

Analysis of United States Congresswomen's Tweets During the 2017 and 2018 Women's Marches Against Donald Trump in the U.S.

2018

Cynthia Nnagboro
University of Central Florida

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

 Part of the [Interpersonal and Small Group Communication Commons](#)

STARS Citation

Nnagboro, Cynthia, "Analysis of United States Congresswomen's Tweets During the 2017 and 2018 Women's Marches Against Donald Trump in the U.S." (2018). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 5782.
<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/5782>

This Masters Thesis (Open Access) is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact lee.dotson@ucf.edu.

ANALYSIS OF UNITED STATES CONGRESSWOMEN'S TWEETS DURING THE 2017
AND 2018 WOMEN'S MARCHES AGAINST DONALD TRUMP IN THE U.S.

by

CYNTHIA NNAGBORO
B.A. University of Nigeria, 2014

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Nicholson School of Communication
in the College of Sciences
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Spring Term
2018

Major Professor: John Malala

© 2018 Cynthia Nnagboro

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the content of United States Congresswomen's Tweets during the 2017 and 2018 Women's March on Washington (WMW). The research is based on the media framing theory. Previous literature has asserted that women in Congress place a higher priority on women's issues than other policy legislations. This study sought to determine the degree to which these assertions were true by analyzing Congresswomen's tweets during the WMW. A total of 1950 tweets from Congresswomen were collected during four days and analyzed for content and tone. Findings in this thesis invalidate that claim as the results of the investigation shows that less than twenty percent (18.8%) of the tweets posted by Democratic Congresswomen were related to the WMW and only 1% by their Republican counterparts. The rest of the tweets dealt with other issues such as their party's agenda, the opposition agenda, and issues unrelated to politics. Overall, the study found that similar to their male counterparts, United States Congresswomen place a higher priority on their legislative duties. The number of Congresswomen's tweets during that period were higher in other categories than the WMW category. Party's affiliation was found to be a factor as higher percentage of Democratic Congresswomen tweeted about the WMW than their Republican counterparts. The author concludes that Congresswomen's rhetoric is not centered primarily on women's issues as noted by prior literature. Future research is suggested to investigate data contained in Congresswomen's retweets and replies, and women's rights bills passed by Congresswomen during legislative sessions.

Keywords: Donald Trump, United States Congresswomen, Women's March on Washington, Twitter, Tweets, Social movements, Women's rights.

Dear God,

Thank You.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. John Malala for his enduring patience and assistance throughout this thesis process. Thank you for always offering advice and guidance whenever I needed it. Your mentorship and profound feedback guided me while writing this paper. This research would also not be possible without the contributions of my thesis committee members, Dr. M.C. Santana, and Dr. Melissa Dodd. Thank you for dedicating your precious time to be a part of this project and providing me with the needed feedback to improve my work.

To my fiancé, Theodore, I appreciate your undying love and steadfast support during this process. I could not do life with anyone else. To my parents, Ijeoma and Paul, for always believing in me, providing the resources, prayers, and encouraging me to reach for the stars. My cohort; Kelly, Tatiana, Milka, Brandon, Jenna, and Emily K., all of you made my journey through graduate school as fun and productive as humanly possible.

Finally, I would also love to acknowledge all the great professors I met at the Nicholson School of Communication, University of Central Florida, who have shaped me in one way or the other in my quest to become a scholar and teacher. It was a great opportunity to be a part of this innovative University!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ACRONYMS	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background	3
2016 U.S. Elections.	3
The Donald Trump Phenomenon.	5
Tweets.....	6
Video Clips.	8
Legal accusations.	8
Women’s March on Washington	9
Twitter Hashtags.....	11
Organization of the March.....	12
One Year Later.	14
Problem Statement	15
Purpose of Study	16
Significance of Study	17
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	19
Theoretical Framework	19
Media Framing.	19
Underrepresentation of Women	21
Healthcare.....	23
Pay Equity.....	24
Women’s Movements	25
Social Media as a Tool for Activism.....	29
Access to Free Speech.	33
Social media influence.....	34
The Twitter Phenomenon	36
Twitter Use in Congress.	39
Why Congresswomen?.....	42
Content Analysis of Tweets	44

Analyzing Tone of Tweets.	47
Research Questions	48
CHAPTER THREE: METHODS	49
Setting.....	49
Data Collection.....	49
Procedure.....	50
Data Categories and Operational Definitions.	51
Trump Policy.	52
Women’s March.....	52
Self-Promotion.....	53
Own Party’s Agenda.	53
Opposition Party’s Matters.	54
Bipartisan Tweets.....	54
Non-Political Matters.....	54
Tweet Tone.	55
Positive.....	55
Negative.	55
Neutral.....	56
Data Analysis.....	56
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS	57
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.....	62
Summary of Results	62
Theoretical and Practical Implications.....	66
Conclusion.....	67
Limitations	68
Recommendations	69
APPENDIX A: WOMEN’S MARCH GUIDING VISIONS AND DEFINITION OF PRINCIPLES	71
APPENDIX B: LIST OF WOMEN’S MARCH ON WASHINGTON SPEAKERS.....	78
REFERENCES	82

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Categories and Tone of Democratic Congresswomen’s Tweets	58
Table 2 Categories and Tone of Republican Congresswomen’s Tweets.....	59
Table 3 Percentage of Congresswomen’s Tweet Categories	60

LIST OF ACRONYMS

WMW Women's March on Washington

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Members of the United States Congress' primary responsibility consists of representing constituents who elect them in office regardless of their gender. While anecdotal observations indicate that members of Congress are keen in supporting the agenda of their political party, undermining the agenda of the opposing political party, and promoting themselves for re-election, their underlying mission has never been a cause for dispute. Research has indicated that members of Congress engage in solving constituents' problems; create legislation, take positions on political issues, and interact with other levels of government in the quest to represent the members of their constituency (Petersen, 2010). Studies have also found that Congresswomen are advocates for social issues that increase the representation of women and tend to prioritize these issues during the legislative process (MacDonald & O'Brien, 2011; Osborn 2012; Swers, 2005; 2013; 2016). According to Pearson and Dancy (2011), Congresswomen have also been known to advance women's issues on the House floor regardless of political affiliation and are more likely to discuss issues affecting women's representation, in contrast with their male colleagues.

There is empirical data suggesting that Congresswomen tend to place higher priority advocating for women's issues on traditional media. Some of the issues affecting women includes the gender wage gap, violence against women, reproductive rights, homelessness, and absence of laws on parental leave, amongst others. While women have been found to be advocating women's issues on the House floor, there is little empirical data to compare their Twitter rhetoric on women's issues. While in the past politicians' agenda faced gatekeeping in mostly male-dominated mass media, the current shift to use social media for advancing political

agenda creates a level-playing field that requires in-depth investigation. Congresswomen need public support to advance women's issues, and access to the media is required to achieve this. Studies have shown that in a male dominated media industry, especially in traditional media, women do not have sufficient input (Lowe Morna, 2012). Theories like the media framing theory has suggested that traditional media has always functioned as information gatekeepers and framed women politicians as "single issue" legislators. They have framed Congresswomen's messages as predominantly based on advocating for women's rights. Therefore, Twitter, among other social media provides an avenue for Congresswomen to voice their opinion directly to their constituents. This "equal-playing field" provides women with an unfiltered opportunity to advance the agenda of their choice. Hence, if the claim made in previous studies that Congresswomen advocate primarily women's issues is valid, it is appropriate to investigate their posts on social media where they have no gatekeepers filtering their messages.

The 2016 presidential election highlighted the issues of gender differences in politics because there was a male candidate running against a female candidate, and both were from the two major political parties, Democratic and Republican. These issues led up to the 2017 and consequently 2018 Women's March on Washington. This paper will try to explore the claim that Congresswomen tend to advance or talk about women's issues and if it can be supported by their tweets to the public during an important time when women marched for their rights. The research study aims to explore United States Congresswomen tweets during the peak of the WMW conversations.

Therefore, the primary objective of this thesis is to analyze United States Congresswomen's tweets during the Women's March on Washington to see if all or most of their

tweets would be about the March. Specifically, the thesis will investigate if the United States Congresswomen are advancing their personal agenda, opposing the other party's agenda, or supporting women's issues. Additionally, this thesis investigates the efforts of United States Congresswomen in supporting the women's march and championing the cause for women's rights.

Background

2016 U.S. Elections. The 2016 United States Presidential election season brought the issue of gender differences that exists between political candidates back on the spotlight. The elections were conducted on November 8, 2016, and with nominations starting as far back as 2015, each political party attempted to produce the best candidate. Republicans had 17 contenders, e.g. Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, John Kasich, most of who were governors or senators with years of political experience (Beckwith, 2017). Conversely, Democrats had two prospective candidates in Bernie Sanders, and Hillary Clinton. Both political parties were faced with producing a presidential candidate that would address the increasing desire for political change, and stronger economic growth among Americans. Consequently, the two parties nominated Hillary Clinton for the Democratic Party, and Donald Trump for the Republican Party.

In addition to their gender difference, the two candidates displayed stark professional background differences. While Hillary Clinton had served in government for years, as a Senator and Secretary of State; Donald Trump was a businessman with no prior political experience at any level. This election somewhat elevated the issue of gender differences in the forefront of American political rhetoric. Beckwith (2017) noted that Trump's rhetoric was unbridled and lacked the careful planning, organization, and fundraising that was a characteristic of the Clinton

campaign. Trump often used his personal Twitter account to reveal his stance on immigration, ridicule political opponents, and criticize various policies set by the previous government. His strategy was to appeal to middle class American voters in the Midwest who were dissatisfied with the previous administration's policies (Beckwith, 2017). He also tried to appeal to African American voters by quoting high crime rates in minority neighborhoods. Clinton's campaign was also affected by several leaked emails that revealed she had used personal email accounts to conduct official government business when she was Secretary of State. Clinton's target demographic was mainly women, minorities like Hispanic, African American voters, who wanted a continuation of President Obama's policies. Till the end of the election season, the two candidates were openly critical of each other's rhetoric and political campaign.

Political pundits argued that some of Hillary Clinton's political campaign strategies were geared towards advocating for women's issues, and women saw her as a potential president that would champion the cause for women's rights. The popularity of Clinton's policies won her the popular vote by 48%, however Donald Trump won the electoral vote and thus the Presidency. The results of the popular vote were consistent with polls and forecasts that had leaned in favor of Hillary Clinton. Therefore, Trump won the presidency because the electoral college determined the election results.

Donald Trump's political rhetoric against women had been frequently criticized by the media. Therefore, some of the events that occurred prior, and after the Presidential elections were related to the occurrence of the Women's March on Washington. Perez (2018) attributes the occurrence of the march for women's rights to Donald Trump's attitude towards women, and the society in general.

The Donald Trump Phenomenon. The reasons for the WMW stemmed from women's disappointment and refusal to accept Donald Trump's election success (Perez, 2018). Donald Trump had been accused of being disrespectful towards women and was reprimanded by his political party at certain points. Beckwith (2017) analysis of Trump's campaign rhetoric revealed that Trump's decision to run for political office was criticized by GOP strategists. The GOP strategists noted that Trump did not have the recommended political experience to be the President of the United States and was known to make controversial statements. For example, during a rally in South Carolina, on November 25, 2015, Trump mocked a New York Times reporter, Serge Kovaleski, who had a congenital joint condition that limits movement in his arms. In response to a statement the reporter had made about him, Trump said, "You've got to see this guy: 'Uhh, I don't know what I said. Uhh, I don't remember,' he's going like, 'I don't remember. Maybe that's what I said'" (Berman, 2015). As he said this, Trump repeatedly bent and swung his arms. Consequently, the media criticized Trump for being insensitive and mimicking the reporter, even though he denied the accusation.

Among other things, news reports also suggested that Trump might have collaborated with Russia to rig the election in his favor (Beckwith, 2017). In his attempt to deny the accusations, he called any of such reports, "fake news," and continued a Twitter onslaught of the news media. His campaign advocated an anti-immigration policy that included; a ban on all Muslims from entering the United States and creating a national Muslim registry. This anti-immigration policy was heavily articulated during the campaign by promising to build a border wall between Mexico and the United States, and require Mexico pay for all costs related to this immense construction project. Trump argued during the race to presidency that building the wall

against Mexico would “Make America Great Again,” a phrase that quickly became his campaign slogan, as well as a viral Twitter hashtag #MAGA. Arguing about his anti-immigration policy, Beckwith (2017) explained that candidate Trump was once quoted making an unscripted comment about Mexican immigrants that, “they’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.” His comments were perceived as undervaluing the quality and skill levels of immigrants coming to the U.S. through the Mexican border.

Perhaps one of the most critical campaign promises that Donald Trump made during his bid to the White House was a repeal of former President Barack Obama’s Health Care bill, the Affordable Care Act, commonly known as Obamacare. Trump’s critics argued that a repeal of Obamacare would leave thousands of Americans without health insurance coverage. Particularly, experts argued women were projected to lose access to reproductive healthcare if Obamacare had to be repealed. The prospect of denying women access to critical health plans infuriated leaders of Planned Parenthood, an organization that targets women’s healthcare, who accused Trump of being insensitive to women’s reproductive rights.

Tweets. Donald Trump’s use of Twitter as a primary channel of communication was viewed by his critics as inappropriate for his political office. Specifically, to understand what led to the Women’s March was that some of his tweets were seen as offensive and having disregard for women. One of the characteristics that differentiated Donald Trump from prior political candidates was his preference for using Twitter as a channel for expressing his political, social, and economic opinions. To put things in context, Keohane (2016) explains that Donald Trump joined Twitter in 2009 before his political aspiration but started using the medium

frequently from 2011. He has gained popularity due to his pervasive use of the social medium during the presidential campaign and after he became President. As of February 9, 2018, his Twitter account, @realDonaldTrump, has 47.6 million followers and has amassed 36.9 thousand tweets. What makes communicating on Twitter unique compared to traditional, gate-kept media is that the social medium offers an unfiltered opportunity to users to publish their ideas and views in their own words. Hence, Keohane (2016) noted that Trump's Twitter rhetoric is predominantly "tell it as it is," and sometimes bordering on rude, and offensive.

Consequently, a look at his daily tweets suggests that Trump's rhetoric in recent years has also heavily been disrespectful to women. For example, on April 6, 2015, Trump tweeted against the co-founder of the Huffington Post, because of her critical article about him saying, "How much money is the extremely unattractive (both inside and out) Arianna Huffington paying her poor ex-hubby for the use of his name?" This disrespectful pattern was also observed in a tweet posted 10 days later when he made similar comments about his political opponent Hillary Clinton, tweeting; "If Hillary Clinton can't satisfy her husband what makes her think she can satisfy America?" The tweet was interpreted as being about her husband, Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky in 1998. Even though Donald Trump made continuous denigrating comments about women who antagonized him, one of the most unforgettable examples of tweets seen as a sign of disrespect for women was on September 30, 2016 when he attacked the 1996 Miss Universe winner. Trump who formerly owned the pageant called the model "Miss Housekeeping, Miss Piggy" in reference to her weight and Venezuelan heritage. These public attacks on women lead Hillary Clinton to bring up the denunciations during the first Presidential debate and accused Trump of being sexist. However, Trump responded to Clinton's charges in

another tweet that read, “Did Crooked Hillary help disgusting (check out sex tape and past) Alicia M become a U.S. citizen so she could use her in the debate?” Even though there was no evidence to substantiate his claims, Trump insisted on his statements against Hillary Clinton.

Video Clips. In addition to Trump’s tweets about women, other materials were brought forward by the media as evidence that Trump was disrespectful towards women. On October 7, 2016, a video released by the Washington Post was circulated online showing Donald Trump discussing with Billy Bush, a TV host for the show, “Access Hollywood.” Trump was recorded bragging about how easy it was for him to have sex with women, including married women. According to him “when you’re a star, they let you do it...I moved on her and I failed. I’ll admit it, I did try and fuck her. She was married.” He also talked about “grabbing (women) by the pussy.” While defending his actions, Trump played down the conversation and referred to it as “locker room” banter (Beckwith, 2017).

Shortly after that, on October 13, 2016, another tape from Trump’s guest appearance on a 1992 TV Show, Entertainment Tonight, was unearthed (Cohen, 2017). In the tape, Trump was seen watching some young girls on the escalator in Trump Tower. He commented to one of the people with him, “I am going to be dating her in 10 years. Can you believe it?” Following the videotape releases, Trump denied that he had ever made unwanted advances at women, and that the accusations against him were false.

Legal accusations. Several lawsuits were brought against Donald trump during his political campaign. This was one of the reasons for the Women’s March on Washington, as the protesters felt that a candidate that had several litigations against him was unworthy to become the President of the United States. After the release of the Trump video clips, about 19 women

stepped forward to accuse Trump of making sexual advances towards them. The women alleged that some of the events had occurred dating back to the 1990s when Trump owned several beauty pageants, and a TV show, *The Apprentice*. Some of the women alleged that during preparations for the beauty pageants, Trump would come into their dressing rooms unannounced even if when they were in stages of undress. They alleged that he would mention that he had “seen it all.” Other women accused the businessman of groping them during various meetings and kissing them on the lips without permission. His ex-wife, Ivana Trump accused him of rape during their 1990 divorce proceedings, but recanted her statement later, noting that her words should not be “interpreted in a literal or criminal sense.” Ivana made a statement during Trump’s presidential campaign to the tune that she had just felt unloved during the sexual encounter.

