HOW DO PARTY LEADERS PRESENT THEMSELVES ON SOCIAL MEDIA? THE RACE FOR PREMIERSHIP IN WESTERN CANADIAN ELECTIONS 2011 - 2017

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Abstract

Voters have partisan and gendered expectations of candidates, and literature suggests that candidates will shape their campaigns to have wide appeal. It's reasonable to expect that these decisions will extend beyond the "traditional" campaign to their social media presence, but we really do not know. I ask if candidates conform to traditional gendered stereotypes and how their self-presentation on social media is influenced by party label, sex, and electoral timeframe. I assess Twitter feeds of party leaders seeking the premiership in western Canadian elections. I analyze the use of gendered language in tweets to determine how, and in what ways, stereotypical norms impact a leaders' self-presentation. My findings reveal that sex, party and time have an impact on tweets to varying degrees; with party label and time having the strongest overall effect. This analysis breaks down some complexities of self-presentation, furthering the dialogue around gender presentation in the political arena.

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INTRODUCTION: GENDERED SELF-PRESENTATION ACROSS WESTERN CANADIAN ELECTIONS 2011 - 2017

Scholars have noted for some time now the gendered nature of campaigns and media coverage, including stereotypes about candidates (Schneider and Bos, 2014), perceived campaign advantages/disadvantages (Dittmar, 2015), and gendered mediation broadly (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999). Scholars have also begun to explore the role of digital media tools, including Twitter, to aid in personalizing candidates in Canada (Small, 2010; Small, 2017; Lalancette and Raynauld 2019) and the United States (Evans and Clark, 2016; Gainous and Wagner, 2014). Twitter was created in 2006 and became an emerging political campaign tool in 2008 and a central piece of digital campaign strategies by 2012 (Evans and Clark, 2016). Twitter provides an avenue for political candidates to present their 'authentic selves' and message directly to voters without intermediation by traditional media. This control allows for uninterrupted access to voters, while in theory allowing a candidate more control over their image and the perceived gender stereotypes they harness (Kreiss et al., 2018; Jungherr, 2015; Bode et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2013; Lassen and Bode, 2017). While the limitations of classic gender stereotypes in politics are becoming outdated and politicized, how women (and men) choose to run and present themselves is not a question we often think about even as we see higher numbers of women participating in elections at all levels.

While studies suggest that women leaders' path to elected office diverge from their male counterparts (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013) few have explored the ramifications of how self-presentation and the gendered components of self-presentation affects this pipeline. Additionally, even fewer studies focus on the gendered nature of Premiership in Canada; with the majority of literature focusing on Federal or municipal levels of government (Tolley, 2011; Bashevkin, 1993; Trimble, 2017; Gidengil and Everitt, 2003).

Women Premiers are limited in Canada; only twelve women have reached the first minister role (as Premier or Prime Minister) and they have only reached this milestone within the last thirty years (Thomas, 2018). As Thomas notes in Canada, "Women's selection to the dual role of party leader and premier is also atypical because few party leaders are women in the first place" (2018: 384). Research suggests that women are put in these roles as sacrificial lambs or when there is a crisis or decline in government and the stakes are highest (Thomas, 2018; Beckwith, 2015). Given these constraints it is noteworthy that from 2010 – 2019 there was a considerable increase in the number of women that were elected to serve as Premiers. This is important to study, because Premiers are powerful, important actors. As Thomas argues, "Studying women in the provincial premier's office represents one of the ways, if not the best to assess women's access to chief political executive positions in Canada," (2018: 382). Given the dearth of women Premiers it is pertinent to understand not just how voters react to women party leaders, how the media presents

them to the public but to also consider how they consciously present themselves to the public to increase the likelihood of electability and develop additional pathways to office.

Goffman describes the concept of self-presentation in terms of people as actors who 'perform' to make impressions on their audience. The ultimate interest of the actor within the interaction is to, "control the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of the actor," (1973: 3). A focus on recent provincial elections, which had seen a marked increase in the number of female party leaders for a period of time, will contribute to the limited literature available on self-presentation within Canadian (and global) politics. In this project, I turn my attention to the previous two elections in British Columbia (2013, 2017) and Alberta (2012, 2015) and assess how gender role expectations can constrain the self-presentation of a leader by evaluating the relationship between gender identity, party label, electoral timeframe and leaders' Twitter feed. Each of these four elections saw a female leader winning the Premiership.[1] This provides a range of winners across the political spectrum and each competed against candidates whose gender and party affiliation varied, increasing the likelihood of different presentations of self to be measured across all cases.

[1] BC's 2017 election saw Christy Clark lead her party to re-election, but returned a minority legislature and she did not secure the confidence of the legislative assembly and shortly thereafter stepped down.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this project I investigate how party leaders self-present by analyzing their tweets in terms of political gender stereotyping, a concept which has received less attention in terms of self-presentation. According to political gender stereotyping, "voters' assumptions about a candidate's gender-linked personality traits drive expectations that women and men have different areas of issue expertise," (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 121). Specifically, it is worth exploring how a candidate decides to talk about "masculine" issues (e.g. the economy and fiscal spending) and behavioral traits (e.g. aggression and confidence), versus "feminine" issues (e.g. Education and healthcare) and behavioral traits (e.g. warmth and trustworthiness).

Using these case studies, my project addresses the following research questions:

(1) Do traditional gender-role expectations of provincial candidates constrain the types of self-presentation available to them;

(2) Do presentations of self-conform to prescribed 'political gender traits' as described by Huddy and Terkildsen (1993)?;

(3) Do these self-presentations of party leaders change by time, party and sex?

I expect to find that (H1) generally female party leaders will be more constrained in terms of their availability of self-presentation compared to male party leaders. I suspect that they will be more constrained in their range of behavioral traits and less so in terms of political issues. In particular I theorize that female right-leaning party leaders will be more agentic on political issues to counter traditional feminine gender stereotypes; as they often have to grapple with the "likeability" question and must balance their traits in order to appeal to voters without seeming to feminine or too masculine.

Based on previous literature (Dolan, 2005; Wagner et al., 2017), (H2) I expect that party leaders will tweet similarly in terms of salient electoral political issues and less so based on expected gender issue stereotype lines; particularly when they are leaders representing the same party. However, I expect leaders to tweet more in line on gendered behavioral traits; based on theories of gender mediation and previous literature findings (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2003; Banwart, 2010). I suspect that candidates from the same party should tweet similarly on agentic and communal issues and less so on behavior characteristics. I suspect that political issues are likely dictated to some extent by issue salience and other external factors (such as federal politics, the economy etc.). But I suspect that behavioural traits are more directly dictated by norms around gender and party, and it makes sense then why women leaders' behaviour characteristic tweets are more constrained.

I suspect that the interactions of time, sex and party will have varying effects. (H3) I expect that leaders will tweet differently between the pre-election period and post-election period as based on previous literature (Peterson, 2009; Dittmar, 2015). I expect that campaigns matter and will impact how a leader presents themselves throughout the thirteen-month time period. I suspect that party leaders' presentation will change by both party and sex (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Meeks and Domke, 2016); yet I suspect that party label may be a larger factor in determining how a leader presents rather than sex, based on previous literature (Dolan, 2005; Gulati, 2004; Hayes, 2011). I expect that the female party leaders who win and become premier will become more agentic leaders in both traits and political issues in the post-election time period and expect to see them balance their agentic and communal behavioral traits during the election period. I suspect women party leaders will become more agentic once they become elected officials because of previous literature that suggests women have to convey masculinity traits successfully to voters and that female politicians may benefit by demonstrating masculine traits on agentic issues such as the economy and military (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 143). In general, I suspect that when controlling for time, male party leaders will be more likely on average to tweet on agentic issues; yet I expect them to have more variability in terms of how they present on behaviour traits.

CASE STUDIES

This project focuses on the Alberta and British Columbia elections. This dataset includes information about provincial party leader candidates who ran in two subsequent provincial elections in Alberta (2012, 2015) and B.C. (2013 and 2017). This dataset includes each major party leader's tweets (in Alberta this includes the NDP, PC and Wildrose; in BC this includes the Liberal, Green and NDP parties) over a thirteen-month period.

Given the rise of Twitter in only the last decade, and the relatively few female party leaders, there are only a handful of elections within Canada that include women party leaders running and winning Premiership races in the last decade.

Comparing the two western provinces Alberta and British Columbia also controls for regional politics to some extent. Notably, Alberta and British Columbia share a similar history of frontier masculinity, through a historical dichotomy of manly differences between class, formal education/physical strength, and an 'unmanly/manly' binary (Hogg, 2011: 363). This history has influenced the development of the political arena for each province; albeit each province have slightly different party systems. Additionally, studying multiple elections within each province allows more variance across party leader presentation and the opportunity to highlight changes of self-presentation of a single party leader across multiple elections (Christy Clark, the BC Liberal party leader ran in both elections).

Furthermore, comparing Alberta's 2015 race allows us to compare a female party leader who won through a general election, compared to the Alberta 2012 and BC 2013 election which also saw female party leaders win the Premiership, however through a universal member vote and inter-election appointment, just prior to the general elections (Thomas, 2018). While literature suggests that women's paths to the Premier office differ from their male counterparts in Canada as well as globally, there have been even fewer studies to consider how female party leaders successfully present themselves while campaigning for these offices and how they continue to present once they succeed the Premiership. Additional discussion on the individual cases and reasoning are included in the data and methodology section.

RESEARCH GAP

Based on previous research, there is a noticeable shortfall in research that addresses the self-presentation of politicians, particularly within the Canadian political context. While there is an understanding that news media plays an essential role in shaping public opinion and stereotypes of political candidates (Dittmar and Carroll, 2014; Miller, 2017; Thomas and Lambert, 2017), research in areas of how the media presents female candidates (Meeks, 2016; Trimble, 2017) is growing, yet there is a gap in our knowledge of how females choose to *self-present* and how that impacts their candidacy. If we can understand

to what extent candidates adapt to more masculine or feminine political norms, we can begin to identify additional barriers to the "perceived legitimacy" of candidates.

This project is based on several theoretical frameworks including Goffman's self-presentation theory (1959); the theory of Gendered Mediation (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999); and the concept of gender performance (Butler, 1988; West and Zimmerman, 1987), in order to in order to disentangle how one 'performs gender' in politics and the choices for how to present one's self to the public. Breaking down the complexities of how gender presentation plays a role in contemporary politics through self-presentation will further the dialogue and understanding around gender construction and presentation in a traditionally masculine political arena.

Presumably, social media allows candidates to present themselves as they choose without having to worry about another media entity distorting their presentation. If the medium has a significant effect on presentation, there should be different presentations of candidate self between traditional and social platforms. Research remains unclear in terms of how much flexibility and ownership a candidate has on the development of their online persona. Can male candidates show more facets of their personality compared to women candidate? If so, to what extent, in what situations and what role does party label play in these presentations? In the following chapters I will explore these questions through my data and analyze how they adhere to or deviate from my expected hypotheses.

ROADMAP

This project will begin with a broad overview of the current state of literature on self-presentation and the development of candidate personalization, candidate stereotypes by race, sex, party, incumbency and the increasing use and effectiveness of digital media as a campaign tool. I then discuss gaps in the literature and anticipated results for my study based on the findings of previous studies. The next chapter will delve into the data and methodology used in the project. I describe how I chose to analyze self-presentation by assessing major party leaders' Twitter feeds from four western Canadian provincial elections (Alberta 2012; 2015 British Columbia 2013; 2017). I outline how the data was scrapped from Twitter, how the automatic content analysis and dictionary were developed using python and the reasoning for collecting and analyzing tweets for the thirteen-month period for each election.

The following two chapters will delve into the results and trends from the collected data. In the first results chapter I assess whether (1) traditional gender role expectations of party leaders constrain the types of self-presentation available to them and (2) how they align in terms of prescribed gendered political traits. My findings reveal there are significant differences in self-presentation (both behavioral traits and political issues) of some male and female party leaders, particularly within Alberta's PC, Wildrose and BC's Green party – but in different ways. I conclude in the chapter that it seems male party leaders have more

variance of self-presentation styles in terms of behavioural traits and that female party leaders are more constrained; supporting the idea that women politicians are limited in how they present their masculine and feminine qualities to voters.

In the second results chapter, I further unpack how leaders present on behaviour trait tweets and political issues by exploring the third research question, whether these self-presentations of party leaders change by time, party, and sex. My findings reveal that all three factors have an impact on tweets to varying degrees. I conclude that party label seems to account for the most substantive impact and is the strongest indicator of how a party leader will self-present on political issue tweets. In terms of tweeting on behavioural characteristics, however, time plays a role in pulling party leaders to tweet more agentically, particularly in the pre-election phase, while sex on its own plays far less of a role compared to the other variables. However, results from the individual case studies also find limited support that women become more agentic tweeters, particularly in behavioural traits after they become Premier. More research is needed.

My final chapter concludes with a recap of the project and major findings. I highlight key patterns and identify the challenges and shortcomings of this project in terms of methodology and results and consider several avenues needed for future research on this topic to better understand how party leaders express their self-presentation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In recent years there has been an increasing focus on female candidates and gender relations in politics. Research in the field is evolving at a rapid pace, often with a focus on media representation, voter evaluation and gender-based stereotypes. However, there is a noticeable shortfall in research that addresses the self-presentation of politicians, including the Canadian political presentations of female candidates at the provincial level. I begin by connecting how a candidate's self-presentation fits into the larger scholarship on gender stereotypes in politics. Previous work has examined the impacts of gender on self-presentation, but overall this relationship is still inconclusive. Recent literature has also explored how Twitter is becoming an increasingly important medium for candidates to self-present, though it may not be representative of all social media platforms (Hogan, 2010; Gunn and Skogerbo, 2013; Kreiss et al., 2018). Several variables may be at play affecting candidate's personalization on Twitter in addition to gender, such as party ID, incumbency and race competitiveness, which will be reviewed in further detail (Colliander et. al, 2017; Lalancette, 2018; Gainous and Wagner, 2014; Cook, 2016; Evans and Clark, 2016; Evans et al., 2014; McGregor et al., 2017). In this chapter, I will review several significant strands of literature exploring self-presentation and the growth of candidate personalization in politics; as well as candidate stereotypes by race, sex, party, incumbency. Then I turn to the development and increasing use of digital media in campaigns and compare this to traditional campaign forms. Finally, I conclude with identified gaps in the literature and expected results based on past literature trends.

SELF PRESENTATION AND CANDIDATE PERSONALIZATION IN CAMPAIGNS

Self-presentation is a concept coined by Goffman (1959) that has emerged out of sociological and psychological foundations. The concept of self-presentation is goal directed: the individual benefits from the impressions and image perceived by the audience in some way. It is rooted in the idea that individuals can manage their outward impressions and appearances through conscious and unconscious theatrical performances towards an audience. Self-presentation provides a framework that helps to organize and understand the motivations and actions of party leaders and candidates' behavior during a campaign. Recent research from Leary and Kowalski (1995) suggests economic and social gains, self-esteem, and identity maintenance as underlying motivations for managing self-presentation. Leary and Allen (2011) build on these motivations and explore how personality and persona ; defined as impressions an individual tries to make; influenced by social situation characteristics including social norms of the context, the person's role and information others have about the individual (897), shapes an individual's self-presentation, arguing some people care more than others on managing a public image. They argue that there are three personality variables connected with self-presentation that interact and moderate an individual's self-presentation behaviours: (1) impression motivation, (2) impression construction, and (3) impression evaluation. At least one of these motivations are in play for politicians while running for office.

Scholarship on campaigns (Peterson, 2009; Peterson, 2018; Dittmar, 2015; Kreiss et al., 2018; Windett, 2014) suggests that campaign strategists feature certain candidate strengths based on how voters weigh attitudes and candidate uncertainties. Candidates and their teams cultivate a desired impression for voters and highlight certain morals, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and intentions (Leary and Kowlaski, 1995: 35). Therefore, the candidate (and team) monitor their self-presentation and public awareness by adjusting their behaviors and impressions as they appeal to the audience. For example, by promoting policies on the economy and military, a party leader during a campaign may work to convey an image of being strong and action-oriented in order to cultivate a perception as a "tough" leader. This may receive validation, reinforcing this belief, and subtly changing their self-image over time.

Research has explored the impact of party leader personality effects on voting and contrasted the impact of these effects versus traditional voting heuristics on candidate evaluation and vote choice. Some scholars suggest that once socioeconomic, economic beliefs and voter values are accounted for, leader evaluation has limited impact on voters' decisions (Blais et al., 2002). Yet, a large section of literature has found that leaders' character traits have a larger impact on voter evaluations, compared to competence-related traits (Bittner, 2011; Johnston, 2002; Hayes, 2005; Peterson, 2009; Peterson, 2018). Bittner finds that, "personality is more reliable than platform or party as an indicator of what is to come once a candidate has been elected to political office" (2011: 93). Yet

Lalancette (2018) finds that party leaders do not take advantage of their personality, and present themselves to voters through their campaign websites in fairly uniform ways. While literature points towards the idea that leaders matter, what remains for further exploration is understanding to what extent leaders control their self-presentation, and how gendered and party label stereotypes interact and impact these presentations. My project will aim to begin to address these questions.

CANDIDATE STEREOTYPES: GENDER AND PARTY LABEL

Gender based stereotypes

A significant amount of literature has begun to explore the role of gender-based stereotypes voters use on candidates when making electoral decisions. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) note that voters use candidate gender as a cue, and define *political gender stereotyping* as, "the gender-based ascription of different traits, behaviors, or political beliefs to male and female politicians" (1993: 120). Voters make stereotype based assumptions on a candidate's personal traits, such as being accomplished or moral, or candidate issues, such as campaigning for healthcare issues versus increased military spending.

Questions in recent years are rising around whether voter gender-based stereotypes can be primarily explained by beliefs about the traits of men and women in general, or if stereotypes are more related to political knowledge. Earlier research assumes that female

candidates will be stereotyped similarly to female norms (compassionate, nurturing) and measure stereotypes in this vein (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). Banwart (2010) and Sanbonmatsu (2003) both demonstrate that some political gender stereotypes can be primarily explained by belief (norm) stereotypes of men and women. Other stereotypes, particularly issue (policy) competency stereotypes, are more related to a voter's knowledge of politics (Sanbonmatsu, 2003: 587). Additionally, Sanbonmatsu found that perceptions of candidate issue competency stereotypes are more responsive to change than belief-based gender stereotypes. Banwart (2010) found that voters continue to use traditional trait stereotypes to evaluate female candidates. However, her findings also demonstrate that policy (issue) stereotypes have become more complicated and that party affiliation influences voter perceptions of issue competency, increasing the complexity of voter perceptions of candidates (Hayes, 2009; Petrocik, et al., 2003; Petrocik, 1996).

Schneider and Bos (2014) found that the gender trait-based stereotype model is more complex, and that female politicians do not share the traditional stereotypes ascribed to women. They explain that female politicians act as a subtype of a woman, limiting the stereotypes that they can use to both their advantage and disadvantage during a campaign. Their results demonstrate that female politician stereotypes are unclear; female politicians seem to be penalized based on stereotypical male qualities, as they are often associated with negative traits (uptight, ambitious) and lacking in masculine traits (leadership,

competence) in comparison to male candidates, while they also lack any advantage derived from qualities typical of women.

The amount of information available about a candidate may also lead to gender based-stereotyping as Banwart describes, "the personal nature of an ad or how a candidate self-presents increases the potential of extraneous variables to be introduced and reduces the ability to control for a direct gender effect" (2010: 280). Any lack of information on a candidate in a low-information campaign may encourage voters to use candidate cues and rely on the most prevalent stereotypes such as gender and race, which serves as cognitive cues to estimate the views of candidates (McDermott, 1997: 271).

In general, the literature on gender-based stereotypes and voting literature seems to confirm that some amount of gender-based trait and issue stereotypes are at work, although to what extent each of these influences voting behaviour is unclear. More specifically, the malleability of issue-based gender stereotypes remains unclear, while trait-based stereotypes seem to be relatively inflexible in terms of changing voter perceptions. We would benefit from additional study on the extent to which these gender traits and issues-based perceptions are created, maintained and reinforced by candidate presentation versus media portrayal, and whether perceptions of candidate stereotypes change across party lines.

Party Label

A number of studies have explored the interaction of party label and gender stereotypes (Dolan, 2005; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Klar, 2018; Hayes, 2011). Some scholars believe that party label stereotypes have a larger impact than gender and that candidates campaign on issues more along partisan stereotypes than gender stereotypes. Dolan (2005) concludes that there is very limited support for the assumption that women self-present on political issue priorities differently than men and suggests that the influence of sex and political presentation is far more complex. Her study demonstrates that there are more similarities than differences between types of issues that men and women present as their priorities during an election. Gulati (2004) published a study on U.S. politicians' presentation of self on the web and finds that a slightly stronger divide across party lines is not uncommon compared to a (less significant) divide across sex lines.

