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LADY PROBLEMS: A STUDY ON THE EFFECT OF PERCEIVED
FEMININITY WHEN EVALUATING FEMALE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Mackenzie O. Marquess

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Communication

Department of Communication

Jaclyn Marsh, Ph.D., Committee Chair

College of Arts and Sciences

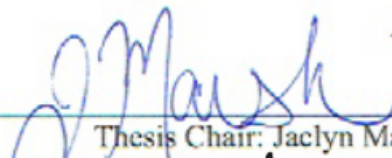
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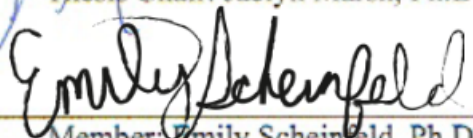
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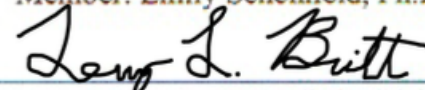
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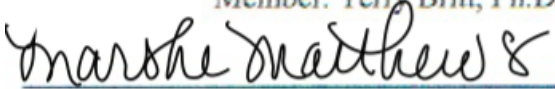
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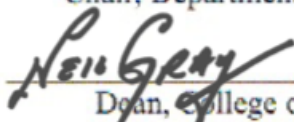
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Abstract**LADY PROBLEMS: A STUDY ON THE EFFECT OF PERCEIVED
FEMININITY WHEN EVALUATING FEMALE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES**

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The University of Texas at Tyler

November 2020

There is currently an observable gender gap associated with political leadership. Though many have tried, no woman has successfully campaigned for the presidency. Historically, media coverage of female candidates is vastly different from coverage of their male counterparts and it is well established that the media has significant control over public perception of candidates. This study examines media coverage of female candidates in an attempt to understand the rhetoric that consistently positions women as unelectable regardless of their experience or political prowess. This study analyzes post-debate commentary from the first Democratic presidential debate of the 2020 election beginning on June 26, 2019 using feminist critical discourse analysis. The findings do not indicate that traditionally feminine traits are seen as a good or bad quality but rather, they show how little these traits are acknowledged. While femininity was not discussed often, traditionally masculine traits were.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Over time, the media has changed some aspects of the way it treats female candidates, but as races for higher offices are examined, gender-based patterns of coverage have continued to emerge (Smith, 1997). Female candidates for all different levels of office have been found to receive less media coverage about policy issues than their male counterparts and instead, reporters focus on more personal details of female candidates including family life and attire (Watson & Gordon, 2002). This is particularly important to note because previous findings argue that media headlines and coverage drastically influence the perception, and thus votes, of citizens. Readers are drawn to and respond more to headlines and articles about the issues of a campaign rather than other details (Geer & Kahn, 1993).

Although there have been several prominent female candidates for president up to this point, only one has received a major-party nomination, Hillary Clinton. Most major news outlets predicted the United States would see its first female president in 2016, however, it has yet to happen. Countless news sources predicted a Clinton presidency even up through the week of the election (Agiesta, 2016; Goldmacher et al., 2016; Kettle, 2016; Montanaro, 2016; Sosnik, 2016). During the lead-up to the 2020 campaign, Elizabeth Warren was a prominent candidate for the presidency and the public was once again navigating through what it means to have a female contender for the presidency. Whether or not she would have received the Democratic Party's nomination seemed highly based on her electability. Joe Biden, the eventual nominee, chose Kamala Harris as his Vice Presidential nominee. Media outlets questioned Harris' electability often when she was a candidate for president, due to her being a woman and being Black (Zhou, 2019), but now being considered for Vice President (VP), her electability was no longer an area of concern in the same light. In fact, Harris was seen as a good VP pick by Biden that brought

diversity and expertise in areas that he lacks (Burns & Glueck, 2020). A simple demotion in the chain of command made Harris an acceptable politician, but somehow when evaluated for president, she is simply unelectable, unpresidential. The logic behind these statements is flawed, as Biden is well into his seventies and one of the oldest presidential nominees. This means the likelihood of Kamala Harris becoming president from VP is higher than it has been for VP candidates in the past. The media comments on the issue of electability frequently, but it seems to most often impact female candidates for president by hurting their polling numbers, swaying undecided voters, and ultimately making them lose the race, often in the primaries (Chait, 2019; Enten, 2019).

Gendered Coverage

It is important to closely examine gender biases and gendered language used to describe candidates who display femininity. These biases are crucial because, “Gender biases, if evident in press coverage, are important because they can have electoral consequences” (Carroll & Olson, 2015, p. 316). Electoral consequences, in the case of US history, refer to the inability of female candidates to be elected to the office of the presidency. Differences in election coverage based on gender “can shape public perceptions and, ultimately, influence the fate of a candidate’s campaign” (Heldman et al., 2005; Carroll & Olson, 2015, p. 317). The change in coverage is typically displayed by implicit, and sometimes explicit, suggestions that women are not serious candidates, especially when compared to men. This is often because gender bias stemming from gender stereotypes are reflected in reporting habits (Carroll & Olson, 2015). James Devitt (1999) studied the media’s coverage of female candidates and found that newspaper readers were more likely to come across a story about a female candidate’s personal life, appearance, or personality than their male counterparts at a rate of 16.9% to 12.3%. Incumbent female candidates for office

were not an exception to the findings. Reporters were also more likely to focus on a male candidate's prior experience in office and their policy positions, at 31.2% of the time, than female candidate's experience, 27.4% of the time (Devitt, 1999). Because the media has been shown to gender coverage of female candidates on multiple occasions, the way they are gendered and whether or not it may persuade voters for or against candidates ought to be considered (Carrol & Olson, 2005; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn, 1992; Miller & Peake, 2013). Gendered coverage includes the focus on elements of the female candidate's life that are seemingly unrelated to their bid for the presidency. It distracts from issues that voters would typically find important and could influence the perceived electability of these candidates.

In addition to female candidates receiving gendered coverage, there have also been several instances of male presidential candidates' coverage focusing on feminine traits they may possess. This occurrence was seen often throughout the 2016 election. On multiple occasions, male candidates were criticized and praised, for certain feminine traits they possessed. When criticized for feminine traits, these candidates took over the news cycle and were ridiculed for the trait which they displayed. In sharp contrast to this, men who displayed feminine traits that were seen as positive were praised and ultimately portrayed as better and more rounded candidates, likely influencing perceived electability.

At the height of his campaign, Marco Rubio saw media coverage of "Bootgate" in which major media outlets covered his choice of shoes. Rubio wore shiny boots with a slight heel and according to *The New York Times*, eclipsed "any other fashion story of the election thus far," a significant statement considering female front-runner Hillary Clinton's participation in the race (Crockett, 2016). Donald Trump also saw gendered coverage by being praised for his feminine style of speaking. Sedivy notes in a *Politico* article that Trump's "linguistic style is startlingly

feminine” because of his use of prepositions and articles as well as self-referencing pronouns (2016). Another factor that often hurts female candidates, but is either neutral or beneficial to male candidates, is their parental status (Elder & Greene, 2011). Elder and Greene’s study centering on candidates with children in the 2008 election found that voters believed that parenthood had different effects for males and females. Females are believed to be more affected in their political leanings due to parenthood than males (2011). The study contributes to this line of research by further observing the ways in which men are associated with traditionally feminine qualities in both negative and positive ways, in comparison to females running for the same political office. Because women are seen as those who are more influenced by parenthood (Elder & Greene, 2011), there is more room for speculation on how this may benefit, or in the case of women, hurt their candidacy.

Feminist Theory

Patriarchal domination shapes most, if not all, decisions that feminine bodies make while living in a society. Domination also controls the way in which others in society perceive feminine bodies. It is because these patriarchal restraints exist that historically, women have had a much harder time advancing to positions of authority in business and politics (Jónasdóttir, 1994). Patriarchal domination has to do with ontology and the form of the female subjectivity. It creates the inescapable enforcement of a systemic patriarchal model (Coleman, 2010). These models act as a form of biopower which is used in order to subjugate and maintain the female population through societal norms such as traditional gender roles, legal inequality, “boy’s club” mentalities and elitism. This expression of biopower specifically towards the female subject is the embodiment of patriarchal domination. Patriarchally structured history refuses to acknowledge historical effects upon “various models of subjectivity” (Coleman, 2010, p. 384). In

other words, forms of domination structured by the patriarchy are cyclical and thus inescapable without some kind of deep ontological rupture. While patriarchal domination is a universal experience of the female subject, the manifestation of that experience may be different based on social location. While patriarchal domination affects all, it finds certain female subjectivities more acceptable than others (Jacobs, 2014). The level of acceptability of a woman can rely on a multitude of factors, some of which she can control, but most she cannot. These can include how well she performs in her expected role of femininity as well as how well she fits the masculine role required to break the mold of expected and perceived femininity.

A better way of understanding this can be seen through the Foucauldian example of the Panopticon. Foucault provides analysis on what is commonly referred to as the surveillance state through the example of a specific prison layout in which a large observation tower is found in the center of the prison grounds. From the tower, guards may see into every cell and monitor all inmates, though the inmates do not have the ability to see the guards in the tower. This is what causes the imbalanced surveillance that Foucault describes as “He is seen, but he does not see; he is an object of information, never a subject in communication.” (Foucault, 1977). The Panopticon is an illustrative example of how patriarchal domination maintains its cyclical replication over time. The Panopticon allows the patriarchy to surveil the female subjectivity and reform itself if ever there was a threat. This Panopticon of femininity is what leads to the self-policing women do with regard to maintaining an acceptable standard of femininity because they fear retaliation and know they may be exposed at any point. This also explains the hypervigilance of the media with regard to prominent females and the immediate backlash they face for straying from norms. Patriarchal domination can affect women in wildly different ways

depending on their social location. This has caused several different and conflicting branches of feminism as a theory to be developed.

Feminist theory is the most appropriate to address the topic of women and the female experience in politics since it is concerned with power structures that have been created and strengthened throughout history to form the “institutionalized inequality and oppression of women” (Jónasdóttir, 1994, p. 12). This institutionalized inequality is largely what feminist scholars have blamed for the lack of women in positions of power, as well as poor treatment of women attempting to reach those coveted positions.

Feminism is typically referred to in different waves. The metaphor was coined by a New York Times article announcing a second wave of feminism after the right to vote was earned and the movement was less active (Grady, 2018). This makes the first wave of feminism fall roughly between 1848 to 1920. This time period does not refer to the earliest feminist thinkers living before 1848, but rather the growing of the political movement taking place in the West. This wave primarily centers around the suffragettes, women who fought for their right to vote in the US. During this period, the political movement primarily consisted of organized marches, protests, lectures, and publications regarding voting rights. These same tactics are still used by the feminist movement today in addition to more modern modes of gathering and outreach given new technological opportunities.

While the first wave of feminism is often criticized for being exclusive, often leaving out women of a lower social class and, despite being closely intertwined with the abolitionist movement, often excluding women of color, it is arguably the most important wave. This argument was advanced by many but popularized by Susan B. Anthony. Anthony warranted this by explaining that once women had the right to vote it would “secure to her all others” (Grady,

2018). Women's rights were so limited at this time that the right to vote truly did give women the most power they had ever had as a social group. The ability to have a say in who would hold office would allow women to choose politicians who were like-minded and believed that women deserved better treatment than they were currently receiving. A capstone event in the feminist movement is the Seneca Falls convention in 1848 which spurred the movement and provided the first example of the essential organizing that would be required of the movement in order to make any advancements (Grady, 2018). The movement picked up speed after the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870, which granted black men the right to vote. This strengthened the divide between white women and black women fighting for the right to vote, causing white women to be increasingly hostile towards black women in the movement. The movement continued to develop and women demanded more radical goals including equal opportunities for employment and education as well as the right to own property (Grady, 2018). There was also a push toward the support of reproductive rights, which at the time was concerned primarily with the availability and use of contraceptives. In 1920, Congress passed the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote. Theoretically, this included black women, but it remained extremely difficult for them to vote in many places including the conservative South (Grady, 2018). This marked the end of the first wave.

The second wave of feminism took place roughly between 1963 and the 1980's. The movement was largely reignited by Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* which centers on the issue of systemic sexism and sold three million copies over the course of only three years (Grady, 2018). Friedan's writing was not revolutionary in argument, but it was in scope. While feminism was continuing to advance and be discussed by academics, Friedan helped reach a larger population including housewives in middle-class families. These women read and passed

along the works until the movement felt a new surge of active supporters. Feminist phenomenology emerged during second-wave feminism in an attempt to capture and analyze the lived experiences of women through the lens of feminism.

The emergence of feminist phenomenology can largely be attributed to the popularized phrase “the personal is political” (Grady, 2018). The meaning of the personal being political essentially asserts that seemingly small issues, like domestic labor and abortions, were political. If these issues were allowed to be dictated by the government then any other facet of a woman’s life could be justifiably governed as well. This concept was highly criticized because of its affinity toward women of higher social standing which tended to be wealthy white women (Kruks, 2014). Extending the rift between black and white women that was seen in the first wave, feminist phenomenology typically dismissed the unique plight of black women. This vein of feminism is now often referred to as white feminism because it ignores women who are not in the same social location as these wealthy white women. As a response to this poststructuralist criticism, more recent works in feminist phenomenology have been more attentive to differences in social location (Kruks, 2014). The lived experiences of women are important to create a greater understanding of the discrimination that they experience.

The third wave of feminism is arguably still going on, or currently transitioning into what the fourth wave of feminism will be. The third wave of feminism finally moved toward intersectionality with black women as well as women who identify as a part of the queer community. Intersectionality recognized that certain women experience multiple layers of oppression and expanded the feminist movement’s reach to encompass them. This wave also began to focus on deconstructing gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles. This study falls comfortably within the realm of third wave feminist theory because of the focus on

deconstructing gender norms and their ability to impact women in positions of power.

The feminist movement allowed women the opportunity to fight for a seat at the political table, but it also directed the path of nearly every female politician regardless of their consent. Because there are so few women in politics, these are still issues we have not fully explored. Thus, the novelty of a female candidate and politician forces them to represent, and confront gender issues and feminism as a whole. These issues then become the crux of their candidacy or terms in office, whether that was intended or not. Because of the male-dominated political history that exists, female politicians are deemed as norm breakers by default (Meeks, 2012). Rather than groundbreaking and respected, this makes female candidates deviant in the current political system. The media covers that deviance by applying novelty labels that take the form of qualifiers in a sentence (e.g., female candidate, mother, etc.) which brings attention to female candidates' deviant characteristics (Meeks, 2012). These characteristics include anything that breaks away from the norm such as their gender, clothing, familial ties, or anything that differs from the male candidates that society is familiar with. Meeks (2012) argues there is a significant gender gap in novelty labeling between men and women, with women receiving the bulk of the novel labels used in media coverage.

Novelty labeling is not always bad. It is also true that women running for political office receive positive novelty labeling about being historic or groundbreaking, which can be good for their campaigns. However, regardless of the intent of novelty labeling, it will always have the undesirable effect of implying that women are incompatible with the preferred political candidate and the result of that may be "that voters are encouraged to see women as incongruent with politics" (Meeks, 2012, p. 179). As mentioned, women are far more likely to experience this kind of coverage and thus, its effects.

Sexist Language and Seats of Power

This problem is not unique to the US feminist movement, but is a symptom of global gender issues. Julia Gillard, former Prime Minister of Australia, faced these issues head on as her nation's first female Prime Minister. Gillard actively attempted to avoid a focus on her gender during her term, but was forced to confront the harsh scrutiny that her job as a female leader entailed (Bourgault du Coudray, 2016). As a part of being forced to reckon with what she determined to be overly harsh judgement, Gillard was forced to give an address on misogyny which has since become her most famous public statement (Bourgault du Coudray, 2016). Because of the popularity and impact of this statement, Gillard's legacy is now primarily one focused on feminism. While that may not seem negative on face, the content of her legacy was predetermined for her, as based on feminist issues rather than policy change. This may continue to set a precedent that women in politics are only able to make changes and work on what are traditionally thought of as women's issues. If every female politician is forced to put their docket on hold, they will continue to be seen as outliers and their deviant activity will continue to be monitored closely in the media and be expressed as a novelty. This kind of behavior can be seen since the beginning of women's run for the presidency.

Geraldine Ferraro was the first woman on a presidential ticket in the US. Ferraro was running as a vice presidential candidate with presidential candidate Walter Mondale (Thulin, 2020). Ferraro was chosen after exit polls following Ronald Reagan's election showed that women had turned out at a higher rate than men for the first time since they won the right to vote and also tended to vote differently from their male counterparts. The *Washington Post* was the first to use the term "the gender gap" when speaking with Eleanor Smeal, the head of the National Organization for Women (Thulin, 2020). This caused leaders in the feminist movement

to call for a woman to be put on the Democratic ticket by putting public pressure on potential nominees to choose a female running mate, which caught the attention of the media. In deciding on the right woman to push as a VP nominee, the movement's leaders were looking for someone who could "barnstorm barriers but also be seen as a viable candidate" (Thulin, 2020). Even in the first instance of a woman's placement on a presidential ticket, a strong strategy had to be deployed in an attempt to prove her electability.

Ferraro also felt the media spotlight on her family life. A huge point of contention raised by the media was spurred by the fact that Ferraro and her husband had filed separate tax returns (Thulin, 2020). This allowed her to release her own tax returns while allowing her husband to maintain his privacy. This caused media outcry and ultimately led to both tax returns being made public. Following this, Ferraro held a "marathon press conference" in which she fielded questions from more than 250 journalists who seemed eager to find her and her family at fault for something nefarious (Thulin, 2020). It is likely that the media's overly harsh treatment of Ferraro was due to the fact that she was a woman. Ultimately, the Mondale-Ferraro ticket suffered an overwhelming loss. The media's reaction to this campaign set the standard for how women on the presidential ticket would be treated in the future, especially if they dared to run for the office of president.

Current political systems and systems of thought doom all major female politicians to the same fate. Because these leaders are women, rather than allowing any other policy focus, feminism and feminine issues are consistently highlighted as their primary policy concern. Female political candidates still face this dilemma, even if they are not running for the highest office. Former Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin ran alongside John McCain and had a focus on motherhood throughout her candidacy. This was likely sparked by the onset of rumors

about her family that immediately followed the announcement of Palin as the VP pick, including whether or not she was a good mother, judgements made of her children's names, and even possible marital indiscretion leading to one of her kids (McCarver, 2011). Palin was unable to define her own career because her femininity defined it for her. Although women have made great strides in politics, there is still a long way for them to go before they are truly seen as equal to men in that arena. Women are constantly forced to deal with backlash to their presence in the political sphere that men don't have to weather.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has seen similar treatment constantly since her candidacy and then appointment to office as a Congressional Representative. Representative Ted Yoho approached Ocasio-Cortez during a vote in the Congressional Chamber and called her "disgusting" and "dangerous" (Congresswoman Denounces, 2020). As he walked away from her, both Ocasio-Cortez and a reporter from *The Hill* overheard him refer to Ocasio-Cortez as a "fucking bitch" (Boboltz, 2020). After being called out for his words, Yoho first denied them but later apologized for his colleague's "misunderstanding" of the interaction (Boboltz, 2020). After Yoho's apology on the House floor, Ocasio-Cortez expressed that she had previously intended to move on from the incident because, from her experience as a representative, this was "just another day" but the excuses he made in his apology prompted her to make a statement (Boboltz, 2020). Ocasio-Cortez explained that this kind of backlash towards women in politics is not an isolated event, but an issue with our culture "accepting violence and violent language against women" as well as "an entire structure of power that supports that" (Congresswoman Denounces, 2020).

The 2008 election reflects this through the inequality in media coverage of women in the race. Similar to Palin, in her first run for the presidency, Hillary Clinton received a different

amount and quality of media coverage (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Media coverage for these women was highly gendered and revolved around their personal and family lives much more than it did for their male counterparts. This is problematic for many reasons. Focusing on women's family lives not only redirects attention away from their policy positions, which should be the focus of their campaign, but it also creates many more opportunities for discrimination to crop up in headlines such as criticism of their mothering and family-related skills. The damage from this is two-fold: First, it likely affects the self-esteem and respect that women feel, and second, it has been found that when women are described in sexist terms it reduces their perceived credibility and causes them to be seen as "less human" (Sutton, 1995, p. 328). Family is not the only factor of a female politician's life that is scrutinized.

Objectification Theory

Appearance is a key point of criticism by the media and potential voters. Researchers Funk and Coker used objectification theory to analyze the way women's appearance impacted potential voter's opinions (2016). Objectification theory "posits a relationship between articulating women as sexual objects and normatively negative outcomes" which helps explain the impact of the media and voter's objectification of female candidates (Funk & Coker, 2016, p. 458). The original theorists contend that "Although sexual objectification is but one form of gender oppression, it is one that factors into - and perhaps enables - a host of other oppressions women face, ranging from employment discrimination and sexual violence to the trivialization of women's work and accomplishments" (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p.174). The question of electability is, therefore, ultimately about a woman's potential employment in office, meaning that objectification by the media may contribute to their perceived electability. There are also proven instances of the trivialisation of female candidates' work and accomplishments.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has worked as both a server and bartender, but also has a degree from Boston University, experience working for the late Senator Ted Kennedy, and she is a former Educational Director for the National Hispanic Institute. Even after she was elected to Congress, male politicians, including President Donald Trump, have discounted her work and accomplishments. The most explicit example of this is from the *Daily Caller*. The tabloid released an alleged “nude selfie” of Ocasio-Cortez. This photo was not a real photo of the congresswoman, but an attempt to “take one of the brightest and most effective young politicians in the country and reduce her to her sexuality” (Doyle, 2019). This took place around the time Ocasio-Cortez was informing people of the details of a new policy proposal, the Green New Deal, and may have been done in response to it in order to discredit her.

Another way women are typically discredited in politics is the hyperfixation on clothing and fashion choices, something rarely focused on when discussing or speaking to male politicians. This distracts from their platforms and draws attention to the way in which they are presenting their bodies. A commonality among all female objectification “is the experience of being treated as a body (or collection of body parts) valued predominantly for its use to (or consumption by) others” (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p.174). Body coverage and ornamentation is a huge concern of female professionals in any field, but especially one under such a bright spotlight. Hillary Clinton has endured this kind of hyperfixation since she appeared in the public eye as the First Lady of Arkansas. Clinton is infamous for her fashion choices, most notably, her pantsuits. She has worn pantsuits as a uniform for years and has been mocked incessantly by the press, labeled “frumpy,” and endured such scandals as “scrunchie-gate” and “cleavage-gate” (Garber, 2016). These kinds of media stories, whether hurtful to the subject of their ridicule or not, cause significant damage to female candidates’ credibility by reducing them

to their appearance. For example, Clinton initially began wearing pantsuits in order to avoid things like members of the media taking up-skirt shots and catching unflattering angles to put above the fold for the next news cycle (Garber, 2016).

