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**Democratic Women and Republican Women:
How Do They Campaign with Regard to their Gender?**

by

Sophie Ackert

Honors Thesis
Political Science Department
Dickinson College

Professor Sarah Niebler, Thesis Advisor

Carlisle, Pennsylvania
May 14, 2021

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Abstract

The number of women in politics in America is not representative of the number of women in the country. That number is even more unrepresentative when breaking it down by different identities, like political party. In this thesis, I investigate how women of the two major political parties campaign using their gender, or not. After an in depth analysis of a week's worth of Twitter content from the women who ran for U.S. Senate in 2020, I find that Republican and Democratic women differ in how they use their gender to campaign. Democrats market themselves as women more while trying to tie themselves to women as an identity group. Republicans tend to talk about their gender with respect to accomplishments as women. Understanding how women do or do not use gender in their campaigns should help organizations to develop better and more nuanced recruiting strategies to help them be more successful when recruiting women to run for office.

Introduction

Up until I was 13 years old, I wanted to be a fashion designer. Then, the Sandy Hook School shooting happened in my hometown, and I got involved in the work of gun violence prevention. Little did I know that my way of coping with the tragedy by deciding to become an advocate for a safer America, would be the beginning of a change in my priorities and introduce me to the world of politics. When I attended Running Start's program for high school girls in 2015, my life path was altered even more. Running Start is an organization that trains young women to run for office. They hold many different programs, including the week-long training that began my involvement with them, during which I learned so much about running for office, politics, and being a woman in politics. Running Start is non-partisan, yet the summer I attended the high school program, only two of the fifty girls who participated in our program considered themselves conservative. I didn't think too much of this disproportionate number at the time because I was too happy just being there and learning important skills, especially learning how to

overcome imposter syndrome. But when I returned to Running Start as an intern in the summer of 2019, I remember talking to a staff member about how hard they try to get a diverse group of young women from across the political spectrum to participate in their programs, but that it is difficult to get conservative young women to participate. Even in our internship program, only one of the interns was a conservative woman, and she spoke about feeling out of place in political spaces, nonpartisan or not.

This trend is reflected across our political system. Clearly, there are not enough women in politics. After the results of the 2020 elections, there are only 145 women in the U.S. Congress out of the 540¹ members (“New York’s 22nd Congressional District Election, 2020”; Blazina and Silver 2021). This means that less than 27% of Congress is women, while women make up more than 50% of the U.S. population. While that is clearly unrepresentative, the numbers are even more concerning when you break it down by party. In 2017, Pew found that 56% of women identified as Democrat or lean Democrat, while 37% of women identified as Republican or lean Republican (“1. Trends in Party Affiliation Among Demographic Groups” 2020). Yet 73% of women in Congress are Democrats and only 26% of women in Congress are Republican. There are so few women in Congress, and ever fewer Republican women.

There are many reasons for why there are fewer women politicians than men, the most prominent being the fact that women have only had the right to vote for 100 years, that sexism and sexist stereotypes have discouraged women from running for office, and that women believe that sexism and discrimination will follow them throughout their

¹ This number includes non-voting members of the U.S. Congress.

political journey (DiConsiglio 2015). There are ways to combat this, particularly with programs that encourage women of all ages to get involved in politics and help them run for office. Many of these programs focus on the *woman* aspect of this problem, saying we need *women* to run. For example, Running Start, the organization that helped me get involved in politics, hones in on the idea that more women need to run, and works to engage young women in politics. This is a great strategy, and each year more and more women are running for office in America. However, the statistics raise the question: Why are there so many fewer Republican women in Congress than Democratic women? If we can find the answers to that question, there may be new and different ways to encourage more Republican women, and more women in general, to run for office. To begin answering this question, it is imperative to find out what differences there are between Republican women and Democratic women as groups. One way to study this is to see what differences there are in how these two groups of candidates campaign. This thesis analyzes the campaigns of every woman who ran for the U.S. Senate in 2020 to identify any differences or similarities with regard to how each group used their gender in their campaigns. Who talks about themselves as a woman rather than just a politician or a person? Who prioritizes women's issues in their campaign platforms? By answering these questions, we may learn that one party does not campaign much based on their gender, which could lead to new ways of thinking about how to encourage those women to run for office. We may find that being a woman is just as important to both parties, which would prove the importance of gender-based recruiting strategies for all women candidates, and lead us to ask other questions, like why certain women run while others do not. If Democratic women and Republican women talk about

their gender differently in their campaigns, even nonpartisan groups like Running Start should consider altering their recruitment strategies to more closely align with the ways in which different women understand, emphasize, and leverage their gender.

In this paper, I will examine the ways that the women of the two major parties who ran for the U.S. Senate during the 2020 general election used gender in their campaigns. I explore what those findings may mean for women running for office and for recruiting strategies for organizations that aim to get more women to run for office. First, there is a literature review that looks at previous scholarship related to this topic, including campaign differences by party and gender, as well as what differences we see between women of the two parties. Then, I outline my methodology and explain how I examined their campaigns and what exactly I was looking for. Next, there will be a discussion of the findings from that analysis, and an exploration about what those findings may mean. Finally, I address the limitations of my research and conclude with where this research can go in the future to help more women of both parties and of all different identities run for office.

Literature Review

When considering questions about women in politics, it is important to recognize that there is a fair amount of research already done on the topic. However, there is little scholarship published about the differences in how Democratic and Republican women campaign specifically regarding their identity as women. Additionally, although women have made huge political gains in the past 20 years, much of the scholarship on these topics is more than 20 years old. Because this paper examines women in politics by

looking at their social media campaigning, there are a few different bodies of research that are important to acknowledge and bring into this project.

The major bodies of scholarship that relate to my research questions about women's campaigns are three-fold: how Democrats campaign compared to Republicans, to see if this stays true when looking at just women; how men campaign compared to women, to see what commonalities the women have that may be due to their shared gender; and then very specific differences between Democratic women and Republican women who run for office. Additionally, I must look at a fourth body of scholarship, literature on social media use by candidates, particularly women, to display the importance of social media and justify why I chose to use it for my analysis. There is a need not only for newer scholarship that takes into account more recent candidates and politicians, but also for this scholarship to go further, to look women of the two parties to see if any differences exist that are specifically related to their shared gender. This paper's goal is to close the gap in the literature comparing women candidates of the two major parties by looking at their campaigns and adding information about the specific ways they may or may not be gendered.

Differences in Campaigns of Democrats and Republicans

The first body of literature pertaining to differences in campaigning looks at how Democrats and Republicans campaign differently. This relates to my research question because if there are overall party differences, particularly related to how candidates campaign, there should also be differences in how Democratic women and Republican women campaign. We know that politicians generally campaign along party lines. In

fact, 70% of members of both parties say that they align with the position their party takes most of the time (“5. Views of Parties' Positions on Issues, Ideologies” 2020). Therefore, it will be interesting to see this carry over when looking at gender as well, and what women candidates may do similarly because of their gender instead.

Overall, Dolan and Lynch find that primary differences between campaigns and the issues that make up candidates’ platforms are due to party and not the gender of the candidate. They find that candidates do not campaign “on the issues where gender stereotypes might give them an advantage” (Dolan and Lynch 2017, 359) and they also do not campaign with “counter-stereotypic issues” (Dolan and Lynch 2017, 359) to try to avoid stereotypes, suggesting that overall according to these scholars, the impact of party matters more than the impact of gender of the candidate, according to these scholars (Dolan and Lynch 2017). Dolan and Lynch’s finding that party matters over gender in campaigns might lead to Democratic and Republican women candidates campaigning about different issues, rather than similar ones, including women’s issues. However, there is also scholarship that counters this, instead pointing to campaign differences between men and women candidates. Throughout the scholarship however, it is clear that there are ways that candidates campaign differently because of their party.

