The Political Uses of Race and Ethnicity:

Ethno-Racial References in the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago Municipal Elections

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Abstract:

This paper examines references to race and ethnicity in 791 campaign flyers, brochures, door hangers, and direct mail pieces that 227 candidates for city council distributed during the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago municipal elections. The findings pinpoint electoral campaigning as a major source of ethno-racial meaning. Candidates engaged race and ethnicity in five ways. They invoked ethno-racial stratification or cultural symbols and practices, cited endorsements from ethno-racial leaders and organizations, used heritage languages, and visually represented members of ethno-racial groups. The use of these references in Chicago and Toronto was consistent with the cities' reputations, and the paper illuminates how these reputations are produced and reproduced. Black and Latino candidates in Chicago primarily mobilized perceptions of exclusion, discrimination, and conflict to promise political leadership in fighting these injustices. In Toronto, candidates of all backgrounds portrayed immigrant ethnicities as a valued source of culture and symbolically included these groups in the political process. Implications for the study of ethno-racial politics, the "race and place" literature, and the political incorporation of immigrants are discussed.

Introduction

It is a social science truism that race and ethnicity are political phenomena. From Max Weber's *Economy and Society* to Omi and Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States*, scholars have argued that race and ethnicity are dually political. Race and ethnicity inform political behavior, such as voting and social movement participation (Cohen and Dawson 1993; Dawson 1994; Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo 2000). And politics reproduce or alter the salience and meanings of ethno-racial[1] categories. As Weber (1978:393) put it, "all history shows how easily political action can give rise to the belief in blood relationship." Because politicians are leading agents of political action, we would intuitively expect them to have a crucial impact on ethno-racial meanings. From time to time, politicians must mobilize their political supporters. They may need to turn out protesters, convince citizens to sign a petition, or win re-election. In order to do so, they can rally potential supporters on the basis of social categories like race and ethnicity, which necessarily entails an engagement with ethno-racial meanings.

One would be hard pressed to imagine scholarly objections to the claim that politicians shape ethno-racial meanings, but it is equally hard to find any literature showing how precisely this occurs (Brubaker 2004). With the exception of two highly specialized literatures in political science—which I discuss further below—social scientists know surprisingly little about how politicians appeal to voters by invoking race and ethnicity. This absence may point to an instance of what Brubaker and colleagues (2006:7) call the "complacency" of social constructionism: "*That* ethnicity and nationhood are constructed is a commonplace; *how* they are constructed is seldom specified in detail."

Given the continuing salience of ethno-racial boundaries—fed in part by migration (Jiménez 2008) but also by enduring ethno-racial inequality (Omi and Winant 1986)—in most if not all societies, it is crucial to understand the core mechanisms that reproduce ethno-racial categories and endow them with meaning (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Saperstein, Penner, and Light 2013). Morning's (2011) work on the role of science in the United States is both instructive and exemplary in this regard. Morning traced how changing scientific concepts of race selectively disseminated into popular knowledge. Science, undoubtedly, is a key source of ethno-racial meanings. Given that race and ethnicity are inherently political—they set social boundaries and often engender or justify inequality and discrimination—politics must be another key mechanism. How do politicians produce ethno-racial meaning, especially meaning that informs political decision making?

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[1] This paper conceptualizes race and ethnicity as closely related categories of social life. There has been much debate about whether social scientists should use the concept of race or not (Bonilla-Silva 1999; Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999). However, as Jenkins (1994:209) pointed out, racial differentiation can be treated as a special case of ethnic differentiation "in which one ethnic group dominates, or attempts to dominate, another and in the process categorizes them with reference to their supposed inherent and immutable differences and inferiority." In this paper, I use the concepts of race and ethnicity in this way. I often describe politics, meanings, and other phenomena as "ethno-racial" but sometimes opt simply for "ethnic," which is then meant to include "racial."

In this paper, I draw on a set of printed campaign material from the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago municipal elections. I examine these data set to ask: How do politicians use ethno-racial categories to mobilize voters and how do they imbue these categories with ethno-racial meaning? The study includes campaigns for mayor and city council seats. Studying municipal elections enabled me to conveniently observe a substantial number of electoral races—96 in total—that illuminate ethno-racial politics in a wide range of socio-demographic contexts, and to collect a large pool of campaign material. In total, the data set comprises 791 campaign flyers, brochures, door hangers, and direct mail pieces. Furthermore, municipal elections are excellent opportunities for studying the political uses of ethno-racial categories. Recently, a large study of municipal elections in the United States found that the urban electorate is more divided along racial lines than any other factor, including class, religion, and party preference (Hajnal and Trounstine 2014). Moreover, Chicago and Toronto represent starkly different ethno-racial contexts, which provides valuable analytic contrast. Toronto is widely celebrated as a successful model of multiculturalism, while Chicago is known as a hotbed of ethno-racial contestation (e.g., Pinderhughes 2002; Reitz and Lum 2006).

The analysis shows that candidates engaged race and ethnicity in five ways. They invoked ethno-racial stratification or cultural symbols and practices, cited endorsements from ethno-racial leaders and organizations, used heritage languages, and visually represented members of ethno-racial groups. The use of ethno-racial references was shaped mainly by three factors: the demographic composition of the polity (the ward or the city), the field of contenders, and narratives about the character of ethno-racial politics in the two cities. Regarding the latter factor, the patterns of ethno-racial politics were largely consistent with the cities' reputations, and the paper illuminates how these reputations are produced and reproduced. Black and Latino candidates in Chicago primarily mobilized perceptions of exclusion, discrimination, and conflict to promise political leadership in fighting these injustices. In Toronto, candidates of all backgrounds portrayed immigrant ethnicities as a valued source of culture and symbolically included these groups in the political process. Overall, the paper reveals that electoral campaigning serves as a major source of ethno-racial meaning that scholars have so far neglected. Additionally, the findings extend the "race and place" literature (Goodman 2014; McDermott 2006; Robinson 2014) and the literature on substantive citizenship and the political incorporation of immigrants (Bloemraad 2006; Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008; Hochschild et al. 2013). I address these implications in the discussion.

The Sources of Ethno-Racial Categories and Meanings

A precondition of ethno-racial meanings are categories that these meanings can be attached to. In order for race and ethnicity to shape political behavior, individuals must know these categories and recognize them as important. A society's relevant ethno-racial categories are part of that society's institutionalized pool of knowledge, which is passed on to each new generation (Berger and Luckmann 1966). However, the set of

relevant categories also changes. One important source of ethno-racial categories is the state, which uses them to classify, count, and often differentially treat individuals (Omi and Winant 1986). As Mora (2014) has shown for the case of Hispanic Americans, social movements can pressure the state to recognize new categories. By extension, migration can alter ethno-racial categories in host countries (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 2004; Lee and Bean 2007), as well as migrants' understandings, as they may suddenly find themselves belonging to a new category (Roth 2012). Another source of such categories is formal schooling. Illuminating this process, Morning (2011) examined how American textbooks taught race to high school students throughout the 20th century. She also studied how anthropology and biology professors teach race in college courses, and how students selectively absorb and interpret this information.