However, recent research muddies these findings and suggests that gender may have a stronger effect than previously thought. Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2009) find that voters perceive gender differences within both Democrat and Republican parties. The gender stereotypes are somewhat different for Democratic and Republican women and the presence of party cue does not preclude a role for candidate gender in voter evaluation. Meeks and Domke's (2016) findings support this and conclude that voters prefer partisan candidates to embrace some of the stereotypical femininity despite party ownership issues or traits. Hayes (2011) finds that the effects of gender stereotypes are limited by the

prevalence of party stereotype, which are more influential. Similarly, Klar (2018) finds that among women elites, gender cannot act as a potential bridge when the party's (Democrat and Republican) notion of what it means to identify as a woman varies so significantly. Literature exploring negative campaigning and attacks also suggests that party and sex interact and impact these campaign strategies (Cassese and Holman, 2018; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Evans et al., 2017). Research suggests that while all candidates are vulnerable to attacks on policy issues based on party and gender stereotypes; these attacks most negatively affect Democratic women (Cassese and Holman, 2018). This work suggests that gender often interacts with partisan stereotypes in a negative way for female candidates.

SOCIAL MEDIA VERSUS TRADITIONAL MEDIA: WHAT ARE CANDIDATES DOING?

Self-presentation provides a theoretical lens to study institutional social life. There have been many strands of the literature analyzing self-presentation and politics in various contexts, particularly with the growth of digital media and the explosion of ways for individuals to manage their presentation through online blogs, micro blogging and social media platforms (Colliander et al., 2017; Jackson and Lilleker, 2011; Niven and Zilber, 2001; Cook, 2016; Banwart and Winfrey, 2013; Bentivegna and Marchetti, 2017; Small, 2017; Grant et al., 2010; Lalancette and Raynauld, 2019). Yet, even before the mass integration

of social media into the political machine, scholars have studied the impact of party leader and candidate personalization in politics for some time.

Gendered mediation (Traditional Media)

Gendered mediation is the concept that media coverage is framed in a way that focuses on stereotypically masculine narratives in political reporting (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). It marks masculine and male narratives as the norm and feminine and female stories as subversive, deviant and as the "other." Goodyear-Grant defined gendered coverage as coverage that:

> "systematically presents women politicians as unique or different, or implies that women are alien to politics because they are women; focuses on them as women first, and politicians second; and devotes disproportionate and voyeuristic attention to their personal lives, including their appearance and family situation, often at the expense of coverage of their professional credentials and political experience" (2013: 5).

Gendered coverage and mediation acts as an intermediary tool that constrains how women present to the public, impacting what they choose to highlight and how they self-present in politics. Goodyear-Grant (2013) finds that gendered news can produce three main effects that contribute to women's political under-representation. Gendered news

coverage can lead to negative effects on evaluations of female candidates and office holders; negative effects on women's willingness to run and it contributes to the idea that femaleness in the news as the "other" and unwelcome in politics (7).

Gendered coverage supports the status quo, treating masculinity as the norm. When women align with masculine frames such as warfare, they often fare better in news coverage. Gidengil and Everitt (2003) found that the mediated images and language of Canadian televised federal election debates, "supports the status quo (male as the norm) and treats women politicians as novelties" (560 – 61). The news agenda when covering debates supports traditional male norms that treat the practice of politics as essentially a male pursuit, therefore benefiting masculine frames (2003). Women candidates who adapt to these masculine norms in debates, using language consisting of war metaphors etc., fared much better in news coverage, and those candidates who remained within 'feminine' stereotypes suffered in terms of news visibility and coverage. Gerrits et al. (2017) look at aggressive figures of speech used in print news to describe female leaders over a 30-year period, and find that all women candidates were discussed as formidable foes and capable of using force in an effort to win elections; confirming gendered mediation at work. Alternatively, Lalancette et al. (2014) finds that in Canadian party leadership race coverage, women candidates are framed as being "not a serious" contender, questions their political experience and weaponizes their private lives against them: whether it be their age or family status. Meanwhile Williams (2017) finds stark contrasts in terms of representation

in print media comparing the rise of Prime Minister Julia Gillard and Malcolm Turnbull's ascension to their role. Williams' work connects media representation with Butler's notion of gender performativity (1988) and the double-bind of female candidates who have to walk a tight-rope and ensure they are not 'too feminine' or 'too masculine' in the wrong ways (Williams, 2017: 522). Trimble's (2017) media analysis examination of four female prime ministers also bolsters the idea that political leaders remain a gendered subject and gendered mediation coverage remains a significant part of media bias in western coverage.

Recent scholarship demonstrates that gendered mediation in news analyses and advertisements are arguably becoming more complex over time. Dolan notes, "while stereotypes have a basis in reality, political stereotypes may be waning and function more within media presentation" (2005: 42). Carlin and Winfrey's (2009) findings offer confirmation that news media continues to represent female candidates in sexist ways but does not connect with how candidates' self-presentation varies, and may impact this representation in news clips. Their study only looks at the media representation of female candidates, and without the comparison of male candidates as a control in representation, it is difficult to fully appreciate the extent that sexism is translated within the media when covering female candidates. Wagner et al. (2017) find that the intersection of candidate competitiveness and novelty, rather than gender, influences the amount of candidates media visibility in party leadership races. Harp et al. (2010) find that the television news codes and conventions allow female candidates to negotiate an expanded range of

masculine and feminine norms through frames such as motherhood, beauty queen, and tough politician. This gender representation is more complex than other previous female candidate representations explored in news clip analyses. This study offers support that over time, the media allows for a wider array of types of female candidate presentation than previously believed, though the questions of why and to what extent the media allows this remain to be explored.

Another strand of literature includes racialized mediation which dovetails with gender mediation theory, albeit with important differences. Tolley (2016) explores the understudied intersection of race and gendered media coverage in Canadian politics. She finds that, "visible minority coverage is systematically and substantively different from that of white candidates" (21). Particularly racialized women's coverage can include an "exotic" framing that "either questions or idealizes minority women's loyalty and servitude and a tendency to minimize these candidates' qualifications and success while drawing significant attention to their mistakes" (190). Besco et al.'s (2016) analysis on the 2014 mayoral race in Toronto reaffirms the notion that racialized women in elections are more likely to experience racialized media coverage, even as the race front runner. The extent to which stereotypical racialized representations within media and politics coverage endures is an understudied area of research. The field would benefit from further investigations in into understanding the extent to which a candidate's racial background influences their coverage and impacts voter evaluation.

How Candidates use Twitter in Campaigns

Twitter was created in 2006 and became prevalent as a political communication tool for around 2008 (Small, 2017: 173), and served as a central piece of campaign digital strategies by 2012 (Evans and Clark, 2016). Twitter's effect as an engagement tool in the political sphere has been debated; scholars have argued that most political parties use it as another vehicle for one-way communication and soundbite tool (Taras, 2015: 178; Gunn and Skogerbo, 2013; Graham et al., 2013; Evans and Clark, 2016, Bentivegna and Marchetti, 2017, Gainous and Wagner, 2014). Scholars generally agree that Twitter is still somewhat of a niche platform in terms of audience, and skews to users who are considered traditional elites (i.e. politics and media) and and/or techno-elites (Gunn and Skogerbø, 2013; Bentivegna and Marchetti, 2017; Taras, 2015). Kreiss et al. (2018) note that campaign staff strategically use certain social medias to disseminate messages at different times and agree that "Twitter was the key medium for moments during the campaign when there was breaking news and debates" (25). Twitter removes the gap between political candidates and reporters and allows candidates to control and manage their presentation, and with less likelihood of a 'misspoken word or quote' in a media cycle disaster (Taras, 2015: 179). This function allows Twitter to act as an important agenda-setting tool by passing on and legitimizing the latest insider information or interpretations of events right from the candidates mouth so-to-speak. Rather than serving as a genuine engagement tool as intended by the platform's developers, Twitter has been effectively utilized as another

broadcast media tool that allows journalists to be in touch with the daily flow of the campaign while allowing candidates to harness more power over their image and representation to voters.

What we don't know: Twitter Personalization

While the platform may not be used as an effective communications tool, scholars agree that Twitter is used effectively as a candidate personalization tool (Gunn and Skogerbø, 2013; Kreiss et al., 2018). Recognizing that politics have become increasingly more personified, even within a party-centred system, Gunn and Skogerbo argue that social media contradict political party structural communication strategies and reframe personalization of a candidate as the focus (2013: 758). In doing this, social media effectively expands the political arena for increased personalized campaigning within a party-centred system (758). Scholars (Gunn and Skogerbø, 2013; Kreiss et al., 2018; Lassen and Bode, 2017) have noted that generalizing social media as a political tool with a singular focus is a gross generalization and that social media tools are used differently and to varying degrees in political campaigns. Kreiss et al. (2018) note that campaign workers perceive social platforms to have different audiences, and these differences among the imagined user-bases drive the content created for each platform, such as real time updates to journalists on Twitter and more expansive but less time-sensitive information to be shared on Facebook (26). While scholars agree that Twitter is an effective personalization tool, they have yet to identify to what extent Twitter personalization is used sucessfully in

various types of electoral races for candidates of differing genders, party labels, or by incumbency and race competitiveness.

Twitter Personalization and Gender

Scholarship suggests that Twitter personalization is common in campaigns; yet whether women can re-appropriate personalization through the tool to overcome gender stereotypes and negative perceptions remains unclear (Meeks, 2017; McGregor, 2018; Wagner et al., 2017). Meeks (2017) found that men generally have an advantage over personalizing traits and most issues compared to women. More importantly, male candidates were able to transcend certain stereotypical boundaries, while women were only able to personalize and get an advantage within their gender stereotype frameworks. Wagner et al. (2017) find that candidates who are perceived to be in disadvantaged positions can innovate through Twitter personalization to improve their chances of electoral success; however, similarly to Meeks' finding, this improvement for women is conditional. They found that female candidates generally adopt stereotypically masculine behaviour to improve success rates and that results can also vary by partisanship. Lee and Lim (2016) find significant differences in candidate trait and issue emphasis on Twitter during campaigns involving a male and female candidate; both candidates emphasized masculine traits, while the female candidate emphasized more feminine issues compared to the male candidate. Limited research suggests that it remains unclear to what extent

and how women can successfully re-appropriate Twitter to overcome gender stereotypes and requires additional exploration in this field.

Several scholars have explored candidate personalization on Twitter with an emphasis on gendered effects in using the platform to connect with voters (Meeks, 2016; McGregor and Mourão, 2016; Gainous and Wagner, 2014). Gainous and Wagner (2014) find that women in general are more likely to have a Twitter account and use them more frequently than their male counterparts. Meeks (2016) found that women were far more interactive with tweets compared to men and generally winning women candidates were more personalized and interactive compared to male winners (2016: 303). Women were also more likely to highlight their gender in replies and retweets which can be a tricky double-bind for women to maneuver. Data was not clear on the exact point of success/limitation of highlighting their gender in online mediums and warrants further exploration.

Personalization and Party Label

Scholars have looked at the intersection of candidate personalization and party label on Twitter (Gainous and Wagner, 2014; Small, 2017 Evans et al., 2014). Gainous and Wagner (2014) find in their analysis that Republicans tend to be early adopters of Twitter and tweet more than Democrats. However, they note that Republicans were also the minority party at the time, which may account for their increased likelihood to use Twitter to reach voters. Small (2017) found in Canada that the NDP leader in 2011 tweeted the most and the

Conservative leader the least (182). While she does not make this distinction in her work, it could suggest the NDP has similar motives to the Republican party in tweeting more from the outside in order to garner votes. Some scholarship has also questioned how and in what ways gender functions differently along party lines when candidates engage in self-personalizing behaviour on Twitter (McGregor, 2018; McGregor et al., 2017; Meeks, 2017). McGregor's results suggest that personalization on social media "works" differently for candidates along gendered and partisan lines (17) and that candidates' gender affects vote intention differentially along in-party/out-party lines. McGregor found that personalization itself does not lead to an increase in support for a candidate alone, but only when combined with gender and party variables. Similarly, Meeks (2017) found a significant relationship between candidate personalization, gender and vote intention only after party ID is considered. Considering to what extent gender and party label/partisanship interact and impact the online self-presentation of candidates is imperative to understanding how candidates self-present and serves as a large area of research for future studies.

Twitter Personalization, Incumbency, and Race Competitiveness

Research has found that incumbents have significantly more Twitter followers than challengers; yet they often do not tweet as much as challengers (Evans et al., 2014; Grant et al., 2010; Gainous and Wagner, 2014). Campaign challengers significantly out-tweet incumbents during the last months of a campaign. However, the types of tweets challengers and incumbents post vary; challengers are more likely to promote campaign

mobilization and interaction tweets while incumbents spent more time sending out personal tweets (Evans et al., 2014: 459). Similarly, Gainous and Wagner (2014) find that challengers tweet more about everything; such as campaign announcements, negative attacks and personal characteristics, with the exception of policy issues which incumbents tweeted more. Yet, when combined with effects of partisanship, they conclude, "the differences across incumbency are not as large as those across partisanship" (91).

Scholarship has also explored to what extent candidates personalize on Twitter in competitive races and expect that candidates may see a strategic advantage to personalize online when they need to distinguish themselves from competitors (Meeks, 2017; McGregor et al., 2017; Gainous and Wagner, 2014; Evans et al., 2016; Evans et al., 2014; Bode et al., 2016). Gainous and Wagner (2014) and Evans et al., (2016) find that competitiveness of a race matters in terms of tweeting and that candidates are more likely to engage in attack tweets when they are in competitive races. However, Evans et al. (2014) find conflicting competitive race findings; candidates in non-competitive races are significantly more likely to attack other candidate tweets, perhaps signifying that candidates in less-competitive races feel freer to attack the other party. They also found that candidates send out general personalized tweets at approximately the same rate for both competitive and non-competitive races. It is not clear how competitive and non-competitive races are related with a candidate's choice to go negative. There remains a large gap in scholarship that explores this relationship, including how personalization may

impact negative Twitter activity throughout races and how this may change depending on competitiveness of a race.

CANDIDATE SELF-PRESENTATION: What we don't know

Based on previous research, there is a noticeable shortfall in research that addresses the self-presentation of politicians, particularly within the Canadian political context. Yet, based on the limited scholarship that exists, I expect to find in my project that male party leaders will have more variance in self-presentation, and I expect female party leaders to be more constrained. I expect to find that female candidates will tweet generally within the confines of their prescribed political gender characteristics but expect them to align more along partisan stereotypes and partisan owned issues on political issue tweets.

Research remains unclear about the interaction of gender and party label status in terms of candidate stereotypes and viability. My project seeks to shed more light on the interaction of party leader gender and political label in terms of their self-presentation and my data will add to the literature exploring these questions. While further analysis will be needed beyond my study, I intend to begin to shed light on and answer these questions with my data. Given the dearth of literature in the Canadian context I intend to begin to fill the gap in understanding how Canadian political leaders present.

Few studies have focused on how presentation of a candidate changes over time, and I expect to see candidates' self-presentation vary throughout the 13-month period; although I still expect more variance in male party leaders self-presentation and expect female party leaders to generally be more constrained. I also expect female party leaders to become more agentic tweeters as they step into the role of Premier – regardless of party label. I expect the results to demonstrate that women leaders remain in a double bind, as previous research has indicated (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Schneider and Bos, 2014) and they must balance their masculine and feminine qualities as a political candidate.

Presumably, social media allows candidates to present themselves as they choose without having to worry about another media entity distorting their chosen image. If the medium has a significant effect on presentation, there should be different presentations of candidate self between traditional and social platforms. Future research exploring this link as well as how party politics play a role in the development of a social persona would be beneficial in understanding how candidates self-present and in what ways it is gendered across mediums.

It remains unclear how much flexibility and ownership a candidate has on the development of their online persona. Can male candidates show more facets of their personality compared to female candidates? If so, to what extent, in what situations and what role does party label play in these presentations? In the following chapters I will explore these

questions through my data and analyze how they adhere to or deviate from my expected hypotheses.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Scholarship analyzing gender, media and self-presentation is emerging and methodological approaches analyzing these areas of studies are varied. How a researcher asks a question influences the research methodology, and affects the types of claims that can be made.

Scholarship has analyzed how news media plays an essential role in shaping public opinion and stereotypes of political candidates (Dittmar & Carroll, 2014; Miller, 2017; Thomas and Lambert, 2017) and research in areas of how the media presents female candidates (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Lalancette et al., 2014; Trimble, 2017) is growing, yet there is a gap in our knowledge of how female leaders choose to *self-present* and how that impacts their candidacy. If we can understand to what extent candidates adapt to more masculine or feminine political norms, we can begin to identify barriers to the "perceived legitimacy" of candidates.

My project will assess how gender role expectations can constrain self-presentation types of a candidate and evaluate how the political spectrum, gender identity and time impacts presentation types. Specifically, I ask (1) Do traditional gender-role expectations of provincial candidates constrain the types of self-presentation available to them; (2) do presentations of self conform to prescribed 'political gender traits' as described by Huddy and Terkildsen (1993)? And (3) Do these self-presentations of party leaders change by time, party and sex?

I chose to analyze self-presentation by assessing major party leaders' Twitter feeds from four western Canadian provincial elections (Alberta 2012; 2015, and British Columbia 2013; 2017). Data was collected six months prior to the writ being dropped until six months after the election date, for a total of 13 months. Table 3.1 breaks down the date range for each electoral time period. This length of time was chosen to see how and in what ways party leaders presented themselves over time; both while running for election and after the election was over.

Table 3.1: Scraped time period

Province	6 months prior to writ dropping	Election campaign period	6 months after election
Alberta	Sept 26, 2011	March 26 – April 23, 2012	Oct 23, 2012
Alberta	Oct 7, 2014	April 7 – May 5 2015	Nov 5, 2015
B.C.	Oct 16, 2012	April 16 – May 14 2013	Nov 14, 2013
B.C.	Oct 11, 2016	April 11 – May 9 2017	Nov 9, 2017

In this chapter, I will begin with the specifics of my research design and execution of the project. I will outline in detail my research design including how my data was collected, the decisions made in programming, and the variables used in the project. I'll then proceed onto my case selection criteria and provide a broad overview of statistical analyses, the literature on content analysis and the merits of using automated content analysis versus

manual coding. I'll conclude the chapter by discussing methodological shortcomings and the implications of this study.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This project employed an automated content analysis approach using Python. Python is an open source computer programming language situated for creating unique data analysis, web development and artificial intelligence programs. Data was collected by scraping candidates' Twitter feeds using python code that was adapted from GitHub Twint program (Zacharais, 2018). Candidate accounts that were scraped were owned by the three major party leaders running in the 2012, 2015 Alberta Elections and the 2013 and 2017 B.C. elections:

Table 3.2: Election Cases

Election Year	Party	Party Leader	Twitter handle
2012 AB	NDP WildRose PC	Brian Mason Danielle Smith Alison Redford	@bmasonndp @ABDanielleSmith @Redford_Alison
2015 AB	NDP WildRose PC	Rachel Notley Brian Jean Jim Prentice	@rachelnotley @brianjeanab @jimprentice
2013 BC	Greens Liberal NDP	Jane Sterk Christy Clark Adrian Dix	@janesterk @christyclarkbc @adriandix
2017 BC	Greens Liberal NDP	Andrew Weaver Christy Clark John Horgan	@AJWVictoriaBC @christyclarkbc @jjhorgan

The total number of tweets for all party leaders was 13,253. The total number of coded observations was: 10,339.[2] Given that the Twitter feeds were scraped in July 2018, data cannot account for any deleted tweets prior to July 2018 when the data were collected. It is unusual for public officials to alter or delete tweets (unless they are identified as inflammatory). This project is unable to account for these as the tweets were not scraped in real time and I am working under the assumption that there are no key deletions that would impact the results.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a method of inquiry that analyzes a variety of texts such as newspapers, images, television advertisements that captures the study of communication. Often this method is employed to answer questions such as "who says what, to whom, why, how, and to what effect?" (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002). Content analysis assures that all units of analysis receive equal treatment but also allows the researcher to establish a unique context for inquiry, revealing new contexts by which texts may be meaningful in ways that

[2] Total tweets and coded observations differ as there were approximately 3,000 tweets that did not include any of the keywords in the python dictionary and subsequently were not captured as an agentic or communal political issue or behavioral trait references. All percentages reported in this work are calculated using only coded tweets in the denominator. Therefore, results only reflect the percentage of coded observations that fall into specific dependent variable categories. I chose to eliminate any tweets from the analysis that did not include any of the keywords because the project aims to demonstrate the relationship between leaders' gender, party label and time to their self-presentation. Since this project compares leaders' presentation on these scales and does not look at individual party leader tweeting habits, the non-keyword tweets were removed from the analysis. However, this could be incorporated into future iterations of this project.

a culture may not be aware (Krippendorff, 1989). Critics of content analysis argue that scholars must also look beyond the words in a text and consider the implications and context of the content (Tolley, 2015). Numerous scholars have studied aspects of self-presentation, media, gender and politics, using traditional content analysis which has greatly contributed to the field (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Dolan, 2005; Fridkin and Kenney, 2014; Tolley, 2015).