Women are judged both when they conform to traditional norms associated with the female appearance and when they depart from them. A woman who conforms well will be oversexualized and women who do not conform well will be criticized on the presentation of their bodies rather than their policy stances. Even when women like Clinton deliberately chose to rebel against norms, their bodies are a point of fixation. Cleavage-gate took place because Clinton wore a slightly lower neckline than her typical suit shell during the 2016 campaign season. Photographers got an angle in which, rather than her typically very modest neckline, the fact that she had breasts became more evident (Garner, 2016). This was possibly made more jarring than it otherwise might have because Clinton has done such a good job of attempting to fit into the male political scene. Because she was so effective at making herself appear more masculine in order to fit in, the moment she began to appear to display any kind of femininity, she was criticized. Even the simple choice of an accessory becomes center stage for female politicians because it constitutes ornamenting the body, hence, “scrunchie-gate”. This took place because Clinton put her hair up in a ponytail hairstyle using a scrunchie that others found outdated (Garner, 2016). In this way “the policing of her appearance—has been a conversation rather than a side note.” (Garber, 2016). Either rebelling against the norms of femininity, or adhering to them, Clinton was regularly punished and in the headlines not due to her policy opinions, but because of how Clinton performed femininity in an unacceptable way.

Clinton popularized the pantsuit among women in politics, but she is certainly not the only woman wearing them now. Women who wear pantsuits continue to be called out in similar

ways. Traditionally, the pantsuit is dark and solid in shape in order to create the illusion of a body that is “autonomous, in control, rational and masculine” (Flicker, 2013, p.207). Women wearing pantsuits may create a kind of cognitive dissonance by associating these traits with women. Women wearing pantsuits may also cause this vision to be warped because they may not adhere to the traditional standards of a men’s pantsuit. The construction of a pantsuit uses “firm straight lines and starched collars” in order to “give the appearance of a body that is impervious to outside penetration” (Flicker, 2013, p. 208). These characteristics are fundamentally incompatible with the way that women are viewed in any and all facets of their lives and thus, wearing a pantsuit can be seen as the ultimate retaliation against the policing of women’s bodies in politics. Regardless of whether or not a female politician is attempting to make a statement with her attire, she will likely be judged and objectified by others because of what she is, or is not, wearing. Objectifying practices ultimately frame women as incapable leaders. Understanding the way these practices are perpetuated within the current system is necessary to create more pathways to power for women.

The Novel Woman

Neville-Shepard and Nolan (2019) explore the treatment of Hillary Clinton by the media during the 2016 election as well as the public’s perception of her in what they label the “Hysteria Diagnosis.” They explain that the media coverage female candidates typically receive emphasizes their feminine characteristics, and focuses on primarily feminine issues as well as their family lives. Maybe more importantly, as the literature presented thus far argues, media coverage often treats their candidacy as a novelty. The media is also likely to criticize “their attire, political ambitions, communication style, and emotions” (Neville-Shepard & Nolan, 2019). Female candidates are put into a double bind in which women are ultimately harmed if

they perform traditional gender roles, but they are also harmed if they break them. When women are perceived as feminine they are simultaneously being perceived as incompetent. Women who are perceived as competent are also perceived as unfeminine (Neville-Shepard & Nolan, 2019). Both incompetence due to being feminine or being unfeminine creates the dilemma of being unelectable for political office.

This double bind is consistent across the board for female politicians because “stable double binds rest on deeply rooted hierarchic power relations which form the social order” (Flicker, 2013, p. 203). This double bind doesn’t just impact women in politics, but all women. Because the double bind is rooted in patriarchal domination, it permeates throughout society and career choice. Women may be more harshly judged when in line for a promotion because they have a family and it is assumed that they cannot be both a good mother and a good employee. Women may also come off as harsher and less personable when they attempt to blend in with the masculine norms of the corporate world, thus making them unsuitable for a leadership position. Because the double bind is so deeply rooted in society, “To solve the dilemma of the double bind may be considered that it is related to the social environment of the communicative system and the structure of power in which it came into existence” (Flicker, 2013, p. 203). With the media acting as the current communicative system, it is likely perpetuating this kind of gender bias with coverage of female political candidates.

Female candidates like Hillary Clinton have made great strides to attempt to fit in with the masculine political culture, but they continue to be impacted by the entrenched system that the media plays a part in. When analyzing the double bind for women, Flicker writes, “No matter how they devise their roles, they remain imprisoned in a situation which does not allow for undoing gender, at least on a visual level, and they are always regarded and judged on this basis”

(2013, p. 214). This is especially true in the political realm because “women in national politics are often depicted as aggressors in the game, which places women squarely within a masculine frame that may accentuate the double bind” (Curnalia & Dorian, 2014, p. 27). The media seems to play a part in accentuating the double bind because when covering female candidates, they are less likely to cover them with an emphasis on their political stances and issues of focus and more likely to frame them in terms of viability, or electability, for office (Curnalia & Dorian, 2014).

Female candidates are consistently being reprimanded for shouting, refusing to constantly smile, or for having an unfeminine speaking style (Wilz, 2016). Hillary Clinton has been targeted with criticisms like these since she entered the political sphere. Kamala Harris experienced similar remarks following the vice presidential debate in October 2020 for her facial expressions and demanding to be heard, for which women everywhere picked up on and many media outlets and political rivals reprimanded. Because in the balancing act between traditional femininity and masculine-leaning public speaking and leadership traits she leans towards the latter (Wilz, 2016). These perceptions of women are harmful to their presidential campaigns because “The presidency historically has been perceived both implicitly and explicitly as a masculine institution” (Burrell, 2008). Candidates for the office of the president are expected to appear “strong, assertive, and dominant,” traits that are at odds with standards of “acceptable” femininity (Burrell, 2008).

These characteristics are displayed well in presidential debates when looking at interruptions. It has been established that men are more likely to interrupt others when speaking than women are (Aries, 1982) and this is applauded as masculine, and thus powerful (Aries, 1982). More specifically, men are also more likely to interrupt women than other men (Aries, 1982). This is likely due to cultural norms and “societal expectations calling for women to be

reactive and for men to be proactive” (France & Mayo, 2009). Being proactive for a man can be labeled as being strong and assertive, characteristics that are not culturally acceptable for women. In the context of a political debate, this only lengthens the divide between speaking time of each candidate. This can be observed in the most recent vice presidential debates between Mike Pence and Kamala Harris. In the sole debate between the two, Pence interrupted Harris repeatedly. Harris responded to these interruptions by saying “I’m speaking” on three separate occasions (Cheung, 2020). Overall, Pence interrupted Harris twice as often as Harris interrupted him. Pence also had a longer total speaking time than Harris due to his interruptions and despite Harris asking to have her time extended due to the interruption (Cheung, 2020). Scholars have commented on Harris’ polite responses to being interrupted by stating that, “Clearly her challenge throughout the whole debate was to avoid coming across as aggressive” (Cheung, 2020). This illustrates the aforementioned double bind because even though Harris was being interrupted, she had to manage her responses and emotions in a way that men typically don’t. The article furthers “There’s a double bind for women - because anything you do to come across as a forceful candidate violates expectations for women” (Cheung, 2020). This explains why Harris felt the need to explain that she was speaking rather than being accusatory and telling him to stop interrupting her.

Toughen Up

In media coverage of presidential candidates, the word “tough” appeared more often than any other masculine word. Women and femininity are plagued with the stereotype of being “compassionate,” “gentle,” and “emotional” while men are typically assumed to be tougher than women (Burrell, 2008). Hillary Clinton clearly falls into the double bind described by Neville-Shepard and Nolan as she performed better on presidential poll questions centered on masculine-

centered leadership traits and was consistently criticized for being at odds with traditional femininity (Burrell, 2008). Burrell confirms that this state of contradictory preferred traits for female candidates is likely their biggest hurdle on the journey to the White House. This contradiction is certainly a main contributor of what we know as the glass ceiling for women. It has observable roots in reproductive pressures and traditional gender roles (Hoyt, 2010). Women are either seen as too emotional or not emotional enough, and are judged by those emotional expressions more harshly than men (Kelly & Hutson-Comeaux, 2000). All of these factors combined show how much of an uphill battle a run for any political office is for any woman, whether they display traditionally feminine traits or not.

Miller and Peake (2013) explored the effect of disproportionate news coverage and found that although female candidates are now receiving news coverage, the substance of that coverage does more harm than good. Substance provided on female candidates has shown that “women presidential candidates have been consistently portrayed as unviable; press accounts have emphasized their appearance and gender while virtually ignoring their platforms” (Miller & Peake, 2013). The press portraying women as nonviable candidates means that they are being perceived as unelectable and they then project that perception onto voters. The research furthers the argument made by Neville-Shepard and Nolan that media coverage tends to treat female candidates as “novelties rather than legitimate candidates,” which is reflected in the disproportionate coverage of factors such as their fashion and family choices (Miller & Peake, 2013). Again, this is looked at in terms of Hillary Clinton’s presidential run, and it was found that although her policy coverage was similar to her male counterparts, “disproportionate mentions of her gender were significantly associated with the open questioning of her electability” (Miller & Peake, 2013). Coverage like this shows that when female candidates are

seen as novel, they are less likely to be elected (O'Regan & Stambough, 2011). An understanding of this outcome is important in order to allow more women to win political offices.

Even when gender or gender roles are not explicitly mentioned, innate female qualities are perceived as less electable. Klofstad, Anderson, and Peters (2012) demonstrated voice pitch can influence the perceived leadership ability of candidates. They found that “humans prefer leaders with lower-pitched voices” (Klofstad et al., 2012, p. 13). This was found to be true regardless of gender, but male candidates are more likely to have a lower-pitched voice and thus, more likely to be thought of as strong and dependable, while higher-pitched voices are more likely thought of as “weaker, less competent and less trustworthy” (Klofstad et al., 2012, p. 13). These traits are linked to candidates due to vocal pitch despite there being few psychological differences between genders, but merely because there are much greater differences in the way they present themselves (Hall et al., 2000). This is especially true for nonverbal behaviors. Studies have found that females tend to be more facially expressive than males, and the emotions that these genders tend to express most often are stereotypically related to them (Hall et al., 2000). Men tended to display anger, contempt and disgust more often and accurately than women and women displayed fear and happiness more often and more accurately than men. This is likely the effect of cultural learning (Hall et al., 2000).

Given the kinds of emotions women tend to facially express, it can be deduced that this is a factor in the media's fixation on female emotions. The media consistently fixates on female emotions during women's political careers. Hillary Clinton had a famed “emotional moment” in which she seemed to be on the verge of tears while being interviewed the day before the New Hampshire primary in the 2008 election (Curnalia & Dorian, 2014, p. 27). The media fixated on

this emotional moment for weeks afterward, contemplating whether this was a display of weakness or a calculated campaign move. Because Clinton was so skilled at fitting into the masculine world of politics, when she slipped up and performed in a way that is typically feminine, the media zeroed in on these emotions and used them against her. This is yet another display of the double bind women face. Either Clinton's almost-tears were real and she was cracking under the pressure, or they were a calculated strategy move that made her appear too cold and masculine for a woman. Former Republican presidential candidate Sarah Palin commented on the emotional standards for women in politics in a 2010 interview. Palin referenced former representative John Boehner who is known for being openly emotional and even crying on the House floor. Palin remarked, "I'm sure if I got up there and did a speech and I started breaking down and cried ... I'm sure that I would be knocked a little bit for that" (Madison, 2010). Regardless of the emotions being expressed, women tend to be more facially expressive than men overall, potentially resulting in the stereotype that they are more emotional than men (Hall et al., 2000).

In order to attempt to beat back against inherent biases like these, Anderson argues that women must prove their electability, but "to demonstrate your electability, you must become that which ultimately will make you unelectable" (Anderson, 2017). Anderson is referring back to the double bind female candidates and front-runners are forced into, first brought up by Neville-Shepard and Nolan (2019). As a result of the many seemingly impossible obstacles women must overcome to make it to the oval office, Anderson contends that "Because the female presidentiality paradox will continue to be a feature of campaign culture whenever women launch significant bids for major-party nominations, scholars and strategists should acknowledge its existence and seek to understand its rhetorical dynamics" (2017).

Voters highly value leadership ability when placing their votes and women are often seen as poor leaders due to typically feminine traits (Klofstad et al., 2012). Because traditionally feminine qualities are often associated with poor leadership skills it is possible that this would impact the electability of the candidate seen to be highly feminine. Because of the potential impact of feminine traits, the first research question posed is:

RQ1: Are traditionally feminine traits associated with weak leadership skills during post-debate commentary and interviews?

In addition to the importance of leadership skills and relevant experience, the second research question aims to answer whether or not feminine qualities are used to discount female candidates regardless of other aspects of their campaigns:

RQ2: Are traditionally feminine traits used to disqualify candidate experience during post-debate commentary and interviews?

Female candidates have been running for the highest office in the land consistently in recent years and yet none have been able to achieve it. This study aims to help determine whether or not perceived femininity could be to blame. In addition to this, because of the media's ability to impact election outcomes through the way in which they cover female candidates and how that either supports or challenges their electability, the following hypotheses are posited:

H1a: Perceived femininity in presidential debates negatively affects political commentator's perception of electability of candidates.

H1b: Perceived femininity in presidential debates negatively affects the public's perception of electability of candidates.

H2: Perceived femininity in presidential debates negatively affects candidates' perception of the electability of other candidates.

CHAPTER 2: Methods

In an attempt to understand the rhetoric that consistently poses women as unelectable regardless of their experience or political prowess, this study examines media coverage of female candidates. As there is plenty of media commentary on female and male candidates during the 2020 election thus far, there was a need to narrow down to a specific instance to begin to understand the issues at hand. Thus, for the purposes of this study, only post-debate commentary from the first Democratic presidential debate of the 2020 election beginning on June 26, 2019 (including night 1 and 2) was analyzed. Post-debate commentary ought to be evaluated because the purpose of presidential debates is to sway undecided voters and “shape potential voters’ perceptions about each candidate's character and fitness for office” (Carlin, 2010). Post-debate commentary is also significant because it manages a potential voters’ first impression of political candidates. The Democratic rather than the Republican post-debate commentary will be examined as there are no female Republican candidates and because at the time of this study, there have not been any Republican debates nor are there any scheduled for the 2020 election (Almukhtar et al., 2019).

This study uses a feminist critical discourse analysis. A feminist critical discourse analysis is most fitting because “The central concern of feminist critical discourse analysts is with critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order – relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group, and disadvantage, exclude, and disempower women as a social group” (Lazar, 2007, p. 145). Separate from a critical discourse analysis, this study is focuses specifically on the qualities of the media and society that continue to impact a female candidate’s ability to reach the office of the president. This also creates even more change in the everyday lives of women in the United States because policies passed specific to them and

their lives continue to be made by majority men with no female check on power. Feminist critical discourse analysis is also “particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between structures of discourse and the structures of power” (Thompson, 2020). There are many discursive elements that require a heightened amount of attention including how individuals are “named and referred to linguistically,” “what traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them”, and “from what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed” (Elder & Green, 2011). In order to give this heightened attention appropriately, the coding of specific phrase qualities in both nights of post-debate commentary was required. Sentences were coded according to five main qualities including if they [1] discount a woman’s presence or response, [2] associate women with traditionally feminine qualities in a positive way, [3] associate women with traditionally feminine qualities in a negative way, [4] associate men with traditionally feminine qualities in a positive way, or [5] associate men with traditionally feminine qualities in a negative way. Intentional and unintentional performances of the phrase qualities outlined in the coding section will be included.

For several reasons, these codes do not include the perceived severity of the instances found in the results section. It is possible that measuring the perceived severity of coded instances will misrepresent their actual impact. Microaggressions are, by nature, hard to detect. An error in the ability of researchers to spotlight microaggressions could prove detrimental. Over time, the nature of sexism has changed. While overt acts of sexism and discrimination are frowned upon by society, there is still active discrimination that is invisible to those in different social locations because it is built into cultural norms (Capodulupo, 2010). Individuals may identify as feminists and even support feminist causes while also being complicit in

microaggressions. Microaggressions exist as small forms of violence toward the female subject that compact over time and lead to the perpetuation of a systemic culture of discrimination. Formally, they are defined as “Brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward members of oppressed groups” (Capodulupo, 2010, p. 1).

Because microaggressions are often invisible, it is important to be diligent in the fight against them. They act as a tool of the patriarchy to disguise and sustain itself. In this study, coding for severity in the remarks of commentators may serve to downplay microaggressions and the harm they cause all women, including women in pursuit of political power. An abundance of microaggressions may have the ability to be misconstrued as evidence that there is not severe gender discrimination taking place. In an attempt to come to the most accurate results possible, all coded instances will be expressed as the same severity.

Post-debate commentary was coded using a numbering system labeling them in the order previously presented. The statements coded are also in bold font for the ease of finding them within the data for later analysis. They are coded on a transcript of each night’s commentary taken from the NBC YouTube page where the videos of the debates are kept. The YouTube transcripts are done electronically through the use of speech recognition technology rather than by a human transcriber. These transcriptions will be edited alongside the original videos in order to correct for any error in the transcription of commentary. Other than edits, these transcriptions keep their original forms to be coded. Post-debate commentary lasted approximately 47 minutes on both nights of debate with three main commentators and one moderator. On both nights there were short appearances by guest commentators and a fact checker. All coding was done by the

sole researcher working on the study. This study does not involve interaction or interference with human subjects and data was entirely gathered from the stated public debates and thus, does not require IRB approval.

CHAPTER 3: Results

Across both nights the most common quality observed was the first, to discount a woman's presence or response, followed by the second, to associate women with traditionally feminine qualities in a positive way. Night 1 and 2 varied greatly in terms of which quality was the most common although qualities 3 and 5 were not present either night. Neither hypothesis found significant support. There were fewer instances of each quality being observed than expected. These findings are also reflected when revisiting the research questions. Traditionally feminine traits were not used to disqualify candidate experience during post-debate coverage. Traditionally feminine traits were also not associated with weak leadership skills during post-debate commentary. These findings do not indicate that traditionally feminine traits are seen as a good quality but rather, they show how little these traits are acknowledged. While femininity was not discussed often, traditionally masculine traits were.

Night One

This night saw a significant amount of times that women or their responses were discounted by the post-debate commentators. For coding purposes, dismissal is defined as the "decision that something or someone is not important and not worth considering" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). This is interpreted as instances in which female candidates are seemingly ignored because the commenter disagreed with them, when factual answers are wrongfully disputed, and when an answer from a female candidate is devalued because of the specific candidate it came from. This happened a total of seven times. The only other quality observed

was [2] in which commentators associated a woman with a traditionally feminine quality in a good way. This was an instance in which Elizabeth Warren was applauded for combining “the policy and passion together.” Every other instance of the night was a dismissal of female candidates, but not necessarily because of any specific traditionally female trait. The first and one of the clearest instances of dismissal of a woman is “It was interesting because I think we saw Elizabeth Warren brought the passion, but Castro seemed to really bring the policy.” This directly contradicts the previously mentioned instance of the second quality being observed, praising Warren for having both passion and policy. It may be important to note that the statement displaying the second quality was made by a female commentator while the statement displaying the first quality of dismissal was made by a male commentator. This statement clearly falls under the first quality because it ignores policy statements made by Warren throughout the night and observed by others also delivering commentary. Warren was also criticized for being low energy and not moving “the needle as much as she could have”, although this statement is refuted by other commentators as it is given.

Amy Klobuchar is also targeted when a moderator asked if any candidates “missed their opportunity to stand out.” The response is, “I think Amy Klobuchar did fail.” This commentator goes on to say that Klobuchar did have a “moment” in an attack she made against another candidate. This makes the first comment especially dismissive because the same commentator that said that she missed an opportunity to stand out then proceeded to explain a moment in which she stood out during the debate. Warren had a response flagrantly dismissed by a male commentator which was then combated by the female moderator:

“I was also disappointed that none of the candidates seemed to be prepared to answer the question directly about how would you deal with Mitch McConnell controlling the Senate? These are some great ideas --

>> Well Elizabeth Warren did address that.

>>I didn't think she did

>> You didn't like her answer” (1:56:42)

This instance was clearly a dismissal when the moderator pointed out that Warren had answered a question and that him ignoring it was likely because he found that answer insufficient.

Klobuchar was dismissed during a portion of the post-debate commentary in which they were fact checking statements made by candidates. Klobuchar brought up an immigration bill from 2013 in which she stated that it will lower the national debt. This answer is dismissed but also verified by the fact checker in the same sentence:

“Amy Klobuchar brought up the 2013 immigration bill. Something we heard so much about years ago and said it lowers the debt. She's close. It lowers the deficit. It does lower the debt, but doesn't tick down the debt the same way.” (2:04:50)

This shows that Klobuchar's analysis and the context itself was dismissed as false when it was actually true.

The final instance of dismissal was again aimed at Warren when guest commentators took the stage to answer questions about the debate stating,

“Elizabeth Warren talked about the poor people, but I felt like it was more about helping them as poor people, not getting them back on their feet

>> Really quickly, I don't know if you mind --

>> Yeah.

>> Going back to the point you made about Elizabeth Warren. That's actually funny that she made that point. I was going to say with Elizabeth Warren she was kind of the only candidate that really focused on retraining those that are in these communities where these industries are dying..." (2:11:43)

This is another case in which a male commentator ignored what Warren had said while a female commentator corrected him giving a detailed description of Warren's answer and policy plan provided when asked the question. This illustrated the way in which the male commentator entirely dismissed Warren's comments on that particular policy issue. The male commentator referred to an aspect he expressed as something that was largely missing from the debate when in fact, Warren had addressed the issue at length. It is clear how notable Warren's response was by the female commentator so quickly correcting her counterpart. Warren's expressed opinion was memorable enough for the female commentator to recall particular details about it.

Night Two

On night two women's responses were also discounted but less than the previous night at a total of two times. The most commonly observed quality of this night was [2] to associate a woman with a traditionally feminine quality in a positive way a total of three times followed by [4] to associate a man with a traditionally feminine quality in a positive way one time.

The first quality observed of the night's post-debate commentary was [4] as the commentators were reflecting on powerful moments of the night explaining that,

"It felt like last night was more about who I am. and tonight, it was more of what I have experienced. You saw the candidates connect on things like health care. I had a sick dad or a terminal illness and it seemed to be about the marrow of their experiences." (1:54:09)

This is coded as associating men with traditionally feminine qualities in a positive way because being emotional has been labeled as a traditionally feminine trait and the stories they are mentioning were all told by male candidates. This is portrayed as a strength for those candidates because it is seen as building a connection and relating to people in a way that is powerful and persuasive.

Kamala Harris was also praised for some emotional outreach done during the debate in a conversation with Joe Biden about his voting record with regard to race. Commentators praised her for making it a more personal issue by saying things like “Because she said, I was hurt personally.” and “I think she spoke for other black people too. Saying it was hurtful.” This is coded as being a positive association because the context given is about how Harris did a good job explaining her feelings and the feelings of the black community. She continues to receive praise for her emotional connection to her community as well as Biden’s actions throughout the night, for example:

“What I think was so powerful was when she said, I do not think you are a racist. For us in the field, we hear that word being thrown around, and automatically you are a racist if you voted for Trump. Hey, to say plainly, I think I believe I know what is in your heart, but this is an issue about policy.” (1:55:39)

This situation is similar to that of Warren’s on night one of bringing both policy and passion. Harris is praised for her eloquent ability to explain her feelings while also holding Biden accountable for his history of votes that hurt the black community. She is also recognized for her “subtle” confidence:

“She looked directly in the camera at the American people and said things, you know, with such confidence. When I’m president, when I’m in the oval office. She will hold the mic in her hand. it’s subtle.” (1:57:02)

This is coded as being associated with feminine traits in a positive way for their comment about subtlety as a positive. This is an interesting instance because while Harris is being praised for having “such confidence” she is simultaneously referred to as being subtle, almost as if she is performing traditionally masculine traits in a way that is acceptable for her as a woman.