One of the clear ways that Democrats and Republicans campaign differently is with the issues that they each focus on. Each party has a party platform that both carries over into what their candidates will focus on during their terms in office, and that they use to recruit voters to vote for them. There is a sense of issue ownership within politics. Banda explores this, explaining that issue ownership means that certain political

“issues are fundamentally connected to political parties in ways that are electorally advantageous for those parties” (Banda 2016, 651). Petrocik, who is one of the fundamental scholars to look at issue ownership, asserts that social identities, along with economic factors, create group differences that must be addressed and therefore, each political party better serves some aspects of a person’s social identity (Petrocik 1996, 827-828). Although issues that each party owns may change with time and with party realignment, the idea that certain issues belong more to one of the parties because their voters are helped by that party's stance on the issue is relevant to my research. There are many issues that one party or the other “owns”, and many that they both take a stance on. In my research; however, I am particularly looking at how women candidates talk about women’s issues. In contemporary times, the Democratic party is seen as being more useful to women’s rights and issues (Menasce, Horowitz, and Igielnik 2020), which means that Democratic candidates, including the women candidates for Senate that I analyzed, may campaign more about women’s issues.

One partisan difference in campaigning that the literature does identify is the tendency for Republicans to use attack advertisements more than Democrats. Scholars Theilmann and Wilhite study this phenomenon and find that Republican voters respond better to attack advertisements than Democratic voters, which leads Republicans to be more willing to use them against their opponents (Theilmann and Wilhite 1998). However, in a more recent article, Evans and Clark did not find a significant difference in how the parties used attack advertisements, although they examined only Twitter content, much like I will be doing in this paper (Evans and Clark 2016, 18). This research is relevant to my topic because it shows how researchers are able to explore

voter preferences, and then look at how candidates campaign in response to those preferences. If it is possible to examine what Democrats and Republicans overall prefer to see and hear from their candidates, it should also be possible to find out what Republican women and Democratic women prefer to see from their candidates in regard to gender, which may affect those candidate's campaigning strategies. Additionally, if Republican women use attack campaign strategies more because Republicans do in general, they may use the gender of their opponent, or gendered issues, in those attack campaign posts.

A significant difference that has been studied between Democratic and Republican campaigns is their different recruiting strategies to attract voters. Freeman addresses this in a study of overall party differences in the 1980's, and although not specific to candidates or campaigns, it can carry over to candidates and how they choose to organize their campaigns. Freeman finds that Democrats attempt to recruit new groups to vote for them by using a mentality that groups people together because of some part of their identity (Freeman 1986). They do this by showing those voters what the Democratic platform can do for them as a group. For example, they would look at women as an identity group and look to recruit women by creating a campaign strategy targeting women that highlights what the Democratic party platform does to help women overall. In comparison, the Republican party recruits people "on a one-to-one basis... and primarily by the force of ideas" (Freeman 1986, 355). Updating this research, Grossman and Hopkins also explore these different ways that the two parties recruit voters and further the interest of each party. They find that "Democrats...address the concrete agendas of discrete social groups, preferring a governing style of

technocratic incrementalism over one guided by a comprehensive value system” (Grossman and Hopkins 2016a, 30) while Republicans push their agenda and look to find voters and candidates “that identify with the party on ideological terms” (Grossman and Hopkins 2016b, 1). This is a significant finding, and one that closely relates to my research and informs my hypothesis. If Democrats try to appeal to groups rather than individuals, this would lead me to believe that Democratic women would campaign more with their gender in mind so that they could appeal to women as an identity group. This means that Republican women may do this less because they are focused on voters as individuals, not as identity groups, in this case, women. Therefore, they may campaign with other issues and ideas in mind, and focus on getting voters that they can successfully recruit based on those issues. The scholarship on party differences is useful in anticipating what I may find between women of the two major parties, but it does not address gender specifically. We will now look at campaign differences between women and men candidates.

Differences in Campaigns of Women and Men

While we know there are campaign differences between the two parties, as more women run for and win political office, it is important to also look at what differences there might be between how women and men run for office. Much like Theilmann and Wilhite’s findings about Democrats and Republicans, Evans and Clark argue that women, specifically on Twitter, use more attack style campaign strategies than men. Although their findings depart from Theilman and Wilhite in that they did not find a significant difference between the two major parties, they did find that the content of women’s campaign tweets were more negative about their opponents to a significant

degree than that of men's campaign tweets (Evans and Clark 2016, 17). If we look at Theilman and Wilhite and Evans and Clarks' findings together, it might suggest that Republican women use more attack style campaigning than Democratic women because of their party and their gender. While this is not something I will be specifically looking for, it could influence whether the candidates choose to attack their opponents based on gender and about gendered issues, or on other non-gender related aspects of the campaigns and candidates.

Looking at how women and men campaign differently in his book *Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections*, Fox explores differences between men and women's campaign messages. Fox looks for campaign differences in three ways: personal traits, policy issues, and central themes of the campaigns. Because of gender stereotypes, Fox finds that women candidates tend to repeat their credentials more to show they are qualified (Fox 1997, 98). One of the issue differences that Fox shows that is relevant to this paper, is that "regardless of party affiliation", women candidates campaigned more about women's issues than men did (Fox 1997, 98). This contradicts Dolan and Lynch's claim that party matters more than gender, which shows there is more research to be done to clarify what differences are due to gender and what are due to party. This is exactly where my paper will fit in; it continues the analysis by breaking this finding down between women from the two parties and examining the differences, if there are any. Fox says women campaign more about women's issues than men, but within which party does this happen more often, if either? Based on Fox' findings, there are issues that would be addressed more if more women ran for office, which reinforces the importance of this paper (Fox 1997). We see that there is a lack of

literature about women's campaigns in the next section; therefore, there needs to be more research done about the differences in women's campaigns in order to better understand how different women run, and in order to help them to run and win based on what they are already doing in their campaigns.

Differences in Campaigns of Republican Women and Democratic Women

Specific literature covering campaign differences between women of the two major parties is limited. One of the few pieces that exists finds an interesting difference. Kitchen and Swers find that women of the two parties raise different amounts of money for their campaigns. In setting out to research why there are so few Republican women in Congress, they find that Democratic women "raise more money than their male counterparts," especially when the women are challenger candidates (Kitchen and Swers 2016, 672). However, the opposite is true for Republican women. They raise the same amount or less than their Republican male counterparts which leads to Republican women winning at about the same rate as Republican men. Even more interesting is that despite Democratic women raising and spending more money, they win at the same rate as men (Kitchen and Swers 2016, 673). If these women are raising money at different rates, but winning at the same rate, it poses an important question: Why does increased fundraising not translate to increased victories for women? Is there another factor that affects women's rates of victory? Are there campaign strategy differences that Democratic women use in their campaigns, perhaps regarding their gender, that cause this gap?