In practice, individuals usually learn ethno-racial categories and their social meanings at the same time, often through everyday experience (Obasogie 2014). In societies differentiated by race and ethnicity, individuals naturally encounter these boundaries, learn to recognize them, and create or adopt meanings that they associate with them (Lamont and Molnár 2002). In order to be well-functioning members of society, individuals need to learn what kinds of people there are and what their position in society is (Martin 2000). Ethno-racial identities and their meanings are also omnipresent in all forms of media and the internet. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) have examined how ethno-racial meanings are used to advertise consumer products—tourism, food, and everything we consider ethnically authentic (see also Grazian 2003). Scholars have also explored how the media amplified the association of blackness with crime in the United States, an association that is at the core of what whites think about when they think about African Americans (Beckett 1997; Russell-Brown 2009).

Of course, the sources of ethno-racial categories and meanings are vastly diverse, and the foregoing summary offers no more than a flavor of this diversity. Since this paper focuses on political campaigning as a source of ethno-racial meaning, however, I now switch to the more circumscribed field of politics. Perhaps the most influential branch of sociology exploring the connection between race, ethnicity, and politics is what one might call the group politics school, which comprises group conflict, competition, and group position models (e.g., Blalock 1967; Blumer 1958; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Olzak 1992). Such models explain historical (and sometimes spatial) variations in outgroup attitudes as a result of the macro relations between ethnic groups. Competition for jobs, for example, engenders outgroup hostility (Blalock 1967). These models have held up well in empirical application, but while they can explain the overall shape of group attitudes, they do not specify the mechanisms that translate macro group dynamics into individually-held ethno-racial meanings. The question thus remains: How do individuals learn ethno-racial meanings, specifically those that shape political behavior?

As the constructionist literatures on social movements and social problems suggest, individuals often adopt meanings from claims-makers (Best 1987; Spector and Kitsuse 1977). There is no reason to expect this to work differently for ethno-racial meanings.

Claims-makers run the gamut from individual moral entrepreneurs to professional social movement organizations. Working at the individualistic end of the spectrum of social discourse, Doering (2014) studied conceptions of race and racial politics in letters to the editor in African-American newspapers that discussed interracial marriage. In discussing the concrete phenomenon of interracial marriage and its racial implications, individuals could absorb broader forms of racial meaning, including political ideologies like integrationism and racial separatism. At the more organized end of the spectrum, scholars have shown how social movements alter ethno-racial meanings (e.g., Nagel 1995).

Surprisingly, politicians as ethno-racial claims-makers have not received much attention, although they have obvious incentives to invoke social identities that may help them mobilize political support (Horowitz 2000; Jenkins 1994; Rothschild 1981; Wimmer 2013). A noteworthy exception is a study by Brubaker and colleagues (2006) on ethnic politics in a Romanian city, which has seen conflict between Romanians and its Hungarian minority. The authors found that political leaders deliberately induced ethnic conflict when such conflict worked in their favor. Racial and ethnic categories open up strategic opportunities for political leaders because they can be highlighted or downplayed as the "calculus of politics" (Jenkins 1994:214) requires it. In democratic societies, elections should be particularly crucial moments for politicians to invoke ethno-racial identities.

Looking outside of sociology, American political scientists have studied how candidates *avoid* explicit references to race in electoral campaigning. One literature traces the use of "implicit" rather than explicit racial messages. Implicit racial messages do not communicate overt racial meanings, but tap into racial meanings through issues that people associate particularly with blackness (welfare, crime, etc.). On the basis of experiments, these studies examine how politicians can marshal whites' anti-black sentiment in an age in which overt racism is no longer deemed acceptable (e.g., Gilens 1999; Mendelberg 2001, 2008). Another set of studies shows how minority candidates in American mayoral elections "deracialize" their campaigns to avoid alienating white voters (e.g., Collet 2008; Krebs and Holian 2007; Perry 1991). These literatures are important, but of limited use for this paper. They are highly specific to the special relationship between whites and African Americans in the United States, which should not be used as a general foundation for thinking about race and ethnicity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999; Wimmer 2013). And methodologically, they are usually based either on experiments—which do not reveal how ethno-racial meanings are used in actual politics—or on single case studies. Overall, our knowledge of the political uses of ethno-racial meanings is spotty at best.

Data and Methods

This paper draws on a set of printed campaign material—flyers, brochures, door hangers, and direct mail pieces—from the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago municipal elections. Every four years, Torontonians and Chicagoans elect their mayors and city council representatives through non-partisan, winner-take-all elections. Members of city

council are referred to as city councillors in Toronto and aldermen in Chicago, a convenient terminological distinction I will follow throughout the paper. Chicago and Toronto are divided into 50 and 44 wards respectively, each of which has one city council member representing approximately 55,000 residents. The electoral process in Chicago and Toronto differs in that Chicago holds runoff elections but Toronto does not. Mayoral and aldermanic races enter a second phase in Chicago if no contender is able to secure at least 50% plus one vote in the general election. In that case, the two most successful candidates qualify for a runoff, which is held six weeks after the general election.

In Toronto, 358 people ran for city councillor and 65 for mayor in 2014. Compared to Chicago, the bar for doing so is low.[2] In Chicago, prospective candidates first have to demonstrate that residents support their candidacy in order to be included on the ballot. In 2015, they needed to present at least 473 valid petition signatures to run for alderman and 12,500 to run for mayor. Adding the word "valid" is crucial, as many candidates' nominations are legally challenged. Are the signatures really from local residents? Were campaign staff (illegally) remunerated for gathering petition signatures? Ultimately, many candidates are eliminated from the list of nominees for a variety of infractions. The legal costs this process entails impose an additional obstacle on running for office. Initially, 247 candidates for alderman filed nomination papers and 183 candidates were eventually included on the ballot. For the position of mayor, ten candidates filed nomination papers and five made it onto the ballot.

Originally, my strategy for gathering campaign material in Toronto was to reach out to the campaigns via email. I identified email addresses for 260 of the 358 candidates. I contacted all candidates up to three times and asked that they share their campaign material. They could either email electronic versions or request a stamped envelope to mail the material through the postal service. However, only 32 candidates emailed and 15 candidates mailed campaign material. As it became clear that the response to the email requests was disappointing, I organized four field trips to request material in person at the campaign offices. These trips occurred just a few days before the election. I tried to expand the data set such that incumbents and promising challengers—as identified by local news coverage—would be represented. The field trips yielded material for an additional 46 candidates. Electronic versions of campaign material for another 13 candidates were retrieved from candidates' websites. In total, the Toronto fieldwork produced a data set that included 108 candidates and 243 documents.

Based on the experience in Toronto, I revised my data-gathering approach for Chicago, focusing only on field trips. Beginning ten days before the general and runoff elections, two field workers repeatedly traversed the city to solicit campaign

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[2] For procedures and requirements in Toronto, see http://www1.toronto.ca/City%20Of%20Toronto/City%20Clerks/Elections/Candidates/Files/Becoming_a_Candidate_Presentation.pdf. For Chicago, see http://www.chicagoelections.com/dm/general/document_595.pdf. Both documents were accessed on May 29, 2015.

material from aldermanic and mayoral candidates. Additionally, I was able to supplement my data by downloading scanned campaign material that a political watchdog—www.aldertrack.com—posted on their website. In total, I gathered 420 documents from 116 candidates during the general election and another 128 from 34 candidates during the runoff. For both cities together, my data set comprises 791 documents from 227 candidates.