Similar to night one, night two also had a short fact checking portion during the commentary. This part of the fact checking section is coded as discounting a woman’s response, “One of the first ones that jumped out, Kamala Harris saying that the economy is not working for some people because people are working multiple jobs. This is something you hear a lot from the left because the economy looks pretty good and it’s one of Trump’s biggest claims for re-election. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics tracked how many people work multiple jobs, 5% of America. That is 8 million people, so a lot of people, you can say there’s a lot of people doing it, but it’s down slightly from 20 years ago.” (2:11:51)

This falls under the first quality because, just like in night one with Klobuchar, a statement she made was brought up and cited as incorrect but shortly after is verified as correct by the same fact checker. The statement Harris made was about the economy not working for some people because people are working multiple jobs. The fact checker confirmed this by stating that 8 million people “so a lot of people” do work multiple jobs. The basis that Harris is seen as being incorrect on is simply that this statement would have been more accurate 20 years ago. This is

clearly discounting a woman's response because it was a correct statement and was given even more support by the fact checker, but still touted as being wrong.

The last instance of the night that was coded came after the moderator asked about who stood out for the night which led to a back and forth between her and a male commentator which went as follows:

“I don't think that anybody stood out as much as Secretary Castro did last night. You saw Bennett and Hickenlooper you saw Eric Swalwell go after Mayor Pete briefly.

>>Not even Senator Harris tonight? Not as much as Julian Castro?

>> I consider her in a different tier than Secretary Castro, I was talking about the lesser tier going after the big candidates.” (2:33:58)

While the commentator explained after his initial comment that he was talking about “the lesser tier” this is still coded as discounting a woman's presence because of how often Harris was praised as standing out and connecting with people throughout the night by these commentators. The order in which context is given is crucial here because if not prompted by the moderator to comment on Harris standing out he would not have mentioned that he was talking about a different tier of candidates and this is still discounting Harris' presence.

Given these findings, there is very little support for the hypotheses proposed. H1a attempted to predict that perceived femininity in presidential debates negatively affects political commentator's perception of electability of candidates. The most support found for this was in comments made about bringing passion versus bringing policy. In this instance a traditionally feminine trait is spoken about in a negative light which would show the commentator's perception of electability being affected, but because this is an isolated event it does not provide sufficient support for this hypothesis.

H1b also had very little support that the perceived femininity negatively effects the public's perception of electability of candidates. Because this is contingent on the effect the media is able to have on presidential support and elections, when H1a had little support so did its counterpart. If the media is not at least to a large extent seeing and portraying traditionally feminine qualities as a bad thing then that is not reflected by the public. It is possible that the public makes that determination on its own, but this study does not have the ability then to provide that evidence and support for the hypothesis.

There is not enough data to show support for H2: that perceived femininity in presidential debates negatively affects candidates' perception of the electability of other candidates. There is little interaction with candidates in the time analyzed. Post-debate coverage primarily consisted of commentary rather than candidate interviews. Only one candidate interview was conducted and there was no support for this hypothesis within that interview. Typically, post-debate commentary is accompanied by post-debate interviews of candidates. This particular debate constitutes a unique circumstance. The pool of 2020 presidential candidates was historically large including 32 candidates (Burns et al., 2020). 28 of these candidates were Democrats and of those, 20 participated in the debates. There were 10 candidates each night. During the previous Democratic debate that took place in 2016 following the Obama presidency, which was also the first presidential debate of the campaign season, there were only five candidates participating (2016 Presidential Primary, 2016). Having four times the candidate pool from previous election years put a strain on the schedule during the most recent primary debates because of attempts to make sure adequate speaking time is allotted for each candidate as well as inevitable interruptions and difficulties that take place during the debate. These difficulties lead to the inability to collect sufficient data to find support for this hypothesis. Future studies may benefit

from exploring these issues brought up by H2 during an election year in which there are fewer candidates participating in primary debates and the norm of post-debate candidate interviews is continued.

RQ1 asks, are traditionally feminine traits associated with weak leadership skills during post-debate commentary and interviews? The data suggests that a majority of the time, no, traditionally feminine traits are not associated with weak leadership skills during post-debate coverage. Rather than having data showing that feminine qualities are spoken about positively or are associated with good leadership skills, the lack of a discussion of feminine qualities is what sheds light on this question. Rather than speaking about feminine qualities negatively, they were largely not mentioned. Because they were not mentioned often they were not able to talk about them positively or negatively. This is similar to the way the answer to RQ2 is found. When asking if traditionally feminine traits were used to disqualify candidate experience during post-debate coverage the answer is again no. Because these qualities were not mentioned often, they were not cast in either a positive or a negative light.

While traditionally feminine traits were not mentioned often, traditionally masculine traits were. Masculine traits were more frequently mentioned and they were used as praise candidates and associate them with good leadership qualities. The hypotheses and research questions in this study were centered on femininity being treated poorly or as lesser-than masculinity but what may have been more revealing would be to look at the data again with a focus on masculinity being treated as a good thing with positive leadership associations.

CHAPTER 4: Discussion

Although previous research has shown that the media has a significant effect on political campaigns and outcomes, this study has the potential to explain how gendered coverage is

explicitly perceived as feminine and how that can impact a political candidate. Understanding the link between femininity and perceived electability is valuable in order to understand what the media may do to exacerbate that effect or to mitigate it. The ability of a female presidential candidates to navigate the political waters of the US presidency is crucial in order to ensure that women have the potential to get elected. The gender of an individual should not be a determining factor when it comes to their electability for the office of the president. It is clear that traditionally feminine qualities do not affect an individual's ability to lead, and are even seen as a beneficial characteristic outside of the frame of presidential candidacy. Kamala Harris was praised during the debates for her ability to be open about emotional reactions to Biden's history with racial injustice, but she was ultimately deemed unelectable when Biden won the party nomination. After receiving the nomination, Biden invited Harris to become his running mate and the vice presidential candidate. This decision was highly regarded by the public and the media.

Qualities Harris possessed were seen as a great complement to Biden and she was praised for her ability to be empathetic of marginalized communities while also fighting for them. Her youth has also been frequently brought up and praised, again, as a complement to Biden as he is on the older end for presidential candidates historically (Greve, 2020). Ultimately, Harris has been seen as an excellent candidate for the second highest seat in the country, but was drastically underqualified for the office right above it. This is likely due to the double bind previously mentioned because, "ambition is always seen as an admirable quality in men and a questionable quality in women" (Greve, 2020). By lowering her ambitions, even slightly, Kamala became a more acceptable woman by fitting into the stereotypical boundaries provided to her by society. By lowering her ambitions, Harris also lowered the amount of discomfort in the media and the

public caused by her goals (Greve, 2020). Because the office of the president is seen as so inherently masculine, when a woman finds herself close to it there is a sense of cognitive dissonance that is reflected in the media's coverage of them. Sarah Palin was also praised as a good VP pick by the McCain campaign because she brought different insight and skills to his candidacy, even though the media fixated primarily on her family life. If media coverage is found to have a significant slant in favor of masculinity when talking in terms of the presidency then it can be determined that in order to allow women to advance to higher levels of political office the way women are covered must change significantly (Smith et al., 2007).

Although it is clear that Harris will not win the 46th presidency of the United States, she is certainly in the running for Vice President. If Biden and Harris are to take office, Harris will be making history as the first woman, as well as the first Black and Asian person to hold the position. While this would be momentous, the way the media presents this information to the public could prolong the struggle women face in the political sphere. If the media follows the same path it did when Barack Obama was elected, there will likely be significant harm toward women running for president in the future. Obama was the first Black president elected and the post-election coverage handled this in a potentially harmful way. The period after the election was touted as the Post-Racism era (Pettigrew, 2009). This view was spread through even highly regarded news outlets including the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. People believed that because there was a Black man in the oval office, there could not possibly still be racial discrimination in the US. This problem was seemingly solved for them. The media perpetuated the idea that "racism is rapidly disappearing from the United States, that the social science 'crowd' whose intensive research reveals that racial bigotry is consciously and unconsciously still widespread throughout America is simply biased and wrong." (Pettigrew, 2009, p. 3).

Having a Black president made many feel that racism was no longer a factor that needed to be addressed. This was even true when looking at post-election polls. According to a study done by the University of Michigan, prior to the 2008 election 61% of people polled said that there was “a lot” or “some” discrimination against black people in America. Immediately following the election this dropped to 50% (Valentino, 2011). Valentino argues that this is because when Obama won the presidency, the commonly held perception became that people of color and white people were then on the same playing field with the same advantages and disadvantages. The same study found that Obama’s victory boosted opposition to race related policies (Valentino, 2011). This is harmful because if the people believe the illusion that racism is dead, they will no longer take strides to combat it.

Harris winning the VP seat has the potential to spur a similar reaction. If Harris makes history taking this position of high office, the way the media portrays it could drastically impact the public’s perception of the gender gap in the US. Moreover, having a woman in office could spur the belief that 2021 starts a “post-sexism” era in which legislation that aims to help close the gender gap and protect women is outdated and unnecessary, leaving these bills left unpassed. Having a token woman in the White House, even just as VP, gives the opposition a way to make the argument that women don’t have it all that bad. If the country were truly sexist, Harris wouldn’t be the VP. This is not to say that Harris winning office would inherently be bad, but that the way the media publicizes it has the potential to be tremendously harmful. When the arguments that sexism doesn’t exist emerge, progress in favor of women will stagnate. The public may be satiated by the fact that there is a woman holding high office and halt all legislation or efforts to even the playing field for women. This halt in progress would likely

mean that the possibility of a woman winning the office of the presidency would be pushed much farther into the future.

The importance of getting women elected to higher offices cannot be overstated. The lack of female leadership across not only US politics, but the world, is “an enduring problem in gender stratification” (Paxton & Kunovich, 2003). As long as female leadership is lacking, women’s views, issues, and representation are under attack. According to a United Nations roundtable on gender issues, “Underrepresentation of women in political life contributes to exacerbating inequality” (2019). The way that women are represented and treated in politics trickles down into the everyday lives of citizens. Policies put into place that directly affect women but do not have a check on the masculine power structures that put them in place threaten the well-being of all women that they preside over. It has been found that although typically members of Congress vote following party lines and the official party stance, this changes when gender comes into play (Swers, 1998). Factors such as party and ideology of representatives are vastly overshadowed when a piece of legislation that has significant impacts on a specific gender is in question. In an analysis of Congressional voting records, Swers found that the gender of the voting representative was the most significant influence on their votes when the legislation concerned abortion and women’s health (1998). Gender was also a significant determining factor on votes concerned with protection of women against violent crime (Swers, 1998). These influences have empirically crossed party lines. While most Democratic candidates will support women’s issues across the board, that is not true of their Republican counterparts. The biggest outliers seen voting in favor of women’s issues are Republican women who vote opposite of their party line (Swers, 1998).

Even aside from domestic women's health issues, ever since the Reagan presidency there has been a stark gender gap on voting issues concerning human rights. Men in the US have consistently been against welfare spending and homosexuality, and been advocates for the use of force in foreign policy (Thompson, 2020). Perhaps not coincidentally, women are more likely to live below the poverty line and rely on welfare services much more than men (Thompson, 2020). Women also make up the majority of married same-sex couples in the US (Associated Press, 2020). It seems clear that having more female representation in politics at all levels will drastically change the course of US policy. Men tend to vote along party lines no matter what, which have historically been opposed to women's issues and protections. Women consistently cross party lines in order to vote in favor of legislation that benefits women. The additional issue of human rights is not a small one either. With women more likely to vote in favor of legislation that protects individuals in need and ensures that basic human rights are protected, and that they cannot be discriminated against, it becomes certain that women in positions of power are beneficial.

A lack of women in positions of power also negatively impacts men. Patriarchal norms perpetuated in policy making have the ability to hurt men as a whole, as well as target different subgroups of the male population. Examples of this include policies that exclusively draft men when the country needs more individuals to fight in wars. Not only does the draft exclusively call for able-bodied men, but it is also more likely to be utilized because of the male tendencies to prefer force in international policy. These kinds of policies also perpetuate the patriarchal notion that men must be tough and willing to fight because that is the masculine thing to do (Becker, 1999). These stereotypes hurt men in their youth and they learn to repress their emotions and any feminine qualities they possess. Men that do not fall victim to these learned

cultural practices and continue to openly express their emotions and femininity are often the subject of discrimination (Becker, 1999). The domination of men in power operating on these patriarchal norms hurts the country as a whole, not just women.

Both men and women in America agree that too few women in politics is detrimental. A Pew Research Center poll found that a majority of men and women agreed that there are not enough women in positions of power and that a major obstacle for women is women not having the same rights as men (2020). When a majority of people think there are not enough women in positions of power, that means there are other factors at play keeping them out of office, including perceived electability of female candidates. The US finds itself in a pitfall where a majority of voters want to see women in positions of power, but they can never find the *right* woman. Women who are highly qualified are praised and find support to an extent, but never make it past the threshold necessary to win. Hillary Clinton was well qualified for the presidency, performed well in every presidential debate, and was even leading in the polls for the majority of the campaign, and yet she lost. She wasn't the right woman. In the 2020 election, Elizabeth Warren was well qualified for the position, was leading in many of the 2019 polls, was praised for debate performances, and yet she failed to even secure the party nomination (Linskey & Wang, 2020). At some point, every woman who has run for this office has been deemed the wrong woman. It seems as though the only right woman is a man. Kamala Harris was praised by commentators for her emotional appeals and yet she wasn't the right woman. At the same time, men are praised for their display of feminine qualities. Women and traditionally feminine qualities have served as a compliment to their male counterparts in the eyes of voters, but not as a substitution.

Not only is it important that women have adequate representation on the political stage, it is also beneficial to have more female leaders because of the difference in their leadership style and problem-solving abilities (Regine & Lewin, 2003). It has been empirically argued (Adler, 1997; Regine & Lewin, 2003; Rosener, 2011; Young, 2016) time and time again that female leadership and diversity helps create better and more informed decisions. Consequently, female leadership brings a different point of view to many of the world's most pervasive problems. As Young argues, "the most effective way to fight global poverty, to reduce civil conflict, even to reduce long-term carbon emissions, is typically to invest in girls' education and bring women into the formal labor force" (Young, 2016, p.1). Historically, women are built to nurture and are found to be more empathic, resulting in service to their communities, and care for others to reduce suffering (Zalis, 2020). These traits greatly impacted female-led nations in their response of the COVID-19 pandemic. New Zealand, Germany, Taiwan, Sint Maarten, and Denmark have had significantly better results at combating spread of the virus, eradicating it from their countries for periods of time, and supporting citizens during their efforts (Zalis, 2020). These results are not isolated events. When comparing death rates from COVID-19 for 21 different countries, led by 13 men and eight women, "male-led countries suffered an average of 214 coronavirus-related deaths per million inhabitants" while female led countries had only 32 deaths per million, one-fifth as many (Kristof, 2020). Having diverse global leadership and praising the traditionally feminine qualities that prompted these female leaders to make the response choices they did can help humanity moving forward.

Gender Disparities

This study has uncovered new information regarding the lack of female representation in the political sphere. Data shows that not only are women themselves lacking in politics, but also

femininity. While research does exist that explains that women are not seen as electable and that press coverage of female candidates is not always up to par, there is a significant lack in research attempting to explain the direct link between femininity and perceived electability. This study shows that the issue with women being seen as electable may not be their portrayal of femininity, but rather their lack of masculinity. When traditionally feminine traits were brought up with regard to male candidates, they were often used as a way to humanize and praise them. Buttigieg, a male candidate, on night two commenting on his sick family member is commended for relating to the audience and being more vulnerable with their display of emotions while Warren, a female candidate, known for being passionate in her campaigning is referenced as lacking passion on night one. It was seen as a novelty when Buttigieg opened up about his family life with the voters. Alternatively, invasive questions and probes about female candidate's family lives are the norm. Because Warren was expected to be passionate and she was seen as too divorced from her emotion during the debate, she was criticized for a lack of passion while other male candidates were not criticized in the same way. Castro was even praised for bringing policy with passion on night one in comparison to Warren when there were few, if any, differences in their performance. It suggests that had the male candidates not displayed those traits, their perceived performance in the overall debate would not have been altered.

Both Warren and Harris were also praised for traditionally feminine traits like passion and subtlety, but had they failed to perform these traits in an acceptable manner, the perception of their performance could likely be significantly altered. Women are expected to perform these traits in a way society deems proper for them. Women have to show compassion and empathy without being overly emotional, yet they are also criticized when they make hard decisions without shedding a tear. There is an ever present balancing act women must constantly monitor.

If a woman does not comply with these societal norms pushed on them, there is often backlash. They are punished for not complying with norms (Belkin, 2007). This backlash can take many forms, but in the political realm that backlash is likely exclusion from higher forms of office.

This situation is different for male candidates since femininity is not something that is expected from them. If headlines about their candidacy do not use any feminine traits, it would not be unordinary. Because femininity is not expected from them it, functions as a bonus when they display feminine traits on the campaign trail. As long as they are meeting the standards of traditional masculinity, any feminine trait can be spun as a humanizing factor in their campaign. The example of John Boehner mentioned earlier illustrates this well. Crying on the House floor a number of times, when receiving awards, and even when reminiscing about his family life, Boehner is known for his tears. These tears serve as a way to humanize him despite any policy actions or controversy associated with his name (Steinhauer, 2010). Whether male politicians shed genuine tears or calculated ones, often they are praised for their vulnerability and passion about whatever spurred their emotional moments. The opposite of this cannot be true for women. Because traditionally masculine traits are seen as synonymous with the traits of a successful leader, the logical assumption is that female candidates should simply adopt those traits, as male candidates do with female traits, and that then becomes an advantage to their candidacy. Due to the double bind effect this act actually harms them more than it can help. Because so many traditionally masculine traits are at odds with traditionally feminine traits, when a female candidate performs them they are no longer perceived as meeting the social and political expectations of their femininity.

While both masculinity and femininity are policed by society, femininity is judged much more harshly (Belkin, 2007). This harsh judgement is what makes it impossible for female

candidates to receive the same benefits as their male counterparts. It also suggests that the reason feminine traits are not often mentioned in the data is because we expect a proper performance of femininity from women, regardless of circumstance, but see it as a novelty to be praised from a male candidate. Although the hypotheses presented here were not supported, there are still beneficial findings here. Because the hypotheses with an emphasis on traditionally feminine traits did not find support because of a lack of data, future researchers know that they will need to change focus. Analysis of the transcripts found that although traditional feminine qualities are not often discussed, traditional masculine qualities are. Rather than fixating on feminine qualities being touted as less-than, a better focus might be to look for masculine qualities being praised as greater than feminine qualities that were also displayed. Shifting focus may support the idea that femininity is not necessarily bad because it is feminine, but rather that it is bad because it is not masculine.

While the data is lacking when it comes to female traits, there are many instances of traditionally masculine traits being praised. Commentators often referenced candidates as “strong” or “assertive” as a way to reflect on their superior performance during a specific portion of the debate. Having strong words, making a strong point, and coming off as assertive are all instances of commentator’s rhetoric reflecting masculine traits and praising them for both male and female candidates. This correlation is logical because we know that male traits are more often associated with good leadership practices. Data was lacking in order to support the proposed hypotheses that center on femininity. It is possible this is because performing good femininity means going unnoticed. Women are expected to meet certain expectations when performing femininity. They must be feminine enough, because they are a woman, but not too feminine if they want to be taken seriously. Good masculinity on the other hand is often praised

when performed by candidates. It is possible that this means a proper display of femininity by female candidates is necessary but not sufficient in their bid for office.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are some limitations that should be discussed. First, the only post-debate commentary that could be observed is from a Democratic debate. Ideally, data from both major parties would be available to be observed and compared with one another. This is not possible at the time of the study because the current incumbent president is Republican and so that party had chosen not to hold a debate. In the previous election cycle, there was only one Republican female presidential candidate, Carly Fiorina, who dropped out early in the race. Fiorina had only one debate appearance and was then excluded from the debates due to low polling numbers. What little data there is available on Fiorina's debate appearance finds that she too was subject to double standards about her appearance and perceived femininity (Kinsley, 2015). Unfortunately, there is not enough data in post-debate commentary to warrant an entirely separate feminist critical discourse analysis on Fiorina. Hopefully, more women in the Republican Party will run in the future so that a more holistic view of the issues at hand can be determined.

Another limitation that will always exist is the news network that acted as a host for the debate. This debate was hosted by NBC News. No matter what network hosts, there will always be a possibility of bias. Some networks are seen as more progressive or less, and some even openly support certain candidates. Presidential debates are hosted by different stations on a rotating basis each election season. NBC showed no clear bias towards any particular candidate but because they were hosting they had the ability to moderate who was allowed into the forum from which the data was collected. Ad Fontes Media provides bias and reliability ratings for popular news sources based on an analysis of online articles published by the media outlet. A

reliability score above 24 is “generally acceptable.” NBC has been found to have a slight liberal leaning but currently has a reliability score of 46.39 (NBC News Bias and Reliability, 2020).

The field would benefit from a post hoc analysis with a focus on masculinity rather than femininity. Conducting research with this alternative lens can help shed light on the aforementioned, and additional electability issues that women are having in the political sphere. If the issue is not their femininity but rather their lack of masculinity, coping mechanisms to help increase female representation in politics could be entirely different. Understanding how femininity or a lack of masculinity can affect the perceived electability of women among members of the press will allow us the ability to come up with ways to combat that link straight from the source. That then means it may be more likely that there will be less gendered coverage of candidates overall, and thus less of an impact on voters who are consuming that media. This post hoc analysis should do similar analysis to what is provided in this study but with a focus on masculinity rather than femininity. It may also be beneficial to document how often male candidates are praised for traditionally masculine traits and compare that to data on how often female candidates are praised for traditionally feminine traits. This comparison could help create more of an understanding about why masculine traits are seen as better qualities for a leader. Comparison between male and female candidates when it came to who received the most praise for masculine traits and for feminine traits could also reveal how big the effect of novelty is in commentator’s and audience’s perceptions. If male candidates most often receive praise for female traits and female candidates for male traits, further exploration of the novelty effect would be beneficial.

Understanding these interactions can help when it comes to creating coping mechanisms, like tailoring messages or appearances, for gender disparities in elections. Because one of the

limitations to this study is that only Democratic debates were observed, future research could center on masculinity, and analyze previous presidential debates in order to make these important comparisons. Of course this means that analysis will have to take into account any major policy changes that have affected women or the perception of femininity since the debates that they choose to analyze. Having data from both major parties could be beneficial because it could uncover more similar microaggressions or even display more equal treatment of female candidates. Regardless of the results, having more debates analyzed where female candidates were participants helps build a greater foundation for research and uplifting female candidates in the future. Future debates could also be analyzed using similar means.

CHAPTER 5: Conclusions

Female representation in politics is a good thing (Kristof, 2020; Young, 2016; Zalis, 2020), and media plays a large role in the public's perception of candidates (Chait, 2019; Enten, 2019; Geer & Kahn, 1993). This study has uncovered that traditionally feminine traits are not the roadblock to getting women elected. These traits are seldom spoken about during post-debate coverage, while masculine traits are often mentioned and praised. This could be reflective of the cultural norm that femininity ought to be quiet and reserved while masculinity is traditionally outspoken and associated with favorable qualities in a leader. Future research ought to shift focus to the representation of traditionally masculine traits in the media. Research can mirror the present study, altering only the study's lens on femininity being portrayed as inherently negative and pivoting to a focus on masculinity being portrayed as inherently positive. Understanding gendered coverage and how it directly hurts or helps candidates during their run for office is crucial in order to understand how we may be able to get more women elected in the future.