The aforementioned events that occurred during Donald Trump’s political campaign and subsequent presidential victory built up to cause the Women’s March on Washington. The political climate at that point was ripe for the March to take place as women demanded for respect for their gender and identity.

Women’s March on Washington

Following Donald Trump’s inauguration as the 45th President of the United States, several people were dismayed because he had been a controversial candidate. The Women’s March on Washington became an avenue for people to protest Trump and his policies. The first march was held on January 21, 2017. Levitov (2016) lauds it as one of the most widely publicized events in American history. According to the WMW organizers about 500,000 people marched in Washington D.C alone. Tambe (2017) argues that the event is the “largest single-day synchronized global mass mobilization ever” (p. 223). Millions of women marched across the

United States including in Washington DC and the world. While there was not an official number count, most estimates agree that “over five million people turned out in more than 673 marches around the globe” (Tambe, 2017, p. 223). For this reason, Levitov (2017) suggests that the situation provides an opportunity to analyze the components of democracy, social activism, and free speech.

Chief among the reasons for the WMW was American women’s refusal to accept Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States due to his perceived lack of respect for women (Vick et al., 2017). Other reasons that led to the WMW was the need to emphasize women’s reproductive rights, equal pay; immigration, and healthcare reforms, at a time when the incoming President had given clues to the fact that it was not his top priority. Time Magazine wrote an op-ed on how the WMW was all President Trump’s fault, emphasizing why women felt it was their responsibility to show the rest of the world that the President elect was not a popular choice (Vick et al., 2017). The authors interviewed women who had varying perspectives including transgender women and black female activists. A common narrative was that each woman felt a connection with each other in that the march was very pro-women and intersectional.

In addition to the WMW, several other sister marches occurred around the United States and all over the world. Notable cities that had sister marches in the United States included Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Las Vegas. Marches were held in international cities like London, Paris, Brussels, Iraq, Tanzania, South Korea, Ecuador, India, New Zealand, and many others. The viral nature of internet communication helped to create allies in different parts of the world.

Twitter Hashtags. Social media was used as a channel to mobilize people for the WMW. In fact, the advent of social media has made activism more popular and easily accessible. The 2017 WMW was widely broadcast on most social media platforms like Twitter with the dominant use of hashtags and viral images. Some of the most popular hashtags that trended on Twitter to champion the cause were, #WhyIMarch, #NotMyPresident, and #WomensMarch. Twitter was one of the fastest and easiest social media used to spread the news about the march.

According to Boler et al. (2014), women have previously used Twitter effectively to publicize protests across the globe. The fact that Twitter offers the ability to make information spread faster than other media channels or word of mouth communication makes the social media one of the most powerful communication tools of the 21st Century. Due to the cloak of anonymity that the internet brings, activists are more likely to express their views. For instance, Akdeniz (2002) notes that internet anonymity is comparable to the concepts of free speech and privacy. Therefore, on the internet, people can take what identity they choose, say whatever they want to say, without worrying about how it will affect their daily offline life. This feature helped the WMW movement to garner a lot of supporters worldwide regardless of age, gender, or race. Levitov, (2017) notes that although most of the marchers were women of all ages, there were also some men, children, and people of diverse race, and ethnicity who converged to protest.

Drake (2017) wrote that “recent marches have demonstrated the intersectional nature of modern social activism” (p.24). The Women’s March on Washington shows the unique way that a march for women’s rights can overlap the ideas of other similar movements (Drake, 2017). Movements that have comparable agendas like Occupy Wall Street, the Immigrant Rights Movement, Black Lives Matter, and Environmental movements, and other activists were able to

come together to protest the inauguration of President Donald Trump and march for women's rights (Drake, 2017). The process of creating a protest comprising about half a million people has been documented by various researchers.

Organization of the March. The organizers of the march were faced with the challenge of mobilizing hundreds of women that had no prior involvement in activism (Tambe 2017). The National Field Coordinator of the Women's March, Mrinalini Chakraborty, explained the events leading up to the day of the march (Tambe, 2017). According to Chakraborty, the thought process started on November 8 2016, the night of the Presidential election. A grandmother of two from Hawaii, Teresa Shook created a Facebook event mobilizing women to march on Washington (Tambe, 2017). The invite was for about 40 of Shook's friends, but by the next day, the event had gone viral and thousands of people signed up (Tambe, 2017). This was simultaneous with the activities of other people like, Bob Bland, who had formed a similar protest in Washington; and Mrinalini Chakraborty who was planning one in Chicago.

The result was a coalition of different organizers coming together to create what was originally known as the "Million Women's March" but later changed to the "Women's March on Washington" (Tambe, 2017). The organizing committee was made up of four national co-chairs; Tamika Mallory, Bob Bland, Linda Sarsour, and Carmen Perez and several members of the Women's March on Washington national committee like, Vanessa Wruble, Director of Operations; Cassidy Fendley, Head of Communications; and Janaye Ingram, Head of Logistics etc. (Women's March.Com). The intersectionality of the march, which calls to the diverse problems of different people is evident in the document they produced, called the "Unity Principle" (See Appendix A). The unity principle, built on a recognition of differences in

women's identity and human rights issues, basically states amongst other things that "Women's Rights Are Human Rights and Human Rights are Women's Rights" (Unity Principle, p. 2). With this in mind, the organizers agree that there should be an elimination of violence against women; gender, racial, and economic injustice (Unity Principle). They wanted to raise an awareness on the issues facing women in the society in a way that could make women's voices heard.

However, other sources have pointed out that the Unity principle is not as inclusive as it claims. For example, on page 3 of the principle, it noted that care for people of disability is work, and a burden for women of color, who are the predominate caregivers. Disabled people pointed out that this was the only time they were mentioned, and they were referred to as burdens (Willitts, 2017). The organizers were also criticized for editing the principle several times on their website to correct criticisms on not being inclusive to all women. Subsequently, they had added sections on women sex workers, disabled women, which drew criticisms to the tune that mainstream feminism was used to being choosy on which type of women to include and exclude (Robertson, 2017). The organizers had to make changes in the weeks leading up to the march.

In preparation for the march, fundraisers were conducted nationwide and around the world. The main financial sponsor was, "The Gathering for Justice," an organization that had one of the WMW co-chair, Carmen Perez as its executive director. Other donations came from over 700 partner organizations including; Planned Parenthood, Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL), Human Rights Campaign (HRC), American Civil Liberties Union] (ACLU), Service Employees International Union (1199 SEIU); as well as smaller donation from WMW members, and women all over the world (Tambe, 2017). These organizations contributed in establishing one of the biggest marches

in American history, in the same rank as the Million Man March, which was a political demonstration on October 16, 1995 to promote African American rights.

The WMW also provided an avenue to show support for racial and gender justice, which is the goal for movements like the Black Lives Matter movement, Pro-Choice, and Pro-Life initiatives. During the WMW rally, singer, Janelle Monae, called the names of people that had been killed by the police, championing the case against police brutality (Tambe, 2017). Other notable speakers also spoke during the march and discussed diverse topics (See Appendix B). The diversity of issues covered by the WMW, which has its roots in the civil rights movement, shows the uniqueness of the movement and its agenda for change. This uniqueness is shown in the way the movement tried to cater for all kinds of women even those that had voted for Trump. The organizers of the WMW also emphasized that they were not necessarily anti-Trump, but more pro-women, and championing the cause for a change in the narratives surrounding women's rights.

One Year Later. The scope of this research study includes both the 2017, and 2018 Women's March on Washington. The 2018 WMW occurred on January 20, 2018, one year after the 2017 protest. This march was simultaneously conducted in various cities across the United States like New York, Washington, Chicago, Orlando, Atlanta, Los Angeles etc. By that time, the Women's March had gained even more popularity and diversified its agenda to include advocating for more women to engage in the electoral process. This new campaign was dubbed "Power to the Polls," and it encouraged more women to get voter registration and run for political office.

Other issues surrounding the second march made it increasingly significant in the fight for increased women's rights. At the time of the march, there was a United States federal government shutdown caused by the inability of Congressmen and Congresswomen to reach a compromise on a spending budget. There were also debates across the two political parties over the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) bill, and an immigration policy proposal. These issues heightened the political climate and formed the rhetoric surrounding the need to protest again in 2018.

Problem Statement

Some researchers have argued that women in Congress tend to advocate for women's issues. Swers (2016) examined the bills that were sponsored and passed by Senators in the 107th and 108th Congresses and found that Congresswomen were more likely to pass bills on women's health issues. Similarly, MacDonald and O'Brien (2011) used a quasi-experimental design to study the number of feminist bills passed by women in Congress. The researchers also found that Congresswomen placed higher priority on championing the cause for women's rights.

The methodology used in the aforementioned research studies focus on the women related bills that were sponsored, cosponsored or passed by the Congresswomen. Limitations arise from this research design because it does not measure the actual content brought forward by Congresswomen, focusing only on the number of bills passed. These studies do not utilize a content analysis of a comprehensive sample of statements made by Congresswomen. This research study therefore aims to focus on a definite sample of statements by content analyzing the Congresswomen's Twitter posts. This helps to inquire the way Congresswomen are using their voices in a media that is not framed by agenda setters. Media framing is a practice that is

inherent in traditional media like television, newspapers, where women issues like equal pay or reproductive rights are framed by agenda setters, and reported the way the agenda setters deem fit. For example, during the women's march, the traditional media framed the protests by focusing on the size of protesters, showing images from the events, and comparing it to the ongoing Presidential inauguration at the time (Nicolini & Hansen, 2018). The researchers mention that it does not adequately cover the multifaceted aspects of the march. However, social media like Twitter gives women and consequently Congresswomen their own voice and autonomy to frame women's issues the way they want it.

The need to empirically ascertain contents of tweets from United States Congresswomen during the Women's March on Washington is important to determine their support for women's issues. Inquiry will also be made into the nature of their dialogue on Twitter.

Purpose of Study

The study analyzes the Twitter feeds of United States Congresswomen during the 2017 and 2018 Women's March on Washington to determine the focus of the tweets. The study specifically focuses on the tweets sent out two days before, and two days after the march on Washington. Tweets are beneficial to the study because they can be studied as part of both permanent and transitory discussions. Transitory discussions are usually common in face to face discussions where the messages are given immediately, and the feedback is usually immediate. Permanent discussions however, can be stored and forwarded to others, a feature that Segesten, & Bossetta (2017) extol as common in mediated communication. Therefore, the nature of the tweets allows the researcher to study these conversations because they have been stored and are readily available.

This thesis also aims to contribute to the literature in the area of women's studies by studying the Twitter feeds of United States Congresswomen. As opinion leaders and agents of judicial change, Congresswomen represent women both in their districts, and society in general. This has been attributed to their jobs as minorities in a male dominated political field ((Verge & Pastor, 2018). Women's protests over the years have been linked to their need to have their voices heard and be a part of the political landscape.

This study hopes to contribute to research on women in Congress and investigate the topics of Congresswomen's legislative priorities. By investigating their topics, there can be insights into how women's movements are framed by the people in charge of creating these conversations.

Significance of Study

This research study will provide insights into the social media of women in politics, specifically Congresswomen. This thesis will help to investigate the long-held belief that women in Congress focus primarily on women's issues. Tweet data will be content analyzed to dispel or emphasize the claim that Congresswomen's content is heavily based on women's issues. Based on the growing body of research on the recently concluded 2017 Women's March on Washington, this paper will contribute to the research area. Tambe (2017) agrees that the WMW was unique owing to the fact that social media had never been used in this magnitude to mobilize thousands of people spanning cities, countries, and even continents within a few months.

Women vote because they want to be empowered and if the person in government makes them feel like their rights are being subjugated, it can lead to political unrest and hence the protests. The significance of women's voices in Congress are deemed important especially

because there are fewer women than men in congress. However, women in Congress still vote on healthcare, reproductive rights, and other issues that affect the lives of women. Congress women are also policy makers, in charge of bringing new bills and legislature that could potentially affect the lives of millions of women in America.

This research project seeks to find out the focus of Congresswomen's tweets during the WMW. This will help emphasize the role of media framing in creating meaning, and shaping the conversations surrounding the march.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

This thesis uses the media framing theory to analyze the content of United States Congresswomen's tweets during the Women's March on Washington. Media framing is closely related to the agenda-setting theory but focuses on the meaning placed on certain events. This theory helps to explain the essence of the issues faced by women and how congresswomen have framed the narrative surrounding several women's issues.

Media Framing. Media framing is a newsroom practice that encompasses "collective processes of negotiation over meaning" (Vliegenthart, & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 111). The authors theorize that traditional news media has the responsibility to give meaning to the various stories, issues that occur in the society daily. The media has a responsibility to frame the narrative surrounding a news story (Vliegenthart, & van Zoonen, 2011). Vliegenthart, 2012 explains that the media frames political issues, whereby they determine the degree and importance that is placed on those issues. Framing therefore becomes an activity used to analyze how political issues are presented in the media. News stories can be depicted in several ways depending on the news sources reporting the information. For example, the Iraq war can be reported from a violent, human interest or military expertise angle (Vliegenthart, 2012). Framing has a lot to do with context of conversations and the different variations that an information can take if it is not framed correctly (Vliegenthart, 2012). For example, Dimitrova, & Strömbäck (2012) use two kinds of frames to study election news coverage of politics in Sweden and the United States. The strategic game frame and conflict frame were used to examine the differences in how news is framed in the different countries. While the US television frames political issues as structured,

and strategic, the Swedish media frames their news as practical and relatable (Dimitrova, & Strömbäck, 2012). Political news coverage framing is also closely related with that of social movements as well as how the media frames women's issues.

News coverage of social movements can be influenced by various factors inherent in the societal climate of the time. Gamson (1992) concluded that there is certainly an interaction between the media and how it frames its coverage of a social movement. It can also be argued that the media set the tone for what happened before and after the women's march. While certain TV channels like CNN covered segments of the March, conservative channels like Fox news refused to be a part of it, focusing their coverage on the events of the Presidential inauguration. Most of the literature argue that the power of traditional agenda setting has shifted to social media. Twitter is framing the narrative on the kinds of news that journalists cover (Swasy, 2016). At first journalists were reluctant to join the Twitter train, owing to the fact that it lacked objectivity and the users are not skillfully trained journalists (Swasy, 2016). Pressure from editors and other journalist gaining from the immediacy and user gratification that comes from using Twitter convinced journalist to use Twitter as a "gateway to new sources of information, and story tips," (Swasy, 2016, p. 643). Scott (2016) studied how journalists frame news to stick to the journalistic standards of "objectivity, accountability and gatekeeping," (p. 397). For example, during the trial of South African Paralympic athlete, Oscar Pistorius, journalists were live tweeting to keep people up to date with the trial. Scott (2017) explains that this helps journalist to frame the story in without picking sides while "opening the gates" to the public to comment and share the story (p. 409). Twitter has changed the way the media frames news and caused news organizations to combine traditional communication with a faster and all-

encompassing mode of communication (Bruns, & Burgess, 2012). The same practices that traditional media used to frame news on television, newspapers and magazines have been used to frame Twitter news reporting (Artwick, 2013). According to Gil de Zúñiga, Weeks, and Ardèvol-Abreu (2017) people do not actively seek for news anymore because they find news wherever they go on social media.

The way an event is framed on Twitter therefore becomes closely correlated with the people that oversee spearheading the conversations. Media coverage of events surrounding women's fight for equal rights have been previously framed by the traditional news channels. However, with the advent of Twitter, amongst other social media, women are now more in control of how their rhetoric is framed. Atkeson, and Krebs (2008) states that the problem has been that women's participation in politics are not adequately covered by the media in contrast with their male counterparts. Additionally, the authors note that even when female politicians are reported in the media, the focus is usually on their family life, age, personality, and appearance (Atkeson & Krebs, 2008). Twitter then provides an avenue to get information about women's issues from the various women that are experiencing the problems in their daily lives. It can therefore be argued that Congresswomen then become agenda setters and news framers by virtue of being in positions of power. Their rhetoric on Twitter becomes important as they could steer the conversation and bring priority to women's cause, just as they have been predicted to prioritize in Congress.

Underrepresentation of Women

The Women's March on Washington provides a unique opportunity to review the literature on some of the issues concerning most women of the time. Representation in this thesis

will be defined in terms of the areas that the Women's March organizers felt women were not adequately represented. In his essay, Ray (2012) argues that the various movements that exist for the emancipation of women over the years have become one of the longest and most significant social movement all over the world. The author also agrees that women have been underrepresented in various aspects of society. Tortajada, & Bauwel (2012) also justify this claim by giving examples of how women are underrepresented in various countries and across different areas of life. Some of these areas of life include access to affordable healthcare, education, equal pay; reproductive rights and racial equality.

