

## **Analyzing Gendered & Raced Editorial Scrutiny of Lawmakers in the U.S. and U.K.<sup>†</sup>**

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**ABSTRACT:** Content analyses in gender and politics scholarship find that female elites are often discussed in different and degrading ways in news media compared to their male counterparts, with additional intra-group differences between white female elites and female elites of color. Feminist political scientists have long critiqued the way women in politics are portrayed in the media as these narratives facilitate public-political conversation and therefore perceptions of women in office. This project contributes to the media literature on gender and politics by analyzing editorial treatment of two female elite groups: women lawmakers in the U.S. Congress and the U.K. House of Commons. I build two original datasets of editorials and opinions pieces from reputable and widely read U.S. and U.K. newspapers collected with LexisNexis (n = 120 for each group). My data is extensively coded with Amazon Mechanical Turk. The study tests four hypotheses: whether editorial scrutiny arises from sexist treatment determined by language (using dictionary resources from Daku & Conroy and Roberts & Utych), party, positionality on a policy issue, or as a result of time and evolving media expectations. This work adds to the understanding within the discipline of how and when misogynist and racist treatment of female elites occurs in news media. This submission presents the base paper that inspired this experiment along with the mTurk appendix. The extensive mTurk coding is currently in progress.

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

When it is common to hear that voting for a woman solely by gender is a baseless mistake, a pattern in feminists' voting seems to be indistinguishable. While it may seem obvious that feminists would rather vote for a women candidate to further political equality via equal representation, this is not necessarily the case. As a form of social identity, gendered-related social factors—such as feminist identity—only became recognized via the American National Election Studies within recent decades (McCabe, 2005). Moreover, feminism, while appearing to many as a type of “niche” identity, is supported by more than expected. According to *The Washington Post* and Kaiser Family Foundation, a study found that 6 out of 10 women and roughly one third of men identifying with feminism from a scale of moderate to strong identification (Cai & Clement, 2016). With the research objective of determining an impact of women politicians on feminist voters, I theorize that a correlation between descriptive representation and substantive representation by women to benefit policy outcomes will entail an increase in support for women politicians among self-identifying feminists. Ultimately such support would lead to an increase of women in politics, which could lead to political equality of the sexes in broad terms.

## **II. BACKGROUND**

The aim of this research is to find whether the scientifically verified relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women impacts the support of congresswomen among self-identifying feminist voters. Since empirical research in feminist self-identification has barely touched the surface—much less been integrated within the women in politics subfield—multiple concepts should be initially addressed. The research will reference terminology from political science (specifically political representation and women in politics) as

well as feminist studies. The amalgamation of these terms will strengthen the theoretical framework of the study's argument and further assume a relationship between political representation interaction and support for congresswomen among feminists.

**a. FORMS OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

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Descriptive representation, first defined by political theorist Hanna Pitkin, will be used as the level at which a political representative is similar to those they represent in shared physical and/or social identity, experience, and interest (Dovi, 2011). From the same mind, substantive representation will be used as “the actions taken on behalf of, in the interest of, as an agent of, and as a substitute for the represented,” with the ultimate goal of beneficial policies for the said represented (Dovi, 2011). This study will reflect on previous research displaying a descriptive representation's direct effect on substantive representation: specifically, how legislation and policy implementation via substantive representation can act as an extension of the representative's identity descriptively. Symbolic representation, while not directly related to the correlating descriptive and substantive representation of women, plays a minor role in women in politics and the constituency's support for them. Symbolic representation is perceived as the social identity- driven ways a representative “stands for” their represented constituency and is often displayed via role model effects (Dovi, 2011). Typical examples of the role model effect include impressions from female politicians on young girls, which spark feelings of qualification and competency to run for political office (Lawless, 2005). Since symbolic representation and such effects are often measured via election feeling thermometers, empirical evidence for its influence on data is difficult to identify (Lawless, 2004). For the purposes of this study, I will largely ignore the impact of symbolic representation since, despite having inspired prospective female candidates to run for office, has little clout in monitoring support of policy

implementation.