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Appendix: Transcripts

NIGHT 1:

I'M MORGAN RADFORD AND WELCOME TO SPECIAL POST DEBATE COVERAGE OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC DEBATE OF THE 2020 ELECTION CYCLE RIGHT HERE ON NBC NEWS NOW. WE JUST WRAPPED UP NIGHT ONE OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC DEBATE AND WE'VE GOT A LOT TO TALK ABOUT. THE TOP FOUR FRONT RUNNERS GOING INTO TONIGHT WERE IN THE TOP FIVE FOR THE MOST AIR TIME. ELIZABETH WARREN, CORY BOOKER, BETO O'ROURKE AND AMY KLOBUCHAR. ALSO IN THE TOP FIVE WAS JULIAN CASTRO. NOT SURPRISINGLY, IT WAS A NIGHT THAT WAS ALL ABOUT THE ISSUES. WE HEARD FROM CANDIDATES ON THINGS LIKE IMMIGRATION, FREE COLLEGE, HEALTH CARE, THE IRAN DEAL, ABORTION, GUN VIOLENCE, THE SUPREME COURT, CLIMATE CHANGE, POLICE VIOLENCE AND OF COURSE LGBTQ RIGHTS. SO TO BREAK DOWN WHAT WE SAW THIS EVENING WE'RE BRINGING OUR PANEL BACK IN. WE HAVE REPUBLICAN POLITICAL CONSULTANT SIR MICHAEL SINGLETON. POLITICAL REPORTER ALEX THOMPSON AND MSNBC POLITICAL ANALYST ZERLENA MAXWELL. THEY'RE HERE TO TALK ABOUT THE HIGHLIGHTS. ALEX, DID ANYONE SURPRISE YOU? >> I THINK SECRETARY CASTRO CLEARLY HAD PROBABLY THE MOST SURPRISING NIGHT, HIS ABILITY TO HAVE HIS FINGER ON THE PULSE OF CERTAIN POLICY ISSUES. I THINK HE REALLY CAUGHT BETO O'ROURKE OFF GUARD BY KIND OF HITTING HIM FROM THE LEFT ON THIS QUESTION ABOUT IS IT A CRIME TO CROSS THE BORDER. CLEARLY SECRETARY CASTRO HAD DONE PREP WORK. HE KNEW BETO'S RECORD SPECIFICALLY, SO HE ENTERED THE NIGHT PREPARED TO ATTACK BETO ON THAT ISSUE, AND BETO DID NOT SEEM READY-- >> HE GOT VERY SPECIFIC ABOUT REPEALING SECTION 1325 AND SAYING LET'S NOT JUST FOCUS EXCLUSIVELY ON ASYLUM. IT IS ALSO INTERESTING BECAUSE IF YOU LOOKED AT GOOGLE, THEY SAID THAT THE GOOGLE SEARCH FOR JULIAN CASTRO INCREASED 2400% AND THAT WAS JUST SINCE THE DEBATE STARTED. SO, MICHAEL, IS HE THE BREAK OUT? >> I SAID IT EARLIER, I'M GLAD I DID. I KNEW HE WAS GOING TO BE THE GUY. WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE SPECIFICS, HE WAS ABLE TO DO WHAT I WOULD ARGUE ELIZABETH WARREN DIDN'T EVEN DO AS EFFECTIVELY AS I THOUGHT SHE COULD. TALK ABOUT VERY DETAILED POLICIES IN A WAY WHERE THE AVERAGE PERSON WATCHING, I GET THIS. THIS MAKES SENSE AND I KNOW HOW IT'S GOING TO IMPACT ME. THIS IS A GREAT NIGHT FOR HIM. >> **[1] IT WAS INTERESTING BECAUSE I THINK WE SAW ELIZABETH WARREN BROUGHT THE PASSION, BUT CASTRO SEEMED TO REALLY BRING THE POLICY.** >> RIGHT. I MEAN, IT'S TOUGH IN 60 SECONDS TO DO BOTH, RIGHT? AND I THINK THAT HE PREPARED FOR EXACTLY THAT. I ALSO THINK HE HAD THE BENEFIT OF PEOPLE NOT NECESSARILY KNOWING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND HIS BROTHER. >> JOAQUIN. >> IT'S FUNNY, BUT PEOPLE WERE LIKE THIS IS JULIAN AND THIS IS WHAT HE'S ABOUT. >> WHEN YOU'RE NEW TO PEOPLE, I THINK THAT IT'S ACTUALLY YOU HAVE LOW EXPECTATIONS AND YOU CAN SURPASS THEM, WHEREAS ELIZABETH WARREN WENT IN WITH SKY HIGH EXPECTATIONS BECAUSE SHE'S THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN RISING TO THE DOUBLE DIGITS INTO THE TOP TIER. SO I THINK THEY HAD

DIFFERENT CHALLENGES, AND I THINK THAT HER PASSION DID COME THROUGH. >> SHE DIDN'T NECESSARILY NEED SUBSTANCE IN THIS DEBATE. SHE HAS THAT AS HER TAG LINE. I HAVE A PLAN FOR THAT. >> **[1] I DON'T THINK SHE MOVED THE NEEDLE AS MUCH AS SHE COULD HAVE.** >> COULD HAVE. MAYBE NOT SHOULD HAVE -- >> LOOK, LET'S BE HONEST. HER GOAL AND OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO BE ON THE SAME DEBATE STAGE AS BERNIE SANDERS AND JOE BIDEN, MAYOR PETE, AS KAMALA HARRIS. I'M NOT NECESSARILY SURE THAT WE'LL SEE A FIVE OR TEN-POINT BUMP FROM HER PERFORMANCE TONIGHT. >> WHY, WHAT DID SHE NOT DO? >> LOOK, I THINK A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE ANTICIPATING A LOT OF ENERGY COMING FROM ELIZABETH WARREN. **[1] I WOULD ARGUE YOU SAW MORE ENERGY COMING FROM MAYOR BILL DE BLASIO THAN YOU DID FROM ELIZABETH WARREN.** EXACTLY, HE REALLY DID. I THINK A LOT OF PEOPLE SORT OF SAW HER, SHE'S THE FRONT RUNNER ON THAT STAGE TONIGHT AMONG ALL THOSE COMPETITORS AND SHE DIDN'T, IN MY OPINION, QUITE MEET THE MARK AS FAR AS EXPECTATIONS THAT I HAD SET FOR HER FROM WHAT WE'VE SEEN SO FAR OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS. >> WHY IS THAT? >> THEY WERE HIGH EXPECTATIONS. SHE'S IN THE CENTER OF THE STAGE. ALL THE FIRE IS AIMED AT HER. SO ALL SHE HAS -- I FEEL LIKE ALL SHE HAD TO DO TONIGHT WAS NOT MESS UP. WHEN YOU HAVE MOMENTUM IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, THAT CAN CONTINUE AS LONG AS YOU DON'T HAVE A MAJOR SCREW UP OR GAFF. >> ALEX, I WANT TO GET YOUR PERSPECTIVE ON THIS. WHEN I POSTED THE QUESTION TO TWITTER ABOUT WHAT THEY WANTED TO HEAR, RAYMOND D. SAID DID ANY CANDIDATE MISS THEIR OPPORTUNITY TO STAND OUT? >> **[1] I THINK AMY KLOBUCHAR DID FAIL.** I THINK GOVERNOR INSLEE FAILED. I THINK THEY BOTH HAD THEIR LITTLE MOMENTS. THEY'RE GOING TO BE ABLE TO PUSH IT FORWARD, BUT THEY ARE IN THIS SORT OF TIER WHERE THEY MIGHT NOT EVEN QUALIFY FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF DEBATES IN SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER. THEY NEED MOMENTS IN ORDER TO CATCH FIRE IN ORDER TO GET THROUGH THE 130,000 MARK. I THINK AMY KLOBUCHAR COULD HAVE A MOMENT WHERE SHE SAID CALLED OUT GOVERNOR INSLEE FOR MAN SPLAINING. >> SHE SAID WOMEN HAVE BEEN ON THE FRONT LINES A VERY LONG TIME. >> HE TRIED TO ACT LIKE HE WAS THE ONLY ONE STANDING UP FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS >> WHO ARE YOU TALKING TO? >> IT'S INTERESTING BECAUSE MY QUESTION WAS WHAT ABOUT THE IDENTITY POLITICS TONIGHT? I THINK WE ALL HAD THE MOMENT WHEN WE SAW BETO CAME OUT AND HE WAS SPEAKING SPANISH. JULIAN SPOKE SPANISH CORY BOOKER SPOKE SPANISH. IT WASN'T JUST THAT BECAUSE BEYOND THE SPANISH, WE ALSO SAW THAT CORY BOOKER SPOKE EXPLICITLY ABOUT HIS CONNECTION TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY. DE BLASIO SAID, BY THE WAY, I HAVE A BLACK SON WHO IS NAMED DANTE. AND HE MADE HIS OWN CONNECTION. DID IT WORK? DID THEY REACH INTO THEIR IDENTITY? >> IT WAS LIKE PANDERING 102. >> OH, YOU DID NOT LIKE THAT? >> NO, I DID NOT. WHEN JULIAN DID IT HE ALSO TALKED ABOUT AFRICAN AMERICANS. I NOTICED THAT. THE SAME THING ABOUT CORY BOOKER. EXACTLY. DID YOU NOT SEE THE EXPRESSIONS ON CORY BOOKER -- >> THEY BECAME IN -- >> RIGHT. AND ELIZABETH WARREN. >> THEY WERE LOOKING AT HIM LIKE WHAT IS HAPPENING RIGHT NOW? >> I THINK THE

REASON WHY IS HE JUMPED RIGHT TO IT, RIGHT? IT'S NOT LIKE HE WAS, HI, I'M BETO. HE JUMPED RIGHT TO THE SPANISH. PEOPLE WHO KNOW SPANISH ON TWITTER ARE LIKE, YOU DIDN'T EVEN ANSWER THE QUESTION IN SPANISH. SO -- >> I'M GOING TO ASK -- DO THAT AGAIN. >> I FELT HE DID. THAT WAS THE MOMENT WHEN MY PHONE STARTED BLOWING UP. MY MOM IS LIKE, OH, WOW -- YEAH, THIS IS WILD. FOR ME I WAS TRYING TO THINK WHEN HAVE WE SEEN SOMEONE DO IT TO THAT DEGREE OF FLUIDITY? I FELT IT WAS A MARK OF INCLUSION. >> TIM KAINE WAS PRETTY GOOD, SPANISH HE'S FLUENT. I'M NOT SAYING THAT IT WAS A GOOD THING THAT HE WAS DOING THAT AND THAT THEY WERE PLAYING OFF OF THE FACT THAT HE WAS FLUENT IN SPANISH. I DON'T THINK NECESSARILY PLAYING IDENTITY POLITICS IN A WAY THAT CAN APPEAR LIKE PANDERING IS A GOOD THING. I THINK THERE IS A DIFFERENT WAY TO DO IT IT THAT IS COMPLETELY AUTHENTIC. YOU CAN SHOW UP AND SAY I'M A WHITE GUY NAMED ROBERT O'ROURKE AND THEN YOU CAN TALK ABOUT THE ISSUES THAT IMPACT COMMUNITIES OF COLOR. BUT YOU DON'T -- I THINK, YOU KNOW, HE BENEFITS IN THE FACT HIS NICKNAME IS BETO. HE BENEFITS FROM THE FACT THAT SOME PEOPLE LOOKING AT HIM MAY NOT KNOW HE'S A WHITE MAN NAMED ROBERT. >> TO BE CLEAR, IN SPANISH BETO IS THE SHORT FOR ROBERTO. >> HE GREW UP IN TEXAS, KNOWN AS BETO. HE AUTHENTICALLY HAS AN EXPERIENCE AND CONNECTION WITH THAT COMMUNITY. BUT, ALEX, WHAT ABOUT WHEN YOU HEARD DE BLASIO TALK ABOUT HIS SON, WHAT DID YOU THINK? >> I THINK IT WAS ONE OF THE BEST MOMENTS OF THE DEBATE. HE ACTUALLY WAS MAYBE NOT AS BIG OF A STAR AS JULIAN, BUT CERTAINLY A BREAK-OUT STAR OF THIS DEBATE. I THINK HE REALLY RESONATED. WHETHER OR NOT IT WAS ON PRIVATE INSURANCE OR IDENTITY OR TALKING ABOUT HIS FATHER'S SUICIDE, WHICH I THINK, YOU KNOW, HE HAD A FEW GOOD MOMENTS THAT I THINK REALLY WOULD RESONATE WITH ALL THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC BASE. >> MICHAEL, LET ME GET YOUR PERSPECTIVE, TOO, ON CORY BOOKER BECAUSE CORY BOOKER SPOKE VERY CANDIDLY ABOUT BEING AFRICAN-AMERICAN. FREQUENTLY SAID, MY COMMUNITY, MY COMMUNITY. DO YOU THINK HE MADE PEOPLE FEEL COMFORTABLE THAT HE COULD BE EVERYONE'S PRESIDENT? >> I THINK SO. FROM CORY BOOKER'S PERSPECTIVE, HE MENTIONED WHEN HIS PARENTS MOVED INTO A CERTAIN NEIGHBORHOOD, IT WAS WHITE ACTIVISTS THAT CAME TO HIS PARENTS' DEFENSE, IF YOU WILL. I THINK HE DID TRY TO BRING TWO DIFFERENT COALITIONS TOGETHER. TO BE HONEST, I WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT MORE CANDIDATES DID NOT SPEAK MORE DIRECTLY ON GUN VIOLENCE. WHEN THEY DID, THEY SPOKE ABOUT ASSAULT RIFLES, BUT WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, MOST GUN VIOLENCE IS BY PISTOL. [1] **I WAS ALSO DISAPPOINTED THAT NONE OF THE CANDIDATES SEEMED TO BE PREPARED TO ANSWER THE QUESTION DIRECTLY ABOUT HOW WOULD YOU DEAL WITH MITCH MCCONNELL CONTROLLING THE SENATE? THESE ARE SOME GREAT IDEAS -- >> WELL ELIZABETH WARREN DID ADDRESS THAT. >> I DIDN'T THINK SHE DID >> YOU DIDN'T LIKE HER ANSWER >> I THINK SHE TALKED AROUND IT. SHE DIDN'T DIRECTLY ANSWER IT. THESE ARE GREAT IDEAS, BUT THE REALITY IS IF YOU**

GET ELECTED NEXT YEAR, MITCH MCCONNELL IS STILL THE MAJORITY LEADER. NONE OF THESE THINGS ARE GOING TO COME TO FRUITION. >> AFTER -- >> ABSOLUTELY. >> THERE'S A LOT MORE TO TALK ABOUT HERE. AND WE HEARD FROM THE CANDIDATES ABOUT WHERE THEY STAND ON IMMIGRATION, COLLEGE, HEALTH CARE, ABORTION AND MANY OTHER ISSUES. TAKE A LOOK AT SOME OF THESE HIGHLIGHTS. [CLIPS FROM THE DEBATE] >> THE MAYOR OF FLORIDA IS ALSO RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT, BUT DID NOT QUALIFY TO BE ON THE DEBATE STAGE TONIGHT WITH THE OTHER DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES HOPING TO CHALLENGE PRESIDENT TRUMP IN 2020. HE JOINS US NOW LIVE FROM MIRAMAR, FLORIDA TO SHARE HIS PERSPECTIVE. MAYOR, THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR BEING WITH US THIS EVENING AND SHARING YOUR TIME WITH US. WHAT WAS YOUR INITIAL REACTION TO TONIGHT'S DEBATE? DID ANYTHING SURPRISE YOU? >> WELL, NO. YOU KNOW, WE'VE BEEN OUT ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL FOR SOMETIME NOW. JUST HEARING SOME OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES IS PRETTY CONSISTENT WITH SOME OF THE MESSAGES WE'VE HEARD ON THE CAMPAIGN. >> AND SPEAKING OF THAT, YOU SAID YOU'VE BEEN CAMPAIGNING FOR SOME MONTHS NOW. WHEN YOU'VE BEEN OUT THERE, YOU'VE BEEN TALKING SPECIFICALLY TO GUN CONTROL AND TALKING ABOUT THINGS LIKE ELIMINATING THE STUDENT DEBT. DID YOU AGREE WITH THE CANDIDATES' POINTS ON THOSE ISSUES? WAS THERE ANY ONE YOU FELT REALLY WAS ALIGNED WITH WHAT YOUR VISION IS? >> WELL, I THINK MY MESSAGE IS MORE UNIQUE. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER TO TALK MORE ABOUT THE STUDENT LOAN DEBT CRISIS IN MORE DETAIL. GUN VIOLENCE MENTIONED EARLIER, WE HIGHLIGHT MASS SHOOTING, BUT EVERY DAY THERE IS NEIGHBORHOOD GUN VIOLENCE THAT TAKES PLACE AND WE NEED MORE SOLUTIONS DEALING WITH JUST THE PLIGHT OF WHAT DRIVES THOSE TYPE OF DECISIONS TO KILL ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. I THINK AS CANDIDATES, WE HAVE TO COME SPECIFICALLY TO DEAL WITH THESE EVERYDAY ISSUES. >> SO WHAT IS YOUR SPECIFIC SOLUTION TO THE GUN VIOLENCE ISSUE? >> WELL, THE FIRST THING IN TERMS OF EVERYDAY VIOLENCE, YOU HAVE TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF EVERYDAY AMERICANS. WHERE THEY HAVE HOPE, THEY HAVE OPPORTUNITY FOR PROSPERITY SO THEY'RE NOT TURNING TO A LIFE OF CRIME THAT LEADS TO VIOLENCE. AND I THINK WHEN WE IMPROVE THE DAILY LIVES OF AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY IN THE URBAN COMMUNITIES AND AREAS WHERE WE SEE A LOT OF GUN VIOLENCE, WE'LL SEE A REDUCTION. IT'S MORE THAN JUST TAKING GUNS OFF THE STREET. IT'S REALLY TAKING AND GIVING THEM EDUCATION, GIVING THEM OPPORTUNITIES, AND GIVING THEM AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE THEY CAN SUCCEED. >> AND IS THERE ANYTHING BESIDES THE GUN CONTROL ISSUE THAT YOU SPECIFICALLY FEEL LIKE YOU COULD HAVE BROUGHT TO THE DEBATE STAGE TONIGHT IF GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY? >> WELL, ONE THING -- HERE'S A COUPLE THINGS. FIRST, I WOULD HAVE DEALT MORE IN TERMS OF THE STUDENT DEBT LOAN CRISIS, BEING THE FIRST CANDIDATE TO MAKE THAT PROPOSAL TO FORGIVE THE \$1.5 TRILLION, I WOULD HAVE GONE INTO THOSE ISSUES, MAKE NOTES HOW OTHER CANDIDATES HAVE ALSO FOLLOWED THAT LEAD AND HOW IT WOULD BENEFIT INDIVIDUALS WHO GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE WITH THE CRIPPLING DEBT. THE OTHER THING IS ABOUT WINNING. WE HAVE TO ATTRACT

AND MOTIVATE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO WOULD VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE WHO FEEL DISENCHANTED. IN ALL CANDOR, IF WE'RE NOT SPEAKING TO THOSE INDIVIDUALS THAT FEEL LIKE WE HAVE SOLUTIONS FOR THEM, WE WILL IMPROVE THEIR LIVES, THAT THE SYSTEM CAN BE TILTED BACK IN THEIR FAVOR INSTEAD OF, YOU KNOW, RICH CORPORATIONS AND THE RICH EST OF AMERICANS. LIKE MY STATE OF FLORIDA. ELECTIONS ARE DETERMINED BY 20, 30,000 VOTES AND THOSE ARE INDIVIDUALS THAT BASICALLY JUST STAY HOME. WHEN YOU HAVE 100,000 REGISTERED VOTERS THAT JUST STAY HOME BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T MOTIVATED, IN FLORIDA THAT IS GOING TO BE CRITICAL AND WE HAVE TO SPEAK TO THOSE VOTERS. >> SO, MAYOR, I WANT TO ASK YOU A QUESTION. I HAVE TO BE HONEST, WHEN I WAS WALKING IN TO DO THIS SHOW, SOMEONE STOPPED ME IN THE HALLWAY. THEY SAID MORGAN, AT THE END OF THE DAY THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE. THEY ASKED ME, IF I COULD SPEAK TO THE CANDIDATES, IS THERE ANYONE THEY WOULD SUPPORT IF THEIR ANSWER WAS NOT -- IS THERE ANYONE BASED ON THEIR PERFORMANCE YOU THINK YOU COULD GET BEHIND? >> WELL, I THINK THERE'S A LOT MORE DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS THAT NEEDS TO TAKE PLACE. I HAVE A LOT OF RESPECT FOR A LOT OF MY FELLOW DEMOCRATS THAT ARE SEEKING THE NOMINATION AND ANY OF US WOULD BE BETTER THAN DONALD TRUMP. SO I THINK I'LL BE ABLE TO SPEAK THAT FROM THE QUESTIONS OF THE MODERATOR AFTER QUALIFYING FOR ONE OF THE DEBATES ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. >> MAYOR FROM MIRAMAR, FLORIDA, THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR JOINING US THIS EVENING. >> THANKS FOR HAVING ME. >> OUR PLEASURE. WE'RE GOING TO TAKE A SHORT BREAK, BUT STICK WITH US. WE'LL BE RIGHT BACK. >>> THE GLOVES CAME OFF TONIGHT AS TEN OF THE 25 DEMOCRATIC CONTENDERS TOOK TO THE STAGE DEBATING TOPICS LIKE HEALTH CARE, IMMIGRATION, AND GUNS. BUT HOW MANY OF THEIR CLAIMS WERE TRUE? NBC IN MIAMI HAS BEEN FACT CHECKING. WHAT DID YOU FIND? >> WE HAD A PRETTY CLEAN DEBATE. WE WERE TYPING AWAY. EVERY CLAIM, EVERY NUMBER THAT CAME ACROSS OUR DESK. A FEW THINGS I WANTED TO BRING UP, WE SAW JULIAN CASTRO TIED THE TRAGIC DEATH OF THAT FATHER AND DAUGHTER TO TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES. IT IS TRUE, THE PRESIDENT HAS INSTITUTED WITH HIS ADMINISTRATION POLICIES THAT SLOW THE NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS THAT CAN ENTER THE COUNTRY EACH DAY AND CLAIM ASYLUM. AND THIS IS SOMETHING THAT ACCORDING TO THE REPORTING IN MEXICO IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT MOTIVATED THIS FATHER TO RISK HIS LIFE AND CROSS THE RIO GRAND WHEN HE WAS TRAGICALLY KILLED. >>> A COUPLE OTHER THINGS THAT CAME ACROSS MY DESK THAT WERE INTERESTING. **[1] AMY KLOBUCHAR BROUGHT UP THE 2013 IMMIGRATION BILL. SOMETHING WE HEARD SO MUCH ABOUT YEARS AGO AND SAID IT LOWERS THE DEBT. SHE'S CLOSE. IT LOWERS THE DEFICIT. IT DOES LOWER THE DEBT, BUT DOESN'T TICK DOWN THE DEBT THE SAME WAY. THE DEBT RISES AT A SLOWER RATE THAN IT WOULD BEFORE.** THE BIG FALSEHOOD OF THE NIGHT, THE BIG ONE THAT I SAW WAS THE STAND OUT THING WITH FACT CHECKING WAS BETO O'ROURKE SAYING THAT PURDUE PHARMA, THE MAKERS OF THE OXYCONTIN HAD TOTAL IMPUNITY AND ACTED WITHOUT ANY JUSTICE FOR THEIR ROLE IN THE NARCOTICS AND OPIOID CRISIS.