These areas where women are at a disadvantage span across different societal structures. Ghosh (2017) emphasizes that it is a man's world, and societal structures have been established to put women at a disadvantage. For example, in most developing countries, there exists a gap in women's access to technology in comparison to men. Singh (2017) quotes statistics from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU)'s data which notes that about 16% of women in comparison to men have access to the internet. Ayman and Korabik (2010) attributes this problem to societal gender roles. The researchers note that certain gender roles are placed on men and women from birth and they are expected to act a certain way. These depictions are then shown in the media and throughout the various expected societal norms and agents of socialization. McKenzie and McKenzie (2017) disagrees in this regard noting that societal roles do not emerge in their content analysis of Chinese television news reports. In their study, when in a professional setting consisting 21 men and 6 women, the gender roles were blurred because both sexes played the same roles that was required of them by the job.

Gender roles for women are also inherent in the media. Sports reporting is still considered a man's game and there is a dearth of women reporters in this field (Franks & O'Neill, 2016). The media conglomerates and news narratives or angles are run by men, causing the news to become told primarily from a male perspective. Lowe Morna (2012) argues that feminizing the news for one day can lead to great strides in hearing women's side of the story. When women tell the story from their perspective, and world view, it broadens the story's narrative (Lowe Morna, 2012). There is also a significant gap in the number of women in STEM and ICT related fields because young girls are not adequately exposed to technology as much as their male counterparts (Singh, 2017). Singh suggests a more strategic intervention that aims at teaching young girls early the importance of expanding their knowledge on ICT. Singh's belief is that with more girls in ICT, they will be equipped with better tools to considerably lessen the different forms of gender inequality. These forms of gender inequality is inherent in societal structures like healthcare, and the labor market.

Healthcare. The debate surrounding reproductive rights was one of the chief reasons for the women's march. Conversations on the different ways through which women's bodies are considered as sexual objects have been addressed (Ștefanovici, 2016). Research has called for more access to healthcare and women's rights over their bodies. Women felt that the people making the decisions on allocations for women's health were mainly male. For instance, during the passing of the Senate healthcare bill in 2017, various women's groups criticized the GOP's planning group for consisting of 13 men and 0 women. The women's groups argued that a group making decisions concerning women's health care should consist of some women. In contrast to their male counterpart, women in the medical community are not making it to the top leadership

because of structural impediments (See Bakht, Arshad, & Nafees Zaidi, 2017; Cancian, Aguiar, & Thavaseelan, 2017; Ioannidou, & Rosania, 2015; Segar, 2015). Research on the representation of the diverse nature of women has argued that most of the studies being done on women reproductive health has not been cross-cultural leading to a high degree of ethnocentrism (van Eerdewijk, 2001). Herein, some women's health research does not make accommodations for differences that exist between women of different cultures, race, and social class.

Pay Equity. Women coming from different backgrounds are emphasizing the need for equal opportunity for people of all races including equal access to education, and equal economic opportunity for women of color. Smith (2017) emphasizes that more than just giving women more access to education and equal pay, the institutions must be transformed. For example, in higher education, research has argued that there are more women on college campuses than men, but the leadership roles and pay is still lacking (Smith, 2017). This pay inequity has also translated to the workforce, placing lesser leadership roles and pay on qualified women.

Furthermore, there are also pay inequities between women of different racial backgrounds. Data from the Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Group (CPS-MORG) from 1979 to 2005 shows that there is a gap between the wages earned by white women in comparison to black women (Pettit & Ewert, 2009). There are disadvantages placed by economic and political structures that serves to place the black woman at a disadvantage (Pettit, & Ewert, 2009). Malveaux (2013) quotes statistics from the Insight Center for Community Economic Development, that a single, middle-aged white woman's average net worth is \$42,600 while a black woman within the same demographic earns \$5 (Malveaux, 2013). These statistics reveals the reasons for increased agitations for women's rights over the years.

Noteworthy is the fact that most women's rights movements started about 50 years ago. Several problems were faced by women of each decade leading up to the 21st century. As late as 1972, women did not receive loans by themselves, nor were they accepted as jurors in court. Women were not allowed to work without getting approval from their husbands first (Galy-Badenas, & Croucher, 2016). Women earn less than men even though they might be in the same profession or even the same job (Ray, 2012). Women are not adequately represented in government positions or are not promoted to top management positions. In the 2017 United States Congress there are only 106 women accounting for only 19% of 535 members of Congress.

Therefore, women have had to fight for a long time to get some of the basic rights that they have today. The right to vote, work, own property, or even get a divorce were all gotten through several civil protests (Ştefanovici, 2016). However, Katila & Eriksson (2013), also note that leadership roles for women in the world have been increasing over the years as more women are going into corporate professions and becoming successful CEOs. The author also argue that the only difference exists in how men and female CEOs are treated although they both have the same job descriptions. Women CEOs are represented as effective CEOs but without interpersonal skills while the male CEOs were seen as "naturally competent leaders" (Katila & Eriksson, 2013, p. 71). This underrepresentation of women has therefore given rise to several women's movements.

Women's Movements

To understand the history behind women fighting for their rights, we need to go back in time. Beginning from the 1950s, women gradually began to enter the labor force and contribute more than just domestic work to the family, and society in general (DuBois & Dumenil, 2016).

With the rise of women in the labor force, due in part to society's unwillingness to see them as entities outside their marital home, working class women began to form unions.

The women's suffrage parade of March 3, 1913 was one of the first recorded protest organized by women, for women's rights. The protesters marched to express the fact that women had been excluded from the political climate of the United States at that time. They marched in Washington but unlike the WMW, it turned violent and 100 women ended up in the hospital (Coe, 2017). In 1918, several women marched to push for suffrage rights for women, but they were unconstitutionally arrested and detained. As at August 1918, several women prisoners began hunger strikes when they were not released. About 300 women protested on December 16, 1918 by burning several of President Woodrow Wilson's speeches. However, the right to vote was not granted to women until August 18, 1920. Even with the right to vote, women still faced a lot of discrimination in the workplace stemming from inadequate representation in the top echelons of power. Several unions were formed to tackle this problem. An example of one of these unions was the Women of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA), which actively sought to improve women's treatment in the workplace and participated in starting the feminist movement of the 1960s (DuBois & Dumenil, 2016). Their agenda was focused on women of all races regardless of social class. Other notable organizations that have participated in different activities aimed at championing the cause of women after World War II include; Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), League of women Voters (LWV) and even mixed sex organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The National Council for Negro Women (NCNW) was created to fight for the rights of black women's political and economic advancements (DuBois & Dumenil, 2016).

Another notable protest was the Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) organization. Their activities were highlighted on November 1, 1961 when over 50,000 women participated in a demonstration that protested the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to test bombs in the atmosphere (DuBois & Dumenil, 2016). Morgan (1970) compiled a series of articles, poems and other writings written by women during the Women's liberation movement. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed in 1966 to "bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society...exercising all the privileges and responsibilities in truly equal partnership with men," (Morgan, 1970, p. xxi). One of its founders Betty Friedan, a core feminist, wrote a book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) which details certain aspects of society and shaped the narrative regarding women's liberation. NOW proposed an eight sentences bill of rights agenda during their first national conference in 1967. Items on the list included rights to reproductive control for women, equal access to education, jobs, pay, maternal leave, and equal rights (Friedan, Fermaglich, & Fine, 2013).

On September 7th, 1968, during the annual Miss America pageant, women picketed outside the venue of the event, in Atlantic City. They carried signs that voiced their opinion on how the pageant objectified women. (Morgan ed., 1970). The women, contrary to what was widely reported in the media at the time, and in years to come, never burned their bras (Morgan ed., 1970). Rather they shed items of clothing like high heels, and makeup that they believed helped men to objectify women. Another notable organization that protested in New York City in the late 1960s for the rights of women is WITCH. The Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell WITCH organized several protests in support of women's rights (Cudlipp,

1971). They wore black clothing and used women's agenda statements to show their dissatisfaction with the objectification of women.

On August 26, 1970, the Women's Strike for Equality occurred in response to the fact that women were still earning less than men despite the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (Coe, 2017). The number of women that marched across the country that day ranged from 20,000 to 15,000. They were demanding equal pay during the Equal Rights Amendment. Coe (2017) claims it was the largest gathering of women in the United States in 1970.

More recently in the 2000s, there has been the March for Women's Lives on April 25, 2004. The National Organization for Women (NOW) sponsored it, and more than 1.1 million people marched for Women's rights. NOW was joined by the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, Planned Parenthood, the Black Women's Health Imperative; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Code Pink, the American Civil Liberties Union, and many others. Another good example was the May 14, 2000 "Million Mom March," held on Mother's Day in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Fed up by the incessant gun violence against children, lack of gun control, and negligence of politicians to resolve this problem, mothers including 750,000 men, women, and children forced elected officials to take their agenda seriously by putting on the largest demonstration in history for stricter gun laws (Coe, 2017). Just like the WMW, there were about 70 other marches around the world, adding another 150,000 to 200,000 people to the total protesters count of about 750,000 (Coe, 2017).

Slut Walk was another popular movement for the rights of women. The first one was in Toronto on April 3, 2011 (Gibson, 2011). While there was not a large turnout, but the effects of that day rippled across time. Approximately 3,000 women (and men) marched the streets of

Toronto due to the comments made by a Toronto police officer, who said that women were getting assaulted because they “dress like sluts” (Gibson, 2011). It also led to various protests in other cities like Boston, London, New Delhi, and Sydney (Gibson, 2011). Other versions have also been created, with the same agenda, like the Amber Rose Slut Walk, by American celebrity, Amber Rose. The University of Central Florida has also held a Slut Walk for about 5 years.

Women have been protesting in other countries like Saudi Arabia, where women are not allowed to drive. In a compelling story of her life as a child growing up in Saudi Arabia, al-Sharif (2012) reveals that women were considered invisible, practically nameless, and faceless. They were not allowed to own identity cards, drive, or be called by their names. Rather they were referred to as “Someone’s daughter” or “Someone’s wife.” (al-Sharif, 2012). On November 6, 1990, forty-seven courageous women emerged to challenge the ban on women driving. They went out into the streets of Riyadh and drove. The women were detained, banned from leaving the country, and dismissed from their jobs. Surprisingly, 27 years after this incident, on September 26, 2017, women finally gained the right to drive in Saudi Arabia.

These accounts and many others have traced the recent changes in the plights of women and their resilience to keep protesting in the face of constant inequality. These accounts emphasize a great urgency for the issues that this study aims to address. The study hopes to report findings on the degree of Congresswomen’s involvement in the Women’s March via Twitter.

Social Media as a Tool for Activism

Social media has helped not only in mobilizing people for protests but in shaping the narrative surrounding the event online (Zeitsoff, 2017). The number of social media users

worldwide are about 1.96 billion and are expected to grow to 2.5 billion by 2018 (Statista, 2017). Cell phone usage made this easier, with about 85% of Americans owning cellphones by 2017 (Barnidge, Gil de Zúñiga, & Diehl, 2017). Similarly, seven in ten adults in the United States use social media for communication, entertainment, and a source of news (Pew, 2017). Social media users created their own language, widely used by millennials, using a connection of acronyms and abbreviations (Dhanalakshmi, & Subramanian (2017). Words like school and through become “sch” and “thru” respectively (Dhanalakshmi, & Subramanian (2017).

Social media helps people feel connected to the different social issues that are being discussed in their community (Chayko, 2014). When there is a connection between an individual and their environment there is a greater tendency to participate in the social movement. Kidd and McIntosh (2016) examined the success of social media in mobilizing people for social movements. The researchers agreed that social media is effective in mobilizing people for social movements. A look at the study done by Varol and Ogan (2017) provides a framework to look at how Twitter can help raise awareness and make a social movement successful. To do this, they conducted a content analysis of tweets sent out during the Turkish Gezi Park revolution. The Gezi revolution began in Istanbul Turkey, in 2013 as an environmental protection movement protesting the conversion of a public park to a shopping mall. Varol and Ogan were precisely interested in “the purpose of the tweets posted during the Gezi protests,” as well as the “the roles played by those who tweeted” (p. 1226). The researchers emphasized the importance of Twitter in this regard because of the accurate and timely information that it provides. The conclusion from the analysis reveals that certain individuals using social media played a great role

disseminating information about the movement and shaping the narrative on the progress of the protest (Varol & Ogan, 2017).

People get their news from social media because they see it as a more reliable source of information (Heravi & Harrower, 2016). Social media opinion leaders are created as a result to influence people's thoughts and actions. Turcotte, York, Irving, Scholl, & Pingree, (2015) measured the relationship between using social media to seek information and the level of trust placed on information providers on social media. They termed these information provider, social media opinion leaders because they ultimately set the pace for what people think about. (Turcotte, York, Irving, Scholl, & Pingree, 2015).

Emergent within social media especially Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram is the concept of viral communication (Larsson, 2017). Traditionally, word of mouth was the fastest way to get information across a large group of people. But as social media evolves, news can go “viral” through sharing of the exact same message, unlike in word of mouth where the message may be distorted as it goes from one person to the other (Guede, Curiel, & Antonovica, 2017). The traditional way of getting news about events happening around us was through radio and then television. But these days, people are gradually turning to social media as a second source of information and for validation. This rises from the belief that if it is true, then people must be tweeting, or it will be trending on other social media. Barnidge, Gil de Zúñiga, & Diehl, (2017, p. 310) calls it a “hybrid media environment” People will use these contents generated from social media users to form their opinion about societal issues and political events (Barnidge, Gil de Zúñiga, & Diehl, 2017; Marchetti, & Ceccobelli, 2016; Gottfried, Hardy, Holbert, Winneg, & Jamieson, 2017). Hashtags and trending topics were also covered in the traditional news media

(Marchetti, & Ceccobelli, 2016). Therefore, people end up getting the content from their social media because they feel it is reliable.

The 2017 and 2018 WMW was streamed live on many social media like Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter. During the women's march, television stations only covered small segments of the march, but social media like Twitter were used to share the information to people more consistently, steadily. Social media is changing the meaning of "constituents" (Straus, Shogan, Williams & Glassman (2016, p. 654). For every 100,000 followers that a member of congress might have on a social network, at least half of them might not be a member of their constituency (Straus et. al. 2016). Constituents here and on social media then means an overlapping term for all American people and not necessarily people that are a part of the congressional district (Straus et. al 2016).

Social media has created several faceless but powerful movements that have effectively translated to offline activism. An example of one these movement is the Occupy Movement, (Boler, Macdonald, Nitsou, & Harris, 2014). The Occupy Movement is an international organization that seeks for better forms of democracy by protesting social and economic injustice. Since it is intersectional and involves several countries, the Occupy movement has successfully utilized social media like Facebook, and Twitter to organize their protests. The organizers form Facebook groups and make women the administrators (Boler, Macdonald, Nitsou, & Harris, 2014). Social media was also widely used during the Tunisian revolution to mobilize people to protest (Bruer, 2012). Leveraging the potentials inherent in social media activism brings needed support for social movement. Social media follows the principle of free speech where everyone can express their opinion.

Access to Free Speech. Social media research presents an opportunity to review the literature on the dynamics of free speech and organizing a protest. For example, demonstrations are usually popular in countries where their rights are not stifled by the government or a ruling class. According to a U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human rights and Labor report, there is a severe suppression of human rights in North Korea; which includes extrajudicial killing, no private media and random arrests or imprisonment of civilians (United Nations, 2001). Media channels like radio, television or newspaper are all owned and operated by the government (Ma, 2016). Even though there is social media, it is also heavily monitored, and only a few people have access to it (Andelman, 2010). In this case, social media provides a way for the oppressive government to continue spreading their propaganda and hold citizens accountable for disobeying (Ma, 2016). While social media has been helpful in ensuring free speech for some countries, it has fared differently in others.

LaPoe, Carter Olson, & Eckert, (2017) uses different social media to show the diverse ways people can use it to address their U.S. first amendment rights to free speech. Social media scholars have called “LinkedIn their office, Facebook their living room and Twitter their neighborhood bar,” LaPoe, Carter Olson, & Eckert, (2017, p.186). These are metaphors to represent the fact that each social media serves a different purpose for the user. LinkedIn as a professional networking site, Facebook as a family social media site and Twitter as a place that is usually rowdy with people of diverse opinions. Generally social media provides a place for both peer and public communication (LaPoe, Carter Olson, & Eckert, 2017). Social media has created a “free speech haven” where people can express their opinion (Fernandez-Delgado, & Balanza,

2012, p. 2707). Expression of opinion was one of the chief components of the dialogue surrounding the WMW.