While no method is perfect, content analysis is a foundational method in social sciences research. Content analysis allows a researcher to unitize and code text in a scientific manner. Scholars can either employ the method manually through hand coders and real time analysis or can use an automated approach employing machine learning and natural language processing. The trade-off between the two methods seems to be a debate between reliability and validity. Traditional manual content analysis has its merits, as outlined above, and yet studies have found that human coders are more prone to bias and error (Alexa, 1997) and thus can put project reliability in question.

Alternatively, machine learning and automated content analysis has become a popular tool to analyze text research in recent decades (Tolley, 2015; Rheault et al., 2019; Wagner and Gainous, 2014; Wagner et al., 2017). Automated text analysis promises the reduction of cost of analyzing large swaths of text data; however, machine learning cannot substitute for careful reading of texts and may require extensive validation to ensure validity

(Grimmer and Stewart, 2013). Tolley notes that, "computers have considerable difficulty understanding ambiguity" (2015: 967) and the dictionary of terms must, similarly to the validity of the manual processes, be carefully refined and shared with experts in the field for additional refinement and input of terms.

In both cases, limitations exist, and generally, any method's success or failure will primarily be based on context-specific variables. I will discuss my project limitations due to methodology more at length later in this chapter, but it is important for scholars to consider the design and approach to their data and area of inquiry.

Automated Content Analysis Process

Once tweets were collected via python, they were exported to a CSV file for each candidate that broke down into the following categories: Twitter ID; username; tweets; date; hashtags; retweets; likes; and mentions. Code was subsequently created in a second python program that ran a dictionary coded to focus on political issues and behavioral traits and are coded as being either agentic (masculine) or communal (feminine). Table 3.3 outlines the categories of keywords[3] established for agentic and communal behavioral traits and political issues. These keywords were determined based on previous literature including Huddy and Terkildsen (1993), Evans and Clark (2016), and Fridkin and Kenney

[3] The list of gendered political issue and behavioral trait categories are listed in the appendix.

(2014), who built and assessed similar types of terms in their content analyses. Examples of tweets displaying these gendered traits are outlined in the next section.

Table 3.3: Agentic and Communal Keywords

Behaviour Traits	
Agentic	**Communal**
Active	Cautious
Admin Skills	Compassionate
Aggressive	Emotional
Ambitious	Family-Oriented
Articulate	Gentle
Assertive	People Skills
Coarse	Sensitive
Rational	Talkative
Self-Confident	Trustworthy
Tough	Warm
Political Issues	
Agentic	**Communal**
Economy	Healthcare
Government Budget	Education
Energy	Environment
Natural Resources	Family issues (Seniors, Childcare etc.)
Infrastructure	Women's issues
Campaign Financing	Poverty
	Housing

Agentic and Communal Tweet Examples

Scholarship has used stereotypes of political issues and behavioural traits as two key indicators of voter assessment and as the basis on party and gender-owned traits theories (Petrocik, 1996; Hayes, 2009; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2003). Scholars generally agree that stereotypes are important to understand as they act as shortcuts for

voters when assessing candidates (Sanbonmatsu, 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; McDermitt, 1997**)**. Gender, race and party label of a candidate can act as cues and help voters make inferences about the interests and values of the politician and/or political group. We need to understand these gender and party impressions in various electoral contexts and how they change over time as women increasingly enter the political arena and confront the "male and masculine" political stereotypes. Previous research has suggested that political issue stereotypes are more subject to change with voters and move beyond classic stereotypes; whereas behavioural traits, such as "men are more aggressive", are less subject to change and it is more likely for the stereotypes to be engrained with voters (Sanbonmatsu, 2003; Banwart, 2010). Thus, it is important to look at both components for voter assessment, and gauge how a party leader chooses to frame their self-presentation on such traits to align with or diverge from expected stereotypes on both political issue and behavioural trait indicators.

Political issues were broken down into agentic (masculine) issues such as the economy, natural resources and military issues and communal (feminine) issues such as healthcare and education. Below is an example of tweets coded as agentic political issues and communal political issues:

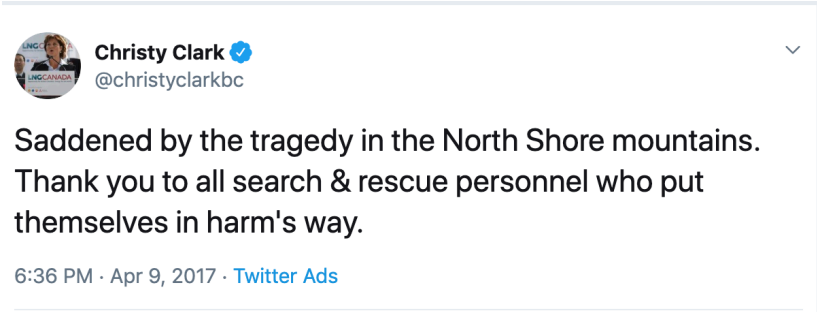
Agentic issue (Natural Resources)

Communal issue (Healthcare)

Behavioral or character traits focus on personal qualities and voter assessments of how likeable a leader appears to be, i.e. personable, trustworthy, assertive, and so on (Meeks and Domke, 2016: 899). Agentic (masculine) behavioral traits that men are traditionally perceived to "own" include aggression and self-confidence. Alternatively, communal (feminine) traits are traditionally perceived as "owned" by women include compassion and family-oriented characteristics. Examples of tweets coded for agentic and communal behavioral traits are included below:

Agentic Behavioral trait (aggressive):

Communal Behavioral trait (compassionate):



Once a political issue was defined as falling into either an agentic or communal issue category, I created a dictionary of search-terms which related to the specific elections' issues. I scanned Lexus Nexus and identified key electoral issues that were reported in CBC.ca news, Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal, Vancouver Sun and The Globe and Mail. I categorized major electoral issues such as the Alberta energy royalty review and B.C.'s campaign finance laws into the broader agentic or communal categories as seen in Table 3.4. This provided a baseline of words and phrases used to describe the major issues in the

election. For behavioral traits, I created a dictionary of words based on synonyms of the categories and references from other projects (Fridkin and Kenney, 2014). I shared my list of dictionary terms with students in the Gender and Politics lab at Memorial University to validate my word choices. These dictionary keywords were then entered into the python program which scanned each party leaders' tweets for the presence of key words associated with each category area. Table 3.4 outlines the total number of tweets for each party leader and the coded political issues and behavioural trait tweet categories.[4]

Table 3.4: Case study tweet breakdown

Election Year	Party Leader	Total N of tweets	N Political issue tweets	N Behavioural trait tweets
2012 AB	Brian Mason	40	6	34
	Danielle Smith	2946	1015	1931
	Alison Redford	467	123	344
2015 AB	Rachel Notley	399	119	280
	Brian Jean	308	56	252
	Jim Prentice	627	147	480
2013 BC	Jane Sterk	1200	397	803
	Christy Clark	796	212	584
	Adrian Dix	140	37	103
2017 BC	Andrew Weaver	1655	556	1099
	Christy Clark	800	235	565
	John Horgan	961	289	672

In order to test for reliability, I created a sample tweet CSV file for each leader with 10 randomly selected tweets and tested the python program ensuring that keywords were scanned correctly for the sample size. I ensured that my Python program accurately

[4] Recall, again, that tweets with no content related to political issues or behavioural traits were deleted, and subsequently omitted from the analysis.

scraped tweets by comparing a scraped feed to the online records of the leaders' Twitter feed. After running the key words for each leader in the python program, the results were than compiled into a new CSV file which was used in STATA to run quantitative analysis including descriptive statistics and bivariate and multivariate regression analyses.

Case Selection

Twitter is such a powerful tool in that it, "transmits massively shared experiences from people in the heart of the moment," (Taras, 2015: 175) and gives and a sense of being to citizens. According to one of Canada's predominant news agencies, The Globe and Mail, Canada's 2011 Federal election was described as Canada's first "Twitter Election" (Curry, 2011). "Twitter was "the new 'amplifier' for political leaders aiming to mobilize supporters and keep the pressure on opponents," (Small, 2017: 174). I expect that it is likely provincial candidates increased their use of Twitter following the national attention Twitter received in the 2011 Federal Election for this reason I begin to document the tool's use by party leaders in provincial elections after 2011.

Research indicates most provincial parties joined Twitter in 2009 (Small, 2010: 40). Canada has a considerable digital divide across provinces, which impacts both voter and party use of the tool. Small suggests that in 2009, Alberta and British Columbia shared some of the highest levels of Internet accessibility and citizens usage between 82% and 84%, compared to the Atlantic provinces where far fewer users had access to the internet (67%). Research

demonstrates that candidate use of Twitter increased accordingly to levels of internet penetration rate (Small, 2010: 41). These numbers justify exploring Alberta and B.C. as case studies given the high internet availability and usage compared to other parts of Canada, during a time when the tool was still relatively new.

I assess self-presentation by party leaders during elections in B.C. and Alberta over a six-year period (2011 – 2017) because that has the potential to provide greater insight into how self-presentation of a candidate might change over time, throughout campaign cycles and through tenure as Opposition leader or Premier. This six-year period provides a look through two campaign cycles per province, in which there was turnover in leadership, resulting in variance in leaders' gender, thereby increasing the likelihood that leaders might present themselves differently in the period being examined.

Based on when the writ was dropped for each campaign, I scraped tweets six months prior to that date, across the election period, and six months following election day to determine how a candidate's presentation changes throughout time. Election periods are short in Canada, and surprise elections rarely occur, but parties are often not organized with candidates and messaging up to six months prior to even an anticipated election. Therefore, I expect we may see a change in candidate self-presentation prior to, during and following the election.

Each of the four election cycles ended with a female candidate winning the Premiership: in Alberta, P.C. Alison Redford (2012) and NDP Rachel Notley (2015), and in B.C., Liberal leader Christy Clark (2013; 2017). We therefore have a series of winners from across the political spectrum and each competed against candidates whose gender and party affiliation varied, increasing the likelihood of different presentations of self to be measured across all cases.

My case studies look at three leaders during each electoral cycle representing major parties per province. For B.C. I look at the Twitter feeds of the leaders of the Liberal, N.D.P. and Green parties. A Conservative party ran in both 2013 and 2017, yet the party failed to obtain any seats in either election. In Alberta, I assess tweets of leaders from the Progressive Conservatives (PC), Wildrose and NDP parties. In Alberta, both the Liberal party and the Alberta Party have a presence; however the Liberal party only garnered 5 seats in 2012 and 1 seat in 2015; and the Alberta party only obtained 1 seat in 2015. Given the limited and waning support, I chose to exclude these parties from the study and focus on the candidates of the three parties with the most seats.

Alberta is an interesting case to include because the 2012 election was the first ever campaign in that province that saw a female leader elected to become the Premier. The campaign in 2015 also saw the election of a female leader, but this time from the left, which broke a 44-year P.C. Party dynasty. This time period captures the first two elections of a female leader within the province across the political spectrum. While self-presentation of

the candidates certainly is not a singular reason for these changes, it is interesting to see how they played a role and how candidates across party and across time will present differently.

B.C. was also chosen as a case study as Premier Christy Clark was the second female Premier in B.C. and the first female elected through two consecutive general elections. Her continuity provides an opportunity to view how her self-presentation may have changed across two campaign cycles.

Some might argue that the who actually is doing the tweeting matters. It is likely that the party leaders are often not composing tweets themselves or managing their accounts, but they may have a campaign strategist or aid crafting messages for them. Critics may argue that this may affect and invalidate conclusions made about the self-presentation of a party leader, but the literature on candidate image curation (Kreiss et al., 2018; Dittmar, 2015) suggests that who specifically is tweeting on behalf of the leader is not a concern. Rather, scholars argue that candidates and their campaign teams work together to develop a public persona based on the candidates' personality and campaigning skills, which affects how they will employ social media tools (Kreiss et al., 2018). The self-presentation of a candidate is effectively a strategic presentation agreed upon by candidate and campaign staff, and ultimately it does not matter who specifically is tweeting; because the goal is the same whether the candidate is tweeting or has a staff member do it for him or her.

Variables and Statistical Analysis

From the data scraped from Twitter, I created two dependent variables, each binary (0/1) to reflect whether or not the tweet contained masculine (agentic) language or feminine (communal) language. The first variable coded tweets for the **issues** that were discussed in the tweet, and the second coded tweets for the behavioural **traits** reflected in the tweet. For the purposes of this analysis, I did not break these variables down into further categories (type of issue: healthcare, economy, etc. or type of behavioural trait: strong, trustworthy etc.). Doing so would have given us additional information about tweet patterns and is has potential for future research. Instead, these two dependent variables incorporate multiple dimensions, collapsed into either agentic or communal categories. Going into further depth was beyond the scope of this thesis, which offers first steps and insights into the self-presentation of Canadian Party leaders on social media.

The independent variables used in this project include a binary variable for sex (1 for woman; 0 for man), party (dummy variables coded 1 for each party (i.e. either NDP BC, NDP AB, Wildrose AB and so on) and 0 for all other parties); and time. Time is coded into three binary dummy variables, the pre-election period (6 months prior to writ being dropped as 1; all other time 0), Election period (4 – 6 week election period as 1; all other time as 0) and the post-election period (6 months after election date as 1). The individual party leader is also coded as a binary variable (1 for leader (i.e. Redford) and 0 for all other

leaders) in order to look at the effect of the leaders within one election cycle or to isolate the changes in self-presentation within sex groups. I conduct bivariate and multivariate analysis to look for and analyze the relationships between self-presentation, gender, time and political party.

The advantage of using quantitative analysis to assess these relationships is that it is much easier to isolate different causal relationships when exploring large amounts of data. Additionally, using multivariate regression allows us to control for multiple variables at the same time, isolating the impact of independent variables on tweet patterns of party leaders.

The disadvantage to using this method is the loss of context and nuance of these case studies. Some critics may argue that a qualitative case study may be more appropriate to answer this research question. Looking at only two or three candidates would provide less data overall, but would provide more detailed, nuanced information, and would consider context to a larger extent. Some may argue this avenue of research to be of more value to understand the state of self-presentation of women in politics and public perceptions. Given the dearth of literature on the subject, both methodological approaches are valid and appropriate to study this topic and make a contribution to the literature. My decision to answer these research questions with a quantitative analysis should not preclude future, more qualitative analyses of similar questions.

Conclusion

Questions may arise around the measurement and operationalization of self-presentation itself. Given that this is one of the first attempts to measure self-presentation using Twitter, I do not claim to have the ideal measurement methodology worked out, but rather hope to assess whether this measure of self-presentation provides additional nuanced information that we cannot get by measuring media representation, or survey data in which respondents indicate the types of perceptions they have developed about candidates' personalities.

Critics could argue that tweets may capture more than one gendered issue or characteristic; which my model is not complex enough to capture and sort. Enhanced Natural Language Processing would improve the model's validity. However, this thesis does provide a first attempt to assess the self-presentation of Canadian leaders on a larger scale, and begins to address how leaders project their 'selves' to the public.

Chapter 4: Gendered Self-Presentation in Western Canadian Elections: What we know 2012 - 2017

This dataset includes information and provincial party leader candidates who ran in two provincial elections in Alberta (2012, 2015) and B.C. (2013 and 2017). This dataset includes each major party leader's tweets (Alberta: NDP, PC and Wildrose; BC: Liberal, Green and NDP) over a thirteen-month period. Candidates in Alberta in 2012 were Danielle Smith (Wildrose), Brian Mason (NDP) and Alison Redford (PC). Redford was serving as Premier after Stelmach stepped down in 2011, and then subsequently won the Premiership in 2012 and Smith became leader of the Opposition. In the 2015 Alberta election, Rachel Notley (NDP), Brian Jean (Wildrose) and Jim Prentice (PC) ran. Prentice had been serving as Premier after Redford stepped down, winning the PC leadership election in September 2014. Rachel Notley became the successful Premier after the election and Jean held the Leader of Opposition.

In BC, in 2013, Christy Clark (Liberal) competed against Jane Sterk (Greens) and Adrian Dix (NDP) and Clark won the Premiership, and NDP's Adrian Dix led the Opposition. Clark similarly to Jim Prentice in Alberta, was sworn into Office of the Premier in 2011 after winning the leadership race for the B.C. Liberals. The 2017 BC election saw incumbent Christy Clark (Liberals) run against John Horgan (NDP) and Andrew Weaver (Greens). Clark led her party to re-election, but the "election returned a minority legislature, and she did not secure the confidence of the legislative assembly" (Thomas, 2018: 382). Shortly after,

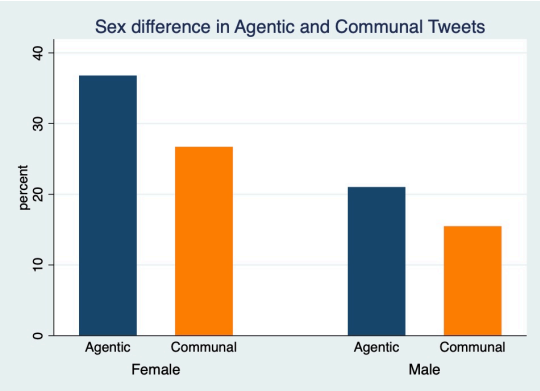
Clark stepped down and Liberal MP Andrew Wilkinson stepped in as Leader of the Opposition as the Greens and NDP formed a majority government with John Horgan (NDP) stepping in as Premier.

In this chapter, I intend to assess whether (1) traditional gender role expectations of party leaders constrain the types of self-presentation available to them and (2) how leaders' tweets align in terms of prescribed gendered political traits. It is to these results that I now turn to begin to uncover patterns of gender role expectations of party leaders and patterns of trait presentation. In the following chapter, I will then turn to the question (3) of whether these self-presentations of party leaders change by time, party, and sex and explore how each of these individual variables impact and affect party leader self-presentation.

Patterns of Self-Presentation

In order to uncover how traditional gender role expectations may shape or constrain party leaders' presentation, I begin with a broad assessment of party leader sex and gendered tweets. The pattern of leaders' sex on gendered tweet categories is not a straightforward one. Descriptive statistics displayed in Figure 4.1 shows the breakdown of all tweets that were coded as agentic or communal by sex. The bars in the figure represent the percentage of each category (i.e. women communal; women agentic; male communal; male agentic) from the total study population (10,339 tweets).

Figure 4.1



Overall, female party leaders tweet significantly more than their male counterparts (6,608 to 3,731); and women tweet the lion's share of agentic tweets (37% compared to 21% for male party leaders) and communal tweets (27% compared to 15% for male party leaders). Yet proportionally within each sex, tweet patterns are similar: out of male party leaders' 3,731 total tweets 58% are agentic and 42% are communal; and women party leaders exhibit the same percentage out of their total tweet count (6,608) (results not shown).

Once the gendered tweets are broken down into political issues and behavioural traits, slightly different patterns begin to emerge. Sex plays a significant role ($p = 0.044$) in terms of the types of political issue tweet shared, as seen in Figure 4.2. Female party leaders tweet the most on both communal and agentic political issues (23% and 41%) compared to male party leaders (15%; and 22%), and the same pattern is true for behavioural traits in tweets – women tweet more often than men in both categories (as shown in Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.2

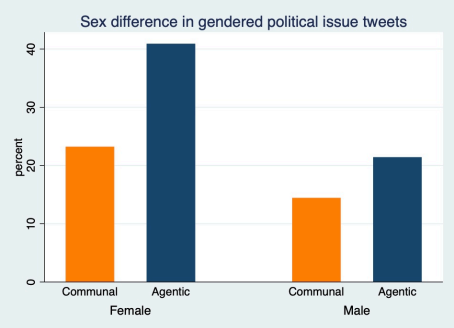
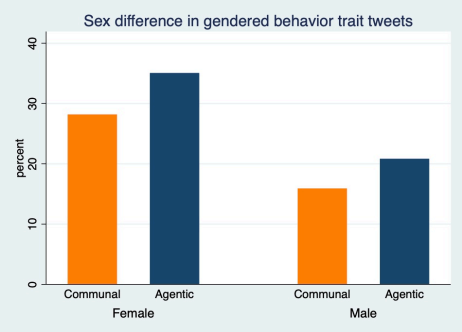


Figure 4.3



Women party leaders tweet the most agentic behaviour traits (35%) followed by communal traits (28%) while their male counterparts tweet agentic (21%) and communal (16%).