Additionally, women of the two parties are perceived differently when it comes to their ideologies. A relevant piece of information to my research in existing scholarship comes from scholars King and Matland in their article “Sex and the Grand Old Party.” They find that while Democratic women are perceived as more moderate or conservative than their male counterparts, Republican women are more liberal than their male counterparts (King and Matland 2003, 606). In other words, women are perceived to be closer to the center of the ideological spectrum, no matter the party they are a part of. This is a very interesting finding, as 70% of the country perceive Democrats as being more influential on women’s rights than Republicans (Menasce Horowitz and Igielnik 2020), which leads to an assumption that women’s issues are perceived to be more liberal. However, King and Matland’s findings counter this, and leave me wondering even more about whether Republican or Democratic women address women’s issues at the same rates in their campaigns. As we can see, there is little literature on the differences between women’s campaigns. The literature that does exist is very specific. I want to add to this body of literature by looking into how women of each party campaign with regard to their gender identity.

Women Politicians Use of Social Media

Evans and Clark write that while there is existing scholarship that says that women, regardless of party affiliation, can sometimes get an advantage by campaigning about women’s issues, they note that this scholarship only looks at more traditional modes of campaigning and not at social media (Evans and Clark, 2015, 5). Evans and Clark look at the 2012 U.S. House elections, because 2012 was the first year that social media was widely used in campaigns, to find that women use social media differently

than men, as well as to show some party differences. Interestingly, Evans and Clark bring up a previous piece of scholarship from Dolan that says websites are useful to candidates since they can control the narrative and “eliminat[e] bias from the media” (Evans and Clark, 2015, 6). They then use this logic and apply it to social media; if women can use social media to campaign and can bypass the gatekeeping and management by the traditional media to control their narrative and avoid gender biases and stereotypes, they can have a campaign advantage (Evans and Clark, 2015, 6). They find that women tweeted about women’s issues substantially more than men, and that within the group of women they looked at, the Democrats tweeted more about women’s issues than the Republican women (Evans and Clark, 2015, 17). They also find that women tweet more negatively in their campaigns than men, as mentioned above, and that women tweet more about policy issues during the campaign than men do (Evans and Clark, 2015, 18). These last two findings are not particularly about gendered issues or language, but still show that there are clear differences in how women and men use Twitter and social media in general to campaign for office.

While I first chose to look at Twitter because it is most accessible to me and has a clear timeline of content, this research outlines the importance of social media in campaigns for minority groups, including women. The only partisan difference these scholars address between women is that the Democrats posted more about women’s issues. Will I end up with the same finding that Democratic women campaign more about women’s issues than Republican women, despite looking at a different year and at the Senate rather than the House of Representatives? We see women using Twitter more and in different ways than men, but how does that translate when we look at the

women as members of their political party? What differences are there, if any, then? I also build on the scholarship of Evans and Clark by examining not just how women candidates use social media to talk about women's issues and policy issues, but also how the women talk about their own gender on Twitter and how they talk about other women candidates and women public figures.

We know that Democrats campaign differently than Republicans, that men campaign differently than women in some ways, and that there are differences in how Republican women and Democratic women are perceived, as well as how much money they raise during campaigns. However, we do not know much about the differences between how Democratic and Republican women talk about their gender, "women's issues" or the gender of other women during their campaigns, other than that Democratic women talk about women's issues more on Twitter. This leads to the question at the core of my research: What differences are there, specifically related to gender but also more generally, between how Democratic women and Republican women campaign? Although there is not much scholarship on this particular topic, given what we can see from the other comparisons in this literature review, it seems that Democratic women would campaign more using their gender than Republican women, and that they would discuss women's issues more in their Twitter campaigning. I hypothesize this because Democrats are perceived to be more influential on women's issues, and because Democrats try to recruit groups of voters, such as women as a group, while Republicans look to recruit individual voters. Through my analysis, I will set out to find if my hypothesis is true.

Methodology

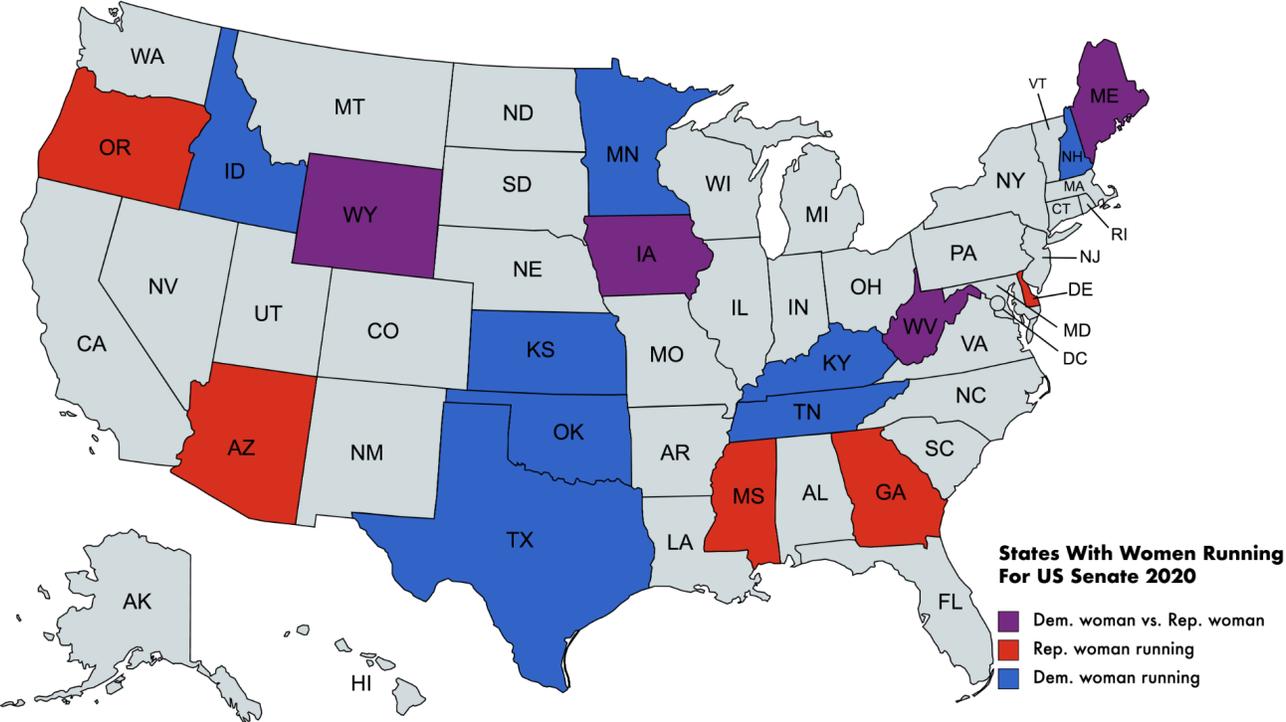
Before outlining the methodology for my primary research, it is important to define some terms that will be used throughout my analysis. To start off, I want to recognize that the term ‘woman’ encompasses much more than the gendered language and issues that I will be coding for, and represents much more than the ways the women I analyze present their gender. While I recognize that discussing topics like women versus men and differences between women and men in campaigns is working within the gender binary, I am interested to see how the women who ran for Senate presented their gender within that binary. That is not to say that the gender binary is correct, or even useful. However, in a system where our government is not representative of all people, it is important to examine these topics to see what structures politicians are fitting into and which they are challenging. Therefore, when I say ‘women’ in my research, I am referring to the gender that the candidates are presenting and use for themselves, whether that is defined on their websites or through their social media. None of the candidates for U.S. Senate in 2020 identified themselves as non-binary or gender-fluid, and if they do identify as a gender other than women or men, there is no public information on that.

The two terms that are perhaps the most important to define are those of “internal gendered content” and “external gendered content”. In my analysis, I coded for these two different categories in the social media content of the 21 women who ran for Senate in 2020. I define internal gendered content as content in the posts that refers to the gender of the candidate them self in some way. External gendered content refers to content that mentions the gender of other women, or mentions issues related to women

in gendered ways. Later in the methodology section there will be a further explanation about how I coded the two types of content and what content fit into each category.