The Women's March was predominantly popular in countries like Germany and Canada, with a representative democracy and a functioning government. There are so many countries in the world that do not have access to a functioning democracy and free speech is heavily suppressed. The WMW's success is an example of a functioning democratic government and the ability of citizens of a society to express their opinion (Levitov, (2017). The first amendment protects the rights of everyone to participate in any action that expresses their opinion. During the Turkish Gezi protests, the police used brutal force to disperse protesters or anyone who expressed critical comments (Varol, & Ogan, 2017).

Social media has made free speech less regulated and harder to control. In countries where the Internet is heavily regulated, for example Saudi Arabia, Qatar and U.A.E. they face more problems as they cannot protest neither can they post such dissenting information on their social media (Martin, Martins, & Naqvi, 2018). Still on the Arab context, there are also strong indication that social media can provide an avenue to express political freedom or plan civic activities where there is a hostile political climate (Breuer & Groshek, 2014). While there are different kinds of social media, Twitter was utilized in the planning of the Women's March on Washington.

Social media influence. Researchers have argued that the higher the number of followers a person has, the more likely they are to influence people's opinion. People look to other people for social media recommendation because they see that person as a person of authority and knowledge or have shared likes and experiences. The term "influencer" is a term in social media

to represent a person who influences trends especially on fashion and technology (Araujo, Neijens, & Vliegenthart, 2017). Research has shown that people with a lot of followers on Twitter can influence other people's decisions (Jin, & Phua, 2014). By tweeting their preferences for certain brands for examples, these people can influence user's decisions.

Social media opinion leaders can be compared with political influence. Congresswomen can be dubbed the "influencers" of political change and activism. The influence people have on other people's opinion on Twitter has being measured in terms of how much influence they have on public opinion. Influence scores for politicians are usually very high because they are opinion leaders. Therefore, more politicians especially those in Congress are quickly turning to Twitter as a major part of their media strategy and public relations (Peterson, 2012). Additionally, Meyer and Tang (2015) found that the high level of influence is closely related with the social media users' engagement with the audience. Engagement involves tweeting frequently, having a higher number of followers, and interacting with them though retweets, replies and DMs. They must also not tweet too much and or too seldom (Meyer and Tang (2015).

The persuasive nature of advertising can also be compared to politics. In a related study, Araujo, Neijens, & Vliegenthart, (2017) investigated 5300 tweets from global brands to know how Twitter users can influence each other to retweet brand posts. The researchers classified people who have influence on Twitter into 3 categories; "influentials, information brokers, and people with strong ties" (p. 2016). "Influentials" could influence other people to retweet; information brokers can connect groups of Twitter users, and people who have strong ties are people who have a lot of mutual friends with the brands target audience (Araujo, Neijens, & Vliegenthart, 2017). Results from the study suggest that influentials, and information brokers

have more influence than people who have strong ties. This serves a purpose for this study to know which category most Congresswomen will prioritize when tweeting about important issues.

The Twitter Phenomenon

As of October 2017, there are over 330 million active Twitter users worldwide, and the numbers are projected to increase (Statista, 2017). Twitter users generate over 500 million tweets, consisting of 140 characters or less, per day (Neuendorf, 2017). Commenting, sharing news and information on Twitter are what constitutes being an active user (Almgren, & Olsson, 2016). Twitter's features are comparable to a microblog that is filled with millions of user-generated contents (Pentina, Basmanova, & Zhang, 2016). The content is made up of short messages that affords frequent and immediate updates on people's life's, opinions, and activities (Pan, 2012). Ott (2017) defines Twitter as a way of communication using three terms, "simplicity, impulsivity, and incivility" (p. 60). Simplicity here denotes Twitter's ease of access, impulsivity explains the user's likelihood to tweet their first thought, and incivility is Twitter users' penchant for being uncivil.

Why do people use Twitter? What benefits does this social network provide for its millions of users? Twitter has brought about its own type of citizen empowerment by allowing users to see the millions of opinions available from different users and draw their own conclusions on who to follow and what channels they can use to empower themselves and fight for their rights (Saura, Muñoz-Moreno, Luengo-Navas, & Martos, 2017). It has been used to spread awareness about social movements all over the world like the Turkish Gezi Uprising (Ogan, & Varol, 2017), and the Women's March (Tambe, 2017). In terms of speed, it is the

fastest method to get information across to people and make it go viral (Spence, Lachlan, Edwards, & Edwards, 2016). The concept of viral communication depicts an interactive technology that connects people within minutes, and sometimes few days.

Twitter has been useful in mobilizing people for political mobilization during elections or in times of civil unrest. Four ways that this can be done in Twitter is through hashtags, regular posts, retweeting mobilizing content, and direct messaging (Segesten, & Bossetta, 2017). Hashtags help to organize all Twitter messages within a certain topic or issue. Take for instance during the Women's March, the hashtag, #Women'sMarch was used by people to tweet about the march. Through the hashtag, Twitter users can follow the conversation and add their own posts or retweet content. Twitter also has the direct messaging feature that allows users to message directly and get instantaneous results depending if the person is online or has their notifications turned on. Through this feature people can share mobilizing content that they do not want to be made public on their feeds.

Trillo (2017) disagrees that Twitter has helped to spread awareness for activism. After analyzing 2000 tweets collected during the month of an awareness campaign against female violence, Trillo (2017) argues that there was not a significant result to show that Twitter users helped to push the campaign. According to Trillo, searching the hashtag #SayNoStopVAW on Twitter showed that only 429 people made original posts about the campaign, 42 of these users tweeted more than once, and only 122 of the original posts got retweets. However, Trillo wrote that 1,611 users overall engaged with the campaign by either tweeting, retweeting, or doing both on Twitter. In conclusion, Trillo notes that by the second month of the campaign, there were no more original post or retweets on the campaign. This goes to show that Twitter can be haphazard

in creating awareness for a social campaign. It has however been successful in spreading awareness about health issues and preventative measures for diseases like breast cancer (Diddi & Lundy, 2017). Several Twitter accounts have been created as support groups and informational pages for breast cancer awareness. The Twitter pages would periodically tweet information that can be recalled at any point in time by a person that needs them. This stems from the fact that people use the internet to search for solutions to health-related problems even before going to the doctor.

Twitter's relationship with politics is as long and eventful as their individual existence. Twitter has brought its own autonomy into news making and gathering (D'heer, & Verdegem, 2014). The researchers argue that it is free of external influence from politics and the traditional media because it is driven by user content (D'heer, & Verdegem, 2014). Their analysis presents the leaders or those in power as centralized around the people because they seek to please the people. Traditionally, the decision to make news was left to journalist and news people but it is increasingly becoming available to people (Lopez-Meri, 2016). Ordinary citizens are creating the news by sharing what is happening around them. In the video game industry where women are not adequately represented, both in the production or finished results. Huntemann (2015) illustrates this point when he examined the Twitter hashtag #womenaretoohardtoanimate. During an interview launching a new video game, Alexandre Amancio, creative director for Ubisoft, a popular video game company; commented that the absence of a female avatar in the game was because of the extra work needed to create a female body. Twitters users, particularly women swiftly reacted, condemning his words, and using the hashtag to spread awareness about women's inadequate representation in video games. This rippled to create more conversations

about women's representation in other areas like film, advertising, and television (Huntemann, 2015). Advertising research especially has generated conversations on the way women are represented in the industry. Twitter is also being used in schools in the United States and Spain as part of efforts to introduce technology in classrooms and teach the interactive and collaborative aspects of the Twitter platform that can be used in pedagogy (Tur, Marín, & Carpenter, 2017).

Another variable that has peaked in Twitter research is the aspect of multiculturalism and diversity that the platform brings. Cultural variables that influence the context of the conversations and messages on Twitter and how it can influence communication (Kim, Sohn, & Choi, 2011), and the influence of gender, collectivist or individualistic cultures can help researchers understand the strengths of this platform (Lewis, & George, 2008; Murthy, Gross, & Pensavalle, 2016). For instance, this variable was harnessed by the organizers of the WMW to bring together various multicultural men and women to march for their rights.

Twitter Use in Congress. Politicians use Twitter during campaigns and it has been widely successful in building an interaction between citizens and political candidates (See Kruikeimeier, Van Noort, Vliegthart, & de Vreese, 2013; Medina, Sánchez Cobarro, & Martínez, 2017; Tolbert, & McNeal, 2003). In the 111th Congress about 149 Congressmen had Twitter accounts according to Peterson (2017). The influx of Senators to Twitter has grown over the years. In 2013 alone, all 100 US Senators had official Twitter accounts, as well as about 398 members of the House of Representatives (Toor, 2013). However, they still encounter the same problems that they would have faced in connecting with citizens offline (Arnaboldi, Passarella, Conti, & Dunbar, 2017). They would still have to control the content of their messages, use

strategic communication, and put in effort to build a relationship with the people. Using a more personal tweeting style that incorporates direct interaction and messages that use an informal pattern have been shown to work in Spanish political climate (Zamora Medina, & Zurutuza Muñoz, 2014).). However, the two electoral candidates in the case study, used Twitter for only informational purposes on the progress of their campaign.

Politicians recognize that it is important to have an online presence to be able to reach the number of constituents they need to succeed in their careers. Researchers have tried to understand why the current crop of political leaders have chosen to use Twitter to connect with their electorates and the world in general. Straus, Shogan, Williams, & Glassman (2016) analyzed the Twitter use of 93 United States Senators in the 113th Congress to check for the correlation between their Twitter use and the success of their communication with their constituents. Senators who have higher social media use, and/ or followers are more likely to be in tune with the needs of their constituents. Straus et al. (2016) believes that the immersion of Senators in the Twitter community has helped to check their engagement with their constituents. The researchers noted that senators were already using Twitter to hold “town hall meetings” (Straus et al. 2016, p.644). The first set of congressional leaders to adopt Twitter as a means of communication showed greater adoption by Republican than their democratic counterparts (Peterson, 2012). Other countries are also steadily following this trend.

Countries like Scotland have utilized the properties of Twitter (Baxter, Marcella & O’Shea, 2016). Baxter et al. (2016) analyzed 10,411 tweets by members of the Scottish Parliament, concluding that they used Twitter to discuss policy issues with their community. It is believed that Twitter helps to shape the emotions of citizens about the different political parties

and the success of their candidates (Calderón-Monge, 2017). Straus, Glassman, Shogan, & Smelcer, (2013) found that members of Congress use Twitter because of “political, personal or district-level variables” (p. 60). The age of a Congressman or woman is not in correlation with their social media use, however there are strong indications that their social media use correlates with the goal of reaching an audience that goes beyond their district representatives (Straus et al. 2013). However not all politicians are making use of this opportunity. A growing number of politicians are likely to retweet messages that they align with instead of producing their own original message (Enli & Simonsen, 2017). Instead of leveraging the benefits of Twitter, they focus their content on just messages that have already being shared by other users.

Also, the content of congressional tweets has varied across studies. Researchers have found that some Congressmen or women prefer to tweet about issues affecting their district (Mergel, 2012); while others prefer to tweet mainly press releases without adding their own personal message (Glassman, 2009). Golbeck, Grimes, and Rogers (2010) insist that members of Congress use Twitter for only self-promotion and do not offer any insight into the legislative process. Analyzing President Trump’s Twitter rhetoric using the 3 key features he coined, Ott (2017) agrees that the president of the United States, has touched on all the key characteristics of Twitter. In terms of simplicity, Trump’s words were short and mono-syllabic (Shafer, 2015; Ott, 2017); he tweets impulsively (Ott, 2017; Gabler, 2016) and has been known to make statements that were insulting to people (Merrill, 2015; Ott, 2017). The contents of congressional tweets serve as a looking glass into the policies they support and their relationship with their constituents. As opposed to other social media like Facebook, Twitter offers more accessibility to analyze data. Coding Facebook profiles creates complications if the user is not your friend or

has a private profile. In a content analysis of 208 college students' Facebook profiles to find out their disclosure of personal information, Shelton and Skalski (2014) had problems accessing some profiles that had privacy settings on. They had to limit their study to only public profiles which limited the practical significance of their results.

Why Congresswomen?

In the 91st Congress, there were only ten women in the House of Representatives and 1 woman in the Senate (Cudlipp, 1971). Currently, in the 115th Congress, there are a total of 106 women in the United States Congress, consisting of both the House of Representatives and Senate. According to the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), women in the 2018 United States Congress comprise 19.8% of the 535 members. 22 women (22%) serve in the United States Senate (17 Democratic, and 5 Republican Senators). 84 women (19.3%) serve in the United States House of Representatives (62 Democratic and 22 Republican Congresswomen). Different studies have suggested that there is an increasing dearth of women Republicans in Congress (Thomsen, 2015; Kitchens & Swers, 2016). This gap is significant based on the fact that there are more male Republicans in Congress than there are male Democrats. One of the reasons for this imbalance can be attributed to the inability of female Republicans to raise funds for their campaign (Kitchens, & Swers, 2016). During primaries, Republican males are more likely to raise funds than their female counterparts, also in contrast with their Democratic female counterparts (Kitchens, & Swers, 2016). This is due in part with gender and perceived incompetence, as fund donors tend to have more confidence in the male counterpart winning the elections.

Similar to the notion of gender differences in representation is the concept of racial differences. Take for instance, black women have been underrepresented in Congress and have been faced with the dilemma of being both women and a minority group (Clayton & Stallings, 2000). To illustrate this point Clayton and Stallings (2000) examined the 1992 congressional election of Eva Clayton, an African American candidate for the First District of North Carolina. Her election process was filled with an identity crisis of trying to seem masculine and aggressive in her election campaign, but still trying to maintain the perceived feminine trait that will make her likeable and approachable. Fox (2016) notes that this may have been one of the problems that caused Hillary Clinton to lose the 2016 Presidential election. Critics have labelled Hillary as too “focused, scripted, and controlled to a discomfoting degree” (Fox, 2016, p. 14). According to Fox (2016), the rhetoric surrounding Hillary Clinton’s campaign lends credence to the issue of women representation in politics, as it revealed the issues faced by women politicians. In 2009, and during Hillary Clinton’s term as secretary of state, she was an outspoken advocate for foreign policies that affected women in America and all over the world (Angevine, 2017). If she had won the Presidential elections, she would have become the first female President of the United States, and thus strengthen the desire to have more women represented in the higher chambers of power.

Women’s representation in Congress does matter because they are more likely to push for issues that are beneficial to women (Schulze, & Hurvitz, 2016). Congressional women are also more likely to make legislations that are beneficial to not just women in America but their foreign counterparts (Angevine, 2017). Although there are more men than women in Congress (Thomsen, 2015), the impact the women are making on economic initiatives, and women’s

health issues are notable (Schulze, & Hurvitz, 2016). This is notable because women leaders are usually treated differently because they are perceived as less qualified or incumbent (Eagly, & Karau, 2002). Eagly and Karau also argue that certain leadership behaviors like being friendly are less favorable when done by women in comparison to men. Therefore, when women become leaders or aspiring to be leaders, they are treated differently depending on their race (Clayton, & Stallings, 2000), marital standing (Fox, 2016) or perceived incompetence due to gender (Franks & O'Neill, 2016). Even when women have been elected, there are still structural impediments that prevent them from exercising their full political power (Kolody, 2017). Kolody (2017) therefore called for more legislative reforms to promote a political culture that is pro-woman, does not use sexist language and guarantees a safe work environment.

Congresswomen are therefore important because they represent the highest group of women in a higher political office. For instance, in comparison to the 106 Congresswomen in both Houses, there are only six women serving as United States governors in 2018. This thesis therefore provides an opportunity to verify their involvement with women's issues.

Content Analysis of Tweets

Content analysis is used in social media and communication research to derive the frequency of computable data and find patterns in the data (Neuendorf, 2017). In communication research, content analysis helps to count the frequency of data and reach conclusive results on patterns (Varol & Ogan, 2017). Collecting data from twitter can be complicated if the researcher does not narrow down the search terms in the vast social network (Neuendorf, 2017). Creating a sample from the diverse number of tweets available on the social network will help in this regard. If a researcher aims to collect data from the Twitter public feed, to analyze patterns in

Twitter users' exchanges, they would have to create a program that would allow them to collect the messages in real time (Honeycutt & Herring, 2009). This would help filter unwanted messages and capture the conversation before it gets deleted or doctored.

Reducing the sample to profiles is also a popular idea among some Twitter researchers. For example, Rybalko and Seltzer (2010) analyzed the Twitter profile of companies to find out their Twitter usage patterns and strategies. Similarly, Agrawal and Rao (2011) studied a Twitter profile and focused on one tweet at a time. That way, they could find the kind of rhetoric for each individual tweet and cross tabulate patterns across various tweets from the same Twitter profile (Agrawal and Rao, 2011). Wang and Zhuang (2017, p.165) used content analysis to "categorize tweet information types" during a natural disaster. These tweet types were then categorized and analyzed for patterns in the data.