If we break down the numbers differently, we see slightly different patterns emerge. Table 4.1 looks at the tweet patterns within each sex group, broken down by type of tweet. This Table shows that women tweet significantly more about agentic traits (55%) compared to communal traits (45%). The tweet gap between agentic and communal traits for male party leaders is slightly larger: 57% agentic traits compared to 43% communal behavioural traits. The data indicate that both male and female party leaders tweet agentic political issues within their sex at a similar rate (W67%; M60%) compared to their communal traits (W33%; M40%). These data tell a story in which male and female party leaders present gendered political issues at similar rates.

Table 4.1: Tweet distribution within sex

	Agentic Tweets	Communal Tweets	Total
Women Leaders (Political Issues)	67% (N = 1399)	33% (N=702)	100% N = 2101
Women Leaders (Behavioural traits)	55% (N=2490)	45% (N = 2017)	100% N = 4507
Men Leaders (Political Issues)	60% (N=653)	40% (N=438)	100% N = 1091
Man Leaders (Behavioural Traits)	57% (N=1505)	43% (N=1135)	100% N = 2640

If we break down tweet types further, by specific tweet trait or specific tweet issue area, further patterns emerge. Table 4.2 shows the proportion of behavioural characteristics shown in tweets, by women and men leaders. There are 10 subcategories in the agentic behavioural trait tweets, and 9 subcategories in communal trait tweets. When we look at patterns of tweeting within each of these subcategories separately, gendered tweeting patterns no longer emerge. Again, women tweet more than men in all categories.

Table 4.2 - Proportion of tweets by sex:[5] Behavior Trait subcategories

Keyword (Total N)	Percentage (%) of tweets/category		Proportion of women's tweets to men's tweets in each category (1 indicates equal tweet rates, >1 indicates women tweet more in this category than men, <1 indicates that men tweet more in this category than women)
	Women	Men	
Agentic Categories			
Active (554)	8.5%	6.6%	1.3x
Admin Skills (92)	1.6%	0.7%	2.3x
Aggressive (1062)	13.5%	17.3%	0.8x
Ambitious (384)	5.7%	4.9%	1.2x
Articulate (485)	7.8%	5.1%	1.5x
Assertive (1010)	12.5%	16.7%	0.7x
Coarse (10)	0.2%	0%	2x
Rational (100)	1.7%	0.8%	2.1x
Self-Confident (172)	2.2%	2.9%	0.8x
Tough (126)	1.8%	`1.8%	1x
Communal Categories			
Cautious (121)	1.8%	1.6%	1.1x
Compassionate (965)	14.4%	11.8%	1.2x
Emotional (156)	1.8%	2.9%	0.6x
Family-Oriented (515)	7.5%	6.5%	1.2x
Gentle (117)	1.3%	2.2%	0.6x
People Skills (254)	2.9%	4.8%	0.6x
Sensitive (255)	3.8%	3.2%	1.2x
Trustworthy (580)	8.5%	7.6%	1.1x
Warm (189)	2.6%	2.8%	0.9x

Women party leaders are less likely to portray aggressive traits (0.8x) and assertive traits (0.7x) compared to men. However, women party leaders are 1.3x more likely to portray

[5]Noted that some leaders tweeted at different rates: some tweeted a lot and some did not.

active behaviours and 1.5x as likely to demonstrate 'articulate' traits. Both women and men are equally as likely to demonstrate 'toughness' traits in their tweets as well. This variance in self-presentation across agentic subcategories suggests that male and female party leaders do not strictly align to gender stereotypes. Yet, when we assess the overall average of the proportion of the agentic categories, we find that women party leaders tweet 1.4x more often than men in these categories. Women tweet at a higher overall rate across the agentic subcategories, and this may indicate a conscious attempt by women leaders to portray masculine characteristics traditionally thought necessary to be a successful leader (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Lee and Lim, 2016).

The gap between women and men is less substantial across the various communal behaviour trait tweets. When we take the average proportion of the communal categories, we find that women party leaders tweet slightly less than male party leaders; 0.9x compared to men. When men tweet, they are generally portraying more communal characteristics than agentic characteristics. Women tweet far less than men on emotional, gentle and people skill categories (0.6x) and women and men party leaders are tweet at near equal rates on cautious, trustworthy and warm categories. Women only out tweet men (slightly) in the compassionate and sensitive categories (1.2x). These patterns suggest that women may be looking to balance their femininity while men may be less bound to tweeting along prescribed gender behavior traits and may have more flexibility in their self-presentation.

Women continue to out-tweet men across all categories, but the gap between men and women in the content of their tweets is smaller in most communal categories compared to agentic political issues. In the communal category, women tweet 0.7x as often as men about Housing and Education. The widest gap emerges in energy and campaign financing: women are 10x more likely to tweet about energy and men are 10x more likely to tweet about campaign finance issues (and each of these topics constitutes about 10% of tweets for each sex, respectively).

Table 4.3 – Proportion of tweets by sex: Political Issue Subcategories

Keyword (Total)	Percentage (%) of tweets/category		Proportion of women's tweets to men's tweets in each category (1 indicates equal tweet rate, >1 indicates women tweet more in this category than men, <1 indicates men tweet more in this category than women)
	Women	Men	
Agentic Categories			
Campaign Finance (111)	0.3%	9.6%	0.03x
Economy (533)	17.6%	15.4%	1.1x
Gov't Spending (630)	22.4%	14.4%	1.5x
Energy (229)	10.7%	0%	10x

Infrastructure (127)	3.6%	4.9%	0.7x
Natural Resources (422)	12.2%	15.5%	0.8x
Communal Categories			
Environment (78)	3.3%	0.7%	4.7x
Healthcare (332)	11.7%	8%	1.5x
Housing (266)	7.0%	10.6%	0.7x
Poverty (19)	0.3%	1.2%	0.3x
Family (105)	1.7%	6.4%	0.3x
Women's Issues (15)	0.3%	0.8%	0.4x
Education (325)	9.0%	12.5%	0.7x

The differences in tweet content for women and men in relation to political issues are higher than they are in relation to behavioural traits, and party leaders may have more freedom to express positions on both agentic and communal political issues and less bound to gender stereotypes in this case. Women are not simply tweeting about women's issues while men are tweeting about the economy and energy policy. Further analysis is needed to understand how party leaders are tweeting about political issues. It may be the case that leaders are seeking to balance out gendered expectations of behaviour with masculine

stereotypes about political leaders (e.g. Schneider and Bos, 2014), or that they tweet to appeal to a certain public (i.e. women, breadwinners, and environmentally friendly voters).

While the descriptive statistics provide an initial look at the relationship between the variables (sex of leader and tweets containing gendered political issues or behavior traits) they suggest patterns of self-presentation that do not simply align with gender stereotypes (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). I turn to multivariate analysis to further understand the factors influencing a leader's self-presentation.

Constraining Women: Patterns of Self-Presentation of Female Party Leaders

This section intends to better understand how women and men tweet, and whether or not their tweet patterns are gendered. As outlined earlier in the thesis, I expect women party leaders to be generally more constrained in their self-presentation compared to male party leaders, and particularly I expect female party leaders to be more constrained in the presentation of behaviour traits compared to political issues. I suspect that female leaders of right-leaning parties will be more agentic on political issues to counter traditional feminine gender stereotypes; as they often have to grapple with the "likeability" question and must balance their traits in order to appeal to voters without seeming too feminine or too masculine.

In the multivariate analyses that follow, I regress the binary dependent variables for issues and behavioural traits (0/1, to signify whether the tweet was agentic or communal in nature) on a series of binary variables coded to represent each of the women leaders across the four elections.

Figure 4.4 plots the coefficients from a logistical regression analysis for political issues, to begin to determine if, and in what ways, female leaders' presentation of political issues may vary from one another and from the reference category (all of the men leaders).[6] This plot of coefficients reveals interesting patterns of self-presentation.

Figure 4.4

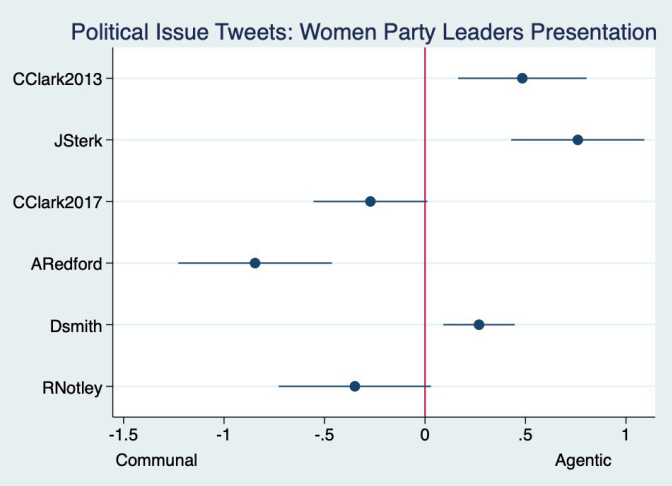


Figure 4.4 demonstrates that three women tweet more agentically than communally (Smith, Clarkin 2013 and Sterk); compared to the reference category, male party leaders.

[6] I use STATA's command "coefplot" to plot coefficients from regression analyses. In this chapter I will only show graphs with plotted coefficients for ease of interpretation. For more details about the models, all the regression tables can be found in Appendix 1.

Alison Redford, the PC leader, is the outlier who tweets significantly more communally than all others on issues. This is an interesting finding as she is the leader of a centre-right leaning party, and one would suspect based on strategic stereotype theory (Dolan, 2005; Fridkin and Kenney, 2014) that she would tweet about more agentic political issues to demonstrate her party issue ownership and balance out the expectations her followers may have about femininity.

Redford's tweeting behaviour does not support my hypothesis that party issue ownership will drive leaders' tweets, rather than gender stereotypical behaviour being the key driver. However, it is of note that Redford also campaigned against Wildrose party leader Danielle Smith, a party that falls even further to the right on the political spectrum compared to the PC's. Smith tweets more agentically compared to Redford on issues, and this differentiation could suggest that Redford presented a far softer and communal side on political issues to differentiate herself to voters from Smith's more agentic stance on political issues. The context of the election is also pertinent as Smith and the Wildrose party threatened cuts to the public sector throughout the election (Young, 2012). This issue could help to explain Redford's communal tweeting behaviour, as she may have tried to reduce voters' fear and lean-in on supporting social issues. This data also suggests that the way leaders present on issues is partially driven by how the opponent campaigns, given how much Redford and Smith differ in their political issue presentation.

Another case worth exploring is Christy Clark, who runs as the B.C. Liberal party leader in both 2013 and 2017 and tweets differently in each of the two elections. This divergent behaviour self-presents differently in varying political contexts. Clark tweets significantly more agentically on political issues in 2013, while in 2017, she tweets more communally on political issues although she does not quite meet the traditional standard of significance threshold ($p=0.065$).

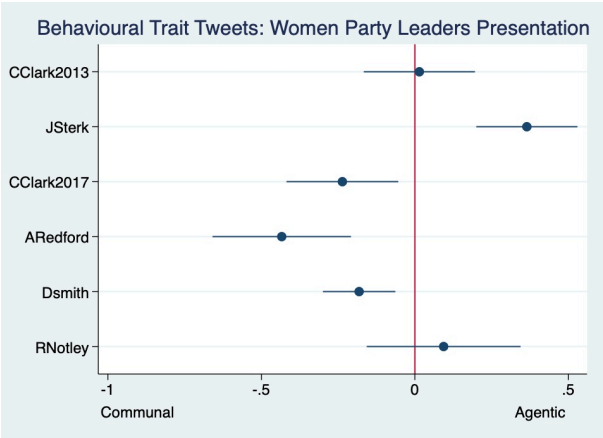
In 2013, Clark tweeted most about the Economy (agentic), Education (communal) and Natural Resources (agentic), while in 2017 while Clark still prioritized the Economy (agentic) as her top issue focus, two communal issues (Housing and Family and Senior issues) followed close behind. This suggests that Clark may be intentionally changing her self-presentation over campaign cycles and her position and priorities on certain political issues.

It is also noteworthy that where the women fall in terms of agentic and communal political issue presentation does not align with expectations about traditional party lines. According to the theory of issue ownership (Petrocik, 1996; Petrocik et al., 2003; Hayes, 2005), we would expect the Green and NDP party leaders to present most communally on political issues, with a strong emphasis on environmental issues, healthcare and social spending. The Liberal party would typically been seen as the centre party, while alternatively we would expect the Wildrose and PC party to appear most agentic on issues emphasizing

energy, business taxes and reduced government involvement. However, as we look at the six female candidates, we see that this is not the case and they do not follow expectations based on party issue ownership. More research is needed.

Figure 4.5 plots coefficients from a similar regression analysis, this time for behavioural trait tweets rather than political issues. I find less variance for female party leaders' self-presentation behavioural characteristics compared to political issues, which aligns with my proposed hypothesis in which I expected female leaders to be more constrained in their range of behavioural traits compared to political issues, based on previous literature findings where political issue stereotypes are more subject to change (Sanbonmatsu, 2003; Banwart, 2010).

Figure 4.5



Alberta's PC leader Alison Redford is the most frequent communal tweeter on behavioural traits, similar to her previous pattern on political issues. Her competitor Danielle Smith (Wildrose), who tweeted agentically on political issues, tweets more communally on

behavioural traits however to a far less extent than Redford. In comparing their coefficients for political issues and behaviour traits, the two leaders are much more closely aligned in terms of presenting communal behavior traits, compared to their respective political issues Twitter activity. This is interesting to parse out, as it could suggest that women, while they may be able to break the mold on political issues, they may need to conform to more stereotypical communal or feminine behavioral characteristics to soften their image.

In Figure 4.5 we see Christy Clark demonstrate a similar pattern as she did on political issues. Clark tweets agentically in 2013 (although this coefficient does not meet traditional levels of statistical significance), and in 2017 she tweets more communally on behavioural traits. In 2013, Clark's behavioural traits tweeted most were aggressive (16%), family oriented (13%), and compassionate (11%), while in 2017 Clark prioritized these three characteristics, however in a slightly different order; tweeting aggressively (17%) most often, followed by compassionate (12%) tweets and then family oriented (9%) tweets third. These similar behavioural traits most tweeted by Clark suggests that women political leaders may be far more constrained in their ability to present certain behaviour characteristics compared to men and lends additional support to the idea that women must conform to more stereotypical feminine behaviours to soften their image. The analysis of men's tweet activity to follow helps to give additional support to this finding.

BC Greens party leader Jane Sterk notably tweets most agentically, both in terms of political issues and behavioural traits. Her patterns do not align with proposed theories (either gender-based or party issue ownership) and in that way she is an outlier. In Figure 4.5 Sterk presents the most significantly agentically of all female party leaders on political issues. Once her tweet subcategories are broken down, this presentation becomes more logical as her categories align with her party's agenda: she tweets most on Natural Resources (43%) followed by the Economy (24%) and government spending (15%). While Sterk does not tweet on the communal environment keywords, it is clear she is opting to speak directly on natural resource projects, an agentic category. Sterk's behavioural trait tweets make her self-presentation as a party leader more curious, as she is the most agentic tweeter of all women on behaviour characteristics. When we break down her keyword trait categories, she tweets most assertively (20%), followed by aggressive tweets (18%) and then a communal category; compassion (11%). While Sterk's agentic patterns of talking about political issues on Twitter may be explained by party objectives, the strong agentic behavioural trait presentation differs from the idea that women must balance their masculine and feminine traits to appear electorally viable. Sterk ran against Christy Clark in 2013 who also presented somewhat agentically; so, we can theorize Sterk presented strongly agentically to differentiate herself from the other leaders in the race, but more research is needed.

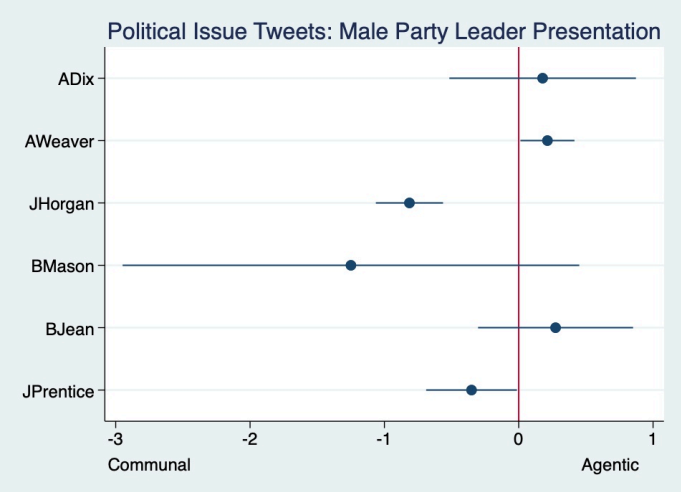
These analyses begin to reveal more concrete patterns and add to our understanding of political leader self-presentation and sex. While there is one female party leader who tweets consistently agentically (Jane Sterk, Greens), it is possible that women party leaders are not as constrained in self-presentation as previously thought. The majority of female party leaders tweet significantly more communally on behavioural trait tweets, and more agentically on political issue tweets, which align with Huddy & Terkildson's (1993) theory that female candidates must balance the masculine and feminine political issue and behavioural traits. If, as we see above, women party leaders are tweeting more agentically on issues, it suggests that they may be seeking to communicate more communal behaviour traits to balance out their self-presentation and not seem too masculine or overtly feminine. While party label needs to be added to the analysis before we can provide a substantive conclusion, a clear pattern similar to previous research emerges: women struggle to successfully convey their possession of both masculine and feminine traits.

Liberated Men: Patterns of Self-Presentation of Male Party Leaders

In the following section I compare the twitter activity of men, replicating the analyses above, this time with women grouped together in the reference category. I expect men to demonstrate more variance in their self-presentation compared to women as I suspect men have more freedom to express themselves in ways that do not conform to gendered or party stereotypes.

A surprising pattern emerges, as seen in Figure 4.6. Alberta PC leader Jim Prentice (2015) also tweets most frequently communal on political issues (coef = -.3), similar to Alison Redford's behaviour. The PCs are a centre-right party and yet both Redford (who ran in Alberta in 2012) and Prentice display more communal issue tweets overall. However, unlike Redford, Prentice is not the most frequent communal tweeter, as BC's John Horgan tweets the most communally of all male party leaders.

Figure 4.6



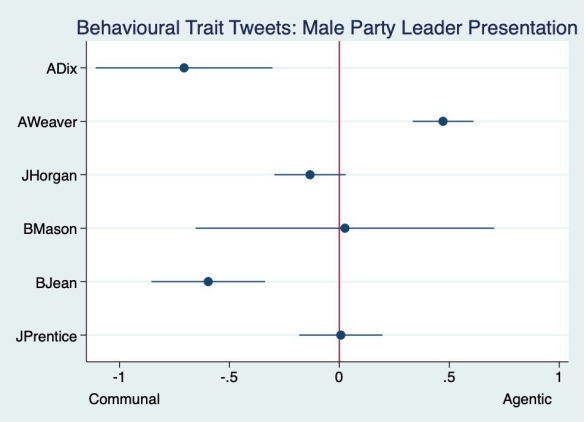
Horgan's political opponent Andrew Weaver (BC Greens) tweeted most agentically of all men and follows the same pattern as his female counterpart Jane Sterk: tweeting most often on Natural Resources (agentic issue) rather than environment[7] (communal issue).

[7] Natural Resources and Environment are connected issues –I approached differentiating the two by focusing Natural Resource keywords in either province by resource specific projects or industries (i.e. transmountain pipeline, hydro power, LNG etc.) whereas environment keywords are focused less on concrete topics, but rather general environmental language such as "ghg's, emissions, and sustainability keywords. See Appendix II for more details.

This follows the patterns of Greens tweeting the most agentically compared to all other parties, and both Horgan and Weaver's political issues tweets also align with traditional trait ownership theory (Petrocik, 1996). At the same time, it may also be that the candidates were trying to differentiate themselves from one another. It's noteworthy that the men in this analysis seem to have less overall variance in their tweet styles compared to women, and yet the general placement of men is more closely aligned with their party.

Figure 4.7 outlines the behavioural trait tweets regressed on individual men leaders and suggests that stereotypical gender traits may not be driving Twitter behaviour. Men seem to have more variance compared to women. BC NDP leader Adrian Dix is the most frequent communal tweeter (coef -.8) while BC Green party leader Andrew Weaver is the most frequently agentic tweeter (coef .45). These findings align with the theory of party issue ownership and break from traditional gender stereotypes.

Figure 4.7



Another notable finding is Brian Jean (leader of the Wildrose party in Alberta) as a frequent communal tweeter (coef -.6; p=0). Jean leads a right, social conservative party in Alberta and ran against NDP leader Rachel Notley. Traditional gender stereotypes are not a great predictor of men's Twitter self-presentation, and this follows the pattern of previous Wildrose party leader, Danielle Smith, who also tweeted more communally. This supports the hypothesis that self-presentation is driven more by party than gender and electoral context.