## **b. FEMINISM FUNDAMENTALS**

The connotations of the word “feminism” are multitudinous. To maintain conciseness, I will be focusing on liberal feminist theory within the third wave feminist movement. The choice to calculate research according to liberal feminism derives from the theories greater emphasis on political autonomy compared to separate yet related manifestations of feminism (McAfee, 2014). In addition to political relatedness, liberal feminism has maintained longevity compared to other manifestations of feminism as well as clout in the research fields (McAfee, 2014). Based on feminist history, American feminism is currently in its “third wave,” which is believed to have gestated in 1992 as a response to the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill Senate hearings regarding sexual assault accusations (Iannello, 2010). In the third wave of feminism, there is a lessened emphasis on coordinated efforts to advance the feminist movement (or, at least in similar ways by those of the first-wave Suffragettes) (McAfee, 2014); instead, ideological objectives concern “individual initiative, rejecting group identity, [and] in some cases rejecting the label ‘feminist’” (Iannello, 2010). The third wave is closely associated with individualism and disunity to oppose rooted societal power structures (Iannello, 2010; McCabe, 2005). While initially appearing directly antithetical to each other, this feminist environment viewed and the chosen scope of liberal feminist theory have common interests in obtaining equal distribution of power for women, who have been inequitably treated in the public sphere. The arrangement of the liberal feminist angle in the historical context of the third wave will prove notable in the context of the foretelling research aims.

When positing the outcomes of support for congresswomen among the feminist constituency, feminist political philosophy and perspectives on power must be outlined as addressed in the literature. In feminist political philosophy, liberal feminism prioritizes two

tenets: the freedom to live one's life with unconstrained and independent intent and the freedom to act as a political participant molding the form of the political community (McAfee, 2014). By the same token, liberal feminism is the most actively involved in political activism out of all feminist theories (McAfee, 2014). Liberal feminism exposed to the civic sphere previously domestic concerns confined to households, sparking modern interest in advancing women's issues bills motivated by the feminist movement (Swers, 2002). Conjointly, contemporary liberal feminists tend to converge with democratic feminists with regards to deliberative democratic theory (McAfee, 2014).<sup>1</sup> This leads to an increase in civic engagement as liberal feminists more readily embrace deliberation as an opportunity to openly discuss issues and pursue steps towards resolution (McAfee, 2014). Regarding women's authority, feminist views on powers are subsequently viewed as a distribution of resources, with the majority of feminists following theorist Susan Moller Okin conclusion that power is a "critical social good" which is unjustly and disproportionately disposed to men (Allen, 2016). Further critics of this assessment, such as Iris Marion Young, rebut that this perspective as a distribution of resources equates power as static as opposed to dynamic (Allen, 2016). I will further expand upon power perspectives as they relate to feminists' potential reactions of women candidates.

### **c. WOMEN'S ISSUES & FEMINIST CONCERNS**

The following study will repeatedly use the term "women's issues." Women's issues can be broadly defined as potential policy having gender-saliency and/or clout in representation (Lawless, 2005). According to political scientist Jennifer Lawless in her work with women and politics, women's issues include but are not limited to: childcare, parental leave, increasing the minimum wage and income inequality, gender equity, reproductive freedom, and many different

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<sup>1</sup> Deliberation can be broadly defined policy collaboration through reasoned argumentation (McAfee, 2014).

social welfare programs (2005). Feminist-approach legislation stemming from women's issues debate includes but is not limited to reproductive rights protections, expanding childcare and healthcare initiatives, enacting paid family leave, and aiding victims of sexual assault and domestic violence (Swers, 2002). Although it is easy to skew women's issues to be viewed exclusively as feminist-incentivized issues, the opposite can be done as well. Conversely, women's issue bills can spark antifeminist reaction among ideologically polarized Republican and/or conservative congresswoman as they see threat to traditional family values (Swers, 2002): a common example would be anti-abortion restrictions. To focus the study on feminist reaction, success and benefits relative to "women's issues" will be associated with feminist initiatives unless specified otherwise.

### **III. LITERATURE REVIEW & CAUSAL LINK: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN REPRESENTATION FORM & FEMINISM**

The research objective of this paper is to determine an impact of congresswomen on feminist voters. I theorize that a correlation between descriptive representation and substantive representation by women to benefit policy outcomes will entail an increase in support for women politicians among self-identifying feminists to progress in the feminist movement. Ultimately such support would lead to an increase of women in politics, which could serve as a proxy for political equality of the sexes in broad terms. The following review of the literature structuring my causal link will inform how descriptive representation and substantive representation by women can be positively intertwined to advance the feminist movement. The role of feminist perspectives, as well as prospects for feminist political and social mobility, will also be examined.