THE COMPANY HAS PAID HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN SETTLEMENTS. THEY'RE IN COURT CONSTANTLY FIGHTING OFF THESE CLAIMS. HE SAID THEY NEVER SPENT A NIGHT IN JAIL. THAT'S CORRECT. THE OVERALL CLAIM OF IMPUNITY NOT EXACTLY RIGHT. >> WOW, THAT'S A LOT. BIG PHARMA, THE DEFICIT VERSUS DEBT, AS WELL AS IMMIGRATION. THANKS SO MUCH FOR JOINING US THIS EVENING. AS JANE MENTIONED, IMMIGRATION WAS IN FOCUS TONIGHT, A VERY HOT TOPIC, AND IT WAS THE SUBJECT OF A HEATED DEBATE ON STAGE WE SAW BETWEEN BETO O'ROURKE AND JULIAN CASTRO. THEY CLASHED OVER THEIR IMMIGRATION STANCES AND OTHER CANDIDATES WEIGHED IN WITH THEIR OWN OPINIONS. HERE ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS. [CLIPS FROM DEBATE] >> SO A LOT THERE TO UNPACK TONIGHT. LET'S GO STRAIGHT TO DR. BURNES WHO IS WATCHING THE DEBATE WITH A FEW COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY. GUYS, I HAVE A QUESTION FOR YOU JUST TO START. I THOUGHT THERE WAS A REALLY POWERFUL MOMENT WHEN AMY KLOBUCHAR WAS TALKING ABOUT GUN CONTROL. SHE SAID JUST LIKE WITH GUN CONTROL AND WITH GAY RIGHTS, KIDS LEAD THE WAY. DO YOU ALL FEEL LIKE THE STUDENTS -- THE ISSUES YOU CARE ABOUT MOST WERE ADDRESSED TONIGHT? >> I FEEL LIKE MOST OF THE ISSUES I WANTED TO HEAR ABOUT WERE ADDRESSED TONIGHT. MAYBE NOT AS DEEPLY AS I WANTED TO, BUT I AGREE WITH HER BECAUSE, YES, IT'S BEEN THE YOUTH THAT PUT THE ISSUES IN THE FOREFRONT FOR EVERYONE TO SEE AND PAY ATTENTION TO. >> AGAIN, THE POINT I MADE, WE WERE HAVING OUR OWN DISCUSSION REALLY, THAT WE ARE THE GENERATION THAT'S LOOKING FOR CANDIDATES TO PRESENT THEIR SPECIFIC POLICIES. AND, YES, WE DON'T WANT OVERALL GENERAL POLICIES PASSED FORWARD. AND I THINK THESE CANDIDATES WERE ABLE TO DO THAT TONIGHT. AGAIN, THERE ARE SO MANY OF THEM, SO THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH TIME WE WERE ABLE TO LISTEN TO EACH PERSON, BUT I'M HAPPY TO SEE THAT, YOU KNOW, CANDIDATES LIKE WARREN ALL WERE ABLE TO TAKE THEIR TIME AND LAY OUT SPECIFIC PLANS THAT THEY HAVE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ESPECIALLY. >> NOW, ONE OF THE MOMENTS THAT REALLY STOOD OUT TO ME, YOU GUYS HAD A PRETTY VISCERAL REACTION TO WAS THE CONVERSATION ABOUT GUNS. WARREN CALLED IT A NATIONAL HEALTH EMERGENCY. GIVE US YOUR THOUGHTS ON THAT. WHY IS THAT SOMETHING THAT GOT A HEATED REACTION FROM YOU ALL? >> I THINK WE WERE ALL REALLY IMPRESSED WHEN SHE TALKED SPECIFICALLY ABOUT LOOKING AT IT FROM A STANDPOINT OF DOING RESEARCH AND SEEING THE PROBLEMS THAT ARE UNDERLYING AND CAUSING THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO FIND OUT THE WAY TO FIX THEM CORRECTLY. I THINK THAT'S WHAT WE ALL WANT TO SEE, SOLUTIONS THAT HAVE RESEARCH TO BACK THEM UP. >> I'M ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN THE PREVENTIVE CARE MODEL THAT THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES SEEM TO SUGGEST TONIGHT, WE WE LOOK AT THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE ISSUE, WHETHER THAT IS GUN CONTROL OR IMMIGRATION OR HEALTH CARE. AND WE NOTICE THAT THERE'S A LACK OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND THERE IS ALSO A LACK OF CARE SERVICES IMPLEMENTED THROUGHOUT ONE'S LIFETIME THAT MIGHT RESULT IN THESE REALLY TERRIBLE SOCIAL ISSUES. >> DID YOU GET THE SPECIFICS ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES THAT WE TALKED

ABOUT BEFORE IN THE DEBATE THAT YOU WERE LOOKING FOR? >> NO. MAYOR DE BLASIO TALKED SPECIFICALLY HOW HE WANTS TO SHIFT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BACK TO BEING THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, BUT NEVER REALLY GAVE ANY SPECIFIC POLICY SOLUTIONS FOR IT. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THE BLUE COLLAR AMERICA IS HAPPENING IN PENNSYLVANIA, OHIO, WISCONSIN, MICHIGAN, THOSE KEY STATES THE PRESIDENT WON IN 2016 BECAUSE HIS MESSAGE RESONATED WITH THOSE KINDS OF VOTERS. BLUE COLLAR AMERICA ISN'T HAPPENING AS MUCH IN NEW YORK CITY AS IT IS IN PLACES LIKE THAT, LIKE WEST VIRGINIA. I FELT THAT A LOT OF THE CANDIDATES SORT OF TALKED ABOUT, YOU KNOW, [1] **ELIZABETH WARREN TALKED ABOUT THE POOR PEOPLE, BUT I FELT LIKE IT WAS MORE ABOUT HELPING THEM AS POOR PEOPLE, NOT GETTING THEM BACK ON THEIR FEET**, FINDING JOBS FOR THEM AND PUTTING THEM INTO CAREERS WHERE THEY CAN SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES AGAIN. >> THEY TALKED ABOUT A LOT OF ISSUES YOU ARE REALLY PASSIONATE ABOUT BEFORE THE DEBATE. WHAT WAS MISSED? DID ENOUGH ATTENTION GET PAID TO CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM AND ALL THOSE OTHER THINGS YOU GUYS TALKED ABOUT? >> REALLY QUICKLY, I DON'T KNOW IF YOU MIND -- >> YEAH. >> GOING BACK TO THE POINT YOU MADE ABOUT ELIZABETH WARREN. THAT'S ACTUALLY FUNNY THAT SHE MADE THAT POINT. I WAS GOING TO SAY WITH ELIZABETH WARREN SHE WAS KIND OF THE ONLY CANDIDATE THAT REALLY FOCUSED ON RETRAINING THOSE THAT ARE IN THESE COMMUNITIES WHERE THESE INDUSTRIES ARE DYING, ESPECIALLY WITH THE COAL INDUSTRY AND HOW THAT CONFLICTS WITH TAKING CARE OF THE ENVIRONMENT, HOW WE OFTEN HAVE TO BALANCE THE TWO, FINDING JOBS OR TAKING CARE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND SEEING WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE. SO ELIZABETH KIND OF TALKED ABOUT ON THE GREEN DEAL, GREEN NEW DEAL, HELPING THOSE WHO ARE WITHIN THE DYING INDUSTRIES, HELPING THEM TO RETRAIN INTO NEWER INDUSTRIES, THAT WAY THEY'RE NOT NECESSARILY LOSING THEIR JOBS. THEY ARE SIMPLY LEAVING IT FOR SOMETHING ELSE THAT WILL BE ABLE TO HELP NOT ONLY THE ECONOMY, BUT TO HELP THE ENVIRONMENT. I THINK THAT WAS INTERESTING. WHAT WASN'T COVERED ENOUGH AND WHAT WOULD YOU WANT TO SEE MORE TOMORROW NIGHT? >> I'D BE INTERESTED IN HEARING ABOUT INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY POLICIES. WHEN WE TALK ABOUT UNIVERSAL CHILD CARE WHICH WAS MENTIONED ONCE TONIGHT, IT WOULD BE INTERESTED INTERESTING TO HEAR HOW IT WILL HELP WORKING WOMEN, COMMUNITIES OF COLOR THAT ARE TRYING TO GET BACK ON THEIR FEET. IT COULD BENEFIT IMMIGRANT GROUPS. AND I'D BE INTERESTED IN HEARING ABOUT THE RIPPLE EFFECT OF THESE POLICIES AND HOW WHEN WE HAVE SOMETHING LIKE UNIVERSAL CHILD CARE, IT WILL BOLSTER OUR SYSTEM AND TRAIN CHILDREN AND GIVEN ATTENTION FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD. >> WHAT WERE SOME EYE ROLL MOMENTS? I DEFINITELY SAW SOME FROM YOU GUYS. ARIANA, I SAW A LOT FROM YOU WHEN CORY BOOKER WAS TALKING. >> A COUPLE LIKE, GOD, YOU GUYS, WHAT WERE SOME OF THOSE THINGS THAT YOU WEREN'T SO THRILLED ABOUT? >> WHEN BETO SPOKE SPANISH. SERIOUSLY, I WON'T SAY I DIDN'T LIKE IT, BUT I THINK IT CAUGHT PEOPLE OFF GUARD. YOU COULD SEE

SOME OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES WERE SHAKEN UP BY THAT. >> IT WAS TRENDING ALL OVER TWITTER. >> I THOUGHT IT WAS GREAT FOR THE FIRST TIME. BUT AS IT CONTINUED ON WITH THE MULTIPLE CANDIDATES, I FELT LIKE ESPECIALLY WITH BOOKER IT FELT LIKE PANDERING FOR SOME REASON, IT WASN'T GENUINE COMING FROM HIM. ANY MOMENTS THAT DIDN'T FEEL AS GENUINE COMING FROM THE CANDIDATES WHEN THEY TALKED ABOUT IDENTITY POLITICS WHEN BOOKER KEPT TALKING ABOUT HIS NEIGHBORHOOD REPEATEDLY IN THE SAME FASHION. I FELT LIKE THAT WAS AN EYE ROLL MOMENT FOR ME. >> QUICK LIGHTNING ROUND, WHO WON TONIGHT IN YOUR EYES? WE'LL START WITH VALENTINA. >> JULIAN CASTRO FOR TALKING POLICY. >> JULIAN CASTRO. >> CASTRO FOR THE SAME REASONS. >> SECRETARY CASTRO. >> I THINK WARREN ACTUALLY DID A GOOD JOB, BUT I DO AGREE, I THOUGHT CASTRO STOOD OUT AS ONE OF THE LESSER-KNOWN CANDIDATES. >> I WAS SURPRISED BY MAYOR DE BLASIO'S IDEAS AND HIS MESSAGING. >> WOW, SO CASTRO KIND OF STOLE THE SPOTLIGHT AND DE BLASIO CAME OUT. AWESOME. THANK YOU GUYS SO MUCH FOR STICKING WITH ME AND WATCHING THIS THING WITH US. BACK TO YOU. >> THANK YOU SO MUCH. I HOPE TO SEE YOU ALL ON THE DEBATE STAGE IN 2024. YOU GUYS TAKE CARE. THANKS FOR STICKING AROUND. THANKS. >>> WE'RE GOING TO TAKE A QUICK BREAK AND WE'LL BE RIGHT BACK. >>> THANKS SO MUCH FOR JOINING US. I'M MORGAN RADFORD AND WELCOME BACK TO SPECIAL COVERAGE OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE. TONIGHT WE HEARD A LOT ABOUT HEALTH CARE EVEN THE CANDIDATES EXCHANGED SOME ZINGERS. WE HEARD ABOUT MEDICARE FOR ALL, SINGLE PAYER. THE CANDIDATES BUTTED HEADS ON STAGE TONIGHT AS THEY DISCUSSED THEIR INDIVIDUAL HEALTH CARE PLANS. HERE ARE SOME OF THE HIGHLIGHTS. [CLIPS FROM THE DEBATE] >> SO, MICHAEL, ZELINA, JACKIE, WE WERE ALL RIVETED DURING THIS RECAP AND DURING THE BREAK WE WERE TALKING, JACKIE, ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE MOMENT JON DELANEY HAD. I THOUGHT IT WAS PARTICULARLY POWERFUL WHEN HE SAID KEEP WHAT'S WORKING, FIX WHAT'S BROKEN. WHAT WAS THE BEST POLICY SOLUTION YOU HEARD FOR HEALTH CARE TONIGHT? >> I CAN'T WEIGH IN ON WHAT I THINK MIGHT BE THE BEST, BUT I DO THINK CANDIDATES TO THIS POINT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET AWAY WITH HAVING FUZZY OPINIONS ON WHERE THEY STAND ON MEDICARE FOR ALL. BERNIE SANDERS INJECTED INTO THE CONVERSATION IN 2016 AND QUICKLY POPULARIZED THAT IN OUR CURRENT ELECTION. AND WHAT YOU SAW THERE WAS WHEN BILL DE BLASIO AND ELIZABETH WARREN RAISED THEIR HANDS AND SAID THAT THEY WERE ONLY TWO CANDIDATES IN FAVOR OF OUTRIGHT BANNING PRIVATE INSURANCE, THAT WAS THEM PASSING WHAT WE CALL A PURITY TEST AND DRAWING THE MOST EXTREME CONTRAST THAT WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR. AND THEN YOU HAD CANDIDATES SORT OF SHOWING THE SHADES IN BETWEEN. IT WAS ACTUALLY A SUPER INTERESTING CONVERSATION THAT IS EXACTLY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD BE HAVING NOW. DELANEY IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH ESPECIALLY SOMEONE LIKE ELIZABETH WARREN'S OPERATING PRINCIPLES AS A WHOLE, WHICH HAS DRIVEN MOST OF HER POLICY FOR PRESCRIPTIONS. BUT JON DELANEY WAS ON THE OPPOSITE SPECTRUM OF THAT

AND I THINK THIS WAS HIS MOST SALIENT AND LUCID MOMENT WHERE HE REALLY ARTICULATED WHY HE THOUGHT THAT WAS A BAD IDEA. THE JOB OF DEMOCRATS ISN'T NECESSARILY TO SCRAP EVERYTHING IN FAVOR OF THESE LITMUS TESTS, BUT INSTEAD KEEP THINGS THAT ARE WORKING AND SUPPLEMENT THEM WITH MEDICARE FOR ALL, SORT OF A JOINT PRESCRIPTION. >> I THINK THE QUESTION ABOUT ELIMINATING PRIVATE INSURANCE WAS KIND OF INDICATIVE OF THAT LITMUS TEST. WHAT DID YOU THINK WHEN YOU SAW WARREN AND DE BLASIO -- >> IT'S ALMOST LIKE A TRICK QUESTION BECAUSE WHAT SORT OF YOU'RE SUPPOSED TO DO IN A DEMOCRATIC DEBATE IS DO WHAT DE BLASIO AND WARREN DID, WHICH IS STAKEOUT YOUR PRINCIPLES AND WHERE YOU STAND ON YOUR VALUES. AND MAKE IT VERY CLEAR. WHAT THEY ARE SAYING IS THAT PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE IS FOR PROFIT, AND THAT IS NOT LEADING TO THE BEST OUTCOMES IN HEALTH CARE FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES AND CHILDREN AND PEOPLE WHO NEED THAT CARE. AND ANYBODY WHO HAS ACTUALLY TRIED TO USE THEIR PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE, IF THEY HAVE A SICK PARENT OR SICK CHILD, WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT LONGER TERM SITUATIONS OR VERY COSTLY PRESCRIPTION DRUGS, THIS BECOMES AN ISSUE THAT YOU CARE ABOUT. SO PERHAPS YOU LIKE YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE BECAUSE YOU NEVER HAD TO USE IT FOR ANYTHING. AND I THINK THAT THE MORE PEOPLE ARE GOING BANKRUPT BECAUSE THEY HAD A MEDICAL CONDITION THAT WAS UNEXPECTED OR A SICK CHILD, THE MORE THE ARGUMENT THAT MAYBE WE SHOULD DO AWAY WITH THE SYSTEM THAT IS BANKRUPTING FAMILIES, I THINK THAT CAN RESONATE WHEN PEOPLE LOOK AT THE REAL WORLD CIRCUMSTANCES. >> I WANT TO ASK YOU A QUESTION BECAUSE WHEN WE TOOK IT TO TWITTER AND WE ASKED IS THERE ANY TOPIC YOU DIDN'T SEE TONIGHT, TIM FROM TWITTER SAID -- EXCUSE ME, ANDRE DAVIS SAID MENTAL HEALTH. WHY DO YOU THINK THAT WASN'T ADDRESSED? >> WHAT'S INTERESTING ABOUT THAT, ONE OF THE CANDIDATES ACTUALLY DID SORT OF BRING IT UP ON THE ISSUE OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE. RIGHT. IT DID COME UP A LITTLE BIT. RIGHT, RIGHT. I'M NOT SURE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, AS THEY TRY TO FIGURE OUT WHAT'S GOING TO GIVE ME THE BEST HEADLINE TOMORROW AFTER THE DEBATE, I'M NOT NECESSARILY SURE THAT THAT'S THE MOST JUICIEST, OR SEXIEST OF TOPICS IF YOU WILL AND IM NO SAYING THAT ITS NOT AN IMPORTANT ONE, BUT I JUST THINK THAT AT THIS PART OF THE PROCESSHAVING WORKED ON PREVIOUSMENT CAMPAIGNS, YOU HAVE TO DO EVERYTHING YOU POSSIBLY CAN TO, ONE, BRING IN NEW DONORS, AND TWO, BRING IN NEW POTENTIAL VOTERS UNDER YOUR TENT THAT CAN HELP YOU GROW AND BUILD THE TYPE OF COALITION YOU NEED ACROSS THE COUNTRY. >> ANOTHER MOMENT WE SAW THAT REALLY GOT REACTION WAS THE QUESTION OF ABORTION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. DO YOU THINK ANYONE STOOD OUT PARTICULARLY ON THAT ISSUE? >> JULIAN CASTRO. >> WHY DO YOU SAY THAT? >> HIS ANSWER WAS PERFECT TO ME. HE EVEN BROUGHT UP TRANS RIGHTS. >> NOT REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM, REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE. I AM A PROFESSIONAL FEMINIST. I'VE BEEN A PROFESSIONAL FEMINIST FOR A DECADE. THE FACT A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SAID REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE AND NOT RIGHTS IS A

VERY IMPORTANT MOMENT. THE REASON WHY IS RIGHTS IS BASICALLY ONLY ABOUT ABORTION. IT'S USUALLY ONLY ABOUT PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF, YOU KNOW, MORE AFFLUENT WHITE WOMEN. AND IT OBSCURES THE FACT THAT IT'S NOT JUST ABOUT ACCESS TO ABORTION. IT'S ALSO ABOUT ACCESS TO BIRTH CONTROL. IT'S ALSO ABOUT ACCESS TO BIRTH CONTROL TO TREAT UTERINE FIBROIDS OR SOME OTHER ISSUE THAT IS NOT PREGNANCY RELATED. IT IS ALSO RELATED TO MAKING SURE YOU CAN RAISE YOUR FAMILY IN A SAFE COMMUNITY, THAT YOU HAVE ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE THROUGHOUT THAT CHILD'S LIFE AND YOUR OWN LIFE, AND THAT THEY CAN RISE UP THE SOCIOECONOMIC LADDER. IT IS A MORE WHOLISTIC APPROACH AND THAT WAS A RADICAL MOMENT TO SAY REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE IN A DEBATE-- YES. HILLARY CLINTON DID TALK ABOUT REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE IN THE 2016 CAMPAIGN IN PLANNED PARENTHOOD. BUT I CAN'T RECALL HER SAYING THOSE WORDS IN A DEBATE, AND THAT'S A BIG MOMENT. >> WHAT DID YOU THINK, JACKIE? DID YOU FEEL LIKE THE ISSUE, THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE ISSUE AROUND ABORTION WAS ADEQUATELY ADDRESSED BY THE CANDIDATES? >> I DO, AND I REALLY DID APPRECIATE AMY KLOBUCHAR'S ZINGER ABOUT GOVERNOR INSLEE. >> YES. WAS THERE MANSPLAINING GOING ON? >> PERHAPS A LITTLE BIT, HE DID MAKE A PRETTY BOLD CLAIM, HE WAS THE ONLY ONE TO PROTECT ABORTION RIGHTS. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE THREE FEMALE CANDIDATES ON THE STAGE WHO ALSO -- >> LEGISLATION. >> YEAH. BUT WHAT I'M ACTUALLY CURIOUS TO SEE JOE BIDEN ANSWER THAT QUESTION TOMORROW. I WAS PRETTY SURPRISED BIDEN'S NAME DIDN'T COME UP DURING THE CONVERSATION BECAUSE HE WAS THE ONE CANDIDATE WHO HAS BEEN BEHIND THE CURVE ESPECIALLY IN THE CONVERSATION OF REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE BECAUSE HE HASN'T SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THAT A LOT OF THE ISSUES AROUND REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE DISPROPORTIONATELY AFFECTS WOMEN OF COLOR. >> THE HYDE AMENDMENT. >> EXACTLY. THERE WAS REPORTING THAT HIS TOP FEMALE ADVISORS HAD TO EDUCATE HIM ON WHY IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND AND FLIP-FLOP ON THE HYDE AMENDMENT BECAUSE IT DISPROPORTIONATELY AFFECTED COMMUNITIES OF COLOR. I'M CURIOUS AS TO HOW HE'S GOING TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION WHEN HE'S PUT ON THE SPOT TOMORROW. >> I WANT TO GET YOUR OPINION, THOUGH, ON THE CONCEPT OF FLIP-FLOPPING THAT JACKIE BROUGHT UP. THERE WAS A VERY POINTED MOMENT IN TULSI GABBARD TONIGHT AS WELL. THEY SAID HOLD ON NOW. WE LOOK AT YOUR RECORD WHEN IT CAME TO GAY RIGHTS. SHE WAS ALSO SOMEONE WHO CHANGED HER POSITION ON ABORTION. SO WHAT DO YOU THINK AT THIS STAGE IN THE PROCESS IT DOES WHEN A CANDIDATE HAS SWITCHED THEIR POSITION? >> I MEAN, LOOK, EVERY CANDIDATE AT SOME POINT IS GOING TO HAVE TO RESPOND TO PREVIOUS STATEMENTS, TO PREVIOUS VOTING RECORDS IF THEY HAVE SERVED IN CONGRESS, HOUSE OR SENATE. AND I'M NOT SURPRISED CANDIDATES ARE GOING TO LOOK AT THE CURRENT LANDSCAPE, THEIR GONNA LOOK AT THE NUMBERS THEIR GONNA LOOK AT THE DATA, THE ANALYTICS AND SAY, WAIT A MINUTE, I'M NOT IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE THAT I NEED TO HELP ME WIN THIS THING. SO PERHAPS I NEED TO PIVOT, WHICH IS WHY WE SAW JOE BIDEN ATTEMPT TO