Content analysis alone is not enough to derive all the nuances that are present in tweets. For example, due to the limitation of 140 characters per tweet, an individual tweet might not contain enough meaning to draw a conclusion. The volume of tweets that need to be analyzed by hand or with computing software will be limited because a too large number will be difficult to manage for a given study. Tweets might also not reveal some pertinent demographic data like gender, age, or educational level (Varol & Ogan, 2017). This thesis eliminates this problem because the sample under study are United States Congresswomen whose data is public record. By analyzing patterns, inferences can be made on the reliability of the twitter data (Wang and Zhuang (2017). In this case, the official Twitter profiles of US Congresswomen will be analyzed, to derive patterns from their tweets.

Researchers have also frequently combined content analysis with other research methods to gain a more thorough understanding of tweets. Varol and Ogan (2017) combined network analysis, and content analysis to their study of a social movement. While social network analysis will only look at Twitter, content analysis helps to produce descriptive results (Varol & Ogan, 2017). Combining two methods of analysis helps to “preserve the strengths of traditional content analysis, with its systematic rigor and contextual sensitivity, while also maximizing the large-scale capacity of Big Data and the algorithmic accuracy of computational methods” (Lewis, Zamith, & Hermida (2013, p. 34). Their definition of content analysis combines the information contained in various social networks as well as the individual unit of analysis.

This thesis method uses a similar approach as Diddi and Lundi (2017) who analyze tweets for the contents of their messages during breast cancer awareness month. Just like their method, this study will not have been realizable if the researcher had decided to search the whole Twitter for tweets about breast cancer. Choosing a specific period like during the month of the Women’s March helps to manage the data.

Content analysis cannot be successful without developing a thorough coding scheme (Neuendorf, 2017). Shelton and Skalski (2014) uses a “priori content analytic coding scheme” to analyze patterns in Facebook post data. That way they divided the posts into categories based on content that had already been posted. Coding of data from content analysis have also moved from the traditional paper coding to more electronic formats (Neuendorf, 2017). In this way, researchers can code faster, and make comments on the coding sheet (Neuendorf, 2017). Suggesting other viable ways of analyzing Twitter content, Shelton and Skalski (2014) mention that using surveys and experiments can be beneficial in this regard. Effects of Twitter messages

cannot be analyzed, but surveys can be used after the analysis to study motivations for posting specific content. Haigh, Brubaker, and Whiteside (2013) employs this method in a Facebook study, utilizing both content analysis, and surveys.

Analyzing Tone of Tweets. Researchers have studied tweets in terms of their tone, and the connotation it bears for the person tweeting. Malala and Amienyi (2018) sought to determine the goal behind tweets from presidential candidates during the 2016 United States general election. The researchers analyzed the tweets and categorized its objectives as either being “(a) a self-promotion, (b) an attack on the opponent, (c) a current event, or (d) something else” (p. 11). Malala and Amienyi (2018) also studied the tone of the tweets and categorized them as either “casual, corporate or offensive” (p. 4). This yielded results that indicated that the tone of the tweets can influence the outcome of their political campaign. Additionally, Mitchell and Hitlin (2013), reported the results of a one-year Pew Research study that categorized tweets on major political events in terms of their tone. They noted that because Twitter conversations are usually more liberal than survey responses, tweets can be categorized as either positive or negative. The tone of the tweets was also determined by the conversation that was trending on Twitter at the time.

Analyzing the tone of tweets can help to derive the specific emotions behind the tweets. Su et al. (2017) categorized the tone of the tweets they collected to measure online opinion as “optimistic, pessimistic or neutral” (p. 414). The researchers defined optimistic tweets as having a positive outlook; pessimistic tweets as negative and neutral tweets as being ambiguous. This thesis combines insights from the aforementioned studies to categorize Congresswomen’s tweets as either positive, neutral or negative.

The literature has explored studies dealing with the use of Twitter by female politicians. Literature on social media highlight the difference that Twitter has brought to activism and political participation. Other literature on Congresswomen, and the media framing theory shows the unique opportunity that the 2017 Women March on Washington brings to research. Ultimately, this thesis makes a case for the United States Congresswoman during the 2017 Women's March.

Research Questions

The review of literature shows that most of the existing literature focus on bills sponsored by United States Congresswomen. This has raised questions regarding sample size and the influence of media framing. Therefore, this research will attempt to study the Twitter posts of United States Congresswomen, and proposes the following research questions:

RQ1: Will Congresswomen's tweets during the Women's March on Washington show support for women's issues?

RQ2: Does the topics of Congresswomen's tweets relate to their party affiliation?

RQ3: Are there differences in the support or lack of support for the Women's March on Washington based on party affiliation?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Setting

This research study was primarily conducted on the social network, Twitter. The researcher reports the results of the content analysis of tweets derived from the Twitter feeds of United States Congresswomen during the 2017 and 2018 Women's March on Washington. The marches occurred on January 21, 2017, and January 20, 2018, but it is imperative to consider the rhetoric that existed before and after the march. This study collected original tweets sent out by the Congresswomen during a period of 4 days; between January 20- 23 2017, and January 19- 22 2018. The rationale behind selecting the period was to focus on tweets that were sent out during the peak of the conversation surrounding the WMW. The researcher also put into consideration the time constraints required for collecting tweets from more than 4 days.

The 2018 U.S. Congress comprises 106 women; 79 Democratic and 27 Republican Congresswomen. All the women in the 2018 Congress have active official Twitter accounts. Congresswomen were selected because they represent the highest number of women in political office. Congresswomen's platforms are also mainly for creating and reforming legislations, so it is beneficial to consider their contribution to the WMW. Dividing the Congress women among party lines like Republicans and Democrats helps to see the differences or similarities that can exist based on political ideology.

Data Collection

Data collection was completed between February 5- 12, 2018. A total of 1950 tweets were collected from the Twitter feeds of Congresswomen. This included 383 tweets from Republican Congress women and 1567 tweets from Democratic Congresswomen, both from the

House of Representatives and Senate. Tweets included posts that were sent out from the official Twitter handle of the Congresswomen, whether it was written by the Congresswomen or a representative.

Tweets were methodically selected by using the Twitter advanced search option which allows for the collection of tweets from the database of individual Twitter accounts. Inputting the search terms that includes the Congresswoman's username, and time span, generates an algorithm that details all the Tweets from that time period. For instance, a Twitter advanced search of tweets from Senator Tammy Baldwin, with username "SenatorBaldwin," from January 20- 23 2017 will reveal the algorithm, "from:SenatorBaldwin since:2017-01-20 until:2017-01-23." Twitter then yielded search results containing all the tweets from the Senator for that period of inquiry. Malala and Amienyi (2018) also utilized the same method to collect tweet data from Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Twitter accounts. Tweets collected were only original tweets, excluding replies and retweets. The researcher excluded replies and retweets from the data collection to focus on tweets that were sent out by the Congresswomen on their own volition.

The number of tweets from each Congresswoman ranged from 3-55. However, two Congresswomen (one Democrat, one Republican) did not have any tweets during the thesis' period of inquiry. A reason for this could be linked to the individual's Twitter participation, as some Congresswomen did not tweet periodically.

Procedure

In order to answer the research questions, a content analysis was conducted. To analyze the tweets, Republican and Democratic tweets were collated in different Excel spreadsheets

containing columns for the name of the Congresswoman, Twitter username, party affiliation; date of tweet, actual tweet, tweet category, and tweet tone. There were different excel spreadsheets for Republican and Democratic tweets. The data could not be combined on one sheet because they would have given false results. This is because the number of tweets from the Democrats were higher than those of Republicans, since there are 79 Democrats in contrast to 27 Republican Congresswomen.

The researcher read and coded each tweet to determine the topic, and assign it to one of 7 established categories, and 3 types of tone. The researcher identified the categories by systematically analyzing the general content of the tweets. Mutually exclusive categories were then created to adequately cover the scope of each Congresswoman's tweet. The seven categories created were: 1) Bipartisan Tweet, 2) Non-political Matters, 3) Opposition Party's Matters, 4) Own Party's Agenda, 5) Self-Promotion, 6) Trump Policy, and 7) Women's March. Each tweet's tone was also either classified as 1) Positive, 2) Negative, and 3) Neutral. Examples of tweets that fit into certain categories are shown in the discussion section of this thesis.

Data Categories and Operational Definitions. The following subheadings explains how the tweets were categorized and the definitions that guided the placement of each tweet in the appropriate category. During the categorization, each tweet was analyzed for manifest and latent content. Manifest content can be derived from just looking at the words of a tweet while latent content is the deeper meaning of the message (Wang, & Zhuang, 2016). Therefore, while the topic of the tweet can be derived from just looking at the words or content; the tone could also suggest a deeper meaning to the message.

Trump Policy. During data analysis, certain tweets were defined under the Trump category. This included all tweets by Congresswomen about Donald Trump, his Presidential activities, and ways of governance. Such tweets contained Trump’s name and mentioned him in either a positive, neutral, or negative connotation. Congresswomen’s tweets about their memos on Trump’s legislation, attitude towards women, and the Trump shutdown. Some of the tweets were also directed at Trump’s White House. For example, the following tweet was coded under Trump Policy:

“I have news for you Mr. President. This isn’t a game or some backhanded deal with your rich oligarch friends. This is the health and safety of our country, and the support of our troops.

#DoYourJob”

Women’s March. Tweets that fit into this category will be defined as any tweet containing #Women’s March or talks about the events that occurred on that day. Certain hashtags included in these tweets were #WomensMarch, #WhyWeMarch, #Women’sRights. The category also included tweets from the Congresswomen about the 2017 or 2018 women’s March, and their stand on the march. The researcher categorized any conversation either for or against the women’s march, sister marches, and people who marched in this category. Tweets mentioning people that they attended the march with, people that performed or gave a speech or tweets expressing their disappointment for not attending. The goal was to see that the tweet was about the women’s march whether positive, neutral, or negative. For instance, the following tweet was coded under Women’s March:

“Today I marched for all the little girls who might want to run for office one day, I marched for survivors and victims and those who are speaking out, I marched because women

deserve an equal shot and I won't stop fighting until they get one #WomensMarchDC
#WomensMarch2018”

Self-Promotion. This category contained tweets from the Congresswomen where they praised themselves and promoted their job as members of Congress. It included tweets about ways to improve the lives of their constituents and contained words of support from or to their constituents. This was also either in a positive, neutral, or negative connotation. Self-Promotion tweets gave information that details the Congresswoman’s legislative duties, and usually included how constituents could enroll for government aid or programs. For example, the following tweet was categorized as Self-Promotion:

“I don’t think there’s any reason for a gov’t shutdown, esp. bc there’s a bipartisan path forward. And I definitely don’t think Congress should get paid while not doing our jobs. That’s why I cosponsored a bill that would withhold congressional pay in the event of a shutdown.”

Own Party’s Agenda. Tweets about activities of people in the Tweeter’s political party. Tweets about legislatures, passing of new legislature, or tweeting against a legislature. The Congresswomen’s tweets that are about her identified political party and the steps they are taking on a political issue. These tweets promoted the activities of the identified party or praised another member of the party. Own Party’s Agenda tweets tried to show what the Congresswoman’s political party was contributing to the government, or the world. For example, the following tweet was categorized as Own Party’s Agenda:

“.@HouseDemocrats are calling for an end to the #TrumpShutdown. Americans deserve better”

Opposition Party's Matters. These were tweets directed to the activities of the opposing party or a party that is not the Congresswoman's political party. Tweets about legislatures, passing of new legislature, or tweeting against a legislature that were passed by the opposition party. Tweets that criticize the political activities of the other party or their ways of governance. For example, the following tweet was categorized as Opposition Party's Matters:

“Waiting for the @GOP to #DoYourJob, bring forward EXISTING bipartisan solutions to critical issues, and end the #TrumpShutdown.”

Bipartisan Tweets. This were tweets about bipartisan legislature that does not support either side of the political affiliation. It included tweets about legislatures, passing of new legislature, or tweeting against a legislature. Tweets under this category does not lean on either side of the political realms. The Congresswoman tweeting does not explicitly state in the tweet that the topic is supporting either their party or an opposing party. The tweet usually detailed efforts made by both parties to serve the people of the United States or bring legislature for the sole purpose of running Congress. For example, the following tweet was categorized as a Bipartisan Tweet:

“At its most basic level, it's the job of Congress and the administration to fund the federal government so it can function and support families and businesses across the country.”

Non-Political Matters. This included all tweets that did not specifically fit into the other six categories. Examples of those kinds of tweets were news articles, words of motivation, random thoughts or quotes, matter of fact statements and announcements. The tweets usually detailed an interest of the Congresswomen like sports, congratulating friends on achievements and celebrating national holidays. Those tweets could also either be in a positive, neutral, or

negative connotation. The Non-Political Matters category also included tweets that do not provide enough context to be categorized. The following tweet was categorized as a Non-Political Matter:

“Glad that the health of George H.W. Bush & Barbara Bush continue to improve. We wish both of them a speedy recovery.”

Tweet Tone. The various tweets from the seven categories were also coded according to three tones; positive, neutral, and negative.

Positive. Tweets were coded as positive if it had a hopeful or encouraging tone. The connotation should be that the Congresswoman is in support of the topic of the tweet and agrees with the statement. Positive tweets show happiness and acceptance of the topic being tweeted about. Words like happy, excited, motivated, in the sentence were coded as positive. For example;

“Yesterday marked 44 yrs since the tragic Roe v. Wade decision. I'm proud that the House is taking a key pro-life vote on H.R. 7 this week.”

Negative. Tweet contains “not”, disagrees with the statement or subject of the statement, and is not in support of the statement. Words like disappointed, unfortunate, sentences in the negative format, and showing disapproval. For example:

“Trump respects women? Really? The #TrumpGlobalGag rule denies women their #ReproRights. <http://bit.ly/2jhXmXr>”

Neutral. Tweet in the neutral tone that does not show support for either of an argument. Most of the tweets were on Bipartisan politics and presented issues objectively without support for any side of the argument. For example:

“Over 21,000 children in #NY21 use #CHIP for healthcare access. The House passed government funding bill includes a 6 year extension of this critical program.”

Data Analysis. Once the categories had been defined, tweets were input into separate Excel worksheets for Democrats and Republicans respectively and verified for integrity. Integrity was verified by removing leading spaces between categories and making sure each tweet fit perfectly into the category. The tweets were then de-identified by removing the names of the Congresswomen, and pivot tables were generated. Pivot tables served to present the totals for each category in a graphical format.

Subsequently, the data was imported and analyzed in IBM SPSS Statistics 23 to verify for data integrity and obtain descriptive statistics. In order to ensure data integrity and determine whether the differences in the number of tweets per category were statistically significant, a second analysis was conducted in SPSS. During the analysis, frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations were calculated for each category. Variables like tweet categories, tone, and political affiliation were cross-tabulated and the chi-square test goodness of fit test was conducted. The results were used to draw conclusions about the content of the Congresswomen’s tweets during the WMW.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the content analysis of 1950 tweets from U.S Congresswomen during the 2017 and 2018 Women's March on Washington. Of these, Democratic Congresswomen posted 1567, while Republican Congresswomen posted 383 tweets respectively.

The first research question sought to know if the content of Congresswomen's tweets during the Women's March on Washington show support for women's issues. For easier comparison, tweets from Congresswomen from both House of Representatives and Senate were collated based on party affiliation. The answer for the first research question can be found in Tables 1 and 2 below. Table 1 contains the results of the analysis of tweets posted by Democratic Congresswomen. According to Table 1, Democratic Congresswomen posted a higher percentage of tweets (27.6%) about the Opposition Party's Matters than in the other six categories. A chi-square goodness of fit test was performed to measure the difference between the expected frequency and observed frequencies. A significant difference was observed ($X^2(1567), =12, p=.000$).

Table 1

Categories and Tone of Democratic Congresswomen's Tweets

Categories	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Bipartisan Tweet	22	28	33	83
Non-political Matters	17	21	66	104
Opposition Party's Matters	407	18	7	432
Own Party's Agenda	26	11	58	95
Self-Promotion	56	102	115	273
Trump Policy	267	17	1	285
Women's March	27	16	252	295
Total	822	213	532	1567

($X^2(1567), =12, p= .000$).

Comparatively, Table 2 presents the results of the analysis of tweets posted by Republican Congresswomen. According to Table 2, Republican Congresswomen posted a higher percentage of tweets (39.7%) on Self-Promotion than in the other six categories. A chi-square goodness of fit test was also performed to measure the difference between the expected frequency and observed frequencies. A significant difference was observed ($X^2(383), =12, p= .000$).

Table 2

Categories and Tone of Republican Congresswomen's Tweets

Categories	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Bipartisan Tweet	7	13	8	28
Non-political Matters	1	14	24	39
Opposition Party's Matters	81	1	2	84
Own Party's Agenda	6	6	34	46
Self-Promotion	24	58	70	152
Trump Policy		3	27	30
Women's March			4	4
Total	119	95	169	383

($X^2(383), =12, p=.000$).

Research question 2 sought to determine how the topics of Congresswomen's tweets relate to their party affiliation. Did their political ideology affect the topics of their Twitter posts? Republican Congresswomen had significantly fewer tweets (1.0%) than Democratic Congresswomen (18.8%) on the Women's March. 17.4% of Democratic Congresswomen's tweets were devoted to self-promotion, in comparison with 39.7% of Republican Congresswomen's tweets (See Table 3).