Table 4.4 presents the mean self-presentation score of men and women's tweet activities for both political issues and behavioural traits. The standard deviation of traits for men suggests that there may be fewer restrictions on their self-presentation. Figure 4.7 (above) demonstrates the greater variance for male party leaders, ranging from -1. to 1; whereas for women (shown in Figure 4.5) there is less variance.

Table 4.4 - Standard of Deviation of Self-Presentation x Candidate Sex

Candidate Sex	Self-presentation	Mean presentation score	Standard deviation
Men	Behaviour trait	0.15183	0.7180
Women	Behaviour trait	0.01116	0.4324
Men	Political issue	0.07113	0.6371
Women	Political issue	0.21060	0.6522

For issues, there may be a slightly wider range of options for self-presentation for women as seen in Table 4.4. However, the difference between men and women on political issues is nearly equal and may in part reflect the lack of tweeting by men on issues. In particular,

Brian Mason's minimal tweeting (n=40) impacts the standard deviation for male party leaders. It does seem, however, that women face constraints that men might not, in determining how they will portray themselves on social media.

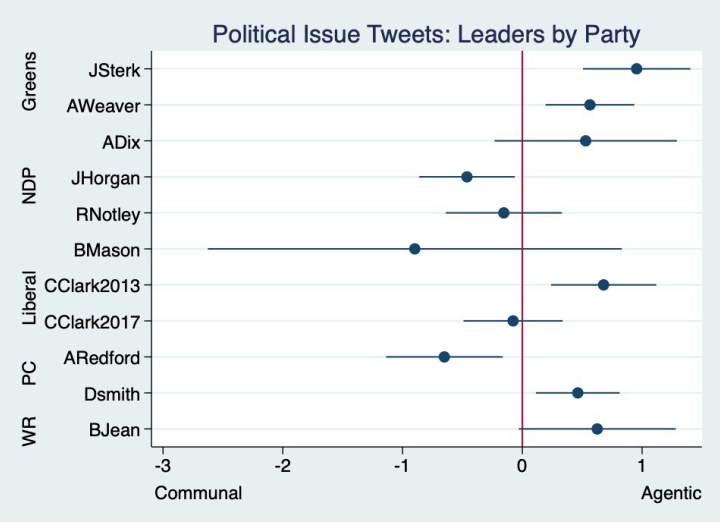
General Party Leader Self-Presentation Trends: Gender versus Party

Finally, I turn my attention to patterns of self-presentation and begin to look more closely at the leaders' party labels. I assess the tweet habits for all 12 party leaders and compare how gender and party label may impacts their self-presentation. Looking at female party leaders only and male party leaders only and assessing the differences allowed us to more easily see the variance in self-presentation among women and among men and note the differences. Assessing all twelve leaders together gives a fuller picture of how gender and party label may interact, and hints toward how leaders from the same party but of differing sexes may overlap or diverge in their self-presentation styles.

In order to look at the influence of these factors together, I follow the models that were run in the previous two sections, only this time I entered each leader into the regression model, regressing issue tweets (shown in Figure 4.8) and trait tweets (shown in Figure 4.9) on all 12 leaders. The reference category is PC leader Jim Prentice, who ran in the Alberta 2015 election.

Figure 4.8 illustrates that party leaders' tweets on political issues deviate from expectations based on party issue ownership (Petrocik, 1996). Alison Redford (PC, AB) remains the most frequent communal tweeter (coef=-.65) followed by John Horgan (NDP, BC). While it is unsurprising to have an NDP leader tweet communally, the finding of Redford as the most communally tweeting leader is; and suggests that she chose to emphasize her gender over her party in her tweets. Women party leaders are faced with a double bind, requiring them to balance their masculinity and femininity in how they present themselves as candidates; and party labels and gender require negotiation and careful thought (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Meeks and Domke, 2016; Banwart, 2010). I expected right-leaning female leaders to be more agentic on political issues to counter traditional feminine gender stereotypes, and Redford's Twitter behaviour contradicts this expectation.

Figure 4.8



Regressing political issues on the twelve leaders also yields to the suggestion that there are other factors at play in addition to party label and gender in terms of how party leaders present on political issues on Twitter. Figure 4.8 indicates that Jane Sterk (Greens, 2013 BC) tweets most agentically; followed by Christy Clark in 2013 (Liberals, BC). Andrew Weaver (Greens, 2017 BC) is less agentic than Sterk, but significantly more agentic than Jim Prentice (PC). Danielle Smith (Wildrose, 2012 AB), who is the leader of the most conservative party, would be expected to tweet the most agentically, but does not, and nor does Brian Jean, the other Wildrose leader. These data suggest that gender and party both likely have an influence, but do not necessarily always drive behaviour in predictable ways.[8]

Figure 4.9 shows behavioural trait tweets regressed on individual party leaders and demonstrates that there is less variance in terms of self-presentation (as predicted in my hypothesis). Jim Prentice remains as the reference category, and both BC Green Party leaders, Jane Sterk and Andrew Weaver, are the two most frequent agentic tweeters. Alberta's PC leader Alison Redford (coef-.3 p=.009) and Alberta's Wildrose leader Brian Jean (coef=-.6 p=0) tweet frequently communally, as does BC's NDP leader Adrian Dix (who is the most frequent communal tweeter out of all party leaders (coef=-.8 p=0)). My

[8] It is possible that being agentic could be a feature of the Green party label and types of issues they focus on. Given how closely connected Natural Resources (agentic) and Environment (communal) issues are (indicated earlier), this could be a potential issue in terms of how the data is interpreted and future research is needed here.

expectation that party leaders would be driven by gender in their Twitter activity is contradicted by Sterk and Dix who do the opposite of what we would expect.

Figure 4.9

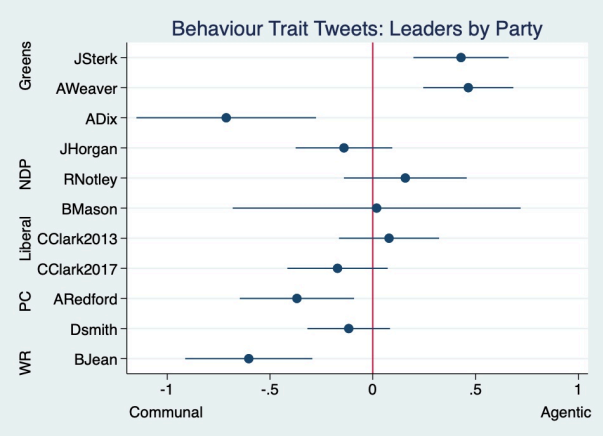
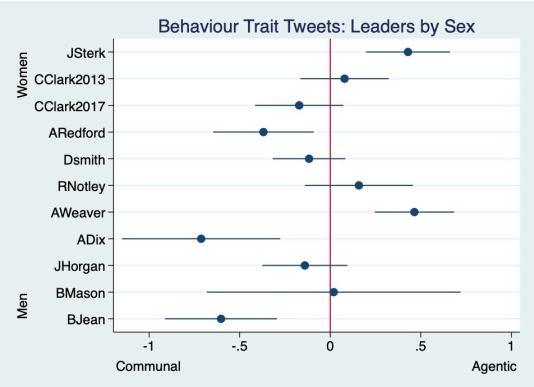


Figure 4.10 presents the results of the same regression analysis as Figure 4.9, but reorganizes the coefficients so that all women are grouped together visually and all men are at the bottom of the graph. Comparing coefficients in Figure 4.10 provides support for my hypothesis that men have far more variance in terms of presenting gendered characteristics compared to women (the coefficients for men are much more dispersed across the communal and agentic spectrum than the coefficients for women). More research is needed to determine the root cause of this variance in self-presentation, yet I expect based on previous literature that part of it is due to balancing masculine and feminine qualities as a candidate.

Figure 4.10



While these statistical analyses do not provide a clear answer, they begin to reveal more about the relationship between self-presentation on social media and a leader's sex. Because there is one woman who tweets consistently agentically (Jane Sterk, Greens), it is possible that women party leaders are not as constrained in self-presentation as previously thought. However, the majority of female party leaders tweet significantly more communally on behavioural trait tweets, and more agentically on political issue tweets, which aligns with Huddy and Terkildson's (1993) theory that female candidates must balance the masculine and feminine political issue and behavioural traits. The variance seen in Figure 4.10 suggests different dynamics for women and men, and one conclusion I can arrive at is that women struggle to successfully convey the possession of both masculine and feminine behavioral traits.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a first look at how western Canadian provincial party leaders present themselves on social media. My findings reveal there are significant differences in the Twitter activity of leaders in relation to both political issues and behavioural traits. While it seems that sex matters, further unpacking of these results is necessary in order to make stronger claims.

My findings reveal there are significant differences in self-presentation between male and female party leaders (particularly within Alberta's PC, Wildrose and BC's Green party leaders) – but in different ways depending on the party label. The PC female leader, Alison Redford presents frequently more communally than her Jim Prentice does when he is leader of the same party. BC's Green female party leader, Jane Sterk, is nearly as agentic as Andrew Weaver who leads the party in the subsequent BC election. While this is not conclusive, this suggests that sex and party label determine to an extent how party leaders self-present political issues and behavioral characteristics.

Evidence provided in this chapter suggests that men are most flexible in their behavioural self-presentation, and that women are more constrained. While further analysis is needed, this finding suggests that women are limited in how they present their masculine and

feminine qualities to voters. They often have to grapple with "likeability" and must balance their traits in order to appeal to voters without seeming too feminine or too masculine.

Alternatively, female party leaders seem to have slightly more flexibility in how they talk about political issues compared to men. I suspect this increased variance may be accounted for because right of centre party leaders (i.e. Redford) need soften their image by presenting themselves on the communal side of the spectrum; inversely I suspect party leaders on the left need to masculinize their image by presenting more agentically on political issues (i.e. Sterk). This theory supports Huddy and Terkildsen (1993)'s idea that, "Female politicians might gain credit on compassion issues because they are assumed to possess feminine traits" (42). While women may benefit from some masculine traits, they may still overall balance that with compassion issues that align with gender stereotypes.

Results from this chapter also suggest that party leaders do not categorically align their behaviour with stereotypes based on gender or party. Men do not only focus on masculine issues such as the economy and natural resources nor do they demonstrate aggressive or assertive traits alone. Women do not categorically focus on healthcare and education issues or demonstrate compassion-only traits in their tweets. More research is needed, and in the next chapter I will explore how party and electoral time frame impact the way in which leaders present themselves online.

Chapter 5: Patterns of Self-Presentation: Interaction of Time, Party and Sex

In the previous chapter, I analyzed data to assess the self-presentation of party leaders by comparing tweets about political issues and behavioral traits to understand how sex and party might influence their social media decisions. The findings suggest that self-presentation for women is constrained, particularly in terms of how they present behavioural traits. This finding supports previous research that suggests women are limited by traditional political stereotypes (e.g. Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). In this chapter I seek to better understand how the party label and sex of the leader affects their self-presentation on Twitter, and into the analysis I add the role of time, in order to assess whether or not the pre-, during, or post-campaign periods are approached differently by party leaders. Specifically, I ask (3) whether self-presentation changes by time, party and sex.

I expect that leaders will tweet differently in the pre-election period and post-election period as based on previous literature (Peterson, 2009; Dittmar, 2015). I expect that campaigns matter and will impact how a leader self-presents. I suspect that a party leader's Twitter behaviour will change by both party and sex (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Meeks and Domke, 2016); yet I suspect that party label may be a larger factor in determining how a leader presents rather than sex, based on past findings which suggest that the party is most influential (Dolan, 2005; Gulati, 2004; Hayes, 2011). I expect that the female party

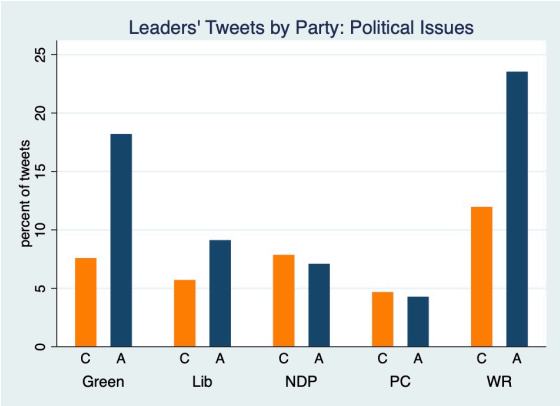
leaders who become premier will become more agentic leaders in both traits and political issues in the post-election time period and expect to see them balance their agentic and communal behavioral traits during the election period. The literature suggests that women have to convey masculine traits successfully to voters and that female politicians may benefit by demonstrating masculine traits on agentic issues such as the economy and military (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 143). In general, I suspect that when controlling for time, men will be more likely to tweet about agentic issues; yet I expect them to have more variability in terms of how they present on behaviour traits.

In this chapter, I begin by exploring the relationship between party label and self-presentation to understand how party impacts the presentation of behavioural trait and political issue tweets. I then explore general patterns of self-presentation in regard to the electoral time frame, to understand how timing shapes candidates' expression of behavioural trait and political issue tweets throughout the thirteen-month period. I next examine the four individual election cases in Alberta and BC and take a closer look at how timing, sex and party identification interact to uniquely shape tweeting habits. I expect these cases will help flush out our understanding of individual electoral context components and identify key patterns and differences between each election. Finally, I conclude the chapter by exploring the interaction of sex, time and party label across my dataset to understand the generalized effect of each factor on behavioural trait and political issue expression. It is these results to which I now turn.

Party Label and Patterns of Self-Presentation

I begin with a more detailed analysis of how party label affects presentation of political issues and behavioural characteristics. In the previous chapter, I found that there was a closer link between party and tweet activity than there was for gender. Figure 5.1 displays leaders' twitter activity in relation to political issues, grouped by party. The analysis indicates that party has a statistically significant impact on the Twitter behaviour of leaders.

Figure 5.1



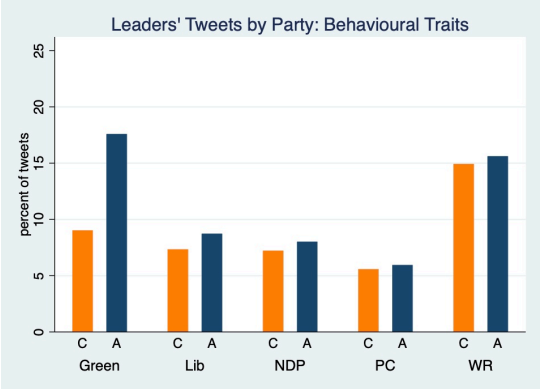
I begin by running cross tabs between political issues and party label and behavioural traits and party label.[9] Wildrose leaders tweet the most overall (n=1,071) followed by the Green party leaders, while the PC leaders tweet the least. Wildrose leaders tweet the most overall, but they also tweet most across each category, including both agentic (24%) and communal (12%) issues. The PC leaders tweet the least often in general, and on each of the two issue categories specifically (agentic (4%) and communal issues (5%)). The party

[9] The NDP party in this graph includes both Alberta NDP party leaders and BC NDP party leaders. Given that all leaders represent the NDP party label, the label was not broken out by province for these figures but will be further explored in the individual electoral analyses later in the chapter.

with the widest gap in agentic and communal tweets from leaders is the Green party; and the smallest gap within party comes from the PC leaders.

Figure 5.2 repeats the analysis shown in Figure 5.1, this time looking at agentic and communal behavioural trait tweets. A similar pattern emerges: Wildrose party leaders continues to tweet the most out of all parties (N= 2,183) followed by the Green party leaders and then the Liberal party leaders.

Figure 5.2



The Green party leaders tweet most agentically (18%) out of all parties; followed by the Wildrose Party (16%), while the PC party tweets the least on agentic traits (6%). In terms of communal traits; Wildrose leaders tweet the most out of all parties (15%) and the PC leaders tweet the least (6%). The party with the widest gap between agentic and communal behavioural trait tweet presentation is the Green Party, and the smallest gap is found in the Wildrose Party (although for all parties except for the Greens, the gap is not very large at all). These results begin to suggest that party label may play a significant role, perhaps more so than sex, in determining leaders' tweet patterns.

To what extent do these patterns hold when we introduce time into the mix? Figure 5.3 shows the results of a logistic regression model, in which behaviour trait tweets are regressed on party label and timing of the tweet, while Figure 5.4 shows the coefficients of a similar model, this time with political issue tweets as the dependent variable. The Green party is the reference category as is the election period itself, and we compare the impact of all other parties on tweet decisions as well as tweets in the pre-election and post-election periods.

Figure 5.3

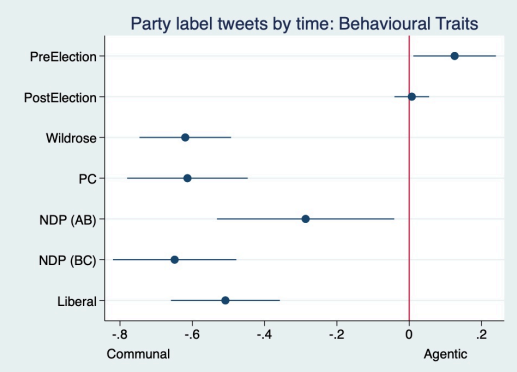


Figure 5.4

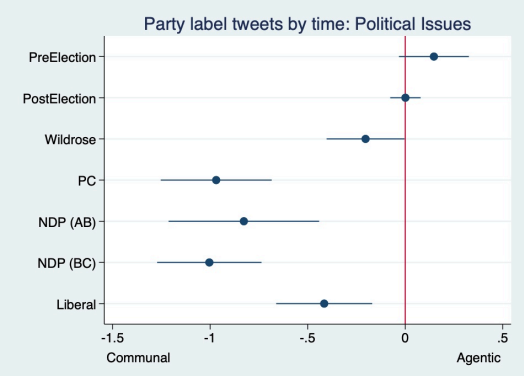


Figure 5.3 shows that compared to the election itself, in the pre-election period leaders are significantly more likely to tweet in a way that demonstrates their agentic behaviours (coef = .12). Compared to the Green party leaders, leaders from all parties tweet more communally; with the leaders of the NDP BC party tweeting the most communally (coef = -.65) and the NDP AB party leaders tweeting the least communally (coef = -.28). These results provide support for the patterns seen in Figures 5.1 and 5.2: Green parties tweet very agentically when it comes to behavioural traits and political issues (as can be seen in Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 shows a similar trend: leaders of all parties tweet more communally than the leaders of the Green party; with the Wildrose party leaders doing so the least (coef = -.20) and NDP BC leaders doing so the most (coef = -1.0). This figure suggests a mixed relationship between party label and tweet style, at least in relation to expectations of trait ownership theory (Petrocik 1996; Hayes 2005), in which party leaders focus on the strengths that their party is expected to have. According to this theory, certain traits are associated with specific behaviours or actions, and "parties over time develop issue-handling reputations whereby they are perceived by the public as more skilled at dealing with certain policy problems" (Hayes, 2005: 909). Previous research on Canada has determined that "Canadians recognize that certain parties have particular expertise, and these perceptions count when it comes to making voting decisions. Parties' images, as well as the impact of their reputation vary depending on region" (Nadeau et al., 2001: 425). And yet, despite these expectations, Figure 5.4 shows that leaders were all more communal than the reference category Green party, which deviates from the theory's predictions.

The PC party leaders deviate the most, as we would expect them to be tweeting on more agentic issues they "own"; such as the Economy, Natural Resources, and Government Spending. Yet they are nearly as communal as both the NDP party in both provinces, and they tweet far more often on Education and Healthcare – political issues which are not traditionally associated with right of center parties. The NDP parties generally align with

expected trait ownership; the NDP leaders tweet most often on Healthcare, Housing and Education. The reference category, the Greens, while being the most agentic party, still align with their owned traits as they tweet most often on Natural Resource and Energy issues.

The deviations of party leaders may in part be explained by issue salience. Belanger and Meguid (2008) suspect that if issues are not salient in an election, it should not affect party ownership or support. Additionally, they find that campaign dynamics play a role and decrease the impact of issues ownership as the salience of the issue increases. They find that in terms of Canadian multiparty system, "voters rarely identify a clear-cut consensus about the ownership of issues" (482). It could be possible issue salience is also a conditioning variable in self-presentation, although further research is needed.

Another possible explanation for deviance from a focus on issues that parties are perceived to own is that leaders may be trying to "poach" the issue areas of other parties, demonstrating their competence in areas they are not expected to have strengths. Hayes (2005) indicates that poaching on traits that they are not expected to have can help party leaders to strengthen their image and build their following. This may be what is happening in Alberta and BC for some party leaders as well.

Electoral Timeframe Patterns of Self-Presentation: The Importance of the Pre-Election Period

Party label affects Twitter activity, but the data presented in Figures 5.3 and 5.4 also hint at a role for time. In this section, I assess the role of time in more detail. I begin by looking at patterns of Twitter activity in the pre-election period (six months before the writ dropped), election period (the approximate six-week electoral campaign period) and the post-election period (six months following the election date), pooling all four elections. Then I break each election down individually to note any major patterns or changes across individual elections.