MAKE A PIVOT, ALTHOUGH I DON'T THINK IT WAS VERY SUCCESSFUL. I WOULD CAUTION DEMOCRATS, THERE ARE, I WOULD SAY, A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF AMERICANS WHO WILL SAY I'M OPEN TO SOME OF THESE OTHER IDEAS, BUT I'M NOT ALL THE WAY THERE YET. AND YOU HAVE TO KEEP IN MIND ONCE YOU GET OUT OF THIS PRIMARY PROCESS, IT'S GENERAL ELECTION. THE DYNAMICS CHANGE. I'VE DONE IT THREE TIMES. YOU'RE TALKING TO THE ENTIRE COUNTRY NOW, NOT JUST THE LOUDEST VOICES IN YOUR PARTY. IF YOU ISOLATE TOO MANY PEOPLE, YOU RISK ALREADY JEOPARDIZING YOUR ODDS. >> YOU'RE SAYING VOTERS SHOULD BE MORE PATIENT? >> I'M SAYING THAT CANDIDATES NEED TO BE MORE SMARTER IN HOW THEY NAVIGATE THIS PROCESS. >> BUT IS IT ENOUGH TO SAY, I HAVE EVOLVED? IS THAT A SATISFACTORY ANSWER FOR A VOTER? >> I THINK YOU NEED TO EXPLAIN WHY AND HOW. AND I THINK THAT WHAT JOE BIDEN DID NOT DO YET, WHICH I THINK TOMORROW TO YOUR POINT IS A GOOD OPPORTUNITY, IS TO EXPLAIN EXACTLY HIS TRANSITION FROM THE WRONG POSITION ON HYDE TO THE CORRECTION POSITION OR AT LEAST THE PARTY'S POSITION ON HYDE. >> WALK THE VOTERS THROUGH THEIR THOUGHTS THROUGH THAT? >> HE NEEDS TO WALK VOTERS THROUGH THAT PROCESS. HE CAN'T BE DEFENSIVE AND SAY THAT'S JUST WHAT I BELIEVED, OR THIS IS MY PERSONAL BELIEF BECAUSE I'M A CATHOLIC AND THIS IS MY FAITH OR MY PERSONAL BELIEF ABOUT ABORTION AS AN ISSUE, AS OPPOSED TO A POLICY ISSUE THAT IMPACTS WOMEN, RIGHT? BECAUSE I THINK THE DEBATE THAT WE'RE HAVING RIGHT NOW ABOUT HYDE AND ABOUT ALL OF THESE ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN'S HEALTH CARE HAS TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT PEOPLE WHO DON'T PERSONALLY BELIEVE IN ABORTION WANT TO SAY THAT YOU CAN'T HAVE ONE. I DON'T CARE WHAT YOU PERSONALLY BELIEVE ABOUT ABORTION. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT POLICIES THAT IMPACT EVERYONE. SO YOU CAN HAVE YOUR PERSONAL BELIEVES AND YOUR PERSONAL FAITH, BUT THE POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS THAT IMPACT ALL AMERICAN CITIZENS SHOULD UPHOLD THE RIGHTS TO THE SUPREME COURT SAID ARE IN THE CONSTITUTION. THAT ESSENTIALLY IS THE DEBATE RIGHT NOW, AND I THINK THAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT ABORTION SPECIFICALLY, BUT I THINK IT ACTUALLY TOUCHES ON OTHER ISSUES, TOO. >> WHICH IS INTERESTING. WHERE DO THE ROLE OF PERSONAL BELIEVES COME IN AND PERSONAL CONNECTION? WE WERE TALKING A LOT DURING THE BREAK. WHEN WE HEARD THOSE COLLEGE STUDENTS, NO, WE DIDN'T LIKE WHEN WE HEARD BETO SPEAK SPANISH. WHY DID EVERYONE LOVE IT WHEN WE HEARD JULIAN CASTRO SAY REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE FOR WOMEN BUT NO ONE LIKED WHEN BETO SAID I'M GOING TO SPEAK SPANISH FOR THE LATINOS EVEN THOUGH I'M NOT LATINO. >> I THINK ITS BECAUSE HE DIDN'T ANSWER THE QUESTION. I THINK IT'S THE WAY YOU DO IT. IT'S MORE THE METHOD THAN THE FACT YOU'RE DOING IT. IF HE HAD STARTED SORT OF WITH A MORE NATURAL SEGUE INTO THE SPANISH, I THINK IT WOULD HAVE COME ACROSS MORE AUTHENTIC. IT SEEMED TO BE -- HE JUMPED RIGHT INTO IT. OH, LET ME SHOW YOU THIS TRICK I CAN DO, EVERYBODY. I'M GOING TO SPEAK SPANISH RIGHT NOW. >> A TRICK. >> YES, I THINK IT WAS A METHOD FOR HIM TO SHOW OFF AS OPPOSED TO CONNECT. >> WHAT DID YOU THINK, JACKIE, DO YOU THINK IT WAS A CONNECTIVE MECHANISM? >> I DEFINITELY

THINK IT WAS A PROP HE THOUGHT OF AHEAD OF TIME. WE SAW ALL THESE ARTICLES ON ALL OF THE DIFFERENT STRATEGIZING AND BRAINSTORMING THESE CAMPAIGNS WERE DOING TO GET CANDIDATES VIRAL MOMENTS AND HOW THEY WERE GOING TO PUSH THAT OUT AND MAKE IT GO EVEN MORE VIRAL. BUT THOSE KIDS WHO THEY SPOKE WITH IS MORE IN TUNE -- I THINK HAVE A PULSE ON THE AUTHENTICITY TEST THAN THE UNDER 30 AGE RANGE. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY SAW, THEY SAW SOME PEOPLE'S SPANISH AS PANDERING TO THE LATINO COMMUNITY, AND OTHERS LIKE JULIAN CASTRO BEING AUTHENTIC AND GENUINE. I THINK THAT IS WHAT IS GOING TO BE SO IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF EVEN JOE BIDEN ADDRESSING A FLIP-FLOP OR SOMEONE APOLOGIZING OR EXPLAINING THEIR EVOLUTION. AT THE END OF THE DAY I THINK THAT'S WHY OBAMA WAS SO SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE PEOPLE FELT THAT AUTHENTICITY. >> I THINK YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE A PERSONAL BELIEF AS A CANDIDATE AND STILL RECOGNIZE AS A PRESIDENT, I'M SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT AND LEAD THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. THEREFORE, I RECOGNIZE IF I'M NOT IN SYNC WITH WHERE THE REST OF THE COUNTRY IS GOING, I STILL HAVE TO LEAD WITH WHAT YOU GUYS EXPECT. I THINK PRESIDENT OBAMA, TO YOUR POINT, WAS EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE AT DOING THAT. THESE ARE MY PERSONAL BELIEFS, BUT I RECOGNIZE THAT THE REST OF THE COUNTRY -- AND I NEED TO TRY TO MEET THE COUNTRY WHERE THEY ARE. I THINK JOE BIDEN NEEDS TO SORT OF ARTICULATE THAT TOMORROW. >> HOW DO YOU DO THAT STYLISTICALLY SO THAT YOU STILL CONVEY AUTHENTICITY? >> I DON'T THINK IT'S DIFFICULT FOR JOE BIDEN TO SAY, LOOK, I'M A CATHOLIC THIS IS WHAT I BELIEVE 70+ PERCENT OF AMERICANS CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS CHRISTIANS SO HE'S NOT ALONE. A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE THAT BELIEF. HOWEVER I DO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND I WANT TO MAKE SURE I'M ON THE SIDE OF WOMEN, SIMPLE. >> THERE IS A FINE LINE THERE BECAUSE WHEN YOU APOLOGIZE ONCE, THEN WHEN DOES JOE BIDEN START APOLOGIZING FOR EVERYTHING. >> I DO THINK THAT'S THE TRICK WHEN YOU HAVE A LONG RECORD. WHEN YOU HAVE THIS DECADES LONG RECORD, YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE A LOT TO EXPLAIN. THE CRIME BILL IS ANOTHER THING THAT'S GOING TO COME UP. IT CAME UP FOR HILLARY CLINTON EVEN THOUGH SHE WASN'T IN OFFICE, BUT JOE BIDEN WROTE THAT CRIME BILL. THERE ARE A LOT OF BLACK PEOPLE IN PRISON AS A RESULT. HE'S GOING TO HAVE TO SPEAK TO THAT CONSTITUENCY AND EXPLAIN, I DIDN'T SEE THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. I DIDN'T FORESEE IT. >> THE EVOLUTION. >> THERE'S A LOT MORE EXPLAINING TO DO, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT COMES TO BIDEN TOMORROW. LET'S SAVE THAT FOR TOMORROW. RIGHT NOW >>> SIR MICHAEL ALEX AND ZERLINA ARE BACK WITH US NOW. TOMORROW THERE ARE SOME BIG NAMES ON THE DEBATE STAGE. WHAT ARE YOU GUYS LOOKING TO HEAR TOMORROW? >> LOOK, JOE BIDEN, IN MY OPINION, HAS THE MOST TO LOSE. AND I GUARANTEE YOU THAT BERNIE SANDERS IS GOING TO COME VERY HARD FOR JOE BIDEN. BUT I THINK PEOPLE FORGET JOE BIDEN IS A VERY TALENTED DEBATER HIMSELF. I THINK BIDEN HAS TO PUT HIMSELF AS I AM THE BEST PERSON TO GO HEAD TO HEAD WITH TRUMP. WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT THESE ISSUES, IF I WAS ADVISING THEM, I WOULD SAY BRING UP YOUR 8

YEARS WITH OBAMA. WE DID THIS, I WAS WORKING ON ISSUES YOU GUYS WERE TALKING ABOUT BEFORE. I HAVE BEEN THERE AND IF YOU ELECT ME, I'LL MAKE SURE THESE THINGS COME TO FRUITION. >> WHAT ABOUT FIREWORKS, ALEX, DO YOU EXPECT THERE TO BE MORE ZINGERS TOMORROW NIGHT? >> ABSOLUTELY. >> WHY DO YOU SAY THAT? >> YOU HAVE THE FRONT RUNNER ON THE STAGE AND THREE OF THE OTHER TOP FIVE CANDIDATES THAT ARE RIGHT BEHIND HIM AND THEY ALL WANT TO TAKE HIM DOWN. WHAT YOU'RE GOING TO SEE ALSO IS THAT MAYOR PETE AND BIDEN HAVE BOTH HAD ROCKY FEW WEEKS. PETE IS DEFINITELY GOING TO GET QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLICE OFFICER IN SOUTH BEND WHO SHOT A BLACK MAN AND HIS RESPONSE TO IT. BIDEN IS GOING TO BE TAKING IT FROM ALL SIDES. EVERYONE IS GOING TO BE WATCHING. DOES HE HAVE A SENIOR MOMENT? DOES HE LOSE IT? DOES HE GET DEFENSIVE? BECAUSE EVERYONE IS EVALUATING HOW WILL HE LOOK AGAINST ON THE STAGE AGAINST DONALD TRUMP. AND WHEN YOU'RE MAKING AN ELECTABILITY ARGUMENT, YOU CAN'T FALTER. >> YOU'VE BEEN HERE, YOU'VE BEEN THROUGH THIS PROCESS BEFORE. HOW DOES HAVING THE FRONT RUNNER, DEBATING THE FRONT RUNNER, HOW DOES THAT CHANGE YOUR STRATEGY? >> I THINK OBVIOUSLY WE DIDN'T HAVE THIS MANY PEOPLE RUNNING, SO IT'S A LITTLE BIT DIFFERENT BECAUSE THERE ARE MORE PEOPLE AIMING AT YOU ALL AT THE SAME TIME AS OPPOSED TO JUST BERNIE SANDERS TRYING TO TAKE DOWN HILLARY CLINTON WHO WAS THE FRONT RUNNER IN 2016. THE STRATEGY IS TRY TO STICK TO YOUR POINTS. DON'T TRY TO DO ANYTHING THAT'S NEW. >> DO YOU LOSE PASSION WHEN YOU DO THAT? >> PERHAPS. **[2] BUT THE CHALLENGE OF ANY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS TO COMBINE THE POLICY AND PASSION TOGETHER. THAT'S WHY ELIZABETH WARREN HAS BEEN RISING. SHE'S ALWAYS HAD THE PASSION. SHE ADDED THE POLICY AND HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY RELEASING THAT.** TOMORROW THE MOMENT IS GOING TO BE HOW DOES JOE BIDEN RESPOND TO THE ATTACKS THAT ARE GOING TO COME TO HIS WAY INEVITABLY. AND WHETHER OR NOT HE'S GOING TO SEEM DISMISSIVE OF SOME OF THE YOUNGER CANDIDATES OR MAYBE THE WOMEN ON THE STAGE. I'M LOOKING FOR AN AWKWARD JOE BIDEN GAFF. >> OKAY. YOU SAY AWKWARD. ALEX, YOU SAID SENIOR MOMENT. IS AGE GOING TO BE A FACTOR TOMORROW NIGHT? >> ABSOLUTELY YOU HAVE PETE BUTTIEGIEG WHO IS 37 RIGHT NEAR JOE BIDEN WHO IS 76. BERNIE SANDERS IS 77. HE IS HALF THEIR AGE. IF NOT, THEY ARE GOING TO TRY TO DO LITTLE THINGS BIG AND SMALL TO TRY TO SHOW THAT THEY ARE YOUNGER, MORE VIBRANT. AND I THINK, YOU KNOW, BERNIE IS GOING TO WATCH HOW CRANKY HE GETS. BIDEN, THEY'RE GOING TO SEE DOES HE MEANDER, DOES HE GET OFF POINT, DOES HE NOT QUITE MAKE THE SENTENCES CONNECT. >> MICHAEL? >> THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT AGE AND WISDOM THAT I THINK WE ALL VALUE, AND I WILL REMIND YOU GUYS OF RONALD REAGAN. IF YOU RECALL, HE HAD THAT ONE LINER ABOUT I WILL NOT, MY OPPONENT AND HIS YOUTHFULNESS. JOE BIDEN NEEDS TO HAVE THAT KIND OF MOMENT IF SOMEONE DOES ATTEMPT TO ATTACK HIM BECAUSE OF THE HIS AGE BEING 76, I BELIEVE. WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT WHAT MOST VOTERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT, IT'S NOT AGE. IT'S WHO CAN DEFEAT TRUMP. IT'S NOT RACE, IT'S NOT

GENDER. THIS IS AMONG DEMOCRATIC VOTERS, WHO CAN GO TOE TO TOE WITH DONALD TRUMP. RIGHT NOW MOST PEOPLE THINK THAT INDIVIDUAL IS JOE BIDEN. THAT'S A HUGE ADVANTAGE GOING INTO TOMORROW NIGHT. >> I THINK HE'S THE DEFAULT CHOICE. HE'S A PLACE HOLDER. I THINK HE'S THE PLACE HOLDER FOR PEOPLE WHO DON'T LIKE TRUMP. THEY WANT TO WIN. AND HE IS A KNOWN QUANTITY. THERE ARE SO MANY CANDIDATES THAT YOU'VE NEVER HEARD OF BEFORE, SO YOU'RE JUST LEARNING ABOUT THEM. A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE NOW LIKE JULIAN CASTRO AND FOLLOW HIM MORE CLOSELY AND THAT MAYBE PULLS AWAY FROM BIDEN A BIT. >> WE SAW THE GLOVES COME OFF TONIGHT AND THE QUESTION IS WILL THEY COME OFF AGAIN TOMORROW? THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR STICKING AROUND ALL NIGHT, ALL FOUR HOURS WITH US. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN TOMORROW. AND AGAIN, THANK YOU TO JACKIE, TO DASHA THANK YOU TO OUR ENTIRE GROUP OF COLLEGE STUDENTS. THAT'S ALL FOR US IN NEW YORK. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU TOMORROW RIGHT BACK HERE STARTING AT 8:00 P.M. EASTERN WITH OUR DEBATE PRESHOW. THEN NIGHT TWO FROM MIAMI KICKS OFF AT 9:00 P.M. EASTERN. YOU'RE LOOKING RIGHT HERE AT YOUR SCREEN THE FACES YOU WILL SEE ON THE STAGE UNDER THOSE BRIGHT LIGHTS. THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR WATCHING. WE'LL BE WITH YOU TOMORROW. HAVE A GREAT NIGHT.

NIGHT 2

>> WHAT A DEBATE NIGHT. WELCOME BACK TO OUR SPECIAL COVERAGE OF THE SECOND NIGHT OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC DEBATE RIGHT HERE ON "NBC NEWS NOW." THERE YOU HAVE IT, TWO NIGHTS, 20 CANDIDATES. THE CANDIDATES ARE WALKING OFF THE STAGE AS WE SPEAK. JOE BIDEN, BERNIE SANDERS, KAMALA HARRIS, PETE BUTTIGIEG WERE IN THE FRONT. THEY WERE THE FRONT-RUNNERS COMING INTO TONIGHT. THERE WERE ALSO A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WANTED TO MAKE A NAME FOR THEMSELVES AND THEY DID COM OUT SWINGING. THEY TALKED ABOUT RACE. IMMIGRATION, POLICE VIOLENCE, HEALTH CARE, CLIMATE CHANGE, GUN CONTROL, JUST TO NAME A FEW. AND THOSE CANDIDATES TRIED TO STACK THEIR CLAIM ON THE ISSUES AND MANY OF THEM TRIED TO INTRODUCE THEMSELVES TO SOME AMERICANS WHO ARE MEETING THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME TONIGHT. HERE ARE SOME OF THE HIGHLIGHTS. [CLIPS FROM THE DEBATE] >> HERE TO HELP ME DIVE IN TO ALL OF THOSE ISSUES WE HEARD TONIGHT ON THE DEBATE STAGE. WE HAVE NANCY SANTIAGO VICE PRESIDENT OF HISPANICS AND PHILANTHROPY, POLITICOS ALEX THOMPSON AND MSNBC'S ZERLINA MAXWELL. WHO DO YOU THINK WON THE DEBATE TONIGHT, ALEX? >> IT WAS KAMALA HARRIS AND THAT EXCHANGE SHE HAD WITH VICE PRESIDENT BIDEN IS GOING TO BE THE MOMENT THATS REMEMBERED IN THIS DEBATE. ITS ALSO ONE OF THE MOST SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENTS DEBATES ON RACE THAT WE'VE EVER SEEN IN A PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE AND IT'S NOT EVEN OVER, KAMALA'S CAMPAIGN IS ALREADY SAYING THAT BIDEN NEEDS TO APOLOGIZE FOR HIS PAST POSITIONS ON BUSSING. AND THERE'S AN OPEN QUESTION, BIDEN IN THEIR DEFENDED HIS PASSED VIEWS THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION SHOULD NOT GO IN AND

ENFORCE BUSSING THAT IS NOT CLEAR, THEY ARE GOING TO KEEP PUSHING HIM TO APOLOGIZE AND CHANGE HIS POSITION. >> DO YOU THINK HE WAS RIGHT TO DOUBLE DOWN WHEN SHE HELD HIS FEET TO THE FIRE? >> NO, HE WAS WRONG. HE IS WRONG. AND SHE ARTICULATED FUNDAMENTALLY A REALLY IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH IS THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHEN IT STEPS IN. WHEN THE STATES ARE NOT DOING WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAYS IT SHOULD DO, RIGHT? THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS THE ONLY ENTITY BIG ENOUGH AND STRONG ENOUGH TO COME IN AND SAY NO YOU'RE GOING TO ADMIT THESE SCHOOLS AND INTEGRATE SCHOOLS SO, HER POINT ON THE SUBSTANCE IS CORRECT. SO, HE WAS ABSOLUTELY WRONG IN THAT MOMENT AND WRONG TO DOUBLE DOWN. >> AND THEN YOU WERE THERE LAST NIGHT IN MIAMI CORRECT? >> THAT'S RIGHT. >> ONE THING I COULD NOT HELP BUT NOTICE WAS THE WAY THAT IDENTITY POLITICS WAS TREATED TONIGHT VERSE LAST NIGHT. TO ME, AND TELL ME IF I'M WRONG, IT FELT LIKE LAST NIGHT WAS MORE ABOUT WHO I AM. AND TONIGHT, IT WAS MORE OF WHAT I HAVE EXPERIENCED. YOU SAW THE CANDIDATES CONNECT ON THINGS LIKE HEALTH CARE. **[4] I HAD A SICK DAD OR A TERMINAL ILLNESS AND IT SEEMED TO BE ABOUT THE MARROW OF THEIR EXPERIENCES.** DO YOU THINK THAT AFFECTED WHY THAT MOMENT WITH KAMALA WAS SO POWERFUL? >> I DON'T THINK IT WAS THAT PER SAY FOR ME, THERE WAS IDENTITY POLITICS LAST NIGHT. AND IT WAS AROUND THE IMMIGRATION PIECE. IT'S NOT BLACK AND WHITE, RIGHT? IT'S A VERY DIFFERENT THING. SO IN THAT RESPECT, THAT WAS A HEATED EXCHANGE BETWEEN BETO AND JULIAN CASTRO SO, WE THINK ABOUT THAT PIECE, IT'S JUST PLAYING OUT DIFFERENTLY. WHAT I THINK THE PROBLEM, OR THE MISSED OPPORTUNITY FOR BIDEN WAS, HE HAD A CHANCE TO MODEL FOR AMERICA HOW TO SAY, I AM SORRY, LET'S FIX THIS. BECAUSE -- **[2] BECAUSE SHE SAID, I WAS HURT PERSONALLY.** IT WAS HIS MOMENT TO SHOW AMERICA HOW YOU DO COME TOGETHER, TO SHOW AMERICA HOW YOU BRIDGE THAT BECAUSE HE SAID IT, I'M THE BRIDGE. DO THAT, AND THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN IN THE EXCHANGE. >> **I THINK SHE SPOKE FOR OTHER BLACK PEOPLE TOO. SAYING IT WAS HURTFUL.** IT'S NOT SAYING THAT WE NEED TO HAVE A MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO PROTEST JOE BIDEN WE ARE JUST SAYING THAT YOU KNOW, YOUR WORDS HAD AN IMPACT IN A NEGATIVE WAY, BECAUSE IT SEEMED THAT YOU DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU WERE SAYING IN THE MOMENT. YOU ARE COMPLIMENTING, NOT PRAISING, SPECIFICALLY TO BE CLEAR, BUT SAYING SOMETHING COMPLIMENTARY ABOUT SEGREGATIONIST, SEEMS LIKE SOMETHING YOU SHOULD NOT SAY AS A DEMOCRAT WHO WANTS TO WIN THE NOMINATION. >> **[2] WHAT I THINK WAS SO POWERFUL WAS WHEN SHE SAID, I DO NOT THINK YOU ARE A RACIST. FOR US IN THE FIELD, WE HEAR THAT WORD BEING THROWN AROUND, AND AUTOMATICALLY YOU ARE A RACIST IF YOU VOTED FOR TRUMP. HEY, TO SAY PLAINLY, I THINK I BELIEVE I KNOW WHAT IS IN YOUR HEART, BUT THIS IS AN ISSUE ABOUT POLICY.** AND THAT IS WHY WE ARE ALL STANDING HERE ON THE DEBATE STAGE. DO YOU THINK, HOWEVER, THAT SHE IS KEEPING THE ISSUE AROUND, YOU SAID THE WORD PRAISE, PRAISING THE SEGREGATIONIST. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT DO.