Table 3

Percentage of Congresswomen's Tweet Categories

Party	Bipartisan Tweet	Non- Political Matters	Opposition Party's Matters	Own Party's Agenda	Self- Promotion	Trump Policy	Women's March	Total
Democratic	5.3	6.6	27.6	6.1	17.4	18.2	18.8	100
Republican	7.3	10.2	21.9	12.0	39.7	7.8	1.0	100

Research question 3 sought to determine the differences in support or lack of support for the women's march based on party affiliation. To measure the support or lack of support, the tweets were categorized based on the tone of the tweet. Tweets that support the WMW were written in a positive tone, tweets that attack the WMW were written in a negative tone and tweets that have an unclear position were written in a neutral tone.

Democratic Congresswomen's tweets about the women's march totaled 295. Of these 295 tweets, 27 had a negative tone, 16 was neutral, and 252 was in a positive tone (See Table 1). This means that 85.4% of democratic tweets about the WMW had a positive tone citing support for the movement. Republican tweets about the WMW totaled 4 tweets with all of them being in the positive tone (See Table 2).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Summary of Results

This thesis aimed to investigate the content of United States Congresswomen's tweets during the Women's March, to determine if their rhetoric consists primarily of advocating for women's issues. Previous publications have asserted that women in Congress are more likely to advocate for women's issues (Pearson and Dancey, 2011; MacDonald & O'Brien 2011; Osborn 2012). The Women's March on Washington provided the opportunity to validate this claim.

The first research question sought to know the content of Congresswomen's tweets during the WMW, to investigate their support for women's issues. The Congresswomen's tweets were analyzed separately based on party affiliation because the number of Democratic, Republican Congresswomen were significantly disproportionate, and analyzing them together would have given false results. The results show that majority of tweets from Democratic Congresswomen during the WMW were focused on criticizing the policies of the Opposition Party. This trend was predominant during the 2018 WMW, as opposed to the 2017 WMW. For example, a Democratic Congresswoman tweeted on January 20, 2018:

“The only party with the power to reopen the government is the Republican Party, which controls Congress AND the White House. The #TrumpShutdown represents the total failure of this dysfunctional GOP government. #DoYourJob.”

It is worthwhile to note that during this time, there was a government shutdown that prompted both parties to trade blames as to who was at fault. The results of the first research question also show that majority of tweets from Republican Congresswomen during that period of inquiry were about promoting their self, and legislative offices. For example, a Republican

Congresswoman tweeted on January 22, 2017: “This morning I’m appearing on #CNN #jaketapper #StateoftheUnion -- tune in! #utpol.” This tweet aimed to inform the constituents that they were performing activities in line with a Congresswoman’s legislative duties.

Therefore, a higher percentage of tweets for both parties were devoted to other categories that was not the Women’s March. These results contradict existing literature on female legislators’ high prioritization of women’s issues (See MacDonald & O’Brien 2011; Osborn 2012; Swers, 2005; 2013; 2016). Congresswomen in the 2018 U.S Senate and House of Representatives did not devote majority of their tweets during the Women’s March to advocating for women’s rights. However, the Congresswomen were tweeting about their legislative duties including constituents’ problems; creating legislation and interacting against the opposition party. Devoting majority of their tweets to the Women’s March at a crucial point in the fight for women’s rights would have lent credence to the claim that Congresswomen chiefly concern themselves with women’s issues. Recall, that the period of inquiry for this thesis was one day before and one day after the WMW. At that time, there was peak conversation about the issues faced by women that had led up to a need to protest. While the individual political parties took different stances on the subject, a look into the topics of Congresswomen’s tweets helps to provide an explanation for these results.

The second research question asked if the topics of Congresswomen’s tweets were related to their party affiliation. This question specifically inquired the input that political ideology had on the high or low prioritization of topics by Congresswomen. This was measured by calculating the percentage of each category for the respective political party. For instance, Democratic Congresswomen placed more priority on the Women’s March than Bipartisan Tweets.

Contrariwise Republican Congresswomen placed higher priority on criticizing Democratic policies than the Women's March. The results show that the topics of Congresswomen's tweets were chiefly determined by their political affiliation. Based on party affiliation, there was a noticeable percentage difference in the prioritization of different tweet categories by the Congresswomen. There were very little similarities in topic agenda and category prioritization for the two political parties. Swers (2016) mentions that though Republican Congresswomen might be supporters of a certain movement or topic, their political party's agenda will take precedent over the issues they speak about. The findings of this thesis lend support to this claim.

The third research question sought to differentiate between Democratic and Republican Congresswomen's support or lack thereof for the 2017, and 2018 Women's March. Support for the women's march was determined by a positive tone, emotions when tweeting about the movement. Lack of support involves using a negative tone, emotions while a neutral tone shows bipartisanship, meaning that the position was not specified. Majority of Democratic Congresswomen's WMW tweets were in the positive tone, citing support for the women's march. They also had some tweets in the negative tone. For example, a Democratic Congresswoman tweeted on January, "I am frustrated and upset that I cannot stand in solidarity with all of the strong women and allies in Morristown today for the New Jersey #WomensMarch2018. I sincerely wish that I could be in the presence of your passion, activism, and #resistance." Therefore, while the tweet suggests support for the Women's March, its tone supersedes the support as it shows negative emotions.

There were 4 Republican tweets in support of the women's march, therefore providing the examples below gives some insights on the data for this study:

January 19, 2018: “Hundreds of Kansans and thousands of Americans from across the country are in Washington today marching for the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for all Americans. #whywemarch”

January 22, 2017: “On #WomensMarch let's ask, "What can we do to empower women?" on @CNNSotu #utpol”

January 19 2018: “I’m excited to see so many people from so many different walks of life coming together to recognize what it means to be a member of the #prolifegeneration.

#WhyWeMarch #ProLifeCon”

January 19, 2018: “#WhyWeMarch→ All life is worth protecting. All life is sacred. Tune in at 8:35 AM ET to watch me address the #ProLifeCon @FRCdc:”

These tweets show that Republican Congresswomen are tweeting about the march but from their own perspective. They are showing support for the aspects of the march that they relate to, with their political ideology playing a central role. The women’s March was popular because the organizers tried to cater to all types of women in the society (See Appendix A).

Overall, these results show that the 2018 U.S Congresswomen, both Democratic and Republican did not place high priority on women’s issues during the WMW. However, while Democratic Congresswomen show more promise by having a high number of tweets about the Women’s March, their Twitter rhetoric during the WMW was chiefly concerned with refuting the policies of Republicans. Conversely, Republican Congresswomen barely tweeted about the Women’s March but focused their attention on issues that promoted their legislative office in a good light.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Theorists have posited that women in Congress are more likely to place higher priority on women's issues. However, the results of this research study invalidate this claim. There was a significant difference in the number of tweets sent out by the women on the women's march, and the number of tweets that focused on other issues. The sample in this study did not place priority on Women's issues during the period of inquiry. The WMW was used in this thesis because it occurred during a time when the conversation about women's issues were at the peak. It provided an opportunity to analyze the prioritization of women's issues. Therefore, in contrast to previous literature (See Swers, 2016; MacDonald & O'Brien 2011; Osborn 2012), tweets from women in congress show that they prioritize other issues like self-promotion, and criticizing the opposition party, which are not inherently women's issues.

This research adds to the existing theoretical research on women's movements. It extends the literature on how Congresswomen frame their involvement in the fight for women's rights. To verify the validity of this theoretical claim, the chi-square tests carried out showed that the data was statistically significant and produced reliable results. This implies that Congresswomen are not utilizing social media as much as possible to carry out their legislative duties concerning women's issues. This research findings is surprising especially since various literature have made claims to the contrary. Furthermore, the differences that this research discovered amongst Democratic and Republican Congresswomen's choice of tweets is pertinent to building new theories on the dynamics of political party affiliation. This will contribute to material on why Congresswomen in the different political parties place more importance on certain issues like promoting their own personal agenda.

A practical implication of this research is that Congresswomen have to be more proactive about women's issues on social media. Congresswomen that use Twitter as part of their political strategy should take into consideration the wide reach and speed of information dissemination that the platform provides. This claim aligns with previous research on the benefits of Twitter for mobilizing people and promoting a person's agenda (Theocharis et al. 2015). Congresswomen should also consider the importance of protests and social movements that align with the fight for women's right, especially as previous literature posit that women in Congress are sponsoring bills that prioritize women's issues. The women's march on Washington provided an opportunity for Congresswomen to connect with women of all backgrounds. Presley & Presswood (2018) acknowledged that the women's march prioritized an approach to feminism that was intersectional and campaigned for changes in the social, political and economic lives of women.

This study hope that by looking at Congresswomen's social, the results could be generalized to the bigger population of women in politics. It also gives insights on the influence of these results to women politicking and greater access and control for women in general.

Conclusion

This thesis embarked on an investigation of Tweets posted by United States Congresswomen during the 2017 and 2018 Women's March on Washington. In conducting this research, the author hoped to verify the claim that Congresswomen place higher priority on women's issues. The Women's March on Washington was used as an avenue to measure this involvement. Ultimately, this study does show that a predominate number of Democratic United States Congresswomen were involved in the social media campaign for the WMW. However, their Republican counterparts were minimally involved.

While it is clear that there is a difference in the tweets posted by Republican and Democratic Congresswomen, there is not enough evidence to support the claim that Democratic Congresswomen prioritize women's issues. Political affiliation placed a role in the topics covered by the Congresswomen, of which women's issues took a back seat. Analyzing the content of Congresswomen's tweets as opinion leaders was deemed crucial to the conversation on improved women's rights. However, upon analyzing the data, the results were very different from what previous literature had deemed important. The Congresswomen were performing their primary responsibilities including supporting the agenda of their political party; undermining the agenda of the opposing political party, and promoting themselves for re-election. Therefore, Women's issues were not a significant priority during the period of this thesis' inquiry.

Limitations

While this research has provided insight into the Twitter activity of United States Congresswomen during the Women's March on Washington, the researcher faced several limitations that should be addressed. One of the difficulties that occurred during data collection for this thesis was the disproportionate number of Congress women based on political affiliation. Comparing 79 Democratic women to 27 Republican women posed a problem of misrepresentation. It therefore made it difficult to conduct a side by side tabulation because the number of tweets from Democrats would already be statistically higher than their Republican counterparts. Therefore, while the researcher tried to solve this problem by having the political parties' data separate, this could have had an impact on the results.

Another limiting factor was time constraints. The study was limited to just the time of the women's march to have an analyzable amount of data in the time available for this thesis

research. Future studies need to look at a longer period to see and look at the times that are not related to the women's march and investigate the kinds of topics that are presented in a normal political climate. The topics at a different period might reveal more topics related to the women's issues, and therefore provide different results. Furthermore, other political issues were occurring during this thesis' period of inquiry, which could have affected the prioritization of events by the Congresswomen. For example during the 2017 WMW, the Trump Inauguration occurred, while during the 2018 WMW, there was a government shutdown, and controversy over the DACA bill.

Another major limitation in this thesis occurred during the categorization of the tweets. To fit the tweets into a certain number of categories and make the tweets mutually exclusive, certain content categories needed a broader definition. This gave a more general idea of the topic and content of the tweets. Further simplification of the tweets to fit into certain specific categories might yield other results.

Another major limitation was the difficulty in training other coders to serve as secondary coders and establish inter-coder reliability for the categories. This posed a problem to the researcher because other graduate students were working on their own thesis and could not be recruited to code certain portions of the data. There was also no time to train undergraduate students to assist with the coding of the data. Therefore, the thesis was not pilot tested to establish inter-coder reliability, and utilized only the primary investigator. However, the thesis advisor ensured the reliability of each content category and made corrections where necessary.

Recommendations

Future research could modify the scope and methodology of this research study. For example, this thesis only looked at the original tweets shared by the Congress women. Further

information could have been derived from replies, retweets which could not be included into the scope of this study because of time constraints. This could raise a research question of the possibility of more information in retweets, and replies. The Congresswomen might not originally tweet about the women's march, but could reply other people who tweet to them about it, or retweet information from their constituents about women's issues. Additionally, a research design that focuses on analyzing the involvement of Congresswomen on the House floor, their tone and the kinds of legislatures they sponsor.

Future studies can also look at influences of race in the kind of tweets and support that the Congresswomen tweet about. The researcher also suggests a longitudinal study that focuses on the trend of Congresswomen's tweets concerning women's issues. Ultimately, more research is needed on the impact of Twitter as a channel for advocating for political issues. Twitter provides an accessible and faster avenue for U.S Congresswomen to advocate for women's issues.

APPENDIX A: WOMEN'S MARCH GUIDING VISIONS AND DEFINITION OF PRINCIPLES

OVERVIEW & PURPOSE

The Women's March on Washington is a women-led movement bringing together people of all genders, ages, races, cultures, political affiliations, disabilities and backgrounds in our nation's capital on January 21, 2017, to affirm our shared humanity and pronounce our bold message of resistance and self-determination.

Recognizing that women have intersecting identities and are therefore impacted by a multitude of social justice and human rights issues, we have outlined a representative vision for a government that is based on the principles of liberty and justice for all. *As Dr. King said, "We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back."*

Our liberation is bound in each other's. The Women's March on Washington includes leaders of organizations and communities that have been building the foundation for social progress for generations. We welcome vibrant collaboration and honor the legacy of the movements before us - the suffragists and abolitionists, the Civil Rights Movement, the feminist movement, the American Indian Movement, Occupy Wall Street, Marriage Equality, Black Lives Matter, and more – by employing a decentralized, leader-full structure and focusing on an ambitious, fundamental and comprehensive agenda.

Bella Abzug • Corazon Aquino • Ella Baker • Grace Lee Boggs Berta Cáceres • Rachel Carson • Shirley Chisholm • Angela Davis Miss Major Griffin Gracy • LaDonna Harris • Dorothy I. Height Bell hooks • Judith Heumann • Dolores Huerta • Marsha P. Johnson Barbara Jordan • Yuri Kochiyama • Winona LaDuke

Audre Lorde • Wilma Mankiller • Diane Nash • Sylvia Rivera Barbara Smith • Gloria Steinem • Hannah G. Solomon Harriet Tubman • Edith Windsor • Malala Yousafzai

#WHYWEMARCH

We are empowered by the legions of revolutionary leaders who paved the way for us to march, and acknowledge those around the globe who fight for our freedoms. We honor these women and so many more. They are #WHYWEMARCH.

VALUES & PRINCIPLES

- We believe that Women's Rights are Human Rights and Human Rights are Women's Rights. This is the basic and original tenet for which we unite to March on Washington.
- We believe Gender Justice is Racial Justice is Economic Justice. We must create a

society in which all women—including Black women, Indigenous women, poor women, immigrant women, disabled women, Muslim women, lesbian, queer and trans women—are free and able to care for and nurture themselves and their families, however they are formed, in safe and healthy environments free from structural impediments.

- Women have the right to live full and healthy lives, free of all forms of violence against our bodies. One in three women have been victims of some form of physical violence by an intimate partner within their lifetime; and one in five women have been raped. Further, each year, thousands of women and girls, particularly Black, Indigenous and transgender women and girls, are kidnapped, trafficked, or murdered. We honor the lives of those women who were taken before their time and we affirm that we work for a day when all forms of violence against women are eliminated.
- We believe in accountability and justice for police brutality and ending racial profiling and targeting of communities of color and Indigenous peoples. Women of color and Indigenous women are killed in police custody at greater rates, and are more likely to be sexually assaulted by police, and women with disabilities are disproportionately likely to experience use of force at the hands of police, and sexual assault in general. We also call for an immediate end to arming police with the military grade weapons and military tactics that are wreaking havoc on communities of color and sovereign tribal lands. No woman or mother should have to fear that her loved ones will be harmed at the hands of those sworn to protect.
- We believe it is our moral imperative to dismantle the gender and racial inequities within the criminal justice system. The rate of imprisonment has grown faster for women than men, increasing by 700% since 1980, and the majority of women in prison have a child under the age of 18. Incarcerated women also face a high rate of violence and sexual assault. We are committed to ensuring access to gender-responsive programming and dedicated healthcare including substance abuse treatment, mental and maternal health services for women in prison. We believe in the promise of restorative justice and alternatives to incarceration. We are also committed to disrupting the school-to-prison pipeline that prioritizes incarceration over education by systematically funneling our children—particularly children of color, queer and trans youth, foster care children, and girls—into the justice system.

We believe in Reproductive Freedom. We do not accept any federal, state or local rollbacks, cuts or restrictions on our ability to access quality reproductive healthcare services, birth control, HIV/AIDS care and prevention, or medically accurate sexuality education. This means open access to safe, legal, affordable abortion and birth control for all people, regardless of

income, location or education. We understand that we can only have reproductive justice when reproductive health care is accessible to all people regardless of income, location or education.