#### **a. THE IMPACT OF IDENTITY ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

Extensive research within the women in politics subfield finds that gender—serving as a piece of

an individual's social identity—can play a pronounced role in a representative office.

Political scientist Michele Swers hypothesizes that there is copious support for the idea that women, in general, debate and legislate distinctly from men (2002). When the policy issues at hand are those directly affecting women, congresswomen at both the federal and state levels are more likely take initiative to advocate for beneficial legislation on these issues (Swers 2002).

Moreover, women in U.S. Congress are more likely than their male counterparts to push for these laws at each level of the legislative process, according to a comparative study between the 103<sup>rd</sup> and 104<sup>th</sup> Congresses (Swers, 2002). Previous analysis had merely addressed gender as a social identity factor on legislative participation via roll-call vote (Swers, 2002). However, women converge on policy preferences in other stages of legislation as well. This is evidenced by women's shared experiences from society's indoctrination of gender roles as well as observed voting patterns and participation in politics (Swers, 2002). She also finds that, in relation to women's issues, both Democratic and Republican female representatives will be more likely to address, sponsor, and co-sponsor feminist-incentivized legislation than the men in their political party. It is clearly supported here that the gender of the representative plays a role in implementing policy.

But how is this association between descriptive representation and substantive representation by women so strong? Swers posits that the strength behind represented social identity leading to policy implementation is founded on women's common political concerns (2002). While she acknowledges that certainly all women voters are individuals, "socialization patterns, shared experiences, or the expectations of voters" can possibly contribute to pattern establishment from women politicians support for women's issues. She discovers that based on common experiences of adversity and gender discrimination, congresswomen are more likely to



push for feminist-based women's issue bills during each tier of the legislative process than the men in the House (Swers, 2002). Likewise, while support for a particular women's issue bill may be true for a congressman and congresswoman, it is much more likely that the congresswoman initially raised the issue (Swers, 2002). Another reason for congresswomen to support this type of prospective policy is because they are at a greater risk when they have no say in how to implement women's issue bills. Moreover, she addresses congresswomen's advocacy for their policy preferences at each stage of how a bill becomes a law (Swers, 2002). The argument boils down to the politicians' womanly identities: they embody the credibility and expertise more than anyone for women's issues—two traits which are very advantageous when implementing policy (Swers, 2002). Essentially, congresswomen are good at translating their descriptive representation to substantive representation because they, as women, exhibit resonance as well as a stake in the issue.

However successful the policies of congresswoman in certain political districts, many still feel constrained from bringing up women's issues in the legislative context. This is largely due to the small size of many women's caucuses. Thus, debate on underrepresentation of women gives the concept of descriptive representation an influential connotation. Research inevitably moved toward the descriptive representation of women in larger quantities.

#### **b. DESCRIPTIVE & SUBSTANTIVE: EXPANDING THE POOL**

While an individual congresswoman can have her own impact on policy, descriptive representation is also a numbers game. The numerical value of the pool of women is intrinsic to descriptive representation's effects on substantive representation and is perhaps fundamental to strengthening the correlation between the two types of representation (Goedert, Karpowitz, & Mendelberg, 2013). Descriptive representation is axiomatic when a woman takes her place in

office. What is distinctly telling in the literature, however, is the effects such representation produces as the pool of female politicians increases. Research displays the impact of gender role theory on political representation; a concept theorizing that gender facilitates discussion in debate setting (Goedert et al., 2013). Gender role theory claims that, due to women's severe political underrepresentation, women have been given minority status: "being a numerical minority places women in a lower status relative to men in the group, reducing mentions of women's distinctive "care" priorities and the weight the group gives to these in its decisions" (Goedert et al., 2013). Conversely, when women comprise the majority during legislative debate, the probability of expressing their opinions will increase since they envision themselves as a part of the larger, more influential group (Goedert et al., 2013). Thus descriptive representation and substantive representation are inextricably linked when those representing are in the minority stance (Goedert et al., 2013). Gaining greater vocalization of the issues at hand is thus, unfortunately, hard to come by for women's caucuses. The research presented here maintains that is not only the act of descriptive representation among individual women, but more so the power of women as a collective description to implement policy.