The first task before beginning my analysis was to choose the candidates that I would analyze. I decided to analyze all of the major party candidates in the general election for U.S. Senate in 2020 who identify as women. To understand why, let's examine what the Senate looked like in 2020. In the 2020 election, there were 35 U.S. Senate seats to fill, including special elections. Before the election, Democrats held 12 of these seats and Republicans held 23. The Senate was a main topic of discussion among the media and candidates throughout the election cycle because Republicans had held a small majority of 53 seats, and Democrats needed only three wins to tie and four to gain the majority in the Senate (Nilson 2020). This led to Senate races being competitive as each party wants to hold the majority. Out of those 35 races, there were 17 that had women running, for a total of 21 women who ran for US Senate in 2020. Out of those 21 women, 12 were Democrats and nine were Republicans ("Candidate Summary - 2020." 2020). Seven women ended up winning US Senate seats in 2020, bringing the total to 24 women Senators (CAWP Staff 2021).

Figure 1: States That Had Women Running in the General Election 2020



Created with mapchart.net

I chose to analyze the campaigns of all of the women running for Senate in 2020 because there are twelve Democrats and nine Republicans, making for a good sampling of candidates within each party which allows me to study the differences between Democratic and Republican women candidates. Although the difference is not as large as it has been in the past, we do see that there were more Democrats who ran than Republicans, which goes along with the overall trend of more Democratic women running than Republican women. The Center for American Women in Politics provides a comprehensive list of all of the women who ran for different offices in 2020. I used the

“U.S. Senate” page on their website to find the women who ran. This section detailed the 21 women running for Senate, and listed their names and whether they were an incumbent, a challenger, or running for an open seat (“Women in the U.S. Senate 2020” 2021).

The 21 women who ran in 2020 are as follows: Democrats- Abby Broyles (OK), Amy McGrath (KY), Barbara Bollier (KS), Jeanne Shaheen (NH), Marquita Bradshaw (TN), Mary Jennings Hegar (TX), Merav Ben-David (WY), Paula Swearengin (WV), Paulette Jordan (ID), Sara Gideon (ME), Theresa Greenfield (IA) and Tina Smith (MN). Republicans- Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS), Cynthia Lummis (WY), Kelly Loeffler (GA), Joni Ernst (IA), Jo Rae Perkins (OR), Lauren Witzke (DE), Martha McSalley (AZ), Shelley Moore Capito (WV), and Susan Collins (ME) (“Women in the U.S. Senate 2020.” 2021). Figure 1 shows a map highlighting the Senate seats women were contesting. While I am not looking at head-to-head campaigning, it is interesting to note that women ran in 17 Senate races across the country; in 8 states, Democratic women ran against Republican men, while in 5 states Republican women ran against Democratic men and in 4 states, a Democratic woman and a Republican woman faced off against one another.

Background on Races: Women Senators in their State’s History

Something that could influence the way these women use their gender in their campaigns is the way that women have run and been elected in their states in the past. Throughout the history of the United States, there are 19 states that have never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate. In the races that I looked at, some of the women were the first woman to run for Senate in their state, bringing us to now having 31 states who

have elected a woman to the Senate, and one of those women in 2020 was even the first woman to be elected to any federal office in her state. But some of the women who ran in 2020 were not the first and therefore had seen women run successful campaigns in the past in their states.

First, there are those women who were the first woman to hold their position in their state, but the first time occurred prior to 2020. For example, in Iowa, Joni Ernst was the first woman to be elected to the US Senate, and she won re-election in 2020. Additionally, Susan Collins was the first woman to be elected to the Senate from Maine, and still holds that title as she has held the office since her first win in 1996. Similarly, Shelley Moore Capito was the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate for West Virginia back in 2014, and after re-election in 2020 continues to hold that seat. Cindy Hyde Smith was the first woman to hold federal office after being appointed in Mississippi in 2017. She was re-elected in 2020, making 2020 her first campaign. All four of these women were the first of their gender identity to hold a seat in the US Senate for their state, which may have been a factor in how they campaigned insofar as they had held the office before and were the only woman to ever do so. Finally, Cynthia Lummis was the first woman to hold the position of U.S. Senator in the state of Wyoming when she won in 2020 (Connley 2020), putting her in the same situation to have not seen a woman win a seat in the U.S. Senate in her state. While there certainly were more women who have run for Senate in their states, these women had no prior successful women campaigns look at or to model when deciding how they would present themselves in their campaigns.

The next group of the 21 women who ran for Senate in 2020 would have been the first woman in their state if they won, but ended up losing their races. This means that their state has never had a woman Senator. These women are Lauren Witzke (DE), Paulette Jordan (ID), Abby Broyles (OK), Marquita Bradshaw (TN), and Amy McGrath (KY). Additionally, Merav Ben-Davis was running against Cynthia Lummis, so while Wyoming did have their first woman senator in 2020, it was not Ben-David. These women also did not have previous women Senators to refer to in order to see how those candidates used their gender effectively in their campaign which could have influenced how they chose to campaign and how their races turned out.

Finally, there are the races in 2020 in which the women running were not the ones to hit that milestone of being the first woman U.S. Senator in their state, nor would they be if they had won the election. Although they lost, Kelly Loeffler (GA), Jo Rae Perkins (OR), Barbara Bollier (KS), Theresa Greenfield (IA), Sara Gideon (ME), Paula Jean Swearengin (WV), and Mary Jennings Hegar (TX) would not have been the first women to hold this office in their states. Tina Smith (MN), and Jeanne Shaheen (NH) both won re-election in 2020, but were not the first women to hold this office. Additionally, Martha McSalley, who had been appointed to interim Senator but eventually lost her 2020 race in Arizona, was not the first woman to hold the position of US Senator for Arizona, nor would she have been the first to be elected. All of these candidates had women who previously ran successful campaigns in their states, which may have affected how they chose to present themselves in their own campaigns.

This background (“Women Members by State and Territory, 1917–Present” 2021) showing which women had women Senators previously in their states, combines

both the idea of being the first woman in their state or not, and being an incumbent or not. Both of these factors could have affected how the women campaigned. Having relevant prior campaigns to refer to, whether it be your own previous successful campaign or the campaign of another woman who successfully ran in the past, may show what voters react well to and could influence which strategies the women used in 2020.

Social Media Analysis

In choosing what content to analyze for this project, I settled on examining campaign content on social media. As social media is growing to be much more than sharing pictures for your friends and family, politicians are using it more and more to share their messages and to reach new and wider audiences. In previous research, I have looked at the Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook of candidates, only to find that Twitter and Facebook content was largely the same, and Instagram content was less likely to be political or issue related. Given that experience, I decided to look only at the Twitter and Instagram campaign content from the 21 candidates, rather than all three of their main social media accounts, in hope that Twitter would provide enough issue-based and campaign related content, while Instagram may provide a more personal way of campaigning². I analyzed each candidates' Twitter and Instagram content from October 18th to October 24th 2020. I looked at all tweets that came up on their feed, including tweets, retweets and quote tweets, and replies, and all posts and captions on

²While I did code and analyze the Instagram content from the time period from October 18th-24th as well, the large majority of posts were either not relevant to this research, or were repeats of the content posted on Twitter. Therefore, while there was some gendered content in the candidates' Instagram posts, it was not enough to make a quantitative finding or conclusion of Instagram separate from Twitter.