In terms of how a party leader tweets, time frame seems to play a role particularly in the pre-election period. Figures 5.5 and 5.6 pool the tweets from all leaders and track them across time. These figures suggest that party leaders tweet more agentically in the pre-election period, and then they tweet more equally on agentic and communal issues and behavioural traits during the election and in the post-election period.

Figure 5.5

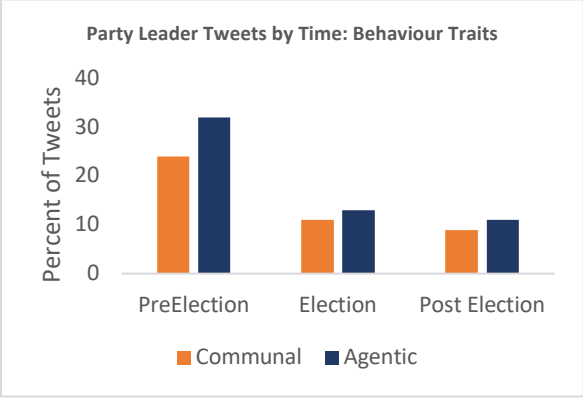
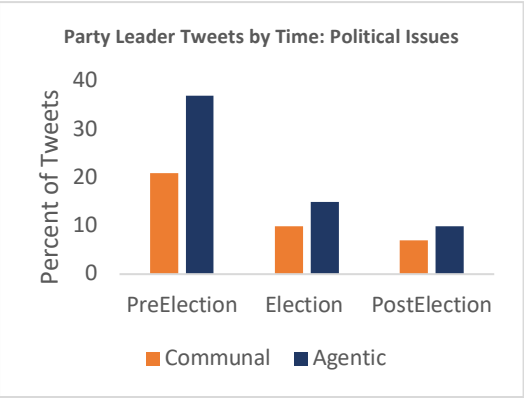


Figure 5.6



While these statistics do not establish a clear relationship between campaign timeframe and types of tweets, they do suggest that timing may impact how a leader self-presents and chooses to tweet, as they seem to tweet very agentically in the pre-election period. This relationship warrants further investigation, I will start by looking at each election individually to see whether this pattern holds across all four elections.

Individual Election Cycles: Leaders' Tweeting Activity by Sex and Timing

In this section I look more closely at each of the four individual case studies and assess twitter activity across the electoral cycle.

Alberta 2012

Figures 5.7 and 5.8 assess Twitter activity of leaders across the three phases of the electoral cycle, in Alberta during the 2012 election. The data suggest that leaders' tweets were significantly more agentic during pre-election period than the other two periods, in which leaders generally struck a closer balance between agentic and communal tweets. This pre-election effect was more pronounced for political issues, but behavioural tweets were also more agentic during this time period than the rest of the election cycle.

Figure 5.7

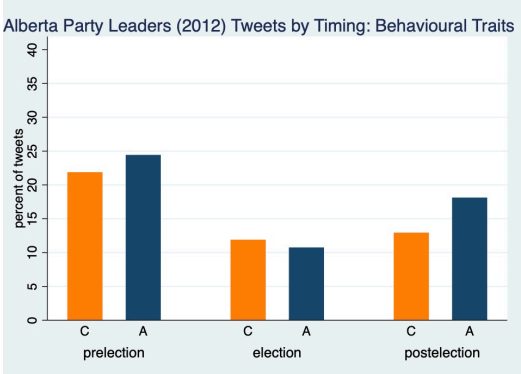
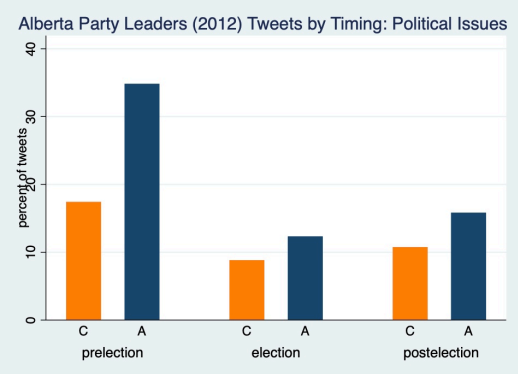


Figure 5.8



To better understand the impact of the electoral cycle on Twitter activity of party leaders, I compare the Premier (Redford) to the Opposition Leader (Smith) to see whether their tweets changed as they as they transitioned from their candidate roles to elected officials. Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show the results of these analyses: Redford's Behavioural trait tweet habits are tracked in the left-hand panel, while Smith's tweets can be found on the right.

Figure 5.9

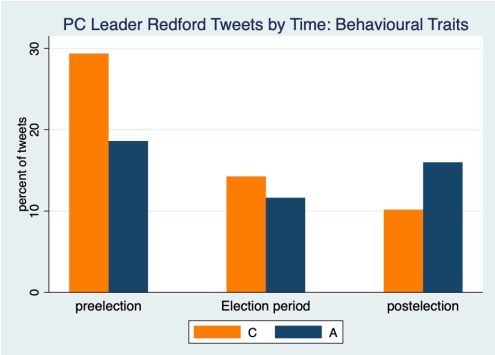


Figure 5.10

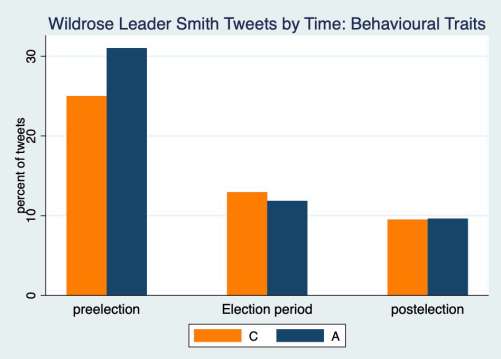


Figure 5.11

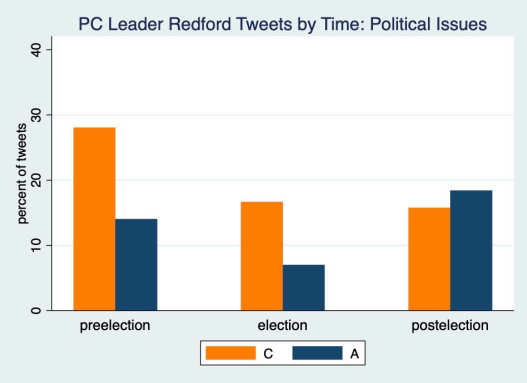
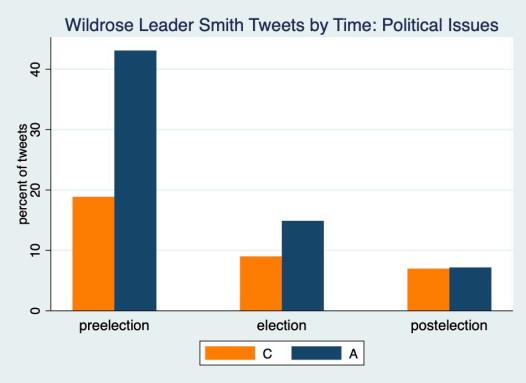


Figure 5.12



Redford is much more likely to tweet communally rather than agentically during the pre-election and election periods. However, once she becomes Premier, she tweets far less communally compared to the pre-election time period. This shift supports the hypothesis that once women become Premier, they must convey to voters that they possess masculine personality traits (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). In particular in the context of the 2012 election, Redford campaigned on protecting the public sector from cuts (communal issue) which the Wildrose party supported, yet, once Redford stepped into the role of Premier she took a hostile line with public sector workers introducing a bill to freeze wages for union workers and strip the right of binding arbitration (Canadian Press, 2013). This suggests that Redford embraced the hard, authoritative masculine leadership style typically associated with the political realm. The fact that Redford's agentic and communal tweet gap also decreases during the election period also aligns with the hypothesis that women party leaders must balance their trait presentation during a campaign and shifts once they enter a role of power.

Figure 5.10 tells a slightly different story, and one can note the shift in Danielle Smith's tweet activity across the electoral cycle; she tweets much more agentically during the pre-election period, slightly more communally during the election, and at nearly equal rates during the post-election period. This may be attributed to the limitation in women's self-presentation and need to balance masculinity and femininity as a political official. Figure 5.12 shows Smith tweets on agentic political issues more frequently; at a rate of nearly 2x that of communal issues. However, it is notable that her agentic issue tweets dramatically fall from the pre-election period through the election and post-election period. This decline suggests that Smith may not be tweeting on similar salient issues as Redford and she may be trying to return to the "norm" by appearing less aggressive and more feminine on issues in order to garner votes. She also tweets less and less over time, tweeting substantially more in the six months leading up to the election than she does either during the election or once it is over.

Overall, these four figures depict two party leaders who in the pre-election period tweet quite differently: Redford more communally and Smith more agentically, yet we can see they both end up tweeting in about equal proportions during the campaign and post-

election periods, providing additional support for the idea that leaders change their self-presentation as they become elected officials.[10]

Alberta 2015

In 2015, we see a similar pattern to 2012: a dramatic decline in behavioural and political issue tweets in the campaign and post-election time periods compared to the pre-election time period. However, only the political issue tweets (depicted in Figure 5.14), are statistically significant across the time periods, unlike behaviour traits (Figure 5.13) where the effect is less pronounced. These findings provide additional support that how a leader present themselves during the campaign matters, and that they are far more communicative on Twitter in the six months leading up to the election, rather than the election and post-election periods.

Figure 5.13

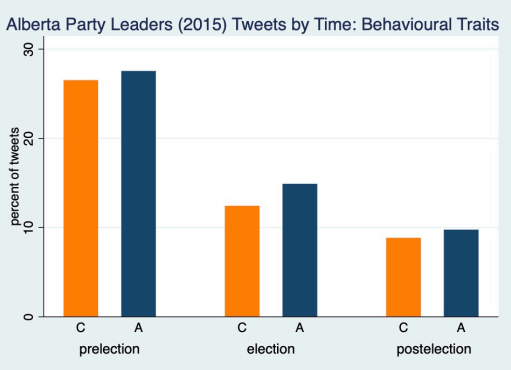
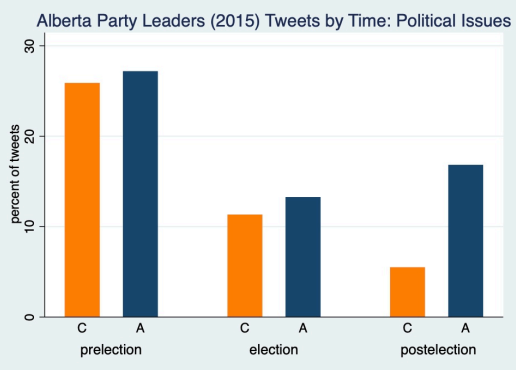


Figure 5.14



[10] A multivariate analysis was also completed on Alberta 2012 party leader's and the results echo the above bivariate analyses in Figures 5.9 – 5.12

Now I compare the Premier (Notley) to the Opposition leader (Jean) on traits and issues throughout the campaign. Figures 5.15-5.18 track the leaders' Twitter activity across the three time periods.

As Figure 5.15 shows, Notley tweets consistently at a slightly higher rate on agentic behaviours such as aggression and ambition compared to communal traits, such as compassion, especially in the pre- and post-election periods. She balances trait presentation during the election period and subsequently increases her agentic tweets once she becomes Premier. This also supports my hypothesis that women must balance their trait presentation as a candidate and become more masculine once they move into traditional positions of power. On issues (as seen in Figure 5.17), Notley again can be seen to tweet differently prior to and after the election. She tweets at a higher rate on communal issues in the pre-election period, while during the election in April – May 2015, we see that she tweets at nearly equal rates on agentic and communal issues. After the election, however, things really change, and Notley tweets much more agentically. While this is a small sample size of tweets (n=119) and should be observed with caution, it is worth considering the significant split in tweet types after the election. While it could be inferred that agentic issues are more salient following the election, it is also worth considering what her gender and party ID may have to do with the shift in her tweeting style from when she was a candidate to her role as the Premier.

Figure 5.15

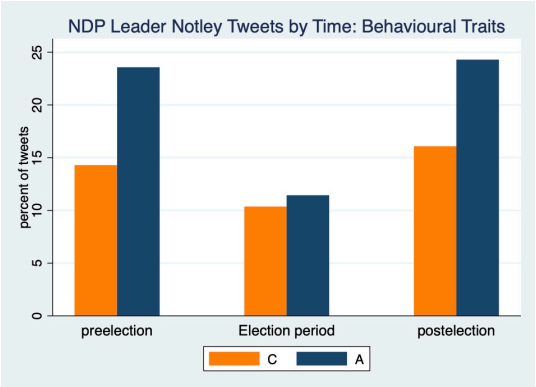


Figure 5.16

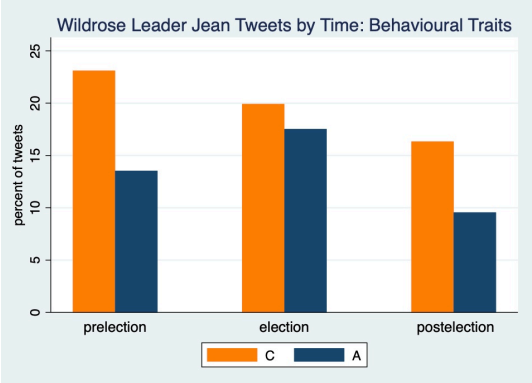


Figure 5.17

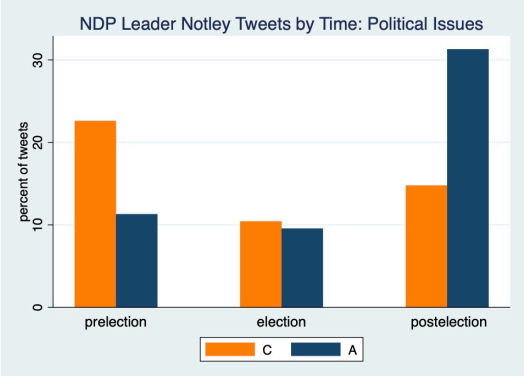
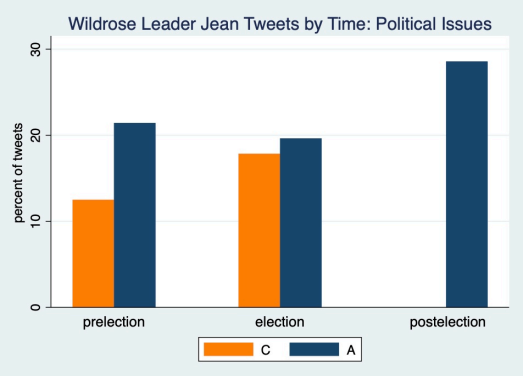


Figure 5.18



Brian Jean's tweet patterns are a little different. Figure 5.16 illustrates his penchant for tweeting on communal behaviours; demonstrating people skills, sensitivity and compassion. He tweets about 1.5x as often on communal traits as he does agentic traits throughout the thirteen-month period. Research has suggested that male candidates are concerned about being perceived as a bully towards women candidates during the election period (Dittmar, 2015), which may account for part of his high frequency of communal traits.

In contrast to his behavioural trait displays, he tweets significantly more agentically on issues (as seen in Figure 5.18). Jean tweets very little compared to the other two candidates in general and is 3 times more likely to tweet on agentic issues than communal issues. Yet, during the election, he, similarly to Notley, tweets on agentic and communal issues at a near equal rate. Following the election, Jean also demonstrates a shift in tweeting pattern and only tweets on agentic issues. Jean, as the leader of the official opposition to the NDP government may be tweeting in similar patterns to Notley on similar issues. Yet, if that were so one would assume that his twitter feed would also still include tweets on communal issues, though at a much smaller rate. Again, while caution must be considered in interpreting these results given the small sample size of his tweets (n = 57), the split of his tweet style between candidacy and assuming the mantle of the "official opposition" is worth further examination.[11]

BC 2013

The BC 2013 election period sees the continued trend of the dramatic decline in tweets during the election and post-election period. Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.20 depict the relationship between the electoral time period and agentic and communal behavioral trait tweets and political issue tweets. Once again, these individual case study descriptive statistics provide support towards the idea that the pre-election campaigning period may

[11] A multivariate analysis was also completed on Alberta 2015 party leader's and the results echo the above bivariate analyses in Figures 5.15 – 5.18

matter most in terms of how leaders self-present; and they may strategically present themselves differently once the election is over.

Figure 5.19

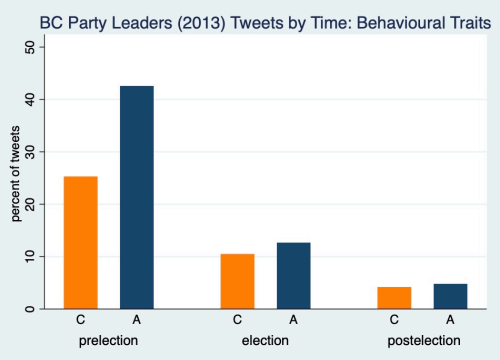
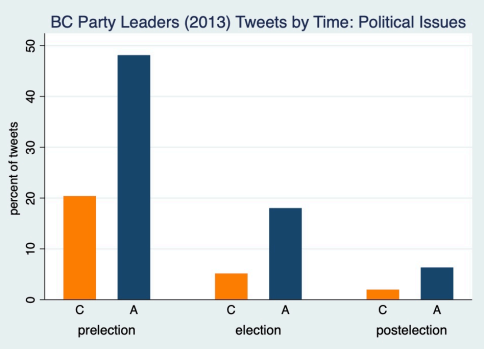


Figure 5.20



Next, I compare the Premier (Clark) and the Opposition leader (Dix) and their behavior trait and political issue tweets across time periods. Figures 5.21 through 5.24 track Twitter activity over time for these two leaders. Clark tweets 1.3x more agentic traits compared to communal traits throughout the thirteen-month period. Her tweets dramatically decline during the election and post-election period, yet her rate of agentic tweets remain stable, tweeting 1.3x more than communal traits across the time periods. Clark's consistent agentic tweet rate across time does not conform to the hypothesis of women becoming more agentic as they move into roles of power, it is possible that this is due to her position as the sitting Premier prior to this election and already in an agentic presenting role. Clark tweets 2.4x as often on agentic issues (Figure 5.23) as compared to communal issues overall. Yet, when we break it down by time period Clark notably decreases her communal tweets dramatically during the election so that she tweets agentically 11.2x as often as her communal issue tweets. This dramatic drop in communal tweets supports previous literature that suggests women candidates' biggest hurdle is to convey masculine

personality traits successfully to voters and they may benefit by demonstrating masculine traits on agentic issues such as the economy and military (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 143).

Figure 5.21

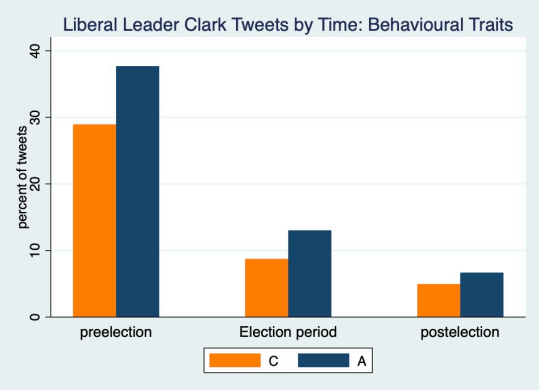


Figure 5.22

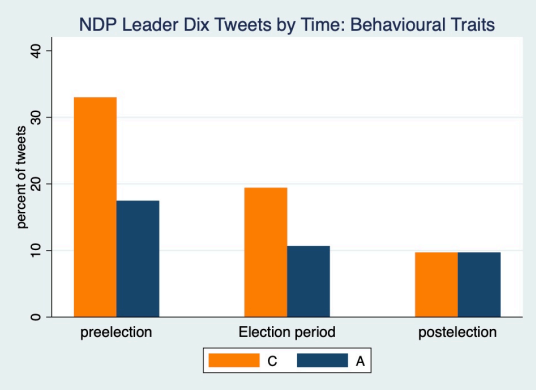


Figure 5.23

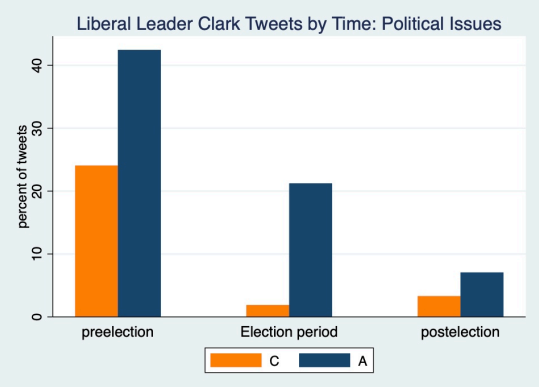


Figure 5.24

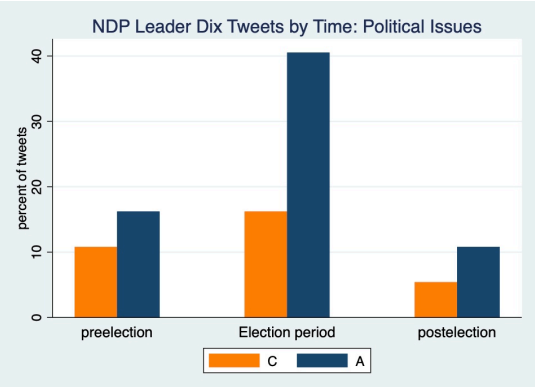


Figure 5.22 shows Dix's tweet habits across the election; he tweets 1.6x more communal overall; yet we note his decrease in communal behavior trait tweets in the post-election period where he tweets at an equal communal and agentic rate. The previous chapter suggested that male party leaders have more freedom to change their presentations over time, and in the case of Dix as he becomes Opposition leader, he may be trying to shift his

presentation to favor becoming a more assertive and formative foe to the Premier. Figure 5.24 shows Dix's tweet habits of political issues and demonstrates similar patterns to Clark, which may also suggest that they are tweeting on similar salient issues. He tweets 2x as often on agentic issues compared to communal issues over the thirteen-month period and he tweets 2.5x as often on agentic issues during the election period.[12]

BC 2017

Finally, the last case study (BC 2017 election) finds that leaders' tweets patterns for both behavioural traits and political issues differ across time. While Figure 5.25 and Figure 5.26 demonstrate a decline in tweets during the election and post-election period, compared to the pre-election period; the effect of election timing does not reach traditional statistically significant levels with either behavioural traits or political issues.