- We believe in Gender Justice. We must have the power to control our bodies and be free from gender norms, expectations and stereotypes. We must free ourselves and our society from the institution of awarding power, agency and resources disproportionately to masculinity to the exclusion of others.
- We firmly declare that LGBTQIA Rights are Human Rights and that it is our obligation to uplift, expand and protect the rights of our gay, lesbian, bi, queer, trans, two-spirit or gender non-conforming brothers, sisters and siblings. This includes access to non-judgmental, comprehensive healthcare with no exceptions or limitations; access to name and gender changes on identity documents; full anti-discrimination protections; access to education, employment, housing and benefits; and an end to police and state violence.
- We believe in an economy powered by transparency, accountability, security and equity. We believe that creating workforce opportunities that reduce discrimination against women and mothers allow economies to thrive. Nations and industries that support and invest in caregiving and basic workplace protections—including benefits like paid family leave, access to affordable childcare, sick days, healthcare, fair pay, vacation time, and healthy work environments—have shown growth and increased capacity.
- We believe in equal pay for equal work and the right of all women to be paid equitably. We must end the pay and hiring discrimination that women, particularly mothers, women of color, Indigenous women, lesbian, queer and trans women still face each day in our nation, as well as discrimination against workers with disabilities, who can currently legally be paid less than federal minimum wage. Many mothers have always worked and in our modern labor force; and women are now 50% of all family breadwinners. We stand for the 82% of women who become moms, particularly moms of color, being paid, judged, and treated fairly. Equal pay for equal work will lift families out of poverty and boost our nation's economy.
- We recognize that women of color and Indigenous women carry the heaviest burden in the global and domestic economic landscape, particularly in the care economy. We further affirm that all care work--caring for the elderly, caring for the chronically ill, caring for children and supporting independence for people with disabilities--is work, and that the burden of care falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women, particularly women of color. We stand for the rights, dignity, and fair treatment of all unpaid and paid caregivers. We must repair and replace the systemic disparities that permeate caregiving at every level of society.

- We believe that all workers – including domestic and farm workers - must have the right to organize and fight for a living minimum wage, and that unions and other labor associations are critical to a healthy and thriving economy for all. Undocumented and migrant workers must be included in our labor protections, and we stand in full solidarity with the sex workers’ rights movement. We recognize that exploitation for sex and labor in all forms is a violation of human rights.
- We believe Civil Rights are our birthright. Our Constitutional government establishes a framework to provide and expand rights and freedoms—not restrict them. To this end, we must protect and restore all the Constitutionally-mandated rights to all our citizens, including voting rights, freedom to worship without fear of intimidation or harassment, freedom of speech, and protections for all citizens regardless of race, gender, age or disability. We honor and respect tribal laws and jurisdictions.
- We support Indigenous women’s right to access, own, develop and control land and its resources. We affirm that now is the time for the U.S. implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and to honor existing treaty rights and fulfill promises made.
- We believe that all women’s issues are issues faced by women with disabilities and Deaf women. As mothers, sisters, daughters, and contributing members of this great nation, we seek to break barriers to access, inclusion, independence, and the full enjoyment of citizenship at home and around the world. We strive to be fully included in and contribute to all aspects of American life, economy, and culture.
- We believe it is time for an all-inclusive Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Most Americans believe the Constitution guarantees equal rights, but it does not. The 14th Amendment has been undermined by courts and cannot produce real equity on the basis of race and/or sex. And in a true democracy, each citizen’s vote should count equally. All Americans deserve equality guarantees in the Constitution that cannot be taken away or disregarded, recognizing the reality that inequalities intersect, interconnect and overlap.
- Rooted in the promise of America’s call for huddled masses yearning to breathe free, we believe in immigrant and refugee rights regardless of status or country of origin. It is our moral duty to keep families together and empower all aspiring Americans to fully participate in, and contribute to, our economy and society. We reject mass deportation, family detention, violations of due process and violence against queer and trans migrants. Immigration reform must establish a roadmap to citizenship, and provide equal opportunities and workplace

protections for all. We recognize that the call to action to love our neighbor is not limited to the United States, because there is a global migration crisis. We believe migration is a human right and that no human being is illegal.

- We believe that every person, every community and Indigenous peoples in our nation have the right to clean water, clean air, and access to and enjoyment of public lands. We believe that our environment and our climate must be protected, and that our land and natural resources cannot be exploited for corporate gain or greed—especially at the risk of public safety and health.
- We recognize that to achieve any of the goals outlined within this statement, we must work together to end war and live in peace with our sisters and brothers around the world. Ending war means a cessation to the direct and indirect aggression caused by the war economy and the concentration of power in the hands of a wealthy elite who use political, social, and economic systems to safeguard and expand their power.

ABOUT THIS DOCUMENT

The guiding vision and definition of principles were prepared by a broad and diverse group of leaders. The Women’s March on Washington is grateful to all contributors, listed and unlisted, for their dedication in shaping this agenda.

J. Bob Alotta, Executive Director, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice

Monifa Bandele, Vice President, MomsRising

Zahra Billoo, Council on American Islamic Relations - San Francisco Bay Area

Gaylynn Burroughs, Director of Policy & Research, Feminist Majority Foundation

Melanie L. Campbell, Convener, Black Women’s Roundtable, President & CEO, NCBCP

Sung Yeon Choimorrow, Interim Executive Director, National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum

Alida Garcia, Immigrant Rights &

Diversity Advocate **Alicia Garza**, National

Domestic Workers Alliance **Indigenous**

Women Rise Collective

Carol Jenkins, Board of Directors, ERA Coalition

Dr. Avis Jones-DeWeever, President, Incite Unlimited, LLC

Carol Joyner, Director, Labor Project for Working Families, Family Values @ Work
Janet Mock, Activist and author of *Redefining Realness* and *Surpassing Certainty*
Jessica Neuwirth, President, ERA Coalition
Terry O’Neill, President, National Organization for Women (NOW)
Carmen Perez, Executive Director, The Gathering for Justice
Jody Rabhan, Director of Washington Operations, National Council of Jewish Women
Kelley Robinson, Deputy National Organizing Director, Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Kristin Rowe-Finkbeiner, Executive Director and Co-Founder, MomsRising
Linda Sarsour, Founder, MPower Change
Heidi L. Sieck, Co-Founder/CEO, #VOTEPROCHOICE
Emily Tisch Sussman, Campaign Director, Center for American Progress
Jennifer Tucker, Senior Policy Advisor, Black Women’s Roundtable
Winnie Wong, Activist, Organizer and Co-Founder, People for Bernie

APPENDIX B: LIST OF WOMEN'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON SPEAKERS

1. **Ai-jen Poo**
Director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance
2. **Aida Hurtado**
Professor and Luis Leal Endowed Chair, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies,
University of California, Santa Barbara
3. **Amanda Nguyen**
President and Founder, Rise
4. **America Ferrera**
Chair, Artists Table of Women's March on Washington
5. **Angela Davis**
Distinguished Professor Emerita, UC Santa Cruz
6. **Ashley Judd**
Humanitarian, PhD student, Actor
7. **Bob Bland**
Co-Chair, Women's March on Washington
8. **Carmen Perez**
Co-Chair, Women's March on Washington, Executive Director, the Gathering for Justice
9. **Cecile Richards**
President of Planned Parenthood Federation of America
10. **Donna Hylton**
Formally Incarcerated, Criminal Justice Reform Activist
11. **Dr. Cynthia Hale**
Founding and Senior Pastor of the Ray of Hope Christian Church
12. **Erika Andiola**
Political Outreach Manager, Our Revolution
13. **George Gresham**
President of 1199 SEIU
14. **Gloria Steinem**
Feminist Writer, Activist and Organizer
15. **Hina Naveed**
Co-Director of DRM Action Coalition
16. **J. Bob Alotta**
Executive Director, Astraea, Lesbian Foundation for Justice
17. **Janet Mock**
Author of the New York Times bestseller Redefining Realness & the upcoming memoir,
Surpassing Certainty
18. **Judith LeBlanc**
Director of Native Organizers Alliance
19. **Kristin Rowe-Finkbeiner**
Executive Director and Co-Founder, MomsRising
20. **LaDonna Harris**
President of Americans for Indian Opportunity & Original Co-Convener of the Women's
Political Caucus
21. **Linda Sarsour**
Co-Chair, Women's March on Washington, Co-Founder of MPowerChange

22. **Maryum Ali, Muhammad Ali's Daughter**
Social Worker, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention
23. **Melanie Campbell**
President and CEO, National Coalition on Black Civic Participation
24. **Melissa Harris-Perry**
Director, Anna Julia Cooper Center, Editor-at-Large, Elle Magazine
25. **Melissa Mays**
Environmental Justice Activist, Flint
26. **Michael Moore**
Filmmaker
27. **Rabbi Sharon Brous**
Founder/Senior Rabbi, IKAR
28. **Raquel Willis**
Communications Associate for Transgender Law Center
29. **Rhea Suh**
President of Natural Resources Defense Council
30. **Scarlett Johansson**
Actress, Activist
31. **Sister Ieasha Prime**
Executive Director, Barakah, Inc.
32. **Sister Simone Campbell**
Executive Director, NETWORK Lobby
33. **Sophie Cruz**
Immigrant Rights Activist
34. **Sybrina Fulton**
Mother of Trayvon Martin
35. **Maria Hamilton**
Mother of Dontre Hamilton
36. **Gwen Carr**
Mother of Eric Garner
37. **Lucia McBath**
Mother of Jordan Davis
38. **Tamika Mallory**
Co-Chair of Women's March on Washington, Social Justice Activist
39. **Van Jones**
President of Dream Corps, CNN Commentator
40. **Wendy Carrillo**
Human Rights Journalist
41. **Zahra Billoo**
Spokeswoman, Council on American-Islamic Relations
42. **Randi Weingarten**
President, AFT
43. **Ilyasah Shabazz, Malcolm X's Daughter**
Trustee, Malcolm X & Dr. Betty Shabazz Memorial and Educational Center

44. **Roslyn Brock**

Chairman, NAACP National Board of Directors

REFERENCES

- Akdeniz, Y. (2002). Anonymity, democracy, and cyberspace. *Social Research*, 69(1), 223-237.
- Almgren, S. M., & Olsson, T. (2016). Commenting, sharing and tweeting news. *NORDICOM Review*, 37(2), 67-81. doi:10.1515/nor-2016-0018
- Angevine, S. (2017). Representing all women: An analysis of congress, foreign policy, and the boundaries of women's surrogate representation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70(1), 98-110. doi:10.1177/1065912916675737
- Araujo, T., Neijens, P., & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). Getting the word out on Twitter: The role of influentials, information brokers and strong ties in building word-of-mouth for brands. *International Journal of Advertising: The Review of Marketing Communications*, 36(3), 496-513. doi:10.1080/02650487.2016.1173765
- Arnaboldi, V., Passarella, A., Conti, M., & Dunbar, R. (2017). Structure of ego-alter relationships of politicians in Twitter. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 22(5), 231-247. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12193
- Artwick, C. G. (2013), 'Reporters on Twitter: product or service?' *Digital Journalism*, 1(2), pp. 212-28.
- Atkeson, L., & T Krebs. (2008). Press coverage of mayoral candidates - The role of gender in news reporting and campaign issue speech. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 239-252.
- Ayman, R., & Korabik, K. (2010). Leadership: Why gender and culture matter. *American Psychologist*, 65(3), 157-70.

- Bakht, N., Arshad, S., & Nafees Zaidi, S. S. (2017). Under-representation of women in the editorial boards of medical and dental journals of Pakistan. *JPMA. The Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association*, 67(5), 722-724.
- Barnidge, M., Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Diehl, T. (2017). Second screening and political persuasion on social media. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 61(2), 309-331.
doi:10.1080/08838151.2017.1309416
- Baxter, G., Marcella, R., & O'Shea, M. (2016). Members of the Scottish Parliament on Twitter: Good constituency men (and women)? *Aslib Journal of Information Management*, 68(4), 428-447. doi:10.1108/AJIM-02-2016-0010
- Beckwith, D. C. (2017). United States Presidential election of 2016. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved on February 9, 2018 from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-States-presidential-election-of-2016>
- Berman, J. (2015). Trump mocks reporter with disability. CNN Video. Retrieved on February 9 2018 from <http://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2015/11/26/donald-trump-mocks-reporter-with-disability-berman-sot-ac.cnn>
- Boler, M., Macdonald, A., Nitsou, C., & Harris, A. (2014). Connective labor and social media: Women's roles in the 'leaderless' Occupy movement. *Convergence: The Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 20(4), 438. doi:10.1177/1354856514541353
- Breuer, A., & Groshek, J. J. (2014). Online media and offline empowerment in post-rebellion Tunisia: An analysis of internet use during democratic transition. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 11(1), 25-44.

- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2012), 'Researching news discussion on Twitter', *Journalism Studies*, 13: 5&6, pp. 801–14.
- Calderón-Monge, E. (2017). Twitter to manage emotions in political marketing. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 23(3), 359-371. doi:10.1080/10496491.2017.1294870
- Cancian, M., Aguiar, L., & Thavaseelan, S. (2017). The representation of women in urologic leadership. *Urology Practice*, doi:10.1016/j.urpr.2017.03.006
- Clayton, D. M., & Stallings (2000). Black women in congress: Striking the balance. *Journal of Black Studies*, (4), 574.
- Coe, A. (2017, January 18). A brief history of women's marches: From the suffrage parade of 1913 to this week's march on Washington. National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health. Retrieved from <http://www.latinainstitute.org/en/brief-history-womens-marches-suffrage-parade-1913-weeks-march-washington> on February 13, 2018.
- Cohen, C. (2017). Donald Trump sexism tracker: Every offensive comment in one place. The telegraph. Retrieved February 9, 2018 from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/politics/donald-trump-sexism-tracker-every-offensive-comment-in-one-place/>
- Cudlipp E. (1971). *Understanding women's liberation: A complete guide to the most controversial movement sweeping America today*. Coronet Communications: New York.
- Dhanalakshmi, N., & Subramanian, V. M. (2017). New communication styles in social media. *Language in India*, 17(7), 427-438.

- D'heer, E., & Verdegem, P. (2014). Conversations about the elections on Twitter: Towards a structural understanding of Twitter's relation with the political and the media field. *European Journal of Communication*, 29(6), 720-734.
- Didi, P., & Lundy, L. K. (2017). Organizational twitter use: Content analysis of tweets during breast cancer awareness month. *Journal of Health Communication*, (3), 243.
doi:10.1080/10810730.2016.1266716
- Dimitrova, D. V., & Strömbäck, J. (2012). Election news in Sweden and the United States: A comparative study of sources and media frames. *Journalism: Theory, Practice, and Criticism*, 13(5), 604-619. doi:10.1177/1464884911431546
- Drake, N. (2017). March on, ladies. *USA Today Magazine*, 146(2866), 22-24.
- DuBois, E. C., & Dumenil, L. (2016). *Through women's eyes: An American history with documents*. Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598.
- Enli, G., & Simonsen, C. A. (2017). ‘Social media logic’ meets professional norms: Twitter hashtags usage by journalists and politicians. *Information, Communication & Society*, 2, 1-16. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301515.
- van Eerdewijk, A. (2001). How sexual and reproductive rights can divide and unite. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8(4), 421.

- Fernandez-Delgado, F. C., & Balanza, M. V. (2012). Beyond WikiLeaks: The Icelandic modern media initiative and the creation of free speech havens. *International Journal of Communication (Online)*, 2706.
- Fox, R. A. (2016). It still takes a village: Hillary Clinton, conflicted communitarian. *Commonweal*, (17), 14.
- Franks, S., & O'Neill, D. (2016). Women reporting sport: Still a man's game? *Journalism*, 17(4), 474-492. doi:10.1177/1464884914561573
- Friedan, B., Fermaglich, K. L., & Fine, L. M. (2013). *The feminine mystique: Annotated text, contexts, scholarship*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.
- Gabler, N. (2016, April 29). Donald Trump, the emperor of social media. *Moyers & Company*. Retrieved October 30, 2017 from <http://billmoyers.com/story/donald-trump-the-emperor-of-social-media/>
- Galy-Badenas, F., & Croucher, S. M. (2016). Men and women in positions of responsibility. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, (41), 1.
- Gamson W (1992). *Talking politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ghosh, S. (2017). Why is it a man's world, after all? Women on bank boards in India. *Economic Systems*, 41(1), 109-121. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ecosys.2016.05.007
- Gibson, M. (2011, August 12). A brief history of women's protests. Retrieved from http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2088114_2087975_2087963,00.html on October 20, 2017.

- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Weeks, B., & Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2017). Effects of the news-finds-me perception in communication: Social media use implications for news seeking and learning about politics. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 22(3), 105-123. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12185
- Glassman, M.E., Straus, J.R., & Shogan, C.J. (2009), "Social networking and constituent communication: Member use of Twitter during a two-week period in the 111th Congress", *Congressional Research Service*, Washington, DC.
- Golbeck, J., Grimes, J.M., & Rogers, A. (2010), "Twitter use by the US Congress", *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 61(8), 1612-1621.
- Gottfried, J. A., Hardy, B. W., Holbert, R. L., Winneg, K. M., & Jamieson, K. H. (2017). The changing nature of political debate consumption: Social Media, multitasking, and knowledge acquisition. *Political Communication*, 34(2), 172-199. doi:10.1080/10584609.2016.1154120
- Guede, J. R., Curiel, J., & Antonovica, A. (2017). Viral communication through social media: analysis of its antecedents. *Revista Latina De Comunicación Social*, (72), 69-87. doi:10.4185/RLCS-2017-1154
- Haigh, M. M., Brubaker, P., & Whiteside, E. (2013) "Facebook: Examining the information presented and its impact on stakeholders." *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*. 18(1), 52-69. doi:10.1108/13563281311294128

- Honeycutt, C., & Herring, S. (2009). Beyond microblogging: Conversation and collaboration via Twitter. *Proceedings of the Forty-Second Hawai'i International Conference on System Sciences*. Los Alamitos, CA: IEEE Press.
- Huntemann, N. (2015). No more excuses: Using Twitter to challenge the symbolic annihilation of women in games. *Feminist Media Studies*, 15(1), 164-167.
doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.987432
- Ioannidou, E., & Rosania, A. (2015). Under-representation of women on dental journal editorial boards. *Plos ONE*, 10(1).
- Jin, S. A., & Phua, J. (2014). Following celebrities' tweets about brands: The impact of twitter-based electronic word-of-mouth on consumers' source credibility perception, buying intention, and social identification with celebrities. *Journal of Advertising*, (2). 181.
- Katila, S., & Eriksson, P. (2013). He is a firm, strong-minded and empowering leader, but is she? Gendered positioning of female and male CEOs. *Gender, Work and Organization*, (1).
- Keohane, J. (2016). The cry-bully: The sad mind and evil media genius behind @realDonaldTrump. *Politico magazine*. Retrieved on February 9, 2018 from <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/2016-donald-trump-politics-campaign-twitter-social-media-213827>
- Kidd, D., & McIntosh, K. (2016). Social media and social movements. *Sociology Compass*, (9), 785. doi:10.1111/soc4.12399

- Kim, Y., D. Sohn, and S. M. Choi. (2011). "Cultural differences in motivations for using social network sites: A comparative study of American and Korean college students." *Computers in Human Behavior*. 21 (1): 365– 372.
- Kitchens, K. E., & Swers, M. L. (2016). Why aren't there more Republican women in congress? Gender, partisanship, and fundraising support in the 2010 and 2012 elections. *Politics & Gender*, 12(4), 648. doi:10.1017/S1743923X1600009X
- Kolody, L. (2017). Legislating effectively to protect women from political violence. *Parliamentarian*, 98(1), 47-52.
- Kruikemeier, S., Van Noort, G., Vliegenthart, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2013). Getting closer: The effects of personalized and interactive online political communication. *European Journal of Communication*, 28(1), 53-66. doi: 10.1177/0267323112464837
- LaPoe, V. L., Carter Olson, C., & Eckert, S. (2017). "Linkedin is my office; Facebook my living room, Twitter the neighborhood bar". *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. 41(3), 185-206.
- Larsson, A. O. (2017). Going viral? Comparing parties on social media during the 2014 Swedish election. *Convergence: The Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 23(2), 117-131. doi:10.1177/1354856515577891
- Levitov, D. (2017). Using the women's march to examine freedom of speech, social justice, and social action through information literacy. *Teacher Librarian*, 44(4), 12-15.
- Lewis, C. C., and J. F. George. (2008). "Cross-cultural deception in social networking sites and face-to-face communication." *Computers in Human Behavior*. 24: 2945 –2964

- Lewis, S. C., Zamith, R., & Hermida, A. (2013). Content analysis in an era of big data: A hybrid approach to computational and manual methods. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(1), 34-52.
- Lopez-Meri, A. (2016). Journalism on Twitter. The users' contribution to the flow of information. *Cuadernos Info*, (39), 241-257. doi:10.7764/cdi.39.825
- Lowe Morna, C. (2012). Promoting gender equality in and through the media. A Southern African case study. *Global Media Journal: Indian Edition*, 3(1), 1-23.
- Malala, J. N., & Amienyi, O. P. (2018). Mining for focus and priorities in Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's daily tweets during the 2016 U.S. general elections. *I.J. Information Technology and Computer Science*, 3, 1-8. doi: 10.5815/ijitcs.2018.03.01.
- Malveaux, J. (2013). Still slipping: African-American women in the economy and in society. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, (1), 13.
- Marchetti, R., & Ceccobelli, D. (2016). Twitter and television in a hybrid media system. *Journalism Practice*, 10(5), 626-644. doi:10.1080/17512786.2015.1040051
- Martin, J. D., Martins, R. J., & Naqvi, S. (2018). Media use predictors of online political efficacy among internet users in five Arab countries. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(1), 129-146. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1266375
- MacDonald, J. A., & O'Brien, E. E. (2011). Quasi-experimental design, constituency, and advancing women's interests: Re-examining the influence of gender on substantive representation. *Political Research Quarterly*, (2), 472. doi: 10.1177/1065912909354703

- McKenzie, R., & McKenzie, K. L. (2017). Role depictions of women and men in CCTV news content. *China Media Research*, 13(1), 42-51.
- Medina, R. Z., Sánchez Cobarro, P. H., & Martínez, H. M. (2017). The importance of the "strategic game" to frame the political discourse in Twitter during 2015 Spanish Regional Elections. *Communication & Society*, 30(3), 229-253. doi:10.15581/003.30.3.229-253
- Mergel, I. (2012), "'Connecting to Congress': The use of Twitter by Members of Congress", *Zeitschrift fuer Politikberatung. Policy Advice and Political Consulting*. 2(3), 108-114.
- Merrill, J. B. (2015, December 5). How Donald Trump talks. The New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/12/05/us/politics/donald-trump-talk.html?_r=1
- Meyer, K. M., & Tang, T. (2015). #SocialJournalism: Local news media on Twitter. *JMM: The International Journal on Media Management*, 17(4), 241-257.
doi:10.1080/14241277.2015.1107569
- Mitchell, A. & Hitlin, P. (2013). Twitter reaction to events often at odds with overall public opinion. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved February 25, 2018 from <http://www.pewresearch.org/2013/03/04/twitter-reaction-to-events-often-at-odds-with-overall-public-opinion/>
- Morgan, R. (1970). *Sisterhood is powerful: An anthology of writings from the women's liberation movement*. Random House: New York.

- Murthy, D., Gross, A., & Pensavalle, A. (2016). Urban social media demographics: An exploration of twitter use in major American cities. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 21(1), 33-49. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12144
- Neuendorf, K.A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. Sage: Los Angeles.
- Nicolini, K. M., & Hansen, S. S. (2018). Framing the Women's March on Washington: Media coverage and organizational messaging alignment. *Public Relations Review*, 44(1), 1-10. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.12.005
- Ogan, C., & Varol, O. (2017). What is gained and what is left to be done when content analysis is added to network analysis in the study of a social movement: Twitter use during Gezi Park. *Information, Communication and Society*, (8), 1220. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1229006
- Osborn, T. L. (2012). *How women represent women: Political parties, gender, and representation in state legislatures*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ott, B. L. (2017). The age of Twitter: Donald J. Trump and the politics of debasement. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 34(1), 59-68. doi:10.1080/15295036.2016.1266686
- Pan, J. (2012, February 22.) "Will you be Twitter's 500 Millionth User?" Mashable. Accessed October 30, 2017 from <http://mashable.com/2012/02/22/twitters-500-million-user/>
- Pearson, K., & Dancey, L. (2011). Speaking for the underrepresented in the House of Representatives: Voicing women's interests in a partisan era. *Politics & Gender*, 7(4), 493-519. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X1100033X>

- Pentina, I., Basmanova, O., & Zhang, L. (2016). A cross-national study of Twitter users' motivations and continuance intentions. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, 22(1), 36-55. doi:10.1080/13527266.2013.841273
- Perez, M. (2018). Trump praises women's march, but many are marching against him. *Newsweek*. Retrieved April 10, 2018 from <http://www.newsweek.com/womens-march-2018-president-donald-trump-twitter-womens-rights-786181>
- Peterson, R. D. (2012). To tweet or not to tweet: Exploring the determinants of early adoption of Twitter by house members in the 111th Congress. *The Social Science Journal*, 49(4), 430-438. doi:10.1016/j.soscij.2012.07.002
- Petersen, E.R. (2010). Roles and duties of a member of congress. *Congressional Research Service*. Retrieved February 25, 2018 from <http://www.wise-intern.org/orientation/documents/RL33686.pdf>
- Pettit, B., & Ewert, S. (2009). Employment gains and wage declines: The erosion of black women's relative wages since 1980. *Demography*, (3), 469.
- Pew Research Center (2017 January 12). Social Media Fact Sheet. Retrieved from <http://www.pewinternet.org/fact-sheet/social-media/> on October 26, 2017.
- Presley, R. R., & Presswood, A. L. (2018). Pink, brown, and read all over: Representation at the 2017 Women's March on Washington. *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies*, 18(1), 61-71.
- Ray, G. N. (2012). Women and media. *Global Media Journal: Indian Edition*, 3(1), 1-16.

Report on human rights abuses or censorship in North Korea: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. (2016). *International Journal of Terrorism & Political Hot Spots*, 11(3/4), 327.

Robertson, T. (2017). The Women's March changing Unity Principles. Tara Robertson. Retrieved February 12, 2018 from <http://tararobertson.ca/2017/the-womens-march-changing-unity-principles/>

Rybalko, S., & Seltzer, T. (2010). Corporate communications in 140 characters or less: Are Fortune 500 companies using Twitter to foster dialogic communication? *Public Relations Review*, 36, 336–341.

Saura, G., Muñoz-Moreno, J., Luengo-Navas, J., & Martos, J. (2017). Protesting on Twitter: Citizenship and empowerment from public education. *Comunicar*, 25(53), 39-48. doi:10.3916/C53-2017-04

Scott, K. (2016). Twitter and the Oscar Pistorius trial. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 8(3), 397-411. doi:10.1386/jams.8.3.397_1

al-Sharif, M. (2012). Driving my own destiny. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 88(4), 96-101.

Schulze, C., & Hurvitz, J. (2016). The dynamics of earmark requests for the women and men of the US House of Representatives. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 37(1), 68-86. doi:10.1080/1554477X.2016.1116299

Segar, J. (2015). Under-representation of women on governing bodies: Women general practitioners on Clinical Commissioning Groups in England. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, 20(4), 257-260.

- Segesten, A. D., & Bossetta, M. (2017). A typology of political participation online: How citizens used Twitter to mobilize during the 2015 British general elections. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(11), 1625-1643. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1252413
- Shafer, J. (2015, August 13). Donald Trump talks like a third grader. Politico. Retrieved from <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/08/donald-trump-talks-like-a-third-grader-121340>
- Shelton, A., & Skalski, P. (2014). Blinded by the light: Illuminating the dark side of social network use through content analysis. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 33, 339–348. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2013.08.017
- Singh, S. (2017). Bridging the gender digital divide in developing countries. *Journal of Children & Media*, 11(2), 245-247. doi:10.1080/17482798.2017.1305604
- Spence, P. R., Lachlan, K. A., Edwards, A., & Edwards, C. (2016). Tweeting fast matters, but only if I think about it: Information updates on social media. *Communication Quarterly*, 64(1), 55-71. doi:10.1080/01463373.2015.1100644
- Statista (2017, March). Percentage of U.S. population with a social media profile from 2008 to 2017. Retrieved on October 26, 2017 from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/273476/percentage-of-us-population-with-a-social-network-profile/>
- Statista (2017, October). Number of monthly active Twitter users worldwide from 1st quarter 2010 to 3rd quarter 2017 (in millions). Retrieved on October 27, 2017 from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/282087/number-of-monthly-active-twitter-users/>

- Ștefanovici, S. (2016). Why do we need feminism? *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior - Philologia*, 21, 105-110.
- Straus, J. R., Glassman, M. E., Shogan, C. J., & Smelcer, S. N. (2013). Communicating in 140 characters or less: Congressional adoption of Twitter in the 111th congress. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, (1), 60. doi:10.1017/S1049096512001242
- Straus, J. R., Shogan, C. J., Williams, R. T., & Glassman, M. E. (2016). Congressional social media communications: Evaluating Senate Twitter usage. *Online Information Review*, 40(5), 643-659. doi:10.1108/OIR-10-2015-0334
- Su, L. Y., Cacciatore, M. A., Liang, X., Brossard, D., Scheufele, D. A., & Xenos, M. A. (2017). Analyzing public sentiments online: Combining human- and computer-based content analysis. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(3), 406-427. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1182197
- Swasy, A. (2016). A little birdie told me: Factors that influence the diffusion of twitter in newsrooms. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60(4), 643-656. doi:10.1080/08838151.2016.1234480
- Swers, M. L. (2005). "Connecting descriptive and substantive representation: An analysis of sex differences in co-sponsorship activity in the House of Representatives." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30: 407–33.
- Swers, M. L. (2013). *Women in the club: Gender and policy making in the Senate*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Swers, M. L. (2016). Pursuing women's interests in partisan times: Explaining gender differences in legislative activity on health, education, and women's health issues. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 37(3), 249-273. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1188599>
- Tambe, A. (2017). The Women's March on Washington: Words from an organizer: An interview with Mrinalini Chakraborty. *Feminist Studies*, (1), 223.
- Theocharis, Y., Lowe, W., van Deth, J. W., & Garcia-Albacete, G. (2015). Using Twitter to mobilize protest action: Online mobilization patterns and action repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi movements. *Information Communication & Society*, 18(2), 202-220.
- Thomsen, D. (2015). Why so few (Republican) women? Explaining the partisan imbalance of women in the US congress. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 40(2), 295-323.
- Tolbert C.J. & McNeal R.S. (2003). Unraveling the effects of the Internet on political participation? *Political Research Quarterly* 56(2): 175–185.
- Toor, A. (2013). All 100 US senators are now on Twitter. Retrieved from <https://www.theverge.com/2013/1/20/3896648/twitter-usage-among-members-of-us-congress-on-October-27-2017>.
- Tortajada, I., & Bauwel, S. V. (2012). Gender and communication: Contemporary research questions. *Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies*, 4(2), 143-153.
doi:10.1386/cjcs.4.2.143_2
- Trillo, T. (2017). Communicating anti-violence policy on Twitter: The European Commission and #SayNoStopVAW. *Styles of Communication*, 9(1), 9-24.

Tur, G., Marín, V. I., & Carpenter, J. (2017). Using Twitter in higher education in Spain and the USA. *Comunicar*, 25(51), 19-27. doi:10.3916/C51-2017-02

Turcotte, J., York, C., Irving, J., Scholl, R. M., & Pingree, R. J. (2015). News recommendations from social media opinion leaders: Effects on media trust and information seeking. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(5), 520-535. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12127

United Nations. (27 August 2001). "International covenant on civil and political rights: Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 40 of the Covenant Concluding observations of the Human Rights Committee Democratic People's Republic of Korea". Retrieved October 29 2017 from <http://docstore.ohchr.org/SelfServices/FilesHandler.ashx?enc=6QkG1d%2fPPRiCAqhKb7yhsmq1D%2b4Wvg6LhA1iuk%2bHo%2bU%2bcQY9QLF0TK9wmTz4E1PBpYTrjNGHPfEPb4Mpgnm8ci9NtNLebLmwvS4WuAF7dvJB5XDIII8yQ7r6MCFCl4VO>

Verge, T., & Pastor, R. (2018). Women's political firsts and symbolic representation. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 39(1), 26-50. doi:10.1080/1554477X.2016.1268878

Vliegthart, R. (2012). Framing in mass communication research - An overview and assessment. *Sociology Compass*, (12), 937. doi:10.1111/soc4.12003

Vliegthart, R., & van Zoonen, L. (2011). Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 101-115. doi:10.1177/0267323111404838

Vick, K., Sanburn, J., Alter, C., Altman, A., Dias, E., Frizell, S., & Steinmetz, K. (2017). The other side. (cover story). *Time*, 189(4), 24-33.

Wang, B., & Zhuang, J. (2017). Crisis information distribution on Twitter: A content analysis of tweets during Hurricane Sandy. *Natural Hazards*, (1), 161. doi:10.1007/s11069-017-2960-x

Willitis, P. (2017). The women's march on Washington: A lesson in intersectional failures.

Retrieved February 12, 2018 from <http://globalcomment.com/the-womens-march-on-washington-a-lesson-in-intersectional-failures/>

Zamora Medina, R., & Zurutuza Muñoz, C. (2014). Campaigning on Twitter: Towards the "personal style" campaign to activate the political engagement during the 2011 Spanish general elections. *Comunicación Y Sociedad*, 27(1), 83-106.