### **c. FEMINIST TIES & SOCIAL MOBILITY: CONNECTING THE FIELDS**

Before linking third wave feminism and liberal feminist theory to the descriptive and substantive representation of women, a few key themes must be revisited, such as political autonomy and perceived power structures. The feminist objectives fueling many women's issue bills presuppose a desire of the feminist movement and its subscribers to have representatives in office that can reflect them and their needs. This is evidenced by liberal feminist theory and its second tenet of political autonomy of women and the necessity of equally contributing to development in governance and politics (McAfee, 2014).

Liberal feminist power ideals in the third wave suppose a relationship between descriptive and substantive representation among women and, consequentially, feminists' support for female candidates. This is due to a fundamental exigency on behalf of the movement to obtain equal power in politics (Allen, 2016). In contrast to the binary and dyadic power constructs emphasized in other feminist ideology such as radical feminism, liberal feminism is hardly as zero-sum (Allen, 2016). Liberal feminist philosopher Iris Marion Young popularized common thought on power resource and gender, theorizing that power is unevenly inaccessible to women and common power structures present a dynamic relation between the superior and inferior (Allen, 2016). This thinking also emphasizes power as intangible and incapable of total possession (Allen, 2016). This is further supported by majority/minority power binary in the observations of Goedert, Karpowitz, and Mendelberg, who stress that a lack of power in the legislative process can make all descriptive qualities disadvantages towards a candidate (Goedert et al., 2013). Most practicing liberal feminist theory embrace deliberative theory related to politics, giving an incentive for increased participation among female politicians both symbolically and with policy (McAfee, 2014). All of this information evidences support for left-leaning female candidates' incentive to pursue policy will lead feminists to support them as they seek policies to support the feminist movement. Both the legislature and the feminist movement require this power change to propel forward.

Also relevant to liberal feminist theory views on women in politics and power positions is the notion of feminist consciousness. With feminist consciousness, the self-identification vantage point is only the first of many tiers on the way to fully embracing the feminist ideology (Cook, 1989). "Identification," defined as recognition of membership with feminism and common interests with other feminists, is the first criterion towards becoming a feminist (Cook, 1989).

Following suit is the second tier: rejection of the given circumstances that create the necessity of feminism (Cook, 1989). The culminating tier is the realization of needed solutions among the collective, benefitting a continuously expanding feminist movement (Cook, 1989). Only when an individual reaches this third level of thought will they embody feminist consciousness (Cook, 1989). Based on the notion that self-identified feminists will attempt to move closer to the third tier feminist consciousness and obtain it as a way of making actions to regress discrimination against women, it would be logical to conclude that feminists would support the congresswomen producing beneficial legislation for them. Thus, the two pose an independent/dependent variable relationship.

Feminist consciousness, although traditionally viewed in tandem with second wave feminism and its parallel's to the twentieth century's civil rights movements, is greatly relevant to this research. For this study, I will employ the obtainment of feminist consciousness as a proxy for social mobility among feminists, with upward social mobility regarding feminism constituting feminists' incentive to support congresswomen with the representation relationship.

#### **d. MOVING FORWARD**

Given the multitudes of nuance in third wave feminism (Iannello, 2010), it has previously been difficult to establish any relatively accurate research on voting patterns among feminists.

However, since previous research entails that there is potentiality for a mutually enriching relationship between descriptive representation and substantive representation of women, it is probable that voters identifying as feminist will support female politicians. Again, such support is contingent upon the correlation between women's descriptive and substantive representation (Swers, 2002). Another contributing factor is the numerical value of descriptive representation of women, as a larger pool of female politicians will lead to an increase in

representation (Goedert et al., 2013). There is an underlying connection between descriptive representation of women and substantive representation of women in the literature; in addition to this, there is a lack of concrete understanding of how feminists will perceive these female politicians. Based on this, I posit that the association of these two forms of representation impacts the support of these politicians by self-identifying feminists.