Instagram within that time frame. I chose this time frame because it was late enough in the campaign that the candidates would still be releasing campaign material, but not too close to the election that the content would just be about voting and how to vote. I investigated how the candidates portrayed themselves as women, or what internal gendered content they posted. To do that I looked for mentions of the words **woman, women, womanhood, feminine, or femininity**, as well as **motherhood, parenting, their children, or being a sister, daughter, or granddaughter**. I was also interested in seeing who, if anyone, mentions barriers to politics because of gender, so I included posts and mentions of the **glass ceiling, gender discrimination, and familial obligations**, as well as being the **first woman to break some barrier**. I am not confining myself to this list, but rather using this list as a guide to code the content. All of the things I am coding for will be based on stereotypes of women-identifying people. In this, I am not asserting that these stereotypes are correct or how we *should* talk about gender, but rather I am looking to see if these women campaign within the binary stereotypes of gender, and if so, how that may vary based on partisan affiliation. In the external gendered content, I looked for posts using the terms defined above, but about other women, and for posts about women's issues. The issues that I looked for in their content are those that the Human Rights Watch (HRW) define as women's rights issues: **domestic violence, child marriage, domestic workers, gender equality, reproductive rights and abortion, sexual violence and rape, labor rights in the garment industry, women and armed conflict, and women's health and FGM** ("Women's Rights" 2020).

Findings/Discussion

While these results may not be generalizable to all women candidates, they are inclusive of every woman with an active Twitter account who competed for the U.S. Senate in 2020.

Figure 2³: Information and Social Media Analysis on Each Candidate

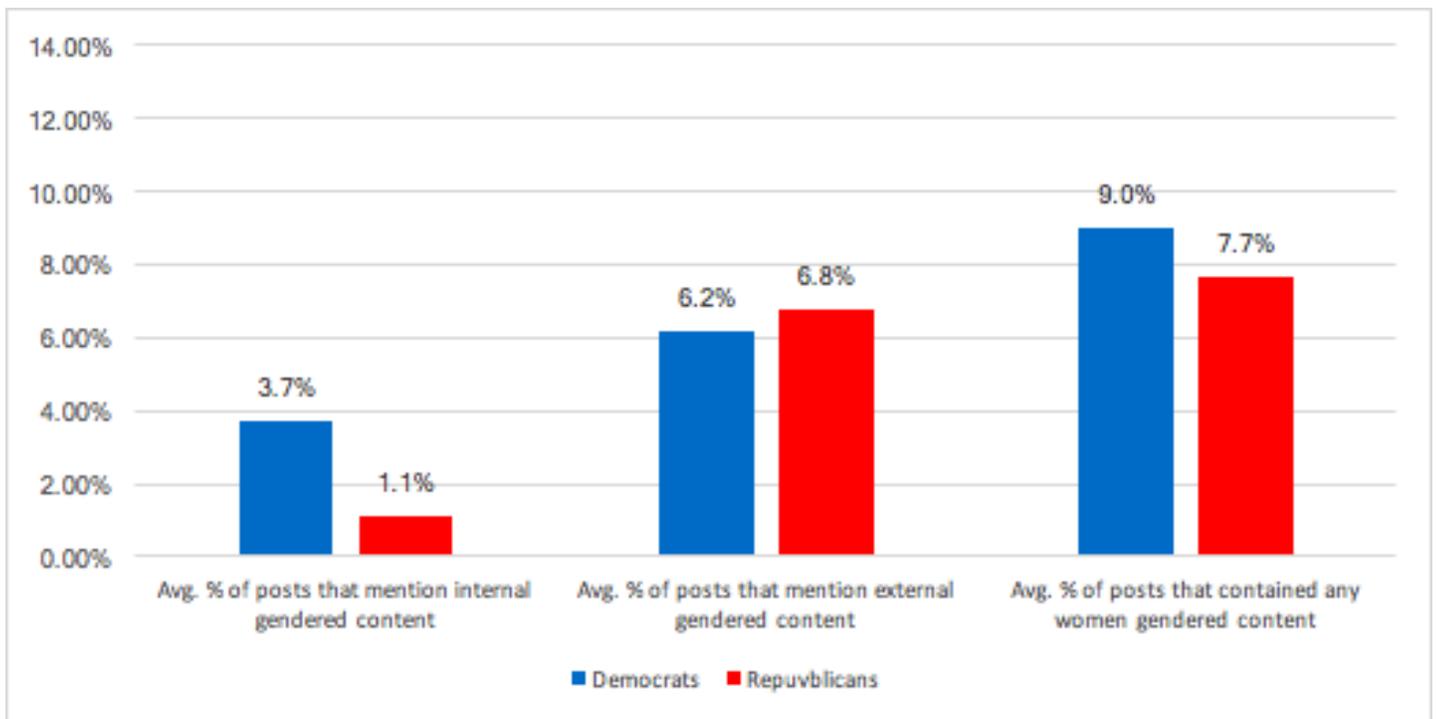
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES	Total Twitter Posts (10/18/20-10/24/20)	% Mention Internal Gendered Content	% Mention External Gendered Content	% Mention Gendered Content	Win (W)/ Loss (L)	Incumbent (I)/ Challenger(C)/ Open Seat(O) ¹
Cindy Hyde-Smith	33	3.0%	9.1%	12.1%	W	I
Cynthia Lummis	16	0.0%	0%	0.0%	W	O
Joni Ernst	36	0.0%	5.6%	5.6%	W	I
Jo Rae Perkins	4	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	L	C
Kelly Loeffler	26	0.0%	19.2%	19.2%	L	I ¹
Shelley Moore Capito	6	0.0%	16.7%	16.7%	W	I
Susan Collins	51	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	W	I
Martha McSally	52	3.8%	3.8%	5.8%	L	I ¹
AVG FOR REPS	Total= 224	1.1%	6.8%	7.7%		
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES	Total Twitter Posts (10/18/20-10/24/20)	% Mention Internal Gendered Content	% Mention External Gendered Content	% Mention Gendered Content	Win/Loss	Incumbent (I)/ Challenger(C)/ Open Seat(O)
Abby Broyles	16	6.3%	12.5%	12.5%	L	C
Amy McGrath	58	5.2%	6.9%	10.3%	L	C
Barbara Bollier	68	4.4%	2.9%	5.9%	L	O
Jeanne Shaheen	39	2.6%	10.3%	12.8%	W	I
Mary Jennings Hegar	85	5.9%	5.9%	10.6%	L	C
Marquita Bradshaw	141	7.1%	6.4%	13.5%	L	O
Merav Ben-Davis	71	1.4%	0.0%	1.4%	L	O
Paula Swearengin	90	10.0%	4.4%	14.4%	L	C
Paulette Jordan	97	1.0%	7.2%	8.2%	L	C
Sara Gideon	90	0.0%	6.7%	6.7%	L	C
Theresa Greenfield	44	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	L	C
Tina Smith	77	0.0%	11.7%	11.7%	W	I
AVG FOR DEMS	Total= 876	3.7%	6.2%	9.0%		

¹ These candidates were incumbents because of an appointment, not a prior election

³Data retrieved from twitter.com and ballotpedia.com

While I aimed to analyze 21 women’s content, one of the Republican women, Lauren Witzke, deleted her Twitter account before I could analyze her content, so there were 20 candidate’s content analyzed, and one less Republican woman than was originally expected. Overall, there were a total of 1,100 posts from the 21 candidates that I chose to analyze. The 12 Democratic candidates posted 876 total posts, while eight Republican candidates posted a total of 224. Clearly, there is a large difference in those numbers, as the Democratic women posted more on Twitter than the Republican women.