>> HE SAID HE DID NOT DO THAT. >> DO YOU THINK, SHE AND SENATOR BOOKER ARE KEEPING THE ISSUE ALIVE FOR POLITICAL REASONS? >> SURE, YEAH. ALEX, YEAH, OKAY, OKAY. >> YEAH. YEAH, YEAH. >> ONLY ONE OF THEM CAN BE PRESIDENT, IF YOU ARE GOING TO PROSECUTE THAT CASE. DOESN'T MEAN THE FEELINGS ARE NOT SINCERE AND THAT SHE WAS NOT OFFENDED OR HURT. SHE IS GOING TO KEEP PUSHING THIS, BECAUSE SHE WANTS TO SHOW THAT SHE CAN PROSECUTE THE CASE AGAINST TRUMP -- AGAINST TRUMP AND THE FRONT-RUNNER. >> LOOKING LIKE SOMEBODY THAT WANTS TO WIN THE ELECTION. SHE DID NOT COME IN TO GO UP IN THE POLLS A LITTLE BIT. SHE CAME OUT WITH THE CONVICTION, IT WAS LIKE, IN THE EYES. SHE HAD CONVICTION, [2] **SHE LOOKED DIRECTLY IN THE CAMERA AT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND SAID THINGS, YOU KNOW, WITH SUCH CONFIDENCE. WHEN I'M PRESIDENT, WHEN I'M IN THE OVAL OFFICE. SHE WILL HOLD THE MIC IN HER HAND. IT'S SUBTLE.** BUT, YOU KNOW, I DON'T KNOW IF YOU FEEL THIS WAY AS WELL. -- THE FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMAN. >> RIGHT. ? I HAVE NOT -- >> THAT WAS THE '90S. >> AND I DID NOT WATCH THE DEBATE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN MY, YOU KNOW, ADULT LIFE I HAVE SEEN A BLACK WOMAN -- >> SO SENATOR HARRIS IS THE FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE SENATOR, BUT BACK IN THE '90S -- >> THERE WERE THREE BLACK WOMEN THAT EVER HAD RUN. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE SEEN A BLACK WOMAN ON THE STAGE AT THIS LEVEL. THAT THEY ARE TAKING IT TO THE FRONT-RUNNER. NOT JUST THE FRONT-RUNNER, TO THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT TO THE FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT. SHE IS GOING TO WIN OVER A LOT OF FANS THAT, AGAIN, GOING BACK TO THE AP POLL THAT I CITED. SHE'S NUMBER ONE ON THE LIST OF PEOPLE WHO WANT TO LEARN MORE ABOUT HER >> SO, NANCY, I HAVE TO GET YOU TO WEIGH IN ON THIS FOR ME. WHY WAS THAT MOMENT WITH KAMALA READ SO DIFFERENTLY THEN THE MOMENT WITH BETO YESTERDAY, WHEN HE WAS SPEAKING TODAY? >> IT'S ONE OF THOSE MOMENTS WE HAVE BEEN USING THE WORD APPROPRIATION QUITE A BIT. IT WAS THAT MOMENT, OF COME ON, LET'S NOT DO THAT MOMENT. >> THIS IS BROADCAST ON TELEMUNDO -- HE WAS SPEAKING SPANISH TO A LATINO AUDIENCE. >> BUT IT WAS ONE OF THOSE MOMENTS THAT WE SAW HAPPENING JULIAN HAD NOTHING TO LOSE LAST NIGHT AND HAD EVERYTHING TO GAIN. THAT FIRE IN THE BELLY CAME OUT AND BETO REALLY DRAGGED IT OUT OF HIM WITH THAT MOMENT BECAUSE HE'S LIKE LETS NO GO THERE BECAUSE WE'RE GONNA TALK ABOUT THIS NOT WITH SOME CUTE SPANISH BUT WITH WHAT IT REALLY IS AND HERE ARE THE POLICIES THAT YOU ARE NOT ANSWERING TO, THAT YOU ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT HOW YOU ARE GOING TO CHANGE. AND NO ONE TONIGHT MENTIONED 1325. >> ONLY JULIAN DID YESTERDAY. >> AND NOTHING HAPPENED TODAY. >> AND 1325 FOR THE AUDIENCE IS ASYLUM. >> IT'S WHAT MAKES IT ILLEGAL TO GET ACROSS A BORDER WITHOUT A DOCUMENT. THIS IS THE STRUGGLE. SO, THAT IS WHAT IS CAUSING IT AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, NOBODY BROUGHT UP THE RAIDS THAT ARE PENDING. MY HOMETOWN IS ABOUT TO BE ONE OF THE LARGEST STAGING SITES FOR WHAT WE WILL SEE AGAIN FOR FAMILY DEPORTATIONS AND THEY ARE COMING. NO ONE BROUGHT IT UP. I THINK WHAT HAPPENED, SPEAKING SPANISH IS NICE. DOING SOMETHING MATTERS. AND

THAT IS WHAT I THINK REALLY GOT IN HIS CRAW LAST NIGHT AND THAT'S WHAT WE SAW COME OUT. THERE WAS A FIRE IN THE BELLY THAT I HAD NEVER SEEN, THAT I WAS EXCITED TO SEE. AND WHEN YOU SEE EVERYONE GOOGLING HAD HIM, WHERE DID YOU COME FROM? I THINK WE WILL HAVE THE SAME REACTION SENATOR HARRIS, IT WAS A DIFFERENT SENATOR THAT WAS ON STAGE. >> THE GOOGLE SEARCH FOR KAMALA HARRIS INCREASED BY 500% TONIGHT SINCE THE DEBATE BEGAN AND SHE WAS THE TOP SEARCH OF ALL OF THE CANDIDATES. ONE OF THE CANDIDATES WE DID NOT SPEAK ABOUT INTERESTINGLY IN THIS POST DEBATE SHOW WE WERE TALKING ABOUT IT IN PREDEBATE SHOW, WAS SENATOR SANDERS. DID HE HURT OR HELP HIS LEAD TONIGHT? >> HE CLEARLY CAME IN NOT WANTING TO ENGAGE BIDEN. THERE WAS SPECULATION THAT HE WAS GOING TO TAKE ON BIDEN AND ON ONE OF THE SIGNATURE ISSUES A LAY-UP FOR BERNIE ABOUT THE IRAQ WAR VOTE IN 2003, WHERE BERNIE OF WAS IN THE CONGRESS AND VOTED THE OPPOSITE WAY, THEY NOTED IT, DISAGREED AND MOVED ON. HE DID NOT WANT TO GET IN A JOUSTING MATCH WITH BIDEN. >> WAS HE SCARED? >> WE WOULD HAVE TO ASK HIM. I THINK HE CAME IN READY TO BACK DOWN AND STICK TO HIS ISSUES, TALK ABOUT MEDICARE FOR ALL AND NOT TRY TO GET IN A SLUGGING MATCH WITH BIDEN. >> SPEAKING OF ASKING THE CANDIDATES. I WANT TO DO JUST THAT RIGHT NOW. WITH VONN HILLIARD, HE IS THERE IN MIAMI IN THE SPIN ROOM, VONN WHO HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO TALK TO TONIGHT? I SEE THE CAMERAS MOVING. THERE HE IS. HE IS PULLING -- OKAY -- >> THERE'S TWO SENATORS RIGHT THERE ON THE STAGE. SENATOR BERNIE SANDERS AND KAMALA HARRIS AND THEY RAISED THEIR HANDS AND TALKED ABOUT ELIMINATING PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE, FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE IN THE SENATE AND WORKING ON LEGISLATION, WHAT IS IT THAT THEY ARE MISSING IN THE EQUATION? >> FIRST OF ALL, THEY WERE HONEST ABOUT WHAT WAS IN THE BILL, THAT IS GOOD, THERE'S PEOPLE THAT SAY, IT DOES NOT ELIMINATE PRIVATE INSURANCE. IT SOMEHOW IS LIKE AUSTRALIA. WHERE IT'S A GOOD SYSTEM. WHERE YOU HAVE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSURANCE. THAT IS POINT ONE. CREDIT FOR HONESTY SECOND I THINK WHAT THEY ARE MISSING, THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE, AS BERNIE SAID TONIGHT, THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE THAT HATE PRIVATE INSURANCE. THAT IS TRUE. I HEAR FROM A LOT OF PEOPLE LIKE THAT. AND THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE THAT LIKE THE INSURANCE THAT THEY HAVE AND WANT TO KEEP IT AND I THINK, IF THE OBJECTIVE IS TO GET TO UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE COVERAGE AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN, GIVING PEOPLE AN OPTION TO CHOOSE FOR THEIR FAMILY, I THINK IS ABSOLUTELY GOING TO BE THE FASTEST WAY. I THINK WE WILL BE DEAD BEFORE WE TAKE IT AWAY FROM PEOPLE THAT ARE HOLDING IT AT HOME OR WITH THEIR FAMILY. >> THERE'S A SURPRISE FROM SENATOR HARRIS RAISING HER HAND FOR THE RESPONSE AND I THINK THERE'S A CONCERN, WHAT IMPACT DOES IT HAVE? >> I WAS NOT SURPRISED. I THINK SHE IS FOR IT AND SHE SAID THAT SHE WANTS IT. IN STATES LIKE COLORADO, AND OTHER STATES, WHERE, THAT WE NEED TO WIN THE MAJORITY IN THE SENATE, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A HARD TIME IF THE POSITION IS THAT WE ARE GOING TO TAKE INSURANCE AWAY FROM 180MILLION PEOPLE. REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE AFFORDABLE

CARE ACT. PRESIDENT OBAMA SAID IF YOU LIKE YOUR INSURANCE, YOU CAN KEEP IT. A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE LOST IT BECAUSE OF THE WAY THAT THE SYSTEM CAME IN TO PLACE. AND THAT WAS A POLITICAL DISASTER. AND IT CONTINUES TO BE ONE TODAY. SO, IMAGINE A SITUATION WHERE, WHAT WE ARE SAYING TO PEOPLE IS, IF YOU LIKE YOUR INSURANCE, WE ARE GOING TO TAKE IT AWAY FROM YOU. THAT DOESN'T SEEM TO BE WHAT WE SHOULD BE ARGUING. WHAT WE SHOULD BE ARGUING IS FOR UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE COVERAGE. AND WE CAN ACHIEVE THAT THROUGH A PUBLIC OPTION AND I THINK WE CAN WITH ACHIEVE IT QUICKLY. AND WITH MUCH LESS DISRUPTION, AND BY THE WAY, EVERYBODY WHO HAS PRIVATE INSURANCE AND WHO HATES IT NO LONGER NEEDS IT, THEY CAN COME ON TO MEDICARE-X. >> THE CONVERSATION ABOUT PASSING THE TORCH TO THE NEXT GENERATION. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TWO MEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THAT STAGE SHOULD PASS THE TORCH? >> I THINK IT'S TIME, I ANSWERED BERNIE'S QUESTION HE ASKED AT THE END, 40 YEARS OF ECONOMIC IMMOBILITY IN THE COUNTRY AND WE HAVE NOT FIGURED OUT HOW TO ADDRESS IT AND IT'S TIME TO CHANGE THAT. I AGREE WITH THAT. THANK YOU FOR HAVING ME. >> GOOD TO SEE YOU. >> DID SENATOR BENNETT CONSIDER HIMSELF PART OF THE NEW GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP? OKAY. I THINK WE LOST HIM TO THE SPIN ROOM, WHICH IS WHERE HE OUGHT TO BE, GETTING MORE ANSWERS FROM THE CANDIDATES. AND THANK YOU FOR WATCHING STAY TUNED WE ARE JUST GOING TO TAKE A VERY SHORT BREAK, WE WILL BE RIGHT HERE WITH SPECIAL COVERAGE OF THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE ON NBC NEWS NOW. STAY TUNED. >>> THANKS FOR JOINING US HERE ON NBC NEWS NOW AND ONE OF THE BIG ISSUES THAT THE CANDIDATES HIT EARLY WAS THEIR PLANS FOR HEALTH CARE. WE ALSO HEARD A LOT ABOUT THAT, FROM CANDIDATE SWALWELL WHO IS TALKING TO VONN HILLIARD. LET US KNOW WHAT SWALWELL SAID, HE IS STANDING BEHIND YOU. I WANT TO ASK ABOUT THE QUESTION HE PLACED TO JOE BIDEN ABOUT TORCH BEARERS. CAN WE ASK ABOUT THAT? >> YEAH, CONGRESSMAN SWALWELL, THE QUESTION OFF THE BAT WAS THE IDEA OF PASSING THE TORCH. WHY COME OFF WITH THAT QUESTION? >> THERE'S A URGENCY TO THE ISSUES THAT THIS GENERATION FACES. STUDENT DEBT, I HAVE IT AND 40 MILLION OTHERS HAVE IT. ITS PERSISTENT FOR THE LAST 40 YEARS WE NEED SOMEBODY WHOS GONNA DO SOMETHING NOW. GUN VIOLENCE, SEND MY KIDS TO SCHOOL, WORRY ABOUT THEIR SAFETY. WE CANNOT WAIT FOR PEOPLE TO EVOLVE TO THE ISSUES. WE NEED SOMEONE THAT UNDERSTANDS THE IMMEDIACY TO ACT. ON CLIMATE, WE CAN'T HAVE A MIDDLE OF THE ROAD STRATEGY ON THIS WE NEED TO INVEST IMMEDIATELY IN A GREEN NEW DEAL TYPE OF PLAN JOE BIDEN OF WAS RIGHT 32 YEARS AGO WHEN HE SAID WE NEED TO PASS THE TORCH TO A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS. I'M STANDING ON THE STAGE AS SOMEBODY WHO IS READY TO RECEIVE THAT TORCH. >> DID YOU MAKE THE ARGUMENT A THAT SANDERS AND BIDEN HAD THE HISTORY TO LEND CREDIBILITY AT THIS MOMENT IN TIME TO WHAT POLICIES SHOULD BE PRESSED FORWARD? >> I HAPPEN TO THINK THAT THE ISSUES ARE SO URGENT A THAT WE CANNOT COUNT ON PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN AROUND FOR DOZENS OF DECADES AS THESE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN AROUND. WE NEED NEW EYES ON

THE PROBLEM SET AND NEW ENERGY TO SOLVE THEM AND I'M READY TO DO THAT. >> THE QUESTION IS, THERE'S 20 PEOPLE ON THE STAGE, YOU ARE NOT THE ONLY ONE IN YOUR GENERATION, IF I MAY, WHY YOU AMONG THE GENERATION THAT INCLUDES SENATOR KAMALA HARRIS AND MAYOR BUTTIGIEG. >> I AM DAY ONE READY. I SHAPED WASHINGTON MORE THAN IT SHAPED ME, I HAVE LEAD A GROUP EFFORT TO BRING MORE YOUNG MEMBERS TO CONGRESS, THERE ARE 50 MEMBERS IN THEIR FORTIES OR YOUNGER SO I SEE A MOMENT DO SEIZE BUT I'M ALSO ON THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE ONE OF ONLY THREE PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE THAT HAVE THE ACCESS TO THE M-- >> THE TORCH BEARERS HAVE NOT EARNED THE TRUST OF THE PEOPLE YET. WHY DOES HE THINK THAT THE YOUNGER GENERATION AND THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE SHOULD TRUST HIM AS THE TORCH BEARER? >> THERE'S FOLKS THAT HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THIS YOUNGER GENERATION HAS NOT EARNED THE TRUST YET TO HAVE THAT TORCH BE PASSED, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY ARE IN THE ROLES THEY ARE AND DO NOT HAVE MUCH CREDIBILITY TO THEIR NAMES IN WHAT WAY HAVE YOU EARNED THAT TRUST? >> I WENT TO CONGRESS AT 31 YEARS OLD AND SAW A LOT OF MILLIONAIRES AND PEOPLE DISCONNECTED. I WENT RIGHT TO WORK. NO FRESHMAN DEMOCRAT PASSED MORE LEGISLATION THAN I DID IN THE MINORITY MY FRESHMAN YEAR I AM ON THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE. I HAVE GONE TO THE WAR ZONE. I HAVE MET WITH FOREIGN LEADERS. I'M READY DAY ONE. >> WHY NOT SENATOR HARRIS? >> [1] I'M A BIG FAN OF SENATOR HARRIS, I THINK WE BRING DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES. FOR ME, I BRING WORKING CLASS BACKGROUNDS, BORN IN IOWA. EDUCATED IN THE SOUTH. MARRIED TO A HOOSIER. ELECTED IN A DIVERSE PART OF CALIFORNIA. I KNOW THIS COUNTRY AND I CAN REPRESENT IT AND BEAT DONALD TRUMP. >> THANK YOU. MORGAN? >> CONGRESSMAN SWALWELL, THANK YOU SO MUCH, AND PLEASE, STAY IN THE SPIN ROOM, WE WOULD LOVE TO COME BACK TO YOU LATER. AND AS YOU JUST HEARD FROM CONGRESSMAN SWALWELL, ONE OF THE BIG ISSUES THAT THE CANDIDATES HIT EARLY WAS THEIR PLANS FOR HEALTH CARE. FROM OBAMA CARE TO MEDICARE FOR ALL. COVERING UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS AND DOING AWAY WITH PRIVATE HEALTH PLANS. EVERYTHING WAS ON THE TABLE TONIGHT. AND THE CANDIDATES GOT RIGHT IN TO IT, TAKE A LOOK. [CLIPS FROM DEBATE] >> AS YOU SAW, THE GLOVES WERE OFF TONIGHT, HOW MANY OF THOSE CLAIMS WERE TRUE? NBC'S JANE TIMM IS IN MIAMI RIGHT NOW, WHERE SHE'S BEEN FACT CHECKING THE CANDIDATES. WHAT CAUGHT YOUR EYE TONIGHT? >> HEY, MORGAN. TONIGHT WAS DEFINITELY A MUCH DICEYER NIGHT, A LOT OF DIFFERENT FACTS, SOME OF THEM RIGHT AND SOME NOT RIGHT. [2] **ONE OF THE FIRST ONES THAT JUMPED OUT, KAMALA HARRIS SAYING THAT THE ECONOMY IS NOT WORKING FOR SOME PEOPLE BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE WORKING MULTIPLE JOBS. THIS IS SOMETHING YOU HEAR A LOT FROM THE LEFT BECAUSE THE ECONOMY LOOKS PRETTY GOOD AND IT'S ONE OF TRUMP'S BIGGEST CLAIMS FOR RE-ELECTION. BUT THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS TRACKED HOW MANY PEOPLE WORK MULTIPLE JOBS, 5% OF AMERICA. THAT IS 8 MILLION PEOPLE, SO A LOT OF PEOPLE, YOU CAN SAY THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE DOING IT, BUT IT DOWN SLIGHTLY**

FROM 20 YEARS AGO. A COUPLE OF THEM ARE THINGS, MAYOR PETE BUTTIGIEG TALKING ABOUT THE PATHWAY TO CITIZENSHIP AND THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE SUPPORT THAT. A KIND OF PATHWAY TO CITIZENSHIP. IT'S TRUE. THE GALLUP POLL SAID 80% OF AMERICANS FEEL THAT WAY. AND MEDICARE FOR ALL DOESN'T GET RID OF ALL PRIVATE INSURANCE, IT DOES FOR EVERYTHING BUT COSMETIC CARE. WHICH IS WHAT PEOPLE DO NOT THINK OF FOR INSURANCE PURPOSE AND THE BIG ONE IS BIDEN AND BUSSING. SO KAMALA HARRIS WENT AFTER HIM, FOR THE OPPOSITION OF BUSSING FROM YEARS AGO. SHE IS CAREFUL IN WHAT SHE SAYS, THAT HE WORKED WITH AVOWED SEGREGATIONISTS TO OPPOSE BUSSING. AND IT'S ONE OF THE THINGS THAT IS HITTING HIM HARD AS HE TRIES TO SAY, HE CAN TAKE THE BANNER FOR HIS PARTY. BUT IF PEOPLE IN HIS PARTY SAY MAYBE HE IS NOT WHERE THE MAINSTREAM OF THE PARTY IS NOW. >> THAT WAS INTERESTING, THAT WAS THE MOMENT FOR EVERY PANELIST, THAT CAUGHT THEIR EYE, THE QUESTION ON BUSSING AND THE FACT THAT SENATOR HARRIS DID HOLD HIS FEET TO THE FIRE. SO, WE DEFINITELY APPRECIATE YOU CLEARING THAT UP FOR US. >>> RIGHT NOW, WE WILL TAKE A QUICK BREAK, WE HOPE YOU STAY WITH US FOR SPECIAL COVERAGE OF THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEMOCRATIC DEBATE, RIGHT HERE ON NBC NEWS NOW. >>> WELCOME BACK TO NBC NEWS NOW, LET'S GO STRAIGHT TO OUR VERY OWN DASHA BURNS WHO IS WATCHING THE DEBATE TONIGHT WITH A FEW COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY. WHO DO THE STUDENTS THINK CAPTURED THEIR ATTENTION? >> OH, MAN, IT WAS A LIVELY ROOM IN HERE TONIGHT. A LOT OF HOT TAKES. AND I WILL ASK FOR THEM NOW. YOU HAD A LOT TO SAY WHEN WE WERE WATCHING AND I WANT THE TOP LINE REACTIONS RIGHT NOW. WHAT STOOD OUT AND WHAT WAS THE TAKE ON THE DEBATE OVERALL, COMPARED TO LAST NIGHT? >> I THINK VICE PRESIDENT BIDEN AND SENATOR SANDERS BUCKLED UNDER THE PRESSURE. WHEN THE HEAT WAS TURNED UP, THEY COULD NOT HOLD THEIR OWN. THAT WAS BIG, AND FOR SOMEBODY LIKE VICE PRESIDENT BIDEN, HE IS, YOU KNOW, KAMALA HARRIS WAS TOUGH ON HIM TONIGHT. THE PRESIDENT WILL BE TOUGH ON HIM IN A GENERAL ELECTION. WILL HE HANDLE THAT? >> SPEAKING OF KAMALA HARRIS. I FELT THAT EVEN THOUGH TONIGHT A LOT OF THE CANDIDATES WERE ABLE TO COME AT JOE BIDEN FOR HIS CONTROVERSIAL PAST, I THINK THAT KAMALA BENEFITTED FROM PEOPLE NOT PICKING UP ON HER PAST AS SHE TALKED ABOUT HER ROLE IN REGARDS TO PRISON REFORM AND IMMIGRATION. I FEEL LIKE OTHER CANDIDATES SHOULD HAVE HELD HER FEET TO THE FIRE AS THEY HELD JOE BIDEN TO THAT STANDARD AS WELL. THAT SHOULD BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, I DO FEEL THAT SHE WAS ABLE TO MAKE VERY STRONG QUOTES THAT ARE GOING TO BE HEADLINERS AND FROM THAT, PEOPLE ARE GOING TO BE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT SHE QUOTE UNQUOTE WON THE DEBATE. I, HOWEVER DON'T THINK SO. >> YOU DON'T THINK PEOPLE CHECKED HER ENOUGH. BUT THE FACT THAT THAT DID NOT HAPPEN AND SHE WAS ABLE TO HOLD JOE BIDEN'S FEET TO THE FIRE AND NOBODY CAME BACK AT HER, WHAT DOES THAT SAY ABOUT HER PERFORMANCE? >> DEFINITELY VERY WORRYING, IN THAT REGARD, AND ESPECIALLY, I'M GOING TO KEEP GOING