Although this research aims to find an increase in support for female candidates among feminists, this is not to say that feminists have an unquestionable obligation to vote for the female candidate, nor is it to say that all women in politics will support feminism and feminist issues. There are myriad identity labels that may affect the policy inclinations of a politician or voter such as her ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religious identification. Rather than establish additional divisions in thought within the third wave feminist movement, this research intends to show that there is a potential correlation between women in politics and how labeled feminists choose to cast their ballot, a theory yet to be unraveled in traditional women in politics and feminism research.

#### **IV. METHODOLOGY**

I used news data via LexisNexis as my content environment. After setting my parameters (U.S. sources only for the American database, U.K. sources only for the House of Commons database; time periods that would not break a legislative session; editorials and opinion pieces only, no reported stories), I searched for the following key terms: “welfare”, “infrastructure”, “pay gap”, “criminal justice”, “national security”, “immigration enforcement”, “pathways to citizenship”, “immigrant detention”, “reproductive rights”, “housing”, “economy”, “education”, and “police brutality”. I additionally searched for the terms “bill” and “legislation” to ensure my environment concerned the prospect of prospective law and not each topic broadly. After procuring a random

sample of 60 articles for each dataset using a random number generator, I outlined my variables in Excel and carried out my pilot via MTurk. The following are my working hypotheses:

***H<sub>1</sub> - Sexism:*** Editorials will write about lawmakers based on their gender, using sexist language for women and logic, policy-focused language for men.

***H<sub>2</sub> – Positionality & Topic:*** Editorials will describe lawmakers based on the position of the lawmaker discussed (sponsor/opponent) and the topic concerned.

***H<sub>3</sub> – Chronological Improvement:*** Editorial content will depend on a changing culture toward women, differences in the year, less use of hostile sexist language over time, and more benevolent sexist language over time.

***H<sub>4</sub> – Party Identification:*** Discussion of a lawmaker will depend on their party membership and ideological views.

## **V. IMPLICATIONS: THE FUTURE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS & FEMINISM**

Tracking feminist support in politics is deeply lacking and extremely necessary. Unfortunately, there is no current research addressing feminist perspectives in politics. In addition to this, there is no national empirical evidence to display any remote relationship between feminism and women and office, aside from basic feminist definition, which in theory propelled said woman into a civic engagement. However, according to political scientist Jennifer Lawless, there may very well be a correlation between the two: “Perhaps women represented by women are more likely to identify as feminists [...] or hold more favorable impressions of feminism and the women's movements” (2004).

Political participation and democratic deliberation are not only beneficial for individual voters to unify with each other, constructive for the feminist movement as a whole. It is feasible that if the potential data does not reflect the hypothesis of an increase in the amount of female politicians, a call to search for the data may spark a dialogue calling into question why women

still face such extreme political underrepresentation when the label “feminist” is often used.

Furthermore, it would ask why those who are so ready to identify as feminists are not willing to support a perfectly qualified and interest-correlating congresswoman. Ideally, the effects of this research will culminate the philosophy that external factors (successful policy via representation) can be an appropriate way to produce internal outcomes (a raised support in feminist self-identification). This idea would directly oppose the idea of raising feminist self-identification by instigating in each respondent some type of internal flame. Through this, the research would hopefully persuade self-identifying feminists farther along from embodying feminist consciousness and/or those with insufficient reasoning for not backing a female politician to think otherwise.

## **VI. FURTHER RESEARCH**

Although there are many new opportunities for research, two initially appear more striking. First, since the feminist movement subsequently propelled women into public civic engagement of the home, additional research on female politicians’ roles in traditionally masculine issues should be conducted. A study on the affects of such a movement has on congresswomen being at the forefront of deliberating on the economy, national security, and immigration, for example, would be a noteworthy research observation. Perhaps such a study would result in democratic deliberation and policy implementation by women becoming normative, largely unvarying in result, irrespective of Congressional majority/minority—after all, these aren’t just women’s issues, but human issues.

