Politics* 75(2): 520-534.
- Hillygus, D. Sunshine and Todd G. Shields. 2009. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton University Press.
- Holman, Mirya R., Monica C. Schneider, and Kristin Pondel. 2015. “Gender Targeting in Political Advertisements.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68(4): 816-829.
- Kam, Cindy D., Allison M. N. Archer, and John G. Geer. 2017. “Courting the Women’s Vote: The Emotional, Cognitive, and Persuasive Effects of Gender-Based Appeals in Campaign Advertisements.” *Political Behavior* 39(1): 51-75.
- Lapowsky, Issie. “Twitter Reacts to the Ben Carson Ad that Shouldn’t Exist.” 2015 Nov 15.
- Lapowsky, Issie. “Twitter Reacts to the Ben Carson Ad that Shouldn’t Exist.” 2015 Nov 15
<https://www.wired.com/2015/11/twitter-reacts-to-the-ben-carson-rap-that-shouldnt-exist/> Accessed June 7, 2017.
- Lazarus, Richard L. 1991. *Emotion and Adaptation*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Lickel, Brian, Toni Schmader, and Marija Spanovic. “Group-Conscious Emotions: The Implications of Others’ Wrongs for Identity and Relationships.” *The Self-Conscious Emotions: Theory and Research*. Eds. Jessica L. Tracy, Richard W. Robins, and June Price Tangney. New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 2007. 351-370.
- Mackie, Diane M., Thierry Devos, and Eliot R. Smith. 2000. “Intergroup Emotions: Explaining Offensive Action Tendencies in an Intergroup Context.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79: 602-616.
- Mackie, Diane M. and Eliot R. Smith 2017. "Group-based emotion in group processes and intergroup relations." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 20:658-668.
- Martin, Roland. “Are Black Voters Being Ignored By The Democratic Party?” 2016
<https://newsonline.com/3459010/black-voters-democratic-party/> Accessed June 2, 2017.

- McIlwain, Charlton D. and Stephen Caliendo. 2011. *Race Appeal: How Candidates Invoke Race in U.S. Political Campaigns*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Nunnally, Shayla C. 2012. *Trust in Black America: Race, Discrimination, and Politics*. New York: New York University.
- Oh, Inae. "Ben Carson's Rap Ad Is Here to Ruin Your Day." 05 Nov 2015
<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/11/hate-listen-to-ben-carsons-new-rap-song/>
Accessed June 7, 2017
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2006. "Radio Advertising in American Political Campaigns: The Persistence, Importance, and Effects of Narrowcasting." *American Politics Research* 34(4):451-478.
- Ray, Devin G., Diane M. Mackie, Robert J. Rydell, and Eliot R. Smith. 2008. "Changing Categorization of Self Can Change Emotions about Outgroups." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 44:1210-1213.
- Rhodan, Maya. "Why President Obama is Going on the Radio." *Time* 2 Nov 2016
<http://time.com/4554760/why-president-obama-is-going-on-the-radio/>
- Ridout, Travis. "The Use of Background Music in Political Advertising." 19 June 2016
<http://traxonthetrail.com/article/use-background-music-political-advertising> Accessed March 17, 2017.
- Rose, Tricia. 1994. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Wesleyan University Press.
- Schoening, Benjamin S. and Eric T. Kasper. 2012. *Don't Stop Thinking about the Music: The Politics of Songs and Musicians in Presidential Campaigns*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Shea, Andrea. "Campaign Ad Music: It's All About Emotional Response" 26 Oct 2012
<http://legacy.wbur.org/2012/10/26/campaign-ad-music> Accessed March 3, 2017

- Steele, Claude M. and Joshua Aronson. 1995. Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 69(5), p.797.
- Summers, Juana. "How Black Voters Boosted Doug Jones to a Win in Alabama," 14 Dec 2017 <https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/13/politics/black-voters-boosted-doug-jones/index.html>
Accessed March 5, 2017.
- Valentino, Nicholas, Ted Brader, Eric W. Groenendyk, Krysha Gregorowicz, and Vincent L. Hutchings. 2011. Election Night's Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation. *The Journal of Politics* 73: 156-170.
- Valenzuela, Ali A. and Melissa R. Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review* 110: 615-630.
- Walters, Ronald W. and Robert C. Smith. 1999. *African American Leadership*. SUNY Press.
- Watson, David, Lee Anna Clark, and Auke Tellegen. 1988. "Development and Validation of Brief Measures of Positive and Negative Affect: The PANAS Scale." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54:1063-1070.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. and Craig Leonard Briens. 1999. "Negative Campaign Advertising: Demobilizer or Mobilizer?" *The American Political Science Review* 93:891-899.
- White, Ismail K. 2007. "When Race Matters and When It Doesn't: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues." *American Political Science Review* 101:339-354.
- White, Ismail K., Chryl N. Laird, and Troy D. Allen. 2014. "Selling out?: the politics of navigating conflicts between racial group interest and self-interest." *American Political Science Review* 108: 783-800.