Figure 3: Gendered Content By Party



Averaging all of the candidates' totals, 9.0% of the Democratic women's Twitter posts contained content either marketing themselves as a woman, or talking about women's issues and other public figures as women, while the Republican women's posts contained that content in 7.7% of their posts. There were two Republican women who had no relevant content and one who had deleted their Twitter, and only one Democrat who had no relevant content.

A greater proportion of the Democratic women's Twitter content was related to their gender. However, looking just at gendered content broadly masks some interesting differences. When considering only what I coded as external posts about women's issues or talking about other female public figure's gender, the Republicans averaged a slightly higher percentage overall, with 6.8% of their content, and the Democrats 6.2%. We can see this was the majority of the gendered Twitter content about women in both parties.

However, when we look at the posts that contain internal gendered content, where the candidates market themselves as women, there is a slightly bigger difference. 3.9% of the Democrats' posts contained mentions of themselves as women, mothers, or other gendered content, while only 1.1% of the Republican's content did. Five of the eight Republican women posted nothing about themselves as women, and only three of the 12 Democrats did not post about themselves as women. When it came to content about women's issues or other figures as women, three of the eight Republicans posted nothing, while only two of the 12 Democrats posted nothing about this.

While the differences between internal and external gendered content already add nuance to the conversation about how women campaign with respect to gender, I took a deeper look at the actual content of the tweets in an effort to gain more of an understanding about which aspects of their gender or other women's gender, and which women's issues, these women were campaigning on.

Internal Gendered Content

Democrats

When looking at the Democrats' internal gendered content that refers to the candidate herself as a woman or in other gendered terms, we can see two themes. The first theme being posts that refer to themselves as a woman in more general terms; using just the term 'mom' or 'woman' for example. The majority of the Democratic women's posts contained these terms, like Paula Swearengin's retweet of a previous advertisement post that stated "it's time we have a woman that will stand up in Congress and make sure that we are doing the right thing for West Virginia" (@PaulaJean2020 10/18/20) and Paulette Jordan highlighting a line from an article written about her: "Educated, gun-owning, agriculture-understanding, strong woman who is THE right person for the job of US Senator... I trust her to put her best foot forward and fight for Idahoans!". The second theme is posts that refer to more specific parts of their identity as women, such as Marquita Bradshaw in a fundraising post saying "Send a working-class mom to the U.S. Senate", or Paula Jean Swearengin showing commitment to her state by posting that "This coal miner's daughter is done

watch my state suffer, and I'm ready to fight." These women are marketing themselves as a woman, but also as a compounded identity, a woman who is also working class, or a woman who also knows the coal mining industry.

These findings that Democratic women post about themselves in gendered ways and that when they do, the posts focus on the woman aspect, or the woman plus another identity group aspect of themselves, is consistent with previous scholarship of the way that politicians campaign. As outlined previously, Freeman and Grossman and Hopkins find that Democrats try to recruit voters as identity groups, rather than as individuals (Freeman 1986, 355; Grossman and Hopkins 2016a, 30). Although this finding was many years ago, my research shows that trend to still be true within the group of women that I analyzed. Here we can see the Democratic women doing the same thing, putting together aspects of their identity and campaigning on those grounds, possibly in order to get those identity groups to vote for them, or at least aligning themselves with those groups to show who they are and to garner more support. This adds to Freeman's research showing that Democrats not only look to recruit voters by identity group, but also that Democratic women campaign based on identity groups as well. If this finding holds true in future research among a larger sample, it could have important implications on how to recruit and help Democratic women run for office. It leads me to believe that organizations and other groups that focus on recruiting Democratic women, *should* focus on the candidate's gender in order to encourage them to run. If these women are repeatedly marketing themselves as women, and sometimes even as women of another identity group, it could be even

more beneficial to use those compounded identities in order to encourage more women to run as well.

Republicans

For the internal gendered content, Republicans did have fewer posts marketing themselves in gendered terms. However, when the candidates posted this type of content, most of it was about breaking barriers and being the *first* woman of a certain group to achieve something. Three out of eight Republicans who had a Twitter account had one or more posts about themselves using gendered terms. Two of those were about breaking barriers; McSalley referred to herself as “a woman who broke barriers” (@MarthaMcSallyAZ 10/20/20), seemingly talking about her position as the first Air Force woman to fly in combat, which she highlights in her Twitter biography as well; and Hyde-Smith posted about her barrier breaking:

“1st woman to be elected State Senator in my district, 1st woman to chair the MS Senate Ag Committee, 1st woman to be elected MS AG Commissioner, 1st woman to be elected to Congress from MS. I’ll never stop working to move Mississippi forward” (@cindyhydesmith 10/24/20).

The last in this category was Collins, who posted in more general gendered terms and referred to herself as a “county girl” in a campaign video (@SenSusanCollins 2020).

This data suggests that Republican women market themselves as women in their campaign content on Twitter less than the Democratic candidates. As mentioned above, this could be because the Republican women are looking to recruit voters on an individual basis, and not to recruit women to vote for them simply because they are a woman.

The Republican women who did post about themselves in gendered terms had multiple examples of posting about their achievements breaking a barrier as a woman. It is important to note that because there was so little of this type of content, there needs to be more research done to see if this represents a greater trend among Republican women who are running for office. If research with a larger sample supports this finding, it could mean that Republican or nonpartisan organizations who aim to help or recruit women to run for office may have greater success in recruiting Republicans by focusing on the ‘first woman to achieve...’ aspect. However, such an approach may be limited as there are many places that have already had women politicians at all levels of government, a dynamic that should continue to grow over time. Hopefully, future research can help identify additional themes among Republican women marketing themselves as women, or not. This could help inform recruiting strategies to focus on some other campaign messaging, other than the women just being women.

External Gendered Content

Democrats

When it came to the external gendered content, about women’s issues or talking about other women in gendered terms, there were two major themes. The first and most common among the Democrats was talking about other women and women in politics using gendered terms, particularly about women from where they were from, or from the same identity group. Some good examples that show this are McGrath’s post about a campaign event that reads “Thank you to the amazing women of faith I met in Louisville yesterday” (@AmyMcGrathKY 10/22/20) and Hegar advertising an event for “a

roundtable with Black Women leaders from across Texas to discuss what's at stake in this election" (@MJHegar 10/20/2020).

As for women's issues, almost all mentions of women's issues as defined by the HRW's list were about reproductive rights, as was the case for both parties, although there were also multiple mentions of childcare and childcare workers, which would fall under the category of domestic workers. Some mentions of reproductive rights were more general, like Sara Gideon's tweet:

I am proud of the work we've done in Maine to protect & expand access to reproductive health care, and Mainers need that kind of leadership in the Senate. Thank you to the patients & advocates who joined me today to discuss what must be done to protect Mainers' reproductive care. (@SaraGideon 10/21/20)

Still others were more specific to abortion, like Jeanne Shaheen attacking her opponent with a tweet:

I will never budge on supporting a woman's right to make her own decisions about her own body, especially when it comes to her health. @CorkyForSenate has supported draconian abortion laws that would put women's health at risk. (@Jeanne Shaheen 10/20/20)

Interestingly, there were posts that were a combination of these two parts of external gendered content. These posts were about Amy Coney Barret, but also were about reproductive rights. Shaheen and Smith both posted about Barrett saying that she was a risk to women's issues: Shaheen states that "Amy Coney Barrett's troubling views on the ACA and Roe v. Wade put health care and women's rights at risk" (@JeanneShaheen Twitter, 10/20/20) and Smith posted that she would vote no for Barrett's confirmation because "the consequences of her confirmation — overturning the ACA and Roe v. Wade — would be the definition of unequal justice" (@TinaSmithMN 10/22/20). There were other posts that did not mention Barrett by

name, but suggested the idea that reproductive rights were especially important to talk about in 2020, most likely because of her nomination. For example, Gideon stated that “Roe v. Wade is in jeopardy as Republicans continue to pack the courts with anti-choice judges” (@SaraGideon 10/22/2020). Here we see these women posting about another woman in gendered ways, but by alluding to women’s issues rather than by talking about Barrett’s gender specifically.