BACK TO HER STATEMENTS ABOUT PRISON REFORM. SHE HAS A CONTROVERSIAL PAST ABOUT THAT AND THE FACT THAT NOBODY WAS ABLE TO BRING IT UP, AND SHE WAS ABLE TO KIND OF PAINT THE NARRATIVE OF AN INDIVIDUAL THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FIGHTING FOR THESE RIGHTS IS SOMEWHAT PROBLEMATIC TO ME. >> DID SHE RESONATE WITH YOU GUYS TONIGHT? >> I DEFINITELY WAS REALLY IMPRESSED WITH WHAT SHE HAD TO SAY. AND HER CURRENT POSITIONS AND THINGS SHE SAID RESONATED WITH ME. BUT I DEFINITELY FEEL LIKE WHAT SHE BROUGHT ON OUT OF JOE BIDEN WAS LIKE -- WAS A LOT OF DISAPPOINTMENT THAT I FELT THAT HE DOUBLED DOWN ON THE PAST POSITION. SHE WAS ABLE TO BRING OUT THE NASTY RACIAL TENSIONS THERE. AND THE FACT THAT HE STILL IS KIND OF HOLDING SOME OF THOSE OLD VIEWS TODAY. SO -- >> YEAH, I MEAN, YOU GUYS WHEN I ASKED YOU ABOUT JOE BIDEN BEFORE THE DEBATE. I ASKED WHO WAS EXCITED, NOBODY RAISED THEIR HANDS. WHAT DID HIS PERFORMANCE TONIGHT DO TO CHANGE YOUR OPINION OF HIM? >> HE IS HE WAS A DISTRACTION, I FEEL LIKE THE ENTIRE DEBATE, BECAUSE A LOT OF THE CANDIDATES WERE USING THEIR TIME TO ATTACK HIM AND GOAD HIM AND HE SPENT THE TIME DEFENDING HIMSELF, SAYING THIS IS WHAT I DID, THIS IS WHAT I DID. AND HE RARELY TALKED ABOUT WHAT HE PLANNED TO DO. THERE WAS NOT A LOT OF SUBSTANCE TO THAT. I WAS MORE INTERESTED IN THE CANDIDATES LIKE PETE BUTTIGIEG AND ANDREW YANG, THEY WERE MORE FOCUSED ON WHAT THEY WERE PLANNING TO DO. THEY DID NOT GET AS MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO SPEAK AS THE HEADLINERS THEY USED THEIR TIME TO EXPLAIN WHAT THEY PLANNED TO DO. >> RIGHT, WE TALKED ABOUT HOW YOU GUYS ARE INTERESTED IN HEARING SUBSTANCE AND POLICY, YOU TALKED ABOUT WANTING MORE CIVIL DISCOURSE, TRYING TO ELEVATE THE RHETORIC. HOW DID THE CANDIDATES DO WITH THAT TONIGHT? AND COMPARE IT TO LAST NIGHT? >> I FELT THAT THE MOST DISAPPOINTING THING ABOUT THE NIGHT, WE DID GET TO SEE THEIR PERSONALITIES BUT NOT THEIR POLICIES AND HOW THEY DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES THROUGH THE POLICY. THAT IS NOT WHAT WE GOT TO SEE. AND I THINK THAT WAS SOMETHING THAT I DID NOT KNOW WHAT THEIR PLAN IS TO BE AND HOW THEY SET THEMSELVES APART FROM EACH OTHER. >> I THINK IT'S CLEAR WHAT THEY ARE AGAINST. THEY ARE AGAINST TRUMP, THEY ARE AGAINST WALL STREET. WHAT I LIKED ABOUT KAMALA HARRIS AND PETE BUTTIGIEG, THEY WERE FOR SOMETHING. KAMALA HARRIS WANTED TO GIVE A CREDIT TO PEOPLE MAKING BELOW \$100,000 A YEAR. THAT WAS IMPRESSIVE. IT MADE HER A STAND OUT AS WORKING FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS. THAT'S WHAT I WANTED TO SEE. >> DID YOU GET CLARITY FROM TONIGHT OR BOTH NIGHTS IN TERMS OF WHO WILL GET YOUR SUPPORT AND BE ABLE TO LAST IN THE RACE? >> I THINK IT'S FUNNY HOW TONIGHT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THE NIGHT WHERE INDIVIDUALS WERE MORE EXCITED BECAUSE OF THE BIG NAME CANDIDATES THAT WERE GATHERED TOGETHER. UNFORTUNATELY, I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT YESTERDAY'S DEBATE WAS A LOT MORE BASED ON ACTUAL POLICY THAT THE CANDIDATES WANTED TO FOCUS ON. ESPECIALLY THE CONVERSATIONS THAT WE WERE ALL HAVING BEFORE. AND ESPECIALLY WHAT SHE SAID, UNFORTUNATELY TONIGHT IT WAS

ALL ABOUT TRUMP. TRUMP, TRUMP, TRUMP. AND AGAIN, IT'S LIKE, YES. WE ARE ALREADY KNOW WHAT TRUMP IS, WHAT HE STANDS FOR. WE GET IT, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO AS AN INDIVIDUAL TO HELP US. WE ARE NOT GOING TO JUST ACCEPT WHAT YOU SAY TO US. IF YOU GET IN OFFICE, WE WANT YOU TO STAND BY WHAT YOU MEAN. >> NIGHT ONE, ACTUALLY, SEEMS LIKE IT WON WITH YOU GUYS. THAT, THAT TOOK THE CAKE. SO, WHO WON FROM BOTH NIGHTS? LET'S START WITH YOU. >> NO ONE. >> TONIGHT, NO ONE WON. YESTERDAY WAS JULIAN CASTRO >> I THINK JULIAN WON FOR BOTH NIGHTS. HIS PERSONALITY AND POLICIES. >> KAMALA HARRIS TONIGHT, BUT I WOULD SAY OVERALL PROBABLY CASTRO PREVAILED. >> I THINK SECRETARY CASTRO >> I THOUGHT CASTRO DID STAND OUT DURING THE LAST DEBATE, I THOUGHT ELIZABETH WARREN DID A PRETTY GOOD JOB. >> WHICH ONE BETWEEN BOTH NIGHTS? >> I LIKED CASTRO, BECAUSE I WAS NOT EXPECTING ANYTHING OUT OF HIM AND HE STOOD OUT DURING THE DEBATE. AND PETE BUTTIGIEG DID A GOOD JOB. AND ANDREW YANG DID A GOOD JOB. >> I THINK KAMALA HARRIS WON BOTH NIGHTS OF THE DEBATE. I THINK SHE SHOWED HERSELF TO BE ABLE TO BATTLE ANOTHER POLITICIAN FOR CLEARLY IMMORAL POLICIES IN THE PAST I LIKE THAT SHE STOOD FOR SOMETHING CLEARLY AND I LIKE THAT SHE WAS A STRONG SPEAKER. SHE ASSERTED HERSELF AND THAT IS SOMETHING THAT I WANT TO SEE IN A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY TAKE ON TRUMP. >> WOW. SO, STILL A PRETTY HEAVY VOTE FOR CASTRO. BUT KAMALA GOT THE SPOTLIGHT TONIGHT. SO, THERE YOU HAVE IT. THE DEBATE IS DONE AND WE WILL SEE HOW THE REST GO. THANK YOU SO MUCH AND THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR PANEL OF STUDENTS. >> SOMETHING THAT JOY REALLY STRUCK ME. I WANT TO BRING IN OUR GUEST AGAIN. JOY, WAS A YOUNG WOMAN IN THE FRONT THAT SAID, KAMALA DID NOT ACTUALLY WIN BECAUSE KAMALA DID NOT GET A DOSE OF HER OWN MEDICINE. NO ONE DID THAT TO HER ON OUR PROSECUTION RECORD IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE. IS THAT TRUE OR FALSE? DID SHE WIN BECAUSE SHE DID NOT TAKE THE HEAT HERSELF? >> THAT MAY BE TRUE. I THOUGHT SHE STOLE THE SHOW. I THINK SHE CAME OFF ASSERTIVE. CONFIDENT, SHE ANSWERED EVERY QUESTION WITH A, YOU KNOW, A DIRECT WAY. I THINK SHE CAME OUT ON TOP. I WALKED AWAY PERSONALLY HAVING A BETTER IDEA WHERE SHE STOOD ON ISSUES. >> WHAT ABOUT, JACKIE, HER CRIMINAL JUSTICE RECORD. >> SHE HAS RECEIVED A LOT OF SCRUTINY FOR NOT BEING PROGRESSIVE ENOUGH. SHE WAS ABLE TO EXPLOIT A FEW OPPORTUNITIES IN ORDER TO TOUT HER RECORD AS ATTORNEY GENERAL WHEN SHE CALLED OUT BIDEN ON THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S TRACK RECORD WITH INTRODUCING FAMILY SEPERATION WHICH WAS ONE POLICY OF HER FORMER PRESIDENT THAT SHE WAS NOT IN FAVOR OF. BUT, THAT WAS THE BENEFIT OF PREPARATION. I MEAN, SHE, WHEN HAD YOU ARE ON THE OFFENSIVE, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO ANSWER FOR THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE ARE NOT ATTACKING YOU FOR. AND IT WAS CLEAR, THAT THIS WAS SOMETHING, ATTACKING BIDEN ON THE OPPOSITION TO BUSSING, WAS SOMETHING THAT SHE HAD TEE'ED UP AND SHE WENT FOR IT AND DID NOT LET UP ON BIDEN. THAT WAS A DEFINING MOMENT OF THE WEEK. THAT WILL BE THE DEFINING MOMENT OF THE ELECTION SO FAR. >> AND SHE MADE IT

PERSONAL. >> SHE DID. >> AND WHAT ABOUT BUTTIGIEG, NANCY, WHEN HE WAS ASKED ABOUT WHY THE POLICE FORCE BACK IN SOUTH BEND WAS NOT DIVERSE, HE SAID PLAINLY, I COULD NOT GET IT DONE. WAS THAT REFRESHINGLY HONEST? OR WAS THAT ENOUGH? >> IT WAS HONEST, BUT IT WAS DEFINITELY NOT ENOUGH. HE FELL SHORT. I MEAN, YOU GAVE ME IN ALL OF THE REASONS WHY IT DID NOT GET DONE FT. BUT YOU DID NOT GIVE ME, WHAT WILL YOU DO DIFFERENTLY? RIGHT? YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BREAK THIS OPEN. YOU CANNOT WALK IN TO THIS NEXT STAGE OF OUR PRESIDENCY, WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION IN A VERY CONCRETE A WAY. WHAT IS YOUR PLAN TO DO IT DIFFERENTLY? I DID NOT HEAR THAT AT ALL. >> JACKIE, WHAT DID YOU THINK WHEN CONGRESSMAN SWALWELL LOOKED AT HIM AND SAID, WELL, FIRE YOUR POLICE CHIEF AND HE DID NOT SAY ANYTHING. >> RIGHT, AND I THINK THAT WAS INDICATIVE OF MAYOR PETE'S APPROACH TO POLITICS IN GENERAL. LET'S SEE THE PROCESS PLAY OUT. WE ARE CONDUCTING AN INVESTIGATION AND NOT COMING TO RASH DECISIONS. BUT, I'M NOT NECESSARILY SURE THAT THATS AN ANSWER THAT THE PUBLIC WANTS TO SEE RIGHT NOW, ESPECIALLY IN AFTER ERA OF OUR POLITICS WHERE THINGS ARE PRETTY, ARE NOT RULES BASED. AT LEAST IN TRUMP'S WORLD. I THINK COMPARING HIM TO SOMEBODY LIKE CASTRO, WHO YESTERDAY, REALLY GOT AT HIS CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM AND HIS PLEASING REFORM AND WAS ABLE TO TOUT ALL OF THOSE POLICIES, MAYOR PETE WAS NOT ABLE TO SHOW THE SAME, AND SO, TO ME, THE ACCOUNTABILITY IS A STEP FORWARD AND A BIG CONTRAST TO BIDEN. BUT WHEN YOU TEE HIM UP NEXT TO CASTRO, YOU KNOW, THAT WAS SOMETHING WHEN THEY ARE SITTING NEXT TO EACH OTHER, IT WILL SHOW. >> ONE THING WE HAD SPECIFICS ON ON. HE HAD VERY STRONG WORDS. HE SAID, CHINA IS USING TECHNOLOGY FOR THE PERFECTION OF DICTATORSHIP. DID HE REALLY LAYOUT A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO DEALING WITH CHINA? >> NO, NOT REALLY. YOU HEARD OTHERS MENTION THE IDEA OF RALLYING TOGETHER WITH OTHER NATIONS TO PUSH BACK AGAINST CHINA TO CONFRONT THEIR BEHAVIOR. CERTAINLY YOU HEARD THE MENTION OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY, THE ISSUE THAT THEY CAN RALLY AROUND EASILY. BUT NO NOT SPECIFICS I THINK WITH ANY FOREIGN POLICY MENTIONED TONIGHT I DID NOT REALLY HEAR MUCH SPECIFICS IN GENERAL. >> WHAT ABOUT WHEN HE TALKED ABOUT THE PATHWAY TO CITIZENSHIP. HE SAID THERE'S 11 MILLION PEOPLE, BUT THE WHITE HOUSE HAS DIVIDED US ON THE COMMON GROUND ISSUE. TRUE OR FALSE? >> I THINK THE POLLS SHOW THAT IT'S A COMMON GROUND ISSUE, WITH A COMMON BIG END GOAL. WE DISAGREE IN THE DETAILS. WE HAVE BEEN DIVIDED ON THE ISSUE FOR A LONG TIME. SO, I THINK ONE OF THE THINGS THAT CAME UP, WAS THE OBAMA RECORD, THEY CALL IT THE DEPORTATION CHIEF. THE DEPORTER IN CHIEF. WAS NOT FAMILY SEPARATION, IT'S DEPORTATION. IT'S A DIFFERENCE THERE AND WHAT IS NOW, IS VIOLENTLY AGGRESSIVE WITH CHILDREN BEING TAKEN FROM FAMILIES AND CHILDREN DYING. WHAT IS NOT BEING CALLED OUT IN ALL OF THE THINGS FROM THE CRIMINAL JUSTICES REFORM TO THE BUSSING SITUATION AND THE IMMIGRATION, THE BIG ISSUE ON THE TABLE IS AROUND RACIAL EQUITY IN

THIS COUNTRY AND NOBODY IS CALLING IT OUT. NOBODY WANTS TO TALK ABOUT IT FOR WHAT IT IS. IT'S THE ISSUE OF RACIAL EQUITY. AND UNTIL, WE GET COMFORTABLE, ABOUT TALKING ABOUT IT, WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE GOING AROUND IN CIRCLES AND IT WILL SURFACE IN DIFFERENT WAYS AND IN DIFFERENT POLICY ISSUES BUT THE UNCOMFORT WE SAW FOR BIDEN NOT KNOWING HOW TO RESPOND TO THAT WAS HURTFUL CONVERSATION TO BUTTIGIEG NOT BEING ABLE TO TALK ABOUT, I DIDN'T GET IT DONE, IT WAS PULLING BACK AND NOT WANTING TO COME BACK OUT. MARIANNE WILLIAMSON CAME OUT AND SAID, LOOK, I DON'T THINK THAT AMERICA IS RACIST, BUT I THINK THEY ARE WOEFULLY UNDER EDUCATED ON THE ISSUE OF RACE. AND KAMALA SAID, NO, I AM GOING TO FINISH ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. BECAUSE, OH, BY THE WAY WITH, I'M THE ONLY PERSON OF COLOR STANDING ON THE STAGE. DO YOU THINK THEY WERE MORE AGGRESSIVE ON ADDRESSING THE ISSUE? >> MARIANNE WILLIAMSON WAS BRINGING UP REPARATIONS. SHE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE A WAY TO ADDRESS THE SYSTEMATIC INEQUALITY THAT EXISTS IN AMERICA RIGHT NOW. WHAT I THINK WAS SO EFFECTIVE, KAMALA SAYING, HAVING SO MANY PERSONAL ANECDOTES THE VISION AND TWEETS OF BEING A YOUNG GIRL AND DEALING WITH BUSSING. TO ME, IT WAS SOMETHING THAT REALLY, REALLY RESONATED. >> BECAUSE ON THE SAME ISSUE OF REPARATION. YOU MENTION THE BREAKFAST CLUB, EVERYONE HAS BEEN ASKED AND THE HOST OF THE SHOW WILL SAY, THEY HAVE NOT HEARD ANY SPECIFICS. YOU SAY IT'S IMPORTANT, IN THEORY, WHAT -- WHAT DOES IT LOOK LIKE? IS IT ISSUE ADDRESSING OR A CHECK? STAY WITH US HERE ON NBC NEWS >>> LAST NIGHT, DECK DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES HELD BACK MORE WHEN THEY WERE REFERENCING PRESIDENT TRUMP, BUT TONIGHT WAS A VERY DIFFERENT STORY. [CLIPS FROM DEBATE] >> SO, FOR FINAL THOUGHTS. LET GET BACK TO THE PANEL. WAS IT STRATEGIC AND WAS IT SMART TO MAKE TRUMP MORE OF THE FOCUS TONIGHT? >> WELL TRUMP ENJOYED IT. HE WAS LIVE TWEETING. HE DID NOT SAY IT WAS BORING THIS TIME. AND YOU SAW HIM GO AFTER THE DEMOCRATS FOR THEIR POSITIONS ON PROVIDING HEALTH CARE TO UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS AND CROSSING THE BORDER. >> WHAT DID YOU THINK? I THINK THEY NEED TO TALK ABOUT TRUMP TONIGHT. I THINK THAT WAS MISSING FROM LAST NIGHT AND YOU NEED TO TALK ABOUT DONALD TRUMP BECAUSE NOTHING ABOUT THIS MOMENT IS NORMAL. >> WHAT DID YOU THINK, DID YOU FEEL LIKE THIS TONIGHT, GAVE DONALD TRUMP MORE FODER BECAUSE OF THE DIVISION? >> I THINK WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT THIS THING. IF I'M A DEMOCRAT, I'M CONCERNED ABOUT A COUPLE OF THINGS. WHO CAN BEAT DONALD TRUMP IN THE STATES WHERE IT MATTERS. IF YOU LOOK AT PENNSYLVANIA, TRUMP BEAT HILARY CLINTON BY 44,000 VOTES AND IN FLORIDA BY 100,000 VOTES. THAT IS NOT A WIDE MARGIN THAT IS NOT BEATABLE. IF I'M GOING TO MAKE THE CASE THAT I CAN BEAT THIS GUY, HOW DO I MAKE UP THE MARGINS? THAT HAS TO BE THE QUESTION WHEN WHEN YOU ARE THINKING ABOUT POLITICS. >> IT WAS NOT JUST ABOUT FOCUSING ON DONALD TRUMP. IT WAS ABOUT FOCUSING ON EACH OTHER. AND THEN, WE SAW A SIMILAR TACTIC TONIGHT AS LAST NIGHT, THESE GUYS WERE POLLING IN THE SINGLE DIGITS ON THE END OF

THE STAGE, THEY WERE COMING FOR THE GUYS IN THE CENTER OF THE STAGE. WE SAW SWALLWELL GO FOR BIDEN, OR BENNETT GOING FOR BERNIE. DID THAT WORK? >> I THINK IT IS HARD TO KEEP TRACK WHERE PEOPLE STAND ON THE ISSUE. TO STAND OUT, YOU HAVE TO GO AFTER THE GUY IN CHARGE. YOU ARE RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT, YOU ARE NOT RUNNING TO JUST BE THERE'S ONE OFFICE. AND YOU KNOW, I THINK GOING BACK TO THE THING I SAID EARLIER WITH ABOUT KAMALA HARRIS. IT'S IMPORTANT TO SHOW UP AND ACT LIKE YOU ARE THERE TO BE PRESIDENT. YOU ARE NOT THERE TO BE VICE PRESIDENT, YOU ARE NOT RUNNING JUST TO UP YOUR NAME RECOGNITION. YOU ARE RUNNING TO DO THE JOB AND I THINK GOING AFTER BIDEN DIRECTLY SHOWS YOU ARE WILLING TO TAKE ON SOMEBODY WHO WAS A VICE PRESIDENT. >>BUT WAS IT AFFECTIVE? >> **[1] I DON'T THINK THAT ANYBODY STOOD OUT AS MUCH AS SECRETARY CASTRO DID LAST NIGHT. YOU SAW BENNETT AND HICKENLOOPER YOU SAW ERIC SWALWELL GO AFTER MAYOR PETE BRIEFLY. >>NOT EVEN SENATOR HARRIS TONIGHT? NOT AS MUCH AS JULIAN CASTRO? >> I CONSIDER HER IN A DIFFERENT TIER THAN SECRETARY CASTRO, I WAS TALKING ABOUT THE LESSER TIER GOING AFTER THE BIG CANDIDATES. KAMALA IS IN A LEAGUE OF HER OWN. BUT, YOU KNOW, MICHAEL BENNETT AND THE LOWER TIER CANDIDATES DID NOT DO ANYTHING TO HELP THEIR THIRD AND FOURTH ROUND DEBATE. >> PEOPLE ARE TUNED IN AND CURIOUS. WAS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU HEARD TONIGHT THAT WOULD REALLY JAZZ UP THOSE PEOPLE WHO STAYED HOME BACK IN 2016? >> I'M GOING TO BE HONEST, NOT YET, BUT IT'S EARLY. RIGHT? THERE'S SO MANY DEBATES TO COME. CANDIDATES HAVE TO CONTINUE TO BUILD OUT THOSE OPERATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURES. WE DO NOT PAY A LOT OF ATTENTION TO THIS. DEBATE PERFORMANCES ARE GREAT, BUT ARE YOU LAYING THAT FOUNDATION, WHICH IS HOW YOU TARGET, HOW YOU MOBILIZE A CONSTITUENCY THAT PROPELS YOU TO VICTORY. AND IT'S TOO EARLY TO PREDICT THIS YET. >> YEAH, THEY ARE FOCUSED ON THE PROGRESSIVE VOTERS AND THE QUESTION IS, BY TAKING THAT STANCE, WILL IT BE HARDER TO APPEAL TO VOTERS IN THE GENERAL. >> AND THE QUESTION IS, WILL IT WORK WE HAVE A HARD BREAK IN A MOMENT. I WANT TO THANK EACH OF YOU FOR COMING IN TONIGHT. AND ALL THOSE THAT ARE NOT ON THE COUCH. AND ALL OF THE STUDENTS AND OF COURSE, ALL OF YOU AT HOME. THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR WATCHING, THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE. DON'T GO ANYWHERE, WE WILL REPLAY NIGHT TWO OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC DEBATE, JUST COMING UP NEXT. OTHERWISE, TUNE IN TOMORROW AT 3:00 P.M. EASTERN FOR MORE ON NBC NEWS NOW. THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR SPENDING YOUR EVENING WITH US.**