Figure 5.25

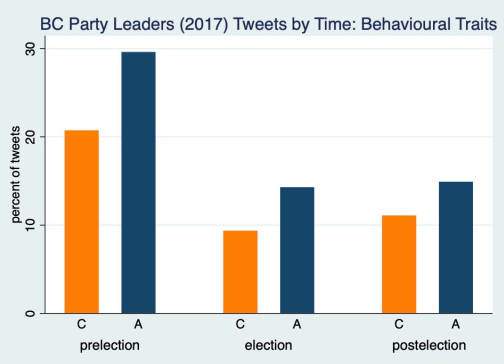
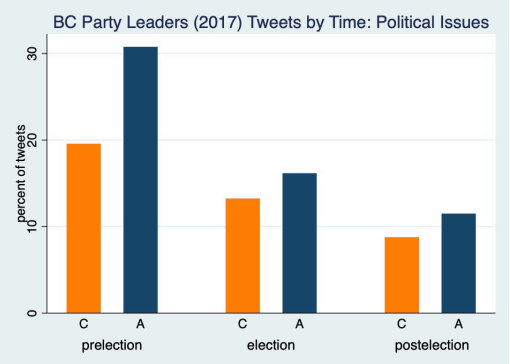


Figure 5.26



[12] A multivariate analysis was also completed on BC's 2013 party leader's and the results echo the above bivariate analyses in Figures 5.21 – 5.24

I now compare the Premier (Clark) to the Opposition leader (Horgan)[13] on behavioural traits throughout the election period. Figures 5.27 through 5.30 replicate the analyses from the previous sections, tracking leaders' tweet behaviour over the three different time periods.

Figure 5.27 shows that Clark tweets communal and agentic traits at nearly equal rates in the pre-election period and then tweets significantly more agentically during the election period (1.6x) and declines dramatically in the post-election period, becoming 2.6x as likely to tweet communal versus agentic traits. These changes lend support to the idea that presentations change throughout the election, particularly from the pre-election to the campaign and post-election period. However, her increase in agentic tweeting during the election period does not support the idea that women must balance their masculinity and femininity during the election and her decline in agentic trait tweets in the post-election does not support the hypothesis that women leaders become more agentic as the move into Premiership roles. This may also be due to the fact that she did not secure the confidence of the legislative assembly and ultimately stepped down from the Liberal party. Her political issue tweets follow a similar pattern to her behavioural traits: she tweets 1.1x more on agentic than communal issues across the 13 months period; however, this rate

[13] Clark technically led her party to re-election, but the election returned a minority legislature, and she remained as Premier until July when she did not secure the confidence of the legislative assembly. Horgan was not determined Premier until mid-July 2017, so for these purposes I refer to Clark as Premier

changes before, during, and after the election. She tweets most frequently agentically in the pre-campaign period and at near equal rates during the election period. During the post-election period she significantly decreases her agentic issue tweeting and tweets 2.8x more on communal issues, although her total number of tweets in the post-election are minimal. This reduction on issue tweets may likely be due to the minority government and her eventual departure as party leader.

Figure 5.27

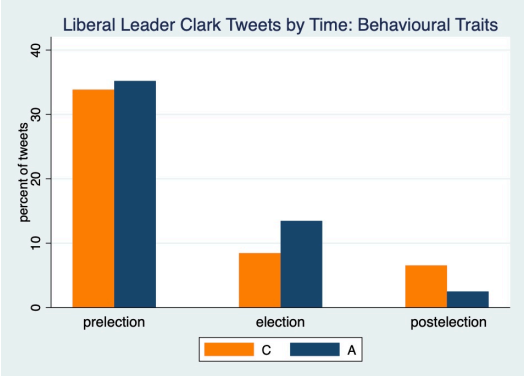


Figure 5.28

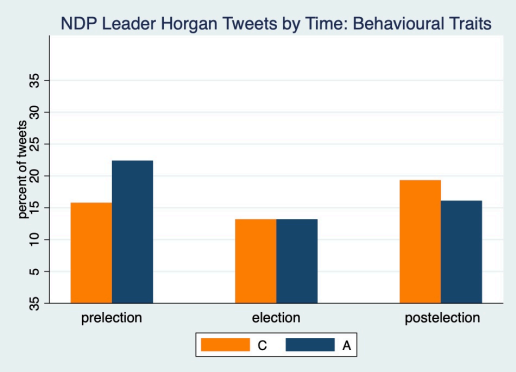


Figure 5.29

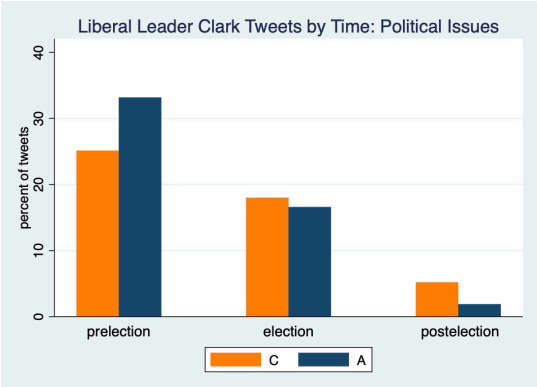


Figure 5.30

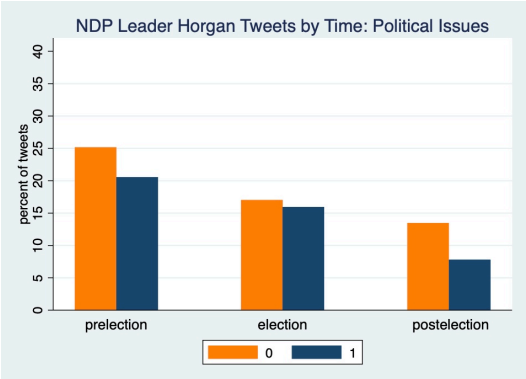


Figure 5.28 depicts Horgan's tweeting behaviour over time on traits and reveals slightly different patterns. Horgan tweets significantly more agentic behaviours in the pre-election period, at equal agentic and communal rates during the election period and tweets

significantly more communal traits in the post-election period. His shift in behaviour traits also suggests a change in presentation as he moves from candidate into future Premier. Horgan's issue tweeting patterns differ from Clark; he consistently tweets on more communal issues about 1.3x as often as agentic issues. He also tweets at near equal rates during the election period. Given the NDP's position as a more left and communal-focused party, it is not unusual that Horgan is focused more on communal issues in the election according to trait ownership theory (Petrocik, 1996); yet, it does not support my hypothesis of male party leaders tweeting slightly more on agentic issues.[14]

As we can see, there are some similarities and differences across the four individual case studies. There is a consistent pattern where leaders reduce their agentic and communal tweets during the election and post-election period in every election; lending support to the idea that the pre-election and campaigning period matter. However, the extent to which time and party leader sex and party impacted how a leader self-presented varied from case to case, suggesting that individual election context matters. In the next section I will turn to multivariate analysis looking specifically at women leaders and male leaders to control for additional variables and further unpack how sex and time impact leader presentation.

[14] A multivariate analysis was also completed on BC's 2017 party leader's and the results echo the above bivariate analyses in Figures 5.27 – 5.30

Sex, Time and Patterns of Self-Presentation

Finally, I turn my attention to considering how all three independent variables - sex, time and party label - interact to influence self-presentation of traits and political issues. To look at the influence of these factors together, I pool the data from all four election cycles (2 from BC and 2 from AB) and assess the relationship between party label, sex, time and tweet habits of party leaders. I regress tweets on sex, party leader, and time, and Figures 5.31 and 5.32 plots the coefficients from these regression analyses.[15] The results confirm the findings from the bivariate analyses presented earlier in this chapter: the pre-election period exerts a significant effect across the elections, pulling leaders to tweet on more agentic characteristics (Figure 5.31) prior to the election campaign.

This finding continues to support the idea that party leader's self-presentation on behavioural traits shifts throughout the election period, likely to attract and garner votes from certain groups as the election progresses. As predicted, when controlling for party label, the sex of the leader has no impact on tweets which suggests that party label and time of the election are much stronger indicators of how a party leader will express behavioural traits on Twitter; rather than their gender (Hayes, 2011). However, I expect these findings may be somewhat limited. Given that there is only one male and one female

[15] Full models and regression tables can be found in the appendix.

party leader for each party, the results may be specific to these leaders and not generalizable. More research is needed.

Figure 5.31

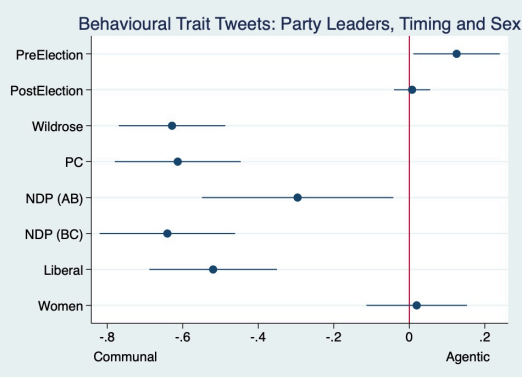
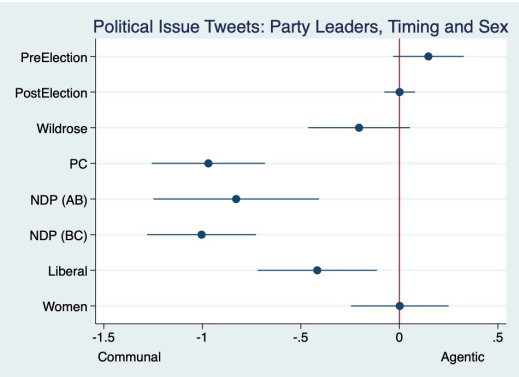


Figure 5.32



Party label has the largest effect in determining how a party leader tweets on behavioural traits. Leaders of all parties tweet far more communal behaviours compared to the Green party leaders (the reference category); interestingly the BC NDP party, comprised of two male party leaders, is the most communal (coef= -.64) and the Alberta NDP party is the least communal (coef= -.29) of all the parties. Yet, party label does not simply map onto trait ownership (Hayes, 2005) as the Wildrose party is also one of the most communal behaviour trait tweeters (coef=-.62). Further research is needed to disaggregate the impact of party label, sex and other potential mediating variables that may impact how a party leader expresses their behaviour traits and overall self-presentation.

Figure 5.32 shows the political issue tweets regressed on the independent variables of time, party and sex. The results indicate that sex has no impact on how a leader presents on issues, when accounting for time and party label. These findings align with Dolan's

(2005) findings about candidate websites; her research finds that candidates presented themselves in ways that aligned more with their party label than with gender stereotypes. The results in this analysis indicate similar findings across the elections; it seems party leaders do not self-present in accordance to traditional gender stereotype political issues. Time period also does not significantly impact how a leader tweets on agentic or communal issues. Unlike the finding for behavioural characteristics, it seems that we cannot predict what political issues a leader will focus on at any point throughout the election time period (also supporting previous findings by Dolan (2005) and Gulati (2004)).

Party label, when controlling for election time period and sex is the largest predictor of how a leader presents on political issues in tweets. On average, leaders of all parties are more communal compared to the leaders of the BC Green party; with Alberta's Wildrose party leaders being least communal (coef = -.20) and the BC NDP party leaders being most communal (coef=-1.0). The impact of party affiliation on Twitter activity does not directly fit with expectations based on the issue ownership theory (Petrocik, 1996), as Alberta's PC party leaders are generally tweeting on more communal issues such as education and healthcare compared to the leaders of Alberta's NDP party. However, it does more closely align with BC's parties. The Green leaders are most agentic (tweeting on natural resource and energy issues; rather than environment which is communal); the Liberal leader is one of the least communal in tweets (coef= -.4) and the NDP leaders are most communal (coef=-1.0) focusing on healthcare, education and housing issues. These results most

strongly suggest that party label and issue salience are likely the most significant factors in terms of how a candidate self-presents on political issues (Hayes, 2009; Petrocik, 1996). Yet, these issue stereotypes may be more complex as suggested by Banwart (2010) which may indicate why these results do not perfectly fit with the issue ownership pattern. While it seems as though election timing and sex have far less of an impact, further research on the interaction of salient issues, issue ownership, and party label would be beneficial in terms understanding how a party leader self-presents on political issues.

Conclusion

Results in this chapter indicate that when we account for all three factors: time, sex and party – party label has the most substantive impact and is the strongest indicator of how a leader will self-present, particularly regarding political issues. Yet, given that the impact of the party label does not align perfectly with the expectations of trait/issue ownership theory, the patterns seen could be explained by issue salience acting as a conditioning variable of self-presentation. Belanger and Meguid (2008) found previously that Canadians lacked a clear understanding of which Canadian parties owned certain issues. Future research would benefit from exploring issue salience as a conditioning variable to party-label ownership and leader self-presentation.

In terms of behaviour characteristics, both party label and time have an impact on trait presentation. Time certainly has a substantive effect pulling party leaders towards more

agentic behaviours or characteristics such as being aggressive (n=638) and assertive (n=617), particularly in the pre-election period. This supports the idea that leaders change their presentation (particularly behaviour traits) from the six months prior to an election and during and after an election. This finding most strongly supports that leaders shift their presentation throughout the 13-month period in order to appeal to key voters for an election, and serves as one of the most interesting findings of this project.

Sex on its own after controlling for party label and time seems to have no impact on how a leader tweets on traits – however, I think this finding is limited and would benefit from a larger study to understand more of when and how party and sex interact. When analyzing the four individual case studies, there seems to be some support that sex plays a role within each election and a larger study would help to disaggregate sex, party label and individual leader in order to fully understand these relationships.

In the previous chapter I found that women are constrained in terms of their self-presentation, but it seems that their Twitter behaviour is more affected by party label than sex. Additionally, looking at the case studies I find some limited support that women become more agentic particularly in behaviour traits after they become premier. These findings highlight the need for further research to unpack and disentangle the relationship between party and sex when assessing social media self-presentation. One consideration worth further investigation is the effect of third-party candidates (e.g. Jill Sterk, Brian

Mason, Jim Prentice, Andrew Weaver). These candidates who do not enter formal positions of power such as Premier or Official Opposition, may be freed from conforming to traditional norms and constraints of self-presentation, which may account for the sex-based differences when we aggregate all leaders' Twitter behaviour. Future research on the effect of the third-party candidates would benefit our understanding of political leader self-presentation.

In the final chapter I will conclude with an overview of my project findings. I will highlight patterns, identify project shortcoming as well as considering avenues of future research needed to better understand how party leaders express their self-presentation.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Little is known about how candidates' gender and party label influences how they decide to present themselves to the public. We know even less about self-presentation in Canadian elections, and to date, no research has been conducted at the provincial level. My project has analyzed four provincial Premiership races in Alberta (2012, 2015) and British Columbia (2013, 2017), and it provides a first look at how individual candidates self-present throughout the campaign cycle. This thesis has sought to answer three key questions: (1) Do traditional gender-role expectations of part leaders constrain the types of self-presentation available to them; (2) do presentations of self conform to prescribed 'political gender traits' as described by Huddy and Terkildsen (1993)? And (3) does the way party leaders present themselves online change by time, party label and sex?

The analyses here suggest there are significant differences in the way that party leaders talk about both political issues and present behavioural characteristics on Twitter. Gender and party label certainly appear to play a role in guiding the ways that party leaders self-present. Party label appears to matter more than sex, however, and is a stronger indicator for determining the Twitter activity of leaders.

While party matters a lot, gender cannot be overlooked. Results indicate key differences in self-presentation between male and female party leaders of the same party. For example, Alison Redford and Jim Prentice of Alberta's PC party present significantly differently in

terms of behavioural traits and political issues. This suggests that sex plays a role in in self-presentation styles, which we can see more clearly when we look at the Twitter activity of leaders within the same party.

This study also suggests that men have greater variance in the way that they present their behavioural traits on Twitter, while women are more constrained. This evidence supports the theory that women politicians are limited in how they present their masculine and feminine qualities in order to garner votes. Women must grapple with how "likeable" they are whereas male leaders are freer to present themselves with fewer repercussions. Results also indicate that women and men follow similar patterns when talking about political issues on Twitter. This finding is consistent with previous studies that suggest that political issue gendered stereotypes are subject to change, thus allowing women leaders more freedom to present on a variety of political issues (Sanbonmatsu, 2003; Banwart, 2010). Furthermore, these data suggest that party label and party owned issues play a key role in terms of how leaders' present on political issues (Petrocik, 1996; Hayes, 2009).

Party leaders also do not categorically align their self-presentation perfectly along stereotypical prescribed gendered traits or issues, nor do they exactly follow the expectations we would have based on party owned issues or traits. Men do not only present on masculine issues such as the economy and natural resources or demonstrate aggressive traits while women party leaders do not categorically focus on healthcare and

education or demonstrate only compassion traits in their tweets. While leaders seem to generally align with party-owned issues, this is not as straightforward as it seems. It is possible that the deviations of party leaders on the issue ownership may in part be explained by issue salience, which my models do not account for. Based on previous literature (Belanger and Meguid, 2008) it is likely that issue salience is a conditioning variable determining how leaders choose to self-present. Further analysis is needed.

This study also suggests that time plays a role in influencing the self-presentation of party leaders. These data strongly suggest that leaders change the way they communicate on Twitter (particularly for behavioural traits) across the electoral cycle. The pre-election period pulled leaders from all four elections to portray more agentic characteristics prior to the election campaign, and less so during the election and after the election was over. Leaders are likely seeking to attract and garner votes from certain groups as the election progresses, and they change their self-presentation in ways that they think will appeal to voters.

Despite these findings, a great deal of research is still needed to explore gendered self-presentation. This analysis has identified gaps in research on candidate self-presentation, particularly in Canada and at the sub-national level. While my findings do not offer a full picture of how gender impacts a candidate's self-presentation, I do provide some insights into some patterns, and this study provides early indications of how we might design

studies so that we can learn more. One key challenge in my project was fine-tuning the keywords used to identify agentic versus communal traits and issues. My findings also do not account for sentiment of the tweet; knowing not only whether the tweet is agentic or communal but also positive or negative in tone would add significant insights into how the candidate self-presents, and also whether they are being critical or sarcastic. Following this project with an in-depth qualitative study of party leaders' tweets, including posted photos and videos or interactions with others on the platform would provide an even more nuanced and detailed analysis of how a leader cultivates and changes their self-presentation over time. This research would provide greater detail on tweet tone and multiple issues or traits being demonstrated within a single tweet that my research was unable to capture.

Additionally, analyzing party leaders for a longer period of time would also provide more context to the development and changes in a leaders' self-presentation. While the 13-month period in this study was able to indicate that leaders change their self-presentation over time, it would be beneficial to note how they change throughout their tenure as Premier or Opposition leader, and as a leadership candidate over multiple elections.