Other posts about women’s issues that were not about reproductive rights were few and far between, showing that reproductive rights was the main women’s issue talked about in the campaigns of women who ran for Senate in 2020.

The Democratic women, in their external gendered content, seemed to try to tie themselves through their gender to other women they mentioned, whether it be groups they were holding events with, or other women voters in their state. They mentioned the gender of these groups rather than only saying voters or the names of groups/events. This also aligns with Freeman and Grossman and Hopkins’ findings. These candidates are trying to recruit women to vote for them by explicitly stating both their own gender, as seen above, and other women’s’ gender, as seen in this external content.

As for women’s issues, the fact that the most posted issue was reproductive rights was no surprise. A reason for this finding could be that the week I chose happened to be the week that Amy Coney Barret was going through confirmation hearings to be confirmed as a Supreme Court Justice. Barrett was in the news and frequently mentioned on social media because of her originalist approach to being a judge. Her nomination caused a lot of conversation about reproductive rights, as conservatives applauded her stance and liberals worried about the impact on Roe V.

Wade. This caused a lot of the campaign talk to be in support of or speaking against abortion, or in the case of the Democratic women, more general issues of reproductive rights. Additionally, reproductive issues and women's issues overall are seen as a liberal issue. If Democratic women want to recruit women to vote for them, talking about reproductive rights may be seen as a necessary strategy, as they are an issue all women can relate to one way or the other. It would be interesting to see if this finding rang true when a different week or year is analyzed.

Republicans

For external content among the Republicans, those posts about women's issues or other women, almost every relevant post was about Amy Coney Barrett, with a few posts about domestic abuse and a couple of other women's issues. A majority of the Republican women, five of the eight, posted about their support for Amy Coney Barrett, as the week their tweets were analyzed was the week of her confirmation hearings. Moore-Capito, Hyde-Smith, Ernst, Loeffler, and McSalley posted about Barrett in gendered ways, but none of them were about women's issues. They all posted either about Barrett as a woman, or about women supporting Barrett. Ernst expressed her support for Barrett, praising her and saying she is "an inspiration to women everywhere" (@JoniErnst 10/22/20). Hyde-Smith posted that people should be excited about Barrett's nomination because "She is brilliant, hardworking, ambitious, and a proud mother and wife" (@CindyHydeSmith 10/22/20). Martha McSalley even went along with the Republican's trend of talking about breaking barriers to say that Barrett would be the "first woman with school age kids on the SCOTUS" (@MarthaMcSallyAZ 10/20/20).

Other than Barrett, the gender of other women in politics was not a common topic in the content of the Republicans' content.

While we see this trend of tweeting about Coney Barrett in both parties, the Republicans did not tie Amy Coney Barrett to the issue of reproductive rights or abortion, even to praise her for it. They instead focused on her as a mother and an inspiration to women. In fact, there was only one mention of reproductive rights, which was Cindy Hyde-Smith attacking her opponent for supporting abortion (@CindyHydeSmith 10/20/20). Domestic violence was mentioned by two of the candidates, and one candidate, Kelly Loeffler, mentioned women's health (breast cancer). We see here that there is no overall trend in how the Republican women posted about women's issues.

As shown in Figure 3, the Republican women had a slightly higher percentage of content that was about this external gendered content. However, most of that was about Amy Coney Barrett. They did not post much about women's issues, and posted more about Amy Coney Barrett's accomplishments as a mother and a woman being nominated for the Supreme Court. This follows the theme that the Republican women showed in their internal gendered content, that when they post about their gender, it is to celebrate an accomplishment rather than to tie themselves to an identity group. Because all of my data is from this one week, there must be further research done to see how Republican women may use gender in their campaigns when not prompted by a large public event such as the nomination of Amy Coney Barret.

At first, the fact that a majority of gendered content for some of the candidates was about Coney Barrett during her confirmation week was seen as something that could skew the numbers. When the week of October 18th was chosen, it was not known to me that it was the week of Barrett's confirmation hearings. I thought this may be a limitation since the candidates from both parties may have more gendered content to talk about than normal, but then I realized that this actually helps to see how these candidates talk about women public figures. While this may have caused the Republicans to have a higher percentage of gendered content than they normally would, it supports the finding that they tend to post about gender when discussing accomplishments, while the Democrats posted about gender for other reasons. There were also posts from the candidates during this week about Amy Coney Barret that did not portray her as a woman or a mother, that instead discussed her merits and her history as a judge. These were not coded in my analysis, but it shows that the candidates made a choice with each post to talk about Barrett in gendered terms, or not.

Additional Findings

Although my research was focused on looking at differences between the parties, and the sections above comprise my main findings, there are several confounding variables to also consider. For example, earlier in this paper it was outlined which of the women who ran in 2020 had women run and win as senators prior to the 2020 election in their state. I want to see if having those previous women as an example for how to campaign with their gender led to any trends in their campaigning. Incumbency could

have also had an effect on how the women chose to campaign, because as an incumbent the candidate would most likely understand her state and its voters better. Another factor I am interested in examining to see if there were differences in how the candidates used their gender in their campaign content is considering if the candidate ended up winning or losing their race. If any trends can be identified, it may demonstrate what voters like to see in gendered content, or which strategies are more successful. Here, I only analyze the quantitative findings within these different groups, rather than analyzing the content in the tweets I examined, particularly if no difference is found in the percentages of gendered content. Even though I analyzed both Republican and Democratic candidates, the sample size is small so there is risk of over interpreting the my data when looking for qualitative trends.

Although these factors are all important to take into account when looking at how people, and in this case women, campaign, none of these factors showed any stand out trends with regard to how much gendered content the women posted. Women with and without previous women senators in their states had about the same number of posts with gendered content in them. While some of the women had women's campaigns to learn from, this variable did not seem to result in any identifiable trends regarding how the candidates used their gender in their Twitter campaigning. Both those who ran in states where at least one woman had previously been a senator, and those who didn't, had a little over 8% of their content as gendered content. These numbers are similar to those when looking at the second factor; women who won and the women who lost. Each of those groups also had a little over 8% gendered content. This shows that

among the campaigns of the women I examined, these two factors did not play a role in how much they used their gender in their campaigns.

Finally, incumbency was the third confounding factor I looked at. I split the women into three groups, those who were incumbents, those who were challengers, and those who were running in an open seat. These results were a little different than when looking at the previous factors. All incumbents together had 10.7% of their content as gendered, the challengers 8.0%, and those running for open seats 5.%. This may mean that as incumbents, the women who ran knew something about their voters, perhaps that they responded well to women who campaigned using their gender, than the other candidates. That being said, there were only eight incumbents, eight challengers, and four women running for open seats. In order to measure whether or not incumbency truly affects how women use their gender in their campaigns and how much they do, a bigger sample would be needed, as would more information on the states that the women campaigned in.