I coded the material using qualitative data analysis software, searching for any references to race and ethnicity—whether those references were visual, textual, or a combination of both. After repeated rounds of open coding, I grouped codes into categories. I also classified ethno-racial references by which group was mentioned and by whether ingroup or outgroup appeals were being made—that is, whether a candidate was referencing her own ethnic group (ingroup) or a different one (outgroup). I treated each campaign document as one "utterance" (Bakhtin 1986), as one internally-complete contribution to political discourse. This means, for example, that I interpreted a sentence that contained an ethno-racial reference not in isolation, but in the context of the complete document, as well as the specific discourse—the electoral race—that the utterance was embedded in. Consequently, I also gathered newspaper articles, blog posts, and census data describing the wards in which candidates were running to understand campaign material in context. Later, I created profiles of individual electoral races which informed the writing. The profiles included the set of candidates that were running, the socio-demographic features of the wards, and notable events that occurred during the campaign.

Analysis

I now describe the main forms in which race and ethnicity appeared in the campaign material. These forms were non-exclusive and overlapped in numerous ways. Candidates invoked ethno-racial stratification and power differentials in American or Canadian society, referenced ethno-racial culture, cited endorsements from ethno-racial leaders or organizations, used languages other than English, and represented ethnic and racial groups visually. Using these forms, candidates drew ethno-racial boundaries on the basis of divergent criteria, such as language, phenotype, or collective position in society (Lamont and Molnár 2002). They also aimed to produce varying degrees of ethno-racial "groupness" (Brubaker 2004) and "thickness" (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Some candidates depicted race and ethnicity as thick categories that deeply shaped the experience of group members in society, which suggests rigid boundaries and calls for a high level of groupness in order to successfully counter discrimination and exclusion. Other candidates depicted ethno-racial categories as rather thin identities that simply served as containers of cultural tradition. In these cases, boundaries were relatively weak and the need for groupness was limited.

Ethno-Racial Stratification and Power

I begin with the most serious form of ethno-racial politics—discussions of stratification and power differentials. References to stratification and power differentials often communicate a thick conception of ethnicity, but they nonetheless vary in intensity. Politicians can simply point out that the group in question harbors ambitions of upward mobility which need to be nurtured in some form. This is a typical strategy of appealing to immigrant groups. But politicians can also invoke counterforces—discrimination or exclusion—that decelerate or impede group members' mobility or social participation. They can even conjure rivalries or full-blown conflict between ethno-racial groups. What all of these references have in common, however, is that they specify race and ethnicity as a pivot of stratification and access to power. Given that this necessarily entails some degree of group conflict or competition, it is unsurprising that references of this kind usually appear as ingroup appeals, as attempts of candidates to rally their co-ethnics around the cause of the group's advancement in society.

First, candidates can invoke an ethnic group's social aspirations for upward mobility. For example, immigrant candidates from Toronto portrayed themselves as ethnic trailblazers. This activates ethnic pride. It can also suggest that the candidate is paving the way for co-ethnics to follow suit. Cynthia Lai, who ran in Toronto's 12th ward, proudly identified herself as "the first female Chinese-Canadian President of the Toronto Real Estate Board (TREB) in its 94 years history." This statement credits Lai with breaking into a stratum of Canadian society that no (female) member of her ethnic group had been able to reach before her. Note that this does not entail that discrimination had previously barred Chinese-Canadians from doing so, however. Lai does invoke ethnic stratification—Chinese-Canadians are not yet where they aspire to be in society—but she does not attribute this to deliberate exclusion.

In the Chicago data, I found very few optimistic references to upward mobility. Instead, notions of struggle against neglect and resistance were much more prominent than in Toronto. In part, this may simply show that there is more discrimination and conflict in Chicago than in Toronto (Pinderhughes 2002; Reitz and Lum 2006). Furthermore, it may reflect the fact that most minority candidates in Chicago were African-American or Latino, who probably feel particularly marginalized and excluded. In various ways, many black and Latino candidates professed their commitment to fighting discrimination or institutional neglect in order to improve the life chances of their ethnic groups or, sometimes, "minorities" more broadly. Some candidates made this point by simply listing past positions that demonstrated their commitment to the politics of ethno-racial empowerment. African-American candidates, for example, identified themselves as active members of black advocacy organizations such as the Urban League or Rainbow/PUSH.

Other candidates discussed their racial politics in more detail. Juanita Iziarry ran for alderman in Chicago's majority Latino 26th ward. Among her list of accomplishments as a community activist, she noted that she had "rescued and re-launched a small non-profit advocacy organization that focused on housing, immigration, and early

childhood education issues in the Latino community." In that role, she had "stood up to a wealthy developer who tried to discriminate against minorities and families with children by not renting to them." Iziarry also reported that she had "founded a Latina Leadership Circle to support, mentor and establish networking opportunities for Latinas in the Chicago Area." The picture of Latino life that emerges from these passages is that neglect and resistance made it necessary for Latinos to organize and collectively express political demands on the basis of their ethnic identity. Unmet needs, a lack of political or legal advocacy, and discrimination were undermining the Latino community's prosperity. Additionally, Latina business leaders needed to network and mentor each other in order to gain a foothold in Chicago's economy. In other words, Latinos in Chicago faced adversity—and given Iziarry's record, she was the right person to fight it.

Some campaign material revealed a clear zero sum vision of ethno-racial politics. From this perspective, politicians needed to ensure that their group would receive a fair slice of the pie. For example, some black candidates articulated their commitment to growing the number of city contracts that would be awarded to black-owned businesses. One info sheet for Pat Dowell, the incumbent of Chicago's third ward, detailed how Dowell had increased the number of "African-American construction firms" contributing to a large redevelopment project in her ward. Similarly, a direct mail piece for JoAnn [sic] Thompson, the incumbent of ward 16 (she died of heart failure before the general election), promised to increase the number of black students in the city's top public schools. The mailer proclaimed:

> JoAnn Thompson believes that Chicago has some of the best public schools in the country, but the best ones lack diversity and don't have enough spots for African-American children. That's why she's fighting to ensure that all children have access to our city's best schools, regardless of their skin color or where they live.

Chicago's selective-enrolment high schools are highly coveted by parents across the city. Given that there is only a finite number of spots, Thompson's fight to increase spots for African-American children is necessarily a zero sum game—any increase in the number of black students must decrease the number of non-black students. Although this goal is quite clear, the second sentence appears to steer in a different direction (ensuring access "regardless of skin color" is inconsistent with increasing the number of spots for African-African children), perhaps to reduce the appearance of racial divisiveness. The same flyer also included an ethno-racial endorsement—she "was endorsed by the City Council's black caucus because she always puts Englewood first." I discuss ethno-racial endorsement in more detail further below.

Figure 1: Direct mail piece for JoAnn Thompson, Ward 16, Chicago 2015

Finally, some Chicago campaign material invoked—and fueled—full-blown group conflict. Tara Stamps was a candidate for alderman in Chicago's 37th ward, which is largely African American. Stamps ran on a progressive platform and aligned herself with the left-leaning (Latino) mayoral candidate Jesus "Chuy" Garcia, while her main opponent, the incumbent Emma Mitts, was allied with incumbent Mayor Emanuel. Stamps succeeded in forcing Mitts into a runoff, but Mitts prevailed. Before the runoff election, a flyer was circulated in the ward that attacked Stamps because of her alliance with Garcia. The flyer included three pictures.[3] One showed Stamps with Garcia. A second image advertised an alleged program by the US Department of Labor, entitled "Mexicans Work Better." The final image depicted a woman protester, presumably Mexican-American, holding a sign that said "We work hard for this country." A passage beneath the images ominously stated that "Tara Stamps endorses the vision for Chicago to KEEP HARDWORKERS [sic] WORKING [caps as in original]." The concept of "hardworkers" is a play on the protester's sign ("we work hard"). Overall, this flyer built on perceptions of labor market competition between African Americans and Mexican Americans. It deliberately pitted the two groups against each other, even conjuring a state scheme that allegedly promoted hiring Mexican Americans. Candidate Tara Stamps was implicated in all this on the basis of her association with Garcia. Due to its inflammatory nature, it is not surprising that this flyer was not issued by Emma Mitts's campaign, but by an obscure group called "Citizens Who Care."