It would also be beneficial to consider how the use and changes in campaign staff (who is directing social media platforms for party leaders) changes their self-presentation. My research does not account for campaign staff who may help to shape, control and even

tweet on the candidate's behalf. While literature is beginning to explore this (Kreiss et al., 2018; Dittmar, 2015) there is little in the Canadian context, and we still have only a nascent understanding of this relationship. Dittmar (2015) has explored the impact of campaign staff as political actors during elections and finds that they are likely to strategize on a candidate's behalf, including considerations of gender (283). Staffers' perceptions guide and shape candidates' gender performance to align with expected voter expectations by highlighting certain stereotypical traits and behaviours. Moreover, Dittmar highlights the opportunity of campaign staffers to "re-gender" a campaign and shape a candidate to exist outside the masculine frame. Further research on the interplay of campaign staff and candidate self-presentation in both the global and Canadian context is a significant area of scholarship that is under-researched to date and would provide significant value in understanding how women (and men) seek to shape their images in electoral politics.

Finally, an analysis that considers how multiple digital platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter as well as candidate websites and advertising interact to create a candidate's image would allow for greater breadth and a more comprehensive understanding of self-presentation. Twitter is just one avenue to express oneself to voters, and depending on who the candidate is and their comfort level with a technology this will impact how the tool is used – studying many mediums together will help us understand and construct a more complete understanding of a candidates self-presentation and their intent/why they present ways that they do.

This project provides a first look at how western Canadian provincial party leaders demonstrate their gendered self-presentation. While my research begins to address key questions regarding the development of party leader self-presentation, many questions remain unanswered and there are many exciting avenues available for further research.

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Appendix I: Regression Tables

Figure 4.4: Political Issue Tweets: Women Party Leader Presentation

```
. logit A_CxIssues CClark2013 JSterk CClark2017 ARedford Dsmith RNotley

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -2000.2896
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1962.2241
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1962.0797
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1962.0797

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,017
                                                LR chi2(6)        =      76.42
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1962.0797                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0191
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
CClark2013	.4841427	.1631263	2.97	0.003	.164421	.8038644
JSterk	.7602482	.1691141	4.50	0.000	.4287907	1.091706
CClark2017	-.2715248	.144587	-1.88	0.060	-.5549102	.0118605
ARedford	-.8456453	.1948876	-4.34	0.000	-1.227618	-.4636727
Dsmith	.2687693	.0906189	2.97	0.003	.0911594	.4463791
RNotley	-.3489274	.1935183	-1.80	0.071	-.7282162	.0303615
_cons	.3993582	.0617616	6.47	0.000	.2783077	.5204088

Figure 4.5: **Behaviour Trait Tweets: Women Party Leader Presentation**

```
. logit A_CxTraits CClark2013 JSterk CClark2017 ARedford Dsmith RNotley

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4873.2549
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -4873.2332
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -4873.2332

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(6)        =      61.71
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -4873.2332                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0063
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
CClark2013	.0145174	.0924481	0.16	0.875	-.1666775	.1957123
JSterk	.3646394	.0840609	4.34	0.000	.1998831	.5293957
CClark2017	-.2361344	.0928919	-2.54	0.011	-.4181992	-.0540696
ARedford	-.4336119	.1150662	-3.77	0.000	-.6591374	-.2080863
Dsmith	-.1816095	.0601848	-3.02	0.003	-.2995697	-.0636494
RNotley	.0936291	.127834	0.73	0.464	-.156921	.3441792
_cons	.2821602	.039313	7.18	0.000	.2051083	.3592122

Figure 4.6: Political Issue Tweets: Male Party Leader Presentation

```
. logit A_CxIssues ADix AWeaver JHorgan BMason BJean JPrentice

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -2000.2896
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1971.0822
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1971.0265
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1971.0265

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,017
                                                LR chi2(6)        =      58.53
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1971.0265                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0146
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
ADix	.1780231	.3543654	0.50	0.615	-.5165203	.8725665
AWeaver	.2137412	.102737	2.08	0.037	.0123804	.415102
JHorgan	-.8134144	.1277222	-6.37	0.000	-1.063745	-.5630834
BMason	-1.249093	.8673186	-1.44	0.150	-2.949006	.4508199
BJean	.2744022	.2944589	0.93	0.351	-.3027266	.8515311
JPrentice	-.3511516	.1724491	-2.04	0.042	-.6891457	-.0131576
_cons	.5559461	.0473444	11.74	0.000	.4631527	.6487394

Figure 4.7: Behaviour Trait Tweets: Male Party Leader Presentation

```
. logit A_CxTraits ADix AWeaver JHorgan BMason BJean JPrentice

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4857.4673
Iteration 2:   log likelihood =  -4857.426
Iteration 3:   log likelihood =  -4857.426

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(6)        =      93.33
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood =  -4857.426                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0095

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   A_CxTraits |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
--------------+---------------------------------------------------------------
         ADix |  -.7059929   .2053373    -3.44   0.001    -1.108447   -.3035391
      AWeaver |   .4715764   .0705499     6.68   0.000     .3333013    .6098516
      JHorgan |  -.1332519   .0828173    -1.61   0.108    -.2955707     .029067
       BMason |   .0257173   .3466924     0.07   0.941    -.6537873     .705222
        BJean |  -.5963339   .1317876    -4.52   0.000    -.8546329   -.3380349
    JPrentice |   .0068488   .0965903     0.07   0.943    -.1824647    .1961624
        _cons |   .2106715   .0299565     7.03   0.000     .1519578    .2693851
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

.
```

Figure 4.8 Political Issue Tweets: Leaders by Party

```
. logit A_CxIssues JSterk AWeaver ADix JHorgan RNotley BMason CClark2013 CClark2017 ARedford Dsmith BJe
> an

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -2000.2896
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1935.0359
Iteration 2:   log likelihood =  -1934.836
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1934.8359

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,017
                                                LR chi2(11)       =     130.91
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1934.8359                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0327

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  A_CxIssues |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
      JSterk |    .954812   .2286532     4.18   0.000       .50666    1.402964
     AWeaver |   .5648928   .1892369     2.99   0.003     .1939954    .9357903
        ADix |   .5291748   .3883691     1.36   0.173    -.2320146    1.290364
     JHorgan |  -.4622627    .203884    -2.27   0.023    -.8618679   -.0626575
     RNotley |  -.1543636   .2472489    -0.62   0.532    -.6389625    .3302354
      BMason |  -.8979416    .881758    -1.02   0.309    -2.626156    .8302724
  CClark2013 |   .6787065   .2242608     3.03   0.002     .2391635     1.11825
  CClark2017 |   -.076961    .211159    -0.36   0.716     -.490825    .3369029
    ARedford |  -.6510815   .2483221    -2.62   0.009    -1.137784   -.1643792
      Dsmith |   .4633331   .1785903     2.59   0.009     .1133026    .8133636
       BJean |   .6255539   .3346069     1.87   0.062    -.0302635    1.281371
       _cons |   .2047944   .1658228     1.24   0.217    -.1202123    .5298011
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Figure 4.9 Behaviour Trait Tweets: Leaders by Party

```
. logit A_CxTraits JSterk AWeaver ADix JHorgan RNotley BMason CClark2013 CClark2017 ARedford Dsmith BJe
> an

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4827.6788
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -4827.6159
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -4827.6159

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(11)       =     152.95
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -4827.6159                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0156
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
JSterk	.4292794	.1181229	3.63	0.000	.1977628	.660796
AWeaver	.4647276	.1118579	4.15	0.000	.2454902	.683965
ADix	-.7128417	.2229312	-3.20	0.001	-1.149779	-.2759046
JHorgan	-.1401007	.1199733	-1.17	0.243	-.3752441	.0950427
RNotley	.158269	.1524084	1.04	0.299	-.1404459	.456984
BMason	.0188685	.3573941	0.05	0.958	-.6816111	.719348
CClark2013	.0791573	.1242314	0.64	0.524	-.1643317	.3226464
CClark2017	-.1714945	.124562	-1.38	0.169	-.4156315	.0726426
ARedford	-.3689719	.1418697	-2.60	0.009	-.6470314	-.0909124
Dsmith	-.1169696	.1025134	-1.14	0.254	-.3178922	.083953
BJean	-.6031828	.1578065	-3.82	0.000	-.9124778	-.2938878
_cons	.2175203	.0918275	2.37	0.018	.0375416	.3974989

Figure 4.10: behaviour trait tweets: leaders by sex

```
. logit A_CxTraits JSterk CClark2013 CClark2017 ARedford Dsmith RNotley AWeaver ADix JHorgan BMason BJe
> an

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4827.6788
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -4827.6159
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -4827.6159

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(11)       =     152.95
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -4827.6159                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0156
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
JSterk	.4292794	.1181229	3.63	0.000	.1977628	.660796
CClark2013	.0791573	.1242314	0.64	0.524	-.1643317	.3226464
CClark2017	-.1714945	.124562	-1.38	0.169	-.4156315	.0726426
ARedford	-.3689719	.1418697	-2.60	0.009	-.6470314	-.0909124
Dsmith	-.1169696	.1025134	-1.14	0.254	-.3178922	.083953
RNotley	.158269	.1524084	1.04	0.299	-.1404459	.456984
AWeaver	.4647276	.1118579	4.15	0.000	.2454902	.683965
ADix	-.7128417	.2229312	-3.20	0.001	-1.149779	-.2759046
JHorgan	-.1401007	.1199733	-1.17	0.243	-.3752441	.0950427
BMason	.0188685	.3573941	0.05	0.958	-.6816111	.719348
BJean	-.6031828	.1578065	-3.82	0.000	-.9124778	-.2938878
_cons	.2175203	.0918275	2.37	0.018	.0375416	.3974989

Figure 5.3 Party label tweets by time: Behaivoural Traits

```
. logit A_CxTraits dummy4preelection dumm4postelection WRonly PConly AB_NDPonly BC_NDPonly Libonly

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4840.6571
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -4840.5905
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -4840.5905

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(7)        =     127.00
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -4840.5905                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0129
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
dummy4preelection	.1256851	.0583164	2.16	0.031	.0113871	.239983
dumm4postelection	.0214998	.0734349	0.29	0.770	-.1224299	.1654294
WRonly	-.6194206	.0646806	-9.58	0.000	-.7461923	-.4926488
PConly	-.6134355	.0850947	-7.21	0.000	-.780218	-.446653
AB_NDPonly	-.2865119	.1251348	-2.29	0.022	-.5317715	-.0412522
BC_NDPonly	-.6488554	.0871097	-7.45	0.000	-.8195873	-.4781236
Libonly	-.5084451	.0768566	-6.62	0.000	-.6590813	-.3578089
_cons	.5924213	.0641019	9.24	0.000	.466784	.7180587

Figure 5.4 Party label tweets by time: Political Issues

```
. logit A_CxIssues dummy4preelection dumm4postelection WRonly PConly AB_NDPonly BC_NDPonly Libonly

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -2000.2896
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1950.7348
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1950.6273
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1950.6273

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,017
                                                LR chi2(7)        =      99.32
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1950.6273                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0248
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
dummy4preelection	.1472119	.091544	1.61	0.108	-.0322112	.3266349
dumm4postelection	.0033901	.1193248	0.03	0.977	-.2304822	.2372625
WRonly	-.2032682	.101931	-1.99	0.046	-.4030494	-.0034871
PConly	-.969109	.1451618	-6.68	0.000	-1.253621	-.6845971
AB_NDPonly	-.8272746	.1970642	-4.20	0.000	-1.213513	-.4410358
BC_NDPonly	-1.004337	.1365419	-7.36	0.000	-1.271954	-.7367202
Libonly	-.4153284	.1256308	-3.31	0.001	-.6615603	-.1690965
_cons	.7900281	.1031295	7.66	0.000	.5878981	.9921582

Figure 5.7 Behavioural Trait Tweets: Alberta Party Leaders (2012) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxTraits Redford_dummy Smith_dummy ONLYAB2012preElection ONLYAB2012postElection

Iteration 0:   log likelihood =  -1558.114
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1553.6787
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1553.6787

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      2,249
                                                LR chi2(4)        =       8.87
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0644
Log likelihood = -1553.6787                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0028
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Redford_dummy	-.4367461	.36372	-1.20	0.230	-1.149624	.276132
Smith_dummy	-.2113574	.3500189	-0.60	0.546	-.8973819	.4746671
ONLYAB2012preElection	.2133831	.1013686	2.11	0.035	.0147044	.4120619
ONLYAB2012postElection	.2155	.1247977	1.73	0.084	-.0290989	.460099
_cons	.1363452	.3487785	0.39	0.696	-.547248	.8199385

Figure 5.8 Political Issue Tweets: Alberta Party Leaders (2012) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxIssues Redford_dummy Smith_dummy ONLYAB2012preElection ONLYAB2012postElection

Iteration 0:   log likelihood =  -719.8476
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -699.97192
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -699.94314
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -699.94314

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      1,086
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      39.81
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -699.94314                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0277
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Redford_dummy	.2050512	.8900145	0.23	0.818	-1.539345	1.949448
Smith_dummy	1.195105	.872697	1.37	0.171	-.5153494	2.90556
ONLYAB2012preElection	.3185031	.1552391	2.05	0.040	.0142401	.6227662
ONLYAB2012postElection	-.0818317	.1942496	-0.42	0.674	-.4625539	.2988905
_cons	-.7351399	.8692674	-0.85	0.398	-2.438873	.968593

Figure 5.13 Behavioural Trait Tweets: Alberta Party Leaders (2015) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxTraits Jean_dummy Notley_dummy Prentice_dummy ONLYAB2015preElection ONLYAB2015postElection ONLYAB2015
> Election

note: Prentice_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYAB2015Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -670.05503
Iteration 1:   log likelihood =  -659.0284
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -659.02634
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -659.02634

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =        968
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      22.06
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0002
Log likelihood = -659.02634                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0165
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Jean_dummy	-.6258251	.1720107	-3.64	0.000	-.9629598	-.2886904
Notley_dummy	.1377651	.1753614	0.79	0.432	-.2059369	.481467
Prentice_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYAB2015preElection	-.2531536	.1582408	-1.60	0.110	-.5633	.0569927
ONLYAB2015postElection	-.1339799	.2086639	-0.64	0.521	-.5429537	.2749939
ONLYAB2015Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	.3732275	.1540279	2.42	0.015	.0713383	.6751167

Figure 5.14 Political Issue Tweets: Alberta Party Leaders (2015) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxIssues Jean_dummy Notley_dummy Prentice_dummy ONLYAB2015preElection ONLYAB2015postElection ONLYAB2015
> Election

note: Prentice_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYAB2015Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood =  -210.8941
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -198.81614
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -198.75834
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -198.75833

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =        309
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      24.27
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0001
Log likelihood = -198.75833                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0575
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Jean_dummy	.1986785	.3594602	0.55	0.580	-.5058505	.9032075
Notley_dummy	-.8746782	.3105675	-2.82	0.005	-1.483379	-.2659772
Prentice_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYAB2015preElection	-.1403497	.2926091	-0.48	0.631	-.7138529	.4331535
ONLYAB2015postElection	1.425958	.4030709	3.54	0.000	.6359537	2.215963
ONLYAB2015Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	.3704187	.2837543	1.31	0.192	-.1857296	.9265669

Figure 5.19 Behavioural Trait Tweets: BC Party Leaders (2013) and Timing Regression Table

```
. do "/var/folders/xr/95psy4vs7599fxlktj_k9jzh0000gn/T//SD00285.000000"

. logit A_CxTraits Clark13_dummy Dix_dummy Sterk_dummy ONLYBC2013preElection ONLYBC2013postElection ONLYBC2013Ele
> ctionperiod

note: Sterk_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYBC2013Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -999.88053
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -978.57449
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -978.55812
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -978.55812

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      1,490
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      42.64
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -978.55812                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0213
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Clark13_dummy	-.3556422	.1127316	-3.15	0.002	-.576592	-.1346924
Dix_dummy	-1.098286	.2180717	-5.04	0.000	-1.525699	-.6708732
Sterk_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYBC2013preElection	.3669549	.125376	2.93	0.003	.1212225	.6126873
ONLYBC2013postElection	.0565529	.2008809	0.28	0.778	-.3371665	.4502723
ONLYBC2013Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	.4030458	.1154025	3.49	0.000	.176861	.6292307

Figure 5.20 Political Issue Tweets: BC Party Leaders (2013) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxIssues Clark13_dummy Dix_dummy Sterk_dummy ONLYBC2013preElection ONLYBC2013postElection ONLYBC2013Ele
> ctionperiod

note: Sterk_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYBC2013Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -274.54567
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -271.71482
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -271.70222
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -271.70222

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =        471
                                                LR chi2(4)        =       5.69
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.2238
Log likelihood = -271.70222                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0104
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Clark13_dummy	-.3013388	.2196263	-1.37	0.170	-.7317985	.1291208
Dix_dummy	-.6287106	.4026421	-1.56	0.118	-1.417875	.1604534
Sterk_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYBC2013preElection	-.4565146	.2654215	-1.72	0.085	-.9767311	.0637019
ONLYBC2013postElection	-.0842184	.427611	-0.20	0.844	-.9223205	.7538837
ONLYBC2013Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	1.506113	.2677333	5.63	0.000	.9813653	2.03086

Figure 5.25 Behavioural Trait Tweets: BC Party Leaders (2017) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxTraits Clark17_dummy Horgan_dummy Weaver_dummy ONLYBC2017preElection ONLYBC2017postElection ONLYBC201
> 7Electionperiod

note: Weaver_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYBC2017Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -1526.4997
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1497.9748
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1497.9462
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1497.9462

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      2,253
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      57.11
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1497.9462                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0187
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Clark17_dummy	-.674764	.1111869	-6.07	0.000	-.8926863	-.4568417
Horgan_dummy	-.6261569	.10202	-6.14	0.000	-.8261125	-.4262013
Weaver_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYBC2017preElection	-.0628779	.1093101	-0.58	0.565	-.2771218	.1513659
ONLYBC2017postElection	-.1765454	.1241651	-1.42	0.155	-.4199045	.0668138
ONLYBC2017Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	.780308	.1026658	7.60	0.000	.5790867	.9815293

Figure 5.26 Political Issue Tweets: BC Party Leaders (2017) and Timing Regression Table

```
. logit A_CxIssues Clark17_dummy Horgan_dummy Weaver_dummy ONLYBC2017preElection ONLYBC2017postElection ONLYBC201
> 7Electionperiod

note: Weaver_dummy omitted because of collinearity
note: ONLYBC2017Electionperiod omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -697.22137
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -670.70822
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -670.66354
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -670.66354

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      1,027
                                                LR chi2(4)        =      53.12
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -670.66354                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0381
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Clark17_dummy	-.7459745	.169536	-4.40	0.000	-1.078259	-.4136901
Horgan_dummy	-1.0051	.152503	-6.59	0.000	-1.304	-.7061996
Weaver_dummy	0	(omitted)				
ONLYBC2017preElection	.2021384	.1504782	1.34	0.179	-.0927934	.4970702
ONLYBC2017postElection	-.0759556	.1889921	-0.40	0.688	-.4463733	.2944621
ONLYBC2017Electionperiod	0	(omitted)				
_cons	.700062	.1407258	4.97	0.000	.4242445	.9758794

Figure 5.31 Behavioural Trait Tweets: Party Leaders, Timing, and Sex

```
. logit A_CxTraits dummy4preelection dumm4postelection dummy4election WRonly PConly AB_NDPonly BC_NDPonly Libonly
>  Greenonly Women

note: dummy4election omitted because of collinearity
note: Greenonly omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -4904.0904
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -4840.6166
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -4840.5495
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -4840.5495

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      7,147
                                                LR chi2(8)        =     127.08
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -4840.5495                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0130
```

A_CxTraits	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
dummy4preelection	.1252534	.058338	2.15	0.032	.0109129	.2395938
dumm4postelection	.0220401	.0734535	0.30	0.764	-.1219261	.1660063
dummy4election	0	(omitted)				
WRonly	-.6284815	.0720221	-8.73	0.000	-.7696422	-.4873208
PConly	-.6133027	.0850958	-7.21	0.000	-.7800873	-.4465181
AB_NDPonly	-.295876	.1293418	-2.29	0.022	-.5493813	-.0423708
BC_NDPonly	-.6408007	.0915177	-7.00	0.000	-.820172	-.4614293
Libonly	-.5196381	.0862421	-6.03	0.000	-.6886695	-.3506068
Greenonly	0	(omitted)				
Women	.0194869	.0680181	0.29	0.774	-.1138262	.1528
_cons	.5843703	.0699749	8.35	0.000	.447222	.7215185

Figure 5.32 Political Issue Tweets: Party Leaders, Timing, and Sex

```
. logit A_CxIssues dummy4preelection dumm4postelection dummy4election WRonly PConly AB_NDPonly BC_NDPonly Libonly
>  Greenonly Women

note: dummy4election omitted because of collinearity
note: Greenonly omitted because of collinearity
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -2000.2896
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -1950.7349
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -1950.6272
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -1950.6272

Logistic regression                             Number of obs     =      3,017
                                                LR chi2(8)        =      99.32
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -1950.6272                     Pseudo R2         