Overall, when looking at women candidates in the two major parties, we see that there are some differences in both how they market themselves as women, and how they talk about women's issues. There were no trends I could identify with other confounding factors, and thematically, how they used their gender in their campaigns seemed to stick to partisan lines. My hypothesis was partly correct, in that the Democratic women marketed themselves as women more in their campaigns than the Republican women, but partly incorrect, in that the Republicans posted more about women's issues than the Democrats. Looking further into what the posts for both

internal and external gendered content included, we can see that there were clear differences in *how* these women candidates were using their gender in both senses. My findings confirm previous scholarship about partisan differences, and show that although women of both parties campaign as women and about women's issues, there are few similarities in how they do so.

Limitations

As shown by the lack of previous scholarship on this topic, there is much more research that needs to be done. My research simply adds a small look at how women of the two major political parties campaign differently with regard to gender. While I used the entire population that I looked at, women who ran for Senate in 2020, this could be expanded in multiple ways. We do not know how these findings may look if the women analyzed ran for different offices and levels of government, such as all women in Congress or women in state and local office. Would there be further differences due to the levels of nationalization or media attention of different races? We do not know if my findings would hold if I had looked at that, or if I look at this phenomenon over time. We know that gender stereotypes and roles change over time, so it would be interesting to see how the findings would change if looking at women in politics over time. Finally, the biggest limitation I see in my research is that I only analyzed Twitter to identify issue priorities and candidate marketing strategies. Although Twitter was useful for my analysis, and I did look at every post, a direction for future research could be to expand that to Facebook and other social media outlets, to other campaign content, and to longer periods of time to see if my findings are not just found in the week that I did look

at, but hold throughout the campaigns. Analyzing content over a longer time frame may result in additional themes as issues became more and less important to the public and in the media throughout the election year.

A Critical Feminist View

As a scholar in the field of Political Science and also in the field of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, it did not feel right to write this paper without taking a critical feminist eye to my own work. I was limited in this research in that I had to identify women's issues and terms that would be considered internal and external gendered content and language. There is a lot of scholarship covering how gender stereotypes do or do not affect women who run for office in different ways, but there is nothing I could find about the opposite: what impact do women running as women and on stereotypical women's issues, have on gender stereotypes? This leaves me with many questions that are not answerable through this project, but ones that doing this research raised for me and should be looked into alongside future research about women in politics. Does running based on a binary and stereotypical vision of a woman further gender stereotypes, even if it could help them run and win? If women ARE running as women and on these issues, there is a question of what this does for women and gender minorities who want to run in the future. Does it create a static vision of what it means to be a woman, and therefore circumscribe what people must do to fit into that vision while running for office?

I am aware of the fact that the way we measure gender in political science and the way many candidates talk about gender in their campaigns, particularly in the

Senate where there is less gender diversity than the house or other levels of government, is essentialized. Gender essentialism is a dangerous concept when thinking about how to further our understanding of gender and be more inclusive of all genders. It is defined as “The belief that males and females are born with distinctively different natures, determined biologically rather than culturally. This involves an equation of gender and sex” (“Overview: Gender Essentialism.” 2021). Additionally, the way I defined my terms is assuming the universality of womanhood, when in reality that ignores the intersectionality of women. For example, it assumes women are mothers, it assumes all mothers identify as women. It assumes that reproductive issues apply to all women, when these assumptions are certainly not the reality. In no way is my research saying that the way these women are campaigning with their gender is solely because of their gender, but rather I really wanted to investigate how they may campaign within the gender binary and within the stereotypical terms of a woman, since that is the system of gender that is normative in the United States. Going forward, we don’t want to lose sight of the fact that gender is not a binary and that gender stereotypes can be limiting. As our understanding of gender and sense of self evolves, it is important to keep these questions in mind in fields such as political science and other social sciences that study and impact real peoples’ lives and experiences.

Conclusion

The key findings from this paper are that the Republican women, when posting gendered campaign content, spoke more about gender while discussing accomplishments, while Democratic women tended to post gendered content to tie

themselves to women as an identity group, whether talking about themselves or about other women. The findings for differences between the Republicans and Democrats' internal and external gendered content show that there are partisan differences about how these women used their gender in their campaigns. While this shows party as a main factor in how women campaign differently, particularly with regard to their gender, this can still help us understand how to more effectively recruit women to run for office. These findings do not lessen the importance of having groups that help women get involved with politics. Instead they help us investigate how to better hone recruiting strategies to get more women of all different identities to run and win. If women, particularly Republican women, are running more along party lines than showing trends along with their gender or another factor like incumbency, this may mean that strategies to encourage women to run for office should not necessarily try to be nonpartisan or bipartisan. Instead they could have different recruiting strategies for Republican and Democratic participants. Finally, if campaigning as a woman and posting campaign content about women's issues is more of a Democratic women's strategy as this data suggests, then seemingly nonpartisan organizations may come off as more partisan, leaning toward the Democratic side, because they are focusing on the gender aspect of running for office. Perhaps the more targeted strategies should be the focus, like what organizations such as EMILY's List and Maggie's List, who focus on pro-choice women and conservative women, respectively, are doing. Hopefully, if organizations can leverage trends from different groups of women, they'll be able to help a more diverse pool of women run for office. While my research focused on Republicans and Democrats, it would be interesting and important to look at differences between other

identity groups as well, to understand how to better target strategies to help all different women run. It would be particularly fascinating to see whether gender stereotypes within certain identity groups and cultures affects this, and if so, how. Additionally, political scientists should investigate how women at all levels of government use their gender in their campaigns, and what that means for how to get more women to run for offices other than the Senate. While some organizations like Running Start help women running for any office, some of the other organizations, like EMILY's List, focus only on federal level offices. It is important for there to be support for women of all identities and who are running for all levels of government, so that we can create the representative democracy that we need in the United States.

Acknowledgements

To Professor Niebler, thank you a million times over for all of your help throughout not only this thesis writing process, but also throughout my four years here at Dickinson. It has been incredible to have a professor and advisor that cares so much about my success inside and outside of the classroom. Without you, I would not have gotten the opportunity to become a published author. When it comes to this thesis, thank you for always being willing to answer any little question over email, or have an in-person meeting on the Trellis to talk through all of the sections that I had trouble with. I am a better writer and political scientist because of you, you have made my time at Dickinson so memorable. To Professor Marchetti, thank you for furthering my passion for the topic of gender and politics and for supporting me throughout this project. If it weren't for that initial conversation we had when brainstorming topics for my senior seminar/thesis, this project wouldn't be where it is today. Although I wish we could have worked on this more together, I am so grateful for all of your help and support.

To my family, thank you for putting up with me and my 10 phone calls a day. Mom, you always know how to talk me down when I feel like I am losing it, and I would not have been able to get through this year (or any year) without your reassurance. Dad, you have instilled in me the value to care for and advocate for others, which I will forever be grateful for, and has led to me to my majors and my career path. Noah, thank you all for believing in me always and for being my comedic relief when I need it. And to all of my friends, thank you for getting through college and this semester with me. Cara, I feel so lucky that I got to meet you through writing our theses, I have truly appreciated everything this semester, from rants about how much we had to do, to encouragement and support. Sam, Bridget, and Sophia, although you may not know much about this project, I know you three are always there for me and cheering me on from afar, and I am lucky to have lifelong friends like you.

I also want to recognize the impact that Running Start has made on my life. I am so grateful for Running Start and the women who work there for everything they have given me and everything they do for the improvement of our government. Attending their programs taught me what being a women in politics can truly mean, and the importance of our participation in politics.

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