In Toronto, candidates never invoked race and ethnicity as a barrier to upward mobility or as a site of struggle. At least in their printed campaign material, candidates did not try to mobilize perceptions of exclusion and discrimination. Again, this may simply result from a lower level of ethno-racial discrimination and conflict in Toronto, but it is not

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[3] I only have a scanned version of this flyer. While legible, the quality of the scan is too low to reproduce it here.

the case that there were no grievances. Leading up to the election, for example, there was significant debate over the police practice of "carding," which entails police officers stopping Torontonians—but disproportionally black residents— and questioning them without probable cause. Nonetheless, only one candidate mentioned carding in his campaign material and did so without noting its racial component, instead promising simply to "eliminate unfair carding and targeting." It appears that Toronto's political culture tends to discourage potentially divisive invocations of race and ethnicity. Some revealing incidents in this regard occurred in the context of the mayoral elections, although none of them were represented in campaign material.[4]

One piece of evidence, however, can be taken from Josh Colle's campaign for re-election in ward 15, which has a significant Orthodox Jewish population. In one of his flyers, Colle highlighted his support for the Jewish community. In particular, he stated that he had "moved a motion that was approved by [City] Council to condemn the term 'Israeli Apartheid.'" The story behind this reference is a debate in 2012 over whether the city should financially support the local Gay Parade if the organizers were to allow a group called "Queers against Israeli Apartheid" to participate in the parade, as it had in years prior (Dotan 2012). Eventually, city council approved the funds, but, with Colle's support, condemned the term "Israeli Apartheid." When asked why the term was intolerable, one city councillor told a journalist: "We don't want world conflicts here; people come here to avoid world conflicts" (ibid.). In 2014, Colle could invoke his support for the motion as part of his pro-Jewish credentials. Additionally, however, the issue at hand reveals that potentially divisive ethno-racial politics—the charge of apartheid highlights ethnic conflict that could stir disunity in Toronto—are considered unacceptable in Toronto. In addition to relatively low levels of perceived discrimination and marginalization, this may help explain why references to ethno-racial stratification and power differentials were absent from campaign material in Toronto.

In sum, references to ethno-racial stratification and power differentials tend to produce a thick conception of identity. They conjure linked fate (Dawson 1994), a sense that group members face similar social circumstances or obstacles and that the striving of each is connected to the striving of all. At their lowest level of intensity, which the case of Cynthia Lai nicely illustrates ("first female Chinese-Canadian"), such references describe a relatively fluid and temporary situation which ambitious, upwardly mobile immigrants will soon overcome with the help of ethnic trailblazers. At the opposite end, candidates argue that discrimination, exclusion, and group conflict harden stratification and power differentials. Only aggressive political advocacy can help. In short, references to stratification and power conjure an ethno-racial community

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[4] For example, the campaign for Olivia Chow, a left-leaning mayoral candidate, encountered significant backlash after one of Chow's leading campaign advisors described the transportation plan of Chow's opponent John Tory as "segregationist," because it did not include train service to a neighborhood with a large black population. Olivia Chow quickly distanced herself from this campaign advisor. In its response, the Toronto media focused almost exclusively on the polemically racial nature of the charge, but not on the substantive claim that some Toronto neighborhoods with substantial black populations did not receive adequate public transit services (e.g., Dale 2014).

that is united by a shared struggle for advancement in society, not just by cultural symbols and practices, which I address next.

Ethno-Racial Culture

We associate ethno-racial categories with stratification, but we also associate them with cultural practices and symbols. Any ethno-racial identity has cultural markers that identify it and that politicians can use to address this group. Invocations of culture can and do appear both as ingroup appeals and as outgroup appeals. As an ingroup appeal, the use of cultural markers portrays the candidate as a conscious and proud group member. An outgroup appeal suggests that he is aware and respectful of the group's cultural practices and needs.

In Toronto, a good example of cultural outgroup references appeared in a campaign brochure for John Filion, the incumbent city councillor of Toronto's ethnically heterogeneous 23rd ward. Filion's campaign material highlighted his support for Korean and Iranian Canadians. Interestingly, his material did not specifically address Chinese residents, although Chinese Canadians represented the single largest ethnic group in the ward. This decision may reflect the fact that Filion was facing a Korean and an Iranian-Canadian opponent, but not a Chinese-Canadian. Filion thus probably tried to prevent his opponents from claiming these voters wholesale. Appealing to Iranians, Filion cited a testimonial from Mohammed Sheikholeslami, who was identified as the "co-founder of the Toronto Iranians Community Group."

> John [Filion] has been a supporter of the Iranian Fire Festival Celebration [...] the past 10 years. He encouraged us to have performances at the Toronto Centre for the Arts to showcase the richness of Iranian arts and build bridges of cross-cultural understanding.

Sheikholeslami portrayed Filion as an established patron of Iranian culture in Toronto, who not only supported Iranian residents' need for cultural expression, but even encouraged and connected them to new opportunities for celebrating the "rich" Iranian culture. The same brochure included a picture of Filion speaking into a microphone with the following caption: "Bringing greetings to the Iranian Fire Festival." Another picture showed Filion "raising the South Korean flag at Queen's Park," the seat of Ontario's Legislative Assembly. The flag is a quintessential sign of ethnic identity and pride. While the occasion for raising this flag remained unstated, Filion's participation in doing so communicated his respect for Korean culture—he was acting as a proud representative of his Korean-Canadian constituency. Finally, the flyer stated—twice—that Filion had helped to secure meeting space for a Korean seniors group and an Iranian-Canadian youth group, which served as additional proof of Filion's support for Iranian and Korean culture.

A Greek-born candidate in Toronto, George Papadakis, found a creative way of highlighting his Greek ethnicity as an ingroup appeal.—one of his campaign flyers cited both Aristotle and Plato. The flyer's front page quoted Papadakis as saying that "I've always believed in Plato's axiom: One of the penalties for refusing to participate in

politics is that you end up being governed by your inferiors." The flyer ended with a quote that was attributed to Aristotle: "He who is to be a good ruler, must first have been ruled." Citing classical Greek philosophers—eminent representatives of ethnic culture—Papadakis could portray himself as an erudite political candidate, but also invoked his ethnic pride in the contribution Greeks have made to social thought.

While stratification and power differentials were mainstays of ethno-racial politics in Chicago, culture was a much more dominant theme in Toronto. Further, when Chicago candidates did invoke culture they usually addressed stratification and power differentials at the same time. Consequently, cultural references tended to express thicker ethnicity in Chicago than in Toronto. This was particularly the case for African Americans. Given that black culture has been profoundly shaped by racial oppression (Omi and Winant 1986), it makes sense that black cultural markers convey thick ethnicity. Consider a direct mail piece for Frank Bass, who ran for alderman in Chicago's 24th ward. The 24th ward roughly corresponds to the North Lawndale neighborhood, where more than 90% of the population identified as black or African-American during the 2010 Census. Bass's direct mail piece was themed around black history.[5] The front page included images of famous African Americans: Malcolm X, Frederick Douglass, Muhammad Ali, Rosa Parks, Oprah Winfrey, Harold Washington (Chicago's first black mayor), Martin Luther King, Jr., and, below, a stylized picture of Barack Obama, overlaid with the words "hope" and "change." The mailer also listed important dates in black history, such as Lincoln's signing of the Emancipation Proclamation and Mae Jemison becoming the "first Black woman astronaut."

On the bottom left, Bass was shown with former Cook County Board President John Stroger (Chicago is located in Cook County), who Bass had previously worked for. On the bottom right, the mailer encouraged residents to vote, stating that "a voteless people is a hopeless people." Even by itself, speaking of African Americans as "a people" communicates a thick conception of ethnicity. The selection of leaders and dates in black history, furthermore, referenced the black struggle for emancipation in American society, including the movements for Civil Rights (King and Parks) and Black Power (Malcolm X and Ali). Thus, while the mailer undeniably celebrated black culture, it also conjured ethno-racial stratification and power differentials.

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[5] An interesting detail about this direct mail piece is that it contained no information about Bass's platform or policy suggestions. The mailer simply positioned Bass as a black candidate who was mindful of the history of the black struggle and who would, presumably, build on this knowledge if elected. Interestingly, all of the other nine candidates running for the office in the 24th ward were black as well. Thus, the mailer was not intended to deter blacks from voting for a white candidate by invoking the history of racial oppression, but rather identified Bass as the best choice among the black candidates.
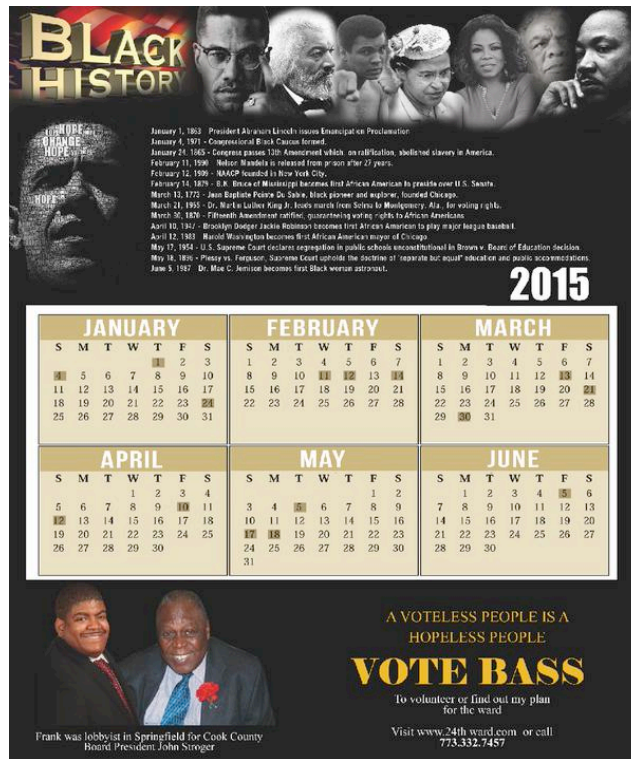
Figure 2: Direct mail piece for Frank Bass, Ward 24, Chicago 2015

What meanings do political references to ethno-racial culture carry? By themselves, invocations of culture convey a thin model of ethnicity, which is depicted as a valuable heritage in the form of cultural practices (such as the Iranian Fire Festival) and symbols (such as the Korean flag and Greek philosophers). Invoking these practices and symbols reproduces ethnicity, because they assign individuals to groups that share a distinct culture. In political campaigning, ethno-racial cultural references conjure pride, identity, and community. However, cultural references do not suggest that ethnicity fundamentally dictates or defines the broader experience of group members in society. Rather, ethnicity as culture is consistent with multiculturalism, a vision of society in which individuals maintain separate identities, but in which these identities neither rigidly divide groups nor pit them against each other. However, where ethno-racial culture is intrinsically linked to conflict and struggle—as in the case of African Americans— invocations of culture can also convey a thicker conception of identity, because stratification and power differentials are invoked at the same time.

Ethno-Racial Endorsements

In the Chicago data, I found a long list of ethno-racial organizations endorsing aldermanic and mayoral candidates, including the Chicago Defender (a long-running African-American newspaper), the city council's black caucus, the Chicago Latino Public Affairs Committee, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, but also quite obscure organizations, including Jewish Chicago (a publication written by a single

individual, apparently for the sole purpose of making endorsements[6]) and Hispanics in Progress, an organization whose only retrievable trace was a social media group with 12 members. Almost always, candidates simply listed these organizations as part of a list of endorsements they had received, without citing the reasoning those organizations might have offered for their endorsements. Interestingly, I found no organizational endorsements in Toronto whatsoever, although I did find *individual* ethnic endorsements.

The problem with individual endorsements is that it can be unclear whether the individual in question is endorsing a political candidate as a member of her ethnic group or as an individually determined voter. Is her testimony an ethnic endorsement or just an endorsement? This ambiguity presents itself not only to the scholarly observer, however, but also to voters. Individual endorsers therefore often added ethnic markers to their testimony in order to emphasize its specifically ethnic character. For example, Shelley Carroll from Toronto's 33rd Ward cited testimony from a Luigi Fracassi, the president of the "Oriole Bocce Club," who stated: "I have known Shelley Carroll for many years and lovingly call her my principessa!" Given that Fracassi's name sounds Italian, that his club is oriented around an Italian game, and that he calls Carroll his "principessa" (Italian for "princess"), it is clear that this is an ethnic endorsement, although not a thick one—"lovingly" suggests humor, not determination to follow his princess into battle.

In some cases, endorsers are so well known that they do not need to mention racial or ethnic categories in their endorsements. For example, in the Chicago mayoral race a direct mail piece for incumbent Rahm Emanuel cited President Obama: "If you want a mayor who does what's right, not just what's popular, who fights night and day for the city we love, then I hope you will join me. Vote for Rahm Emanuel […]." Obama is a symbol of ethnic pride for many African Americans. As such, an endorsement from Obama communicates ethnicity without the need for an explicit reference. On the other hand, less iconic leaders may need to include ethno-racial markers.

To state the obvious, ethno-racial endorsements call on members of a group to vote for the candidate in question. Purportedly well-informed political observers have decided that this candidate is the best choice for the group's members as a whole. Ethno-racial endorsements thus construct the group in question as a homogeneous political unit. In fact, this is a necessary aspect of such endorsements. In order to even determine one right candidate for a particular group, the members of that group must share significant needs and values that warrant a mutual electoral choice—otherwise, an ethno-racial endorsement makes no sense. Race and ethnicity are thus portrayed and reinforced as important organizing principles of political behavior.

The needs and values that (allegedly) unite a group are often left implicit, as when candidates cited endorsements from the Chicago Defender without explaining the reasons for this choice. When reasons were specified, however, they tended to be

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[6] See http://avyworld.com/; accessed on June 25, 2015

consistent with the pattern I described in the previous two sections. Endorsements in Chicago were about power and stratification, while they revolved around culture in Toronto. For example, Deb Mell, an aldermanic candidate in Chicago, quoted a Latino State Senator's endorsement, who stated: "I am proud to say that she has and will fight for the Spanish Community." "Fighting for the Spanish Community" clearly raises the theme of stratification and power differentials—one only needs to fight if there are significant obstacles or active resistance. On the other hand, endorsements in Toronto were justified on the basis of candidates' advocacy for ethnic cultural expression, as in the case of Mohammed Sheikholeslami, who cited John Filion's support for the Iranian Fire Festival. Thus, while all ethno-racial endorsements conjure political community, this community may rest on very different foundations.

Linguistic Inclusion

Language can be a defining feature of ethnicity. A sense of shared ethnic identity often emerges through migration, when individuals leave their nation and speech community. In this context, language becomes an important marker of ethnicity. Politicians can then target immigrant voters by using their heritage languages, as long as those languages meaningfully delineate their ethno-racial boundaries. English immigrants in Toronto, for example, cannot be targeted in this way, but Korean immigrants can.

Using immigrant languages accomplishes several things. First, presenting information in their heritage language may make it more convenient for immigrant voters to understand electoral campaigns. Naturalized immigrants in Toronto and Chicago usually speak a certain amount of English; with some exceptions for medical conditions or advanced age, immigrants must provide evidence of basic proficiency in English (or, alternatively, French in Canada) to be naturalized and thus acquire the right to vote.[7] Nonetheless, immigrants may find it difficult to understand complex issues of politics and policy in English. Additionally, using an immigrant language communicates at least rudimentary responsiveness to the group's needs, or, as an ingroup appeal, portrays the candidate as a fluent member of his speech community. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, using an immigrant language explicitly acknowledges the presence of this particular group and validates its members as legitimate participants in the political process. It says: I know you exist and I want your votes!

Given that using immigrant languages has important symbolic functions, even very brief, token usage may be useful for political candidates. Particularly in Toronto, campaign brochures and flyers were full of passages in languages other than English— mainly Greek, Italian, Mandarin, Portuguese, Spanish, and Vietnamese, but also Arabic, Farsi, Filipino, French, Hindi, Korean, Russian, and more. Most of these passages were very short, although some candidates translated all English text into one or two other

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[7] On the language requirements for naturalization in the United States, see http://www.uscis.gov/us-citizenship/naturalization-test. For this information in relation to Canada, see http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/language.asp. Both sources were accessed on June 23, 2015.

languages on the same flyer, or distributed separate flyers in another language. But the most typical practice was to include token statements in the vein of "vote for" or "reelect." Shelley Carroll, running for reelection in Toronto's 33rd ward, chose "stronger together" (translated into Chinese, French, Farsi, Greek, and Italian), which indicates her commitment to multiculturalism. In Chicago, aldermanic candidates used a much smaller pool of languages. Spanish was common. I found some Chinese, Polish, and one case of Vietnamese, but nothing else.

Figure 3: Flyer for Shelley Carroll, Ward 33, Toronto 2014

In addition to including "ethnic languages" in their campaign material, candidates can also promise constituency services in this language. This may be particularly important for candidates running in wards that are dominated by one speech community that the candidate does not belong to. In Toronto's 18th ward, which includes Little Portugal, candidate Alex Mazer promised on an info sheet in Portuguese that his constituency office would offer service in Portuguese. Conversely, a candidate's inability to speak a certain language can be taken as ethnically meaningful. In Chicago's 15th ward, Raul Reyes criticized the race's front-runner, Raymond Lopez, by citing a number of Lopez's alleged shortcomings, such as having "refused to attend community forums." One shortcoming in particular was highlighted, however. It was written all in caps and in a larger font size; it was also the only one in Spanish. It claimed that Lopez neither understood nor spoke Spanish and could thus not communicate ("comunicar") with Latino residents. This is a claim about language, but the verb "comunicar" also means to "relate" or "connect" and may thus point to ethnic boundary work (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Reyes may have implied that, in not speaking Spanish, Lopez did not qualify as a "real" Latino, because he could not truly relate to Spanish-speaking Latinos.

Finally, language can be used to selectively relay information to some voters while withholding it from others. For example, Milly Santiago, who was running for alderman in Chicago's 31st ward, distributed a flyer which had English on one side and Spanish on the other. The text was almost identical, except for the fact that the English version began by introducing Santiago as "one of Chicago's most recognized community leaders," while the Spanish version described her as "one of the most recognized

leaders of Chicago's Latino community." Since the reference to Latinos was left out in the English version, Spanish-speaking voters would know Santiago as an ethnic leader, while English-speaking voters would know her simply as a community leader.

The most important use of language is inclusion. Including groups—usually immigrant groups—by using their heritage languages has important implications for understandings of citizenship and political incorporation. Explicitly addressing members of an ethno-racial group in this way legitimizes its members as full participants in the democratic process. Given the historical importance of speech community for nationhood (Anderson 2006), this is not a trivial point. Inclusion via language redefines citizenship insofar as it removes the premise of a homogeneous speech community. It acknowledges that the polity comprises a range of (or at least two) ethno-linguistic communities and that their members are legitimate voters—as long as they have been naturalized (Bloemraad 2006). In this regard, candidates in Toronto appeared to be much more committed to communicating a broad vision of citizenship than candidates in Chicago. Interpreting this finding, it is important to consider that Toronto has a significantly larger immigrant population than Chicago and that immigrants in Toronto are more likely to be naturalized than in Chicago.[8] Nonetheless, sizeable immigrant groups in Chicago received much less attention than they did in Toronto.

In addition to inclusion, the connection between language and ethnicity also enables some other uses. As shown above, a Latino candidate could discredit his Latino opponent on the basis of the fact that he did not speak Spanish. Beyond his linguistic competency, this questioned his very ethnic identity—was he even to be considered Latino? And language allows candidates to target ethnic groups in different ways, for example by variably depicting a candidate as a "Latino leader" or simply a "community leader." Solidifying the notion that ethno-racial politics Chicago are more contested than in Toronto, both of these more factional applications were situated in Chicago.

Visual Inclusion

Assessing the visual representation of racial and ethnic groups poses awkward methodological and ontological problems for social scientists, because it involves assigning individuals to those categories on the basis of visual cues. Doing so implies that race and ethnicity are visually obvious, an assumption that makes many scholars uneasy. On the other hand, ignoring visual representation as a method of communicating ethno-racial meaning would be absurd. Visual representation is obviously hugely important—not only in electoral campaigning but in all forms of branding and marketing (Berrey 2015; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). And most people have absolutely no problem categorizing a person as black or white or Arab

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[8] According to the 2011 National Household Survey, around 50 per cent of Torontonians were born outside of Canada and 37 per cent of the population had been naturalized. For Chicago, the American Community Survey (five-year estimates, 2009-2013) reported that 21 per cent of the population was foreign born and 9 per cent had been naturalized.

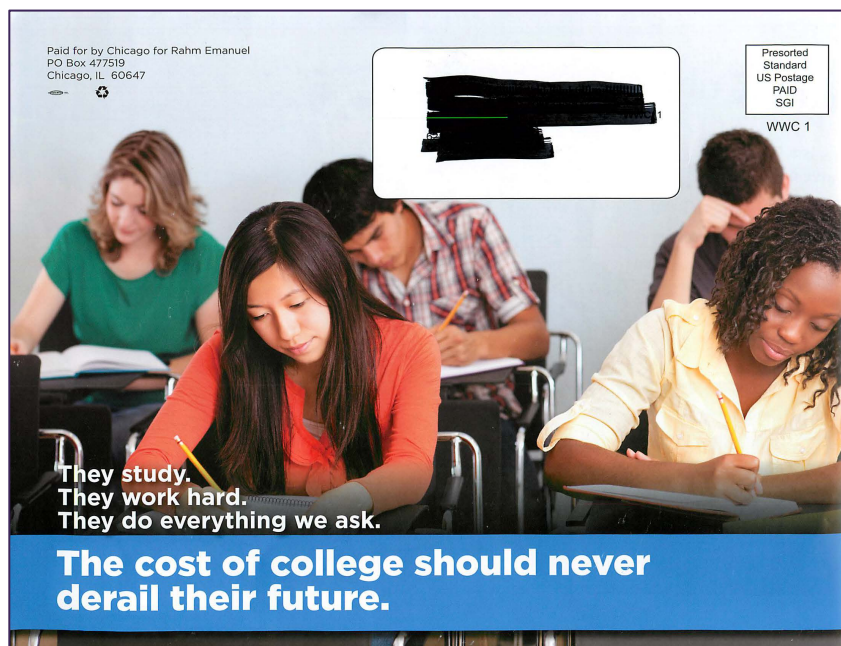or Pakistani, even if they are fully aware that they may occasionally be wrong. We all do it all the time.

Figure 4: Direct mail piece for Rahm Emanuel, mayoral race, Chicago 2015

Taking the issue of visual ambiguity one step further, however, it stands to reason that those who design campaign material must consider that, in order for visual representations to work, those representations must be easily recognizable. Consider the following mailer for Rahm Emanuel's mayoral campaign in Chicago. As one of his campaign promises, Emanuel suggested that Chicago Public Schools graduates with a GPA of 3.0 or higher should be able to attend Chicago's city colleges free of charge. An image in this mail piece included five students immersed in course work. The students were almost archetypical representatives of their ethno-racial groups, and had clearly been carefully vetted for this purpose. The Asian student's straight long hair; the black student's curls, full lips, and dark brown skin; the Latino student's lighter brown skin and short black hair; and the female white student's rosy cheeks and blonde hair left little ambiguity over who was being represented here—which was the goal. Interestingly, non-Hispanic white students outnumbered other groups in the picture, even though Chicago Public Schools, which Emanuel's policy targeted, was about 40% African American and 45% Hispanic in 2015.[9]

The "problem" of identifying ethno-racial categories is reduced when additional cultural markers of ethnicity are added to phenotype. For example, one brochure for Toronto city councillor Michelle Berardinetti showcased her policy accomplishments, one of which was to expand a student nutrition program in local schools. A corresponding picture showed Berardinetti with seven dark-skinned women, standing

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[9] http://cps.edu/About_CPS/At-a-glance/Pages/Stats_and_facts.aspx; accessed on June 25, 2015

behind a table filled with groceries. Five of the women wore headscarves. Here, dress in combination with physical features suggested that the women were Somali, a large group in Toronto.

Many candidates running in ethnically heterogeneous wards—in Toronto, almost all wards are heterogeneous, but not in Chicago—included pictures of outgroup members in their campaign material. However, the absence of outgroup members can also communicate ethnic meaning, although with a higher degree of ambiguity. Howard Brookins, the incumbent alderman of Chicago's 21st ward and leader of the city council's black caucus, issued one direct mail piece focusing on employment. The mailer claimed that Brookins "fought to bring new jobs to our community," as well as to "make sure local residents win them." All of the "newly hired workers" in the picture were black. Given that 98% of the 21st ward's residents identified as black or African-American for the 2010 Census, it makes sense that, if local residents were hired, those residents would be black. However, the fact that Brookins fought to have local businesses hire from the neighborhood may communicate that he fought specifically for black employment, although race was not explicitly mentioned.

Figure 5: Direct mail piece for Howard Brookins, Ward 21, Chicago 2015

As in the case of inclusion via language, visual representation acknowledges that voters belong to a range of ethno-racial groups. Again, therefore, visual inclusion is consequential mostly in altering or reproducing conceptions of citizenship and nationhood. The visual absence of specific groups from campaign material is harder to interpret. In order to communicate inclusivity, of course, candidates do not literally have to include "one of each." On the other hand, the absence of *any* visual inclusion can be read as a particularistic commitment to one ethno-racial group. In other words, a politician can show that she knows who her constituents are. Howard Brookins's direct mail piece can be interpreted in this way, but can also be explained as an incidental byproduct of Chicago's racial segregation.

Discussion

This paper investigated the political uses of race and ethnicity by analyzing ethno-racial references in campaign material from the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago municipal elections. References to race and ethnicity appeared in five main ways. Candidates portrayed race and ethnicity as containers of cultural practices and heritage or as pivots of stratification and power differentials. They listed ethno-racial endorsements. They also addressed ethnic groups by using languages other than English and by representing them in images. These references reproduced ethno-racial categories as important boundaries of social life and political behavior (Lamont and Molnár 2002), but the boundaries rested on the foundation of divergent meanings. I begin the discussion by summarizing the five forms of ethno-racial references and the kinds of meanings they communicated.

First, candidates raised the issue of ethno-racial stratification and power differentials. Race and ethnicity were portrayed as structural boundaries that adversely shaped group members' experiences and socio-economic conditions. In their strong form, these references suggested that the group needed zealous political advocates who would fight obstacles like discrimination and institutional neglect. Such references fostered ethno-racial division rather than unity, because they necessarily entailed a certain amount of group conflict or competition. Strong references to stratification and power differentials appeared only in the Chicago data, but I found an attenuated form in Toronto as well. In this weaker form, stratification was described as a more incidental outcome of immigration. To accomplish upward mobility, the group simply needed role models and trailblazers who would pave the way for their co-ethnics. While such accounts also entailed competition, they did not conjure conflict, because upward mobility was depicted as the outcome of personal striving, not as a struggle against discrimination and exclusion. Nonetheless, the default outcome of these appeals was to encourage groupness (Brubaker 2004)—political closure that would elevate the group and all its members. Therefore, references to stratification and power differentials almost always appeared as ingroup appeals, as attempts to rally co-ethnics around "their own" candidate.

Second, candidates could invoke ethno-racial culture in the form of shared symbols and practices. As an outgroup appeal, cultural references expressed a candidate's respect and appreciation for the group's culture and a more general commitment to nurturing and celebrating diversity (Berrey 2015). Outgroup portrayals of culture conjured a pluralistic polity that contained separate, culturally distinct groups that co-existed without tension. Ingroup appeals conveyed pride, community, and shared tradition that recommended the candidate in question as a steward of ethnic heritage. While stratification was the dominant theme of Chicago's ethno-racial politics, references to culture predominated in Toronto, which was consistent with Toronto's reputation as a multiculturalist mosaic (Fong 2006).

Candidates also cited endorsements from ethno-racial leaders and organizations. Such endorsements framed the group as a political community, because they

necessarily implied that it was possible and desirable to pick one candidate who would best represent the group. Endorsements suggested that group members shared significant needs and values that facilitated collective political decision-making. Ethno-racial endorsements occurred in Chicago and in Toronto, but I showed that their explanations reinforced the theme of stratification and power in Chicago and culture in Toronto.

Finally, candidates could identify ethno-racial groups linguistically—by using heritage languages—or visually, by including them in images. These strategies of inclusion allowed candidates to address ethno-racial groups without necessarily communicating any far-reaching meanings about these particular groups and their status in society. First and foremost, these strategies portrayed various ethnicities as legitimate participants in the democratic process and thus conveyed a pluralistic conception of citizenship and nationhood. While visual representations of ethnic diversity were common in Toronto and Chicago, inclusion via language—with the exception of Spanish—was largely limited to Toronto.

What shapes whether and how candidates use ethno-racial references? Candidates deploy ethno-racial references strategically. Their main goal, after all, is to be elected. Three factors emerge from the preceding analyses. A first factor is the composition of the electoral district in which candidates are running—the ward or the city, in this case. What groups of voters are actually present? In Chicago, racial segregation enables sweeping racial messages that target African-American voters in homogeneously black wards on the city's West and South Sides. Candidates in these wards do not have to worry that their strong ingroup appeals might alienate other ethno-racial groups (Perry 1991) because there simply are none. (And of course segregation itself provides evidence that invocations of stratification and power differentials are justified.) Conversely, options for outgroup appeals depend on the presence of outgroups. Selecting languages to represent on a flyer, for example, candidates naturally consider what languages are actually spoken in the ward.

Second, candidates' ethno-racial politics are shaped by the field of political contenders. This factor complicates the question of which groups a candidate will try to target. For example, a campaign brochure for John Filion in Toronto specifically expressed Filion's support for the Iranian and Korean-Canadian communities. Those groups were large contingents in his ward, but the largest one—Chinese Canadians—was not explicitly mentioned. This decision can be explained by considering his field of competitors, which included an Iranian and a Korean-Canadian but not a Chinese-Canadian opponent. Filion probably wanted to prevent members of these groups from voting for his opponents as unified blocks.

Finally, candidates overwhelmingly selected ethno-racial references that "fit" with narratives of ethno-racial politics in Chicago and Toronto. Making this point requires taking a step back. Comparing the patterns of how ethno-racial references were distributed across the two cities, politics in Chicago turned out to be much more divisive than in Toronto. This is consistent with existing scholarship (e.g., Pinderhughes 2002; Reitz

and Lum 2006). Importantly, however, it is also consistent with voters' perceptions. Candidates built on the perception of Chicago as an arena of zero sum group competition and Toronto as a multicultural sanctuary. Thus, African-American and Latino candidates in Chicago mobilized perceptions of exclusion, discrimination, and conflict to promise political leadership in fighting these injustices. They proudly cited endorsements from ethno-racial advocacy organizations. And they largely abstained from using strategies of inclusion that candidates in Toronto heavily relied on—invoking ethnicity as culture and symbolically including groups in the political process by using their heritage languages. These ethno-racial messages were persuasive because they were consistent with widespread narratives about how ethnic politics worked in these two cities. Conversely, using those narratives reproduced them as structuring principles of ethno-racial politics. In other words, the findings reveal not only ethnic conflict and harmony, but how narratives of conflict and harmony are socially constructed (Brubaker 2004).

This leads to the question of whether certain ethno-racial references *cannot* successfully be made because they clash with widely-shared narratives. Indeed, this appears to be the case. For example, many journalists writing after the runoff election in Chicago commented that the main reason why left-leaning mayoral candidate Jesus "Chuy" Garcia lost against incumbent Rahm Emanuel was that he was unable to mobilize African-American voters (e.g., Ruthhart and Pearson 2015)—as a result of precisely those suspicions about Latinos (Bosman 2015) that the flyer discrediting Tara Stamps ("keep hardworkers working") reinforced. Thus, racial division is baked into Chicago in part because politicians reproduce narratives of division for strategic purposes.

These findings have implications for several literatures. First, the findings speak to the literature on substantive citizenship and the political incorporation of immigrants (for an overview, see Hochschild et al. 2013). I showed that ethno-racial references in Toronto were more likely to promote an inclusive vision of citizenship. Candidates addressed ethnic groups by referencing ethnic culture and substantially or symbolically using their heritage languages. These references encouraged civic and political incorporation, an essential component of substantial citizenship (Bloemraad et al. 2008). One way of explaining the absence of such references in Chicago is demographic difference. Toronto has a larger foreign-born population and a larger naturalized population than Chicago. However, as Bloemraad (2006) has argued, naturalization rates themselves may be both a cause and an outcome of candidates' willingness to engage immigrants. Comparing immigrant incorporation in Canada and the United States, Bloemraad (2006:10) argued that federal multicultural policy in Canada "generates a sense of recognition as an immigrant" that fosters naturalization and political participation, in part by changing the "symbolic landscape of public discourse." The findings in this paper support this argument insofar as candidates in Toronto did embrace a very different form of ethno-racial politics that promoted an inclusive conception of citizenship. Electoral campaigning may thus constitute an institutional channel that mediates between individual political incorporation and official policy.

Relatedly, the findings contribute to literature on place, which examines how places and their features shape local meanings and vice versa (Brown-Saracino 2015; Gieryn 2000; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000). In relation to the categories used in this paper, this literature has focused on race rather than ethnicity and understandings of citizenship (e.g., Goodman 2014; McDermott 2006; Robinson 2014), but there is no reason why those categories should not also be incorporated. In order to explain variations in meanings, scholars usually invoke structural features of particular places, such as demographic composition and labor market conditions (McDermott 2006). What is often missing, however, is a specification of the mechanisms that channel these structural features into meanings on the individual level (see also Saperstein et al. 2013). As I have shown, political campaigning is one conduit of ethno-racial meaning that mediates between places and individuals. Future studies in the place literature should consider additional mechanisms that contribute to the production of local meanings and broaden their scope to incorporate not only race but also ethnicity and citizenship.

Finally, the paper describes how electoral campaigning produces and reproduces ethno-racial meanings. Since race and ethnicity offer opportunities for mobilizing voters, it is obvious that politicians should be important claims-makers (Jenkins 1994; Rothschild 1981), but their role in the production of ethno-racial meaning has not received much systematic attention (Brubaker 2004), except for two highly-specialized literatures in political science (Mendelberg 2008; Perry 1991). This paper uncovers the politics of ethno-racial meaning in a wider set of electoral contexts and begins to survey this territory by classifying, and explaining the use of, ethno-racial references.

Future studies should expand on these findings and address their limitations. Specifically, this paper analyzed campaign material, but it did not trace how individual voters interpreted this material. Scholars could study how voters receive ethno-racial messages, for example by interviewing them throughout electoral campaigns. Additionally, the role of race and ethnicity in political campaigning should be analyzed through the lens of other kinds of data. Print material constitutes a front stage of electoral politics. Political campaigns are publicly accountable for the messages they distribute and consequently have to exercise prudence. Other rules may apply in, say, door-to-door campaigning or speaking to a crowd of ingroup members, such as an ethnic social club or business association. Ethnographers could "shadow" political candidates to examine how they target specific audiences with different ethno-racial messages.

Further illuminating the political uses of race and ethnicity is a crucial task for future research. The findings reported in this paper reveal that race and ethnicity deeply shaped electoral campaigning in two very different urban contexts. This shows that race and ethnicity are both durable and plastic political categories. They are durable in that they remain salient in very different settings. But they are plastic in that their local manifestations can vary significantly. Understanding this combination of plasticity and durability will not be possible without understanding the political uses of race and ethnicity.

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