Abandoning gender norms and practicing inclusivity among all genders is trademark among third wave feminists—a study on this front would thus be beneficial. Further research could address whether or not the United States is moving closer towards a polarizing dichotomy

of individualism and inclusivity and how feminism as a label is related to these two. As referenced to in the paper's implications, the use of "self-identification" with feminism, without real evidence of how respondents will react to this term while identifying, brings up new question's in potential studies. Research fields could be support with a long-term rhetorical analysis on what it means to use the label "feminist." Additionally, further studies could ask how the dilution of this word impacts feminism and whether or not we are currently moving to another wave.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Ideally, if experimentation proves a positive correlation between feminists' sentiment towards female politicians in the representation association, votes for women politicians would increase, women's representation would rise, and women's policy issues would be passed to benefit the feminist movement with greater frequency. Exhausting all terms and excusing proxies, this would entail political equality among the sexes.

In a 1992 essay in *Ms.* magazine, feminist champion Rebecca Walker writes a reaction to the aforementioned Senate hearings regarding the accusations of sexual harassment towards then-prospective Justice Clarence Thomas by Anita Hill. Walker's reaction culminates into the following philosophical reincarnation of feminism at the partition of two waves, which vocalizes a sentiment that has been exemplified by feminists to the present day: "To be a feminist is to integrate an ideology of equality and female empowerment into the very fiber of [...] life" (Walker, 1992). This rhetoric spurred the birth of third wave feminism and perfectly articulates the current notion of acting with feminist intention in all facets. However, whether feminists will consider political participation an important enough fiber of life where to advance their movement remains unknown. Nevertheless I predict with the this research proposal that the



tangible examples of success regarding the descriptive female representation and successful policy implementation will catalyze feminist voters to support these same politicians who sympathize with and advocate for the same cause.

## APPENDIX A: DATABASE VARIABLES & MTURK CODER INSTRUCTIONS

1. Go to this URL to view Op-Ed
2. Type out the title of the article to ensure no double-publication across media outlets; if there is no title, type the first five words of the piece (Ex: Regressive carbon taxes a non-starter)
3. Year of publication (Ex: 2019)
4. Outlet of the piece (1=Washington Post, 2=New York Times, 3=Star Tribune, 4=Orange County Register, 5=East Bay Times, 6=Mercury News, 7=St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8=Pittsburgh Post Gazette, 9=St. Paul Pioneer Press, 10=Richmond Times Dispatch, 11=New York Daily News)
5. Gender of the author of the article (0=male, 1=female) Race of the author of the article (0=white, 1=nonwhite)
6. Number of paragraphs as an integer (Ex: 5)
7. Number of legislators discussed or mentioned in the article; if none are mentioned, input NA (Ex: 1)
8. Gender of legislator predominantly discussed (0=male, 1=female)
9. Race of legislator predominantly discussed (0=white, 1=nonwhite)
10. IF the gender of legislator predominantly discussed is male: placement of male legislator's quotes (1=appears in first third of article, 2=appears in middle third of article, 3=appears in last third of the article, NA=not applicable)
11. IF the gender of legislator predominantly discussed is female: placement of female legislator's quotes (1=appears in first third of article, 2=appears in middle third of article, 3=appears in last third of the article, NA=not applicable)
12. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: measured (0=no, 1=yes)
13. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: shrill (0=no, 1=yes)
14. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: rational (0=no, 1=yes)
15. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: leader (0=no, 1=yes)
16. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: equality (0=no, 1=yes)
17. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: aggressive (0=no, 1=yes)
18. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: selfish (0=no, 1=yes)
19. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: independent (not in terms of political party) (0=no, 1=yes)
20. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: loyal (0=no, 1=yes)
21. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: warm (0=no, 1=yes)
22. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: solidarity (0=no, 1=yes)
23. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: strong (0=no, 1=yes)
24. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: service (0=no, 1=yes)
25. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: compromise (0=no, 1=yes)
26. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: confident (0=no, 1=yes)
27. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: taking a stand (0=no, 1=yes)
28. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: whining (0=no, 1=yes)
29. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: inclusive (0=no, 1=yes)
30. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: spineless (0=no, 1=yes)
31. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: decisive (0=no, 1=yes)

32. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: trustworthy (0=no, 1=yes)
33. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: sensitive (0=no, 1=yes)
34. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: cute (0=no, 1=yes)
35. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: high-pitched (0=no, 1=yes)
36. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: modest (0=no, 1=yes)
37. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: emotional (0=no, 1=yes)
38. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: complain (0=no, 1=yes)
39. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: shame (0=no, 1=yes)
40. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: truth (0=no, 1=yes)
41. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: deny (0=no, 1=yes)
42. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: irrational (0=no, 1=yes)
43. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: inexperienced (0=no, 1=yes)
44. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: excuse (0=no, 1=yes)
45. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: bravado (0=no, 1=yes)
46. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: brash (0=no, 1=yes)
47. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: domination (0=no, 1=yes)
48. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: violent (0=no, 1=yes)
49. Phrases used to describe the male legislator: cocky (0=no, 1=yes)
50. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: measured (0=no, 1=yes)
51. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: shrill (0=no, 1=yes)
52. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: rational (0=no, 1=yes)
53. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: leader (0=no, 1=yes)
54. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: equality (0=no, 1=yes)
55. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: aggressive (0=no, 1=yes)
56. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: selfish (0=no, 1=yes)
57. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: independent (not in terms of political party)  
(0=no, 1=yes)
58. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: individualistic (0=no, 1=yes)
59. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: loyal (0=no, 1=yes)
60. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: warm (0=no, 1=yes)
61. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: solidarity (0=no, 1=yes)
62. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: strong (0=no, 1=yes)
63. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: service (0=no, 1=yes)
64. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: compromise (0=no, 1=yes)
65. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: confident (0=no, 1=yes)
66. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: taking a stand (0=no, 1=yes)
67. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: whining (0=no, 1=yes)
68. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: inclusive (0=no, 1=yes)
69. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: spineless (0=no, 1=yes)
70. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: decisive (0=no, 1=yes)
71. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: trustworthy (0=no, 1=yes)
72. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: sensitive (0=no, 1=yes)
73. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: cute (0=no, 1=yes)
74. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: high-pitched (0=no, 1=yes)
75. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: modest (0=no, 1=yes)
76. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: emotional (0=no, 1=yes)

77. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: complain (0=no, 1=yes)
78. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: shame (0=no, 1=yes)
79. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: truth (0=no, 1=yes)
80. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: deny (0=no, 1=yes)
81. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: irrational (0=no, 1=yes)
82. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: inexperienced (0=no, 1=yes)
83. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: excuse (0=no, 1=yes)
84. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: bravado (0=no, 1=yes)
85. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: brash (0=no, 1=yes)
86. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: domination (0=no, 1=yes)
87. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: violent (0=no, 1=yes)
88. Phrases used to describe the female legislator: cocky (0=no, 1=yes)
89. Article discusses corruption (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
90. Article discusses ambition (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
91. Article discusses greed (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
92. Article discusses cynicism (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
93. Article discusses inclusion (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
94. Article discusses equality (0=Not At All, 1=Some, 2=A Lot)
95. Article mentions the president or Trump (0=No, 1=Yes)
96. Party of legislator predominantly mentioned: (0=No party mentioned, 1=Republican, 2=Democrat, 3=Independent)
97. Policy topics, proposals, bills, issues, content mentioned: (1=kids' welfare, 2=infrastructure spending, 3=gender pay equality, 4=criminal justice reform, 5=national security (excluding immigration/border topics), 6=immigration enforcement, 7=citizenship, 8=immigrant detention and the border, 9=abortion, 10=policing, 11=housing, 12=economy, 13=education, 14=general appropriations budget bills (not relating to the economy), 15=social welfare for low-income recipients, 16=healthcare/Medicaid/Medicare, 17=campaigns and forthcoming elections, 18=legislators' personalities and character, 19=impeachment, 20=other (please specify in this textbox); select all that apply, separate with commas)
98. Author generally describes female legislator(s) as Sponsor or Opponent of referenced legislation: (0=Sponsor, 1=Opponent)
99. Author generally describes male legislator(s) as Sponsor or Opponent of referenced legislation: (0=Sponsor, 1=Opponent)
100. Author generally describes Republican legislator(s) as Sponsor or Opponent of referenced legislation: (0=Sponsor, 1=Opponent)
101. Author generally describes Democratic legislator(s) as Sponsor or Opponent of referenced legislation: (0=Sponsor, 1=Opponent)
102. Author enumerates age of legislator or references their generation or era when they were born: (0=No, 1=Yes)
103. If age or generation is discussed, what is mentioned: (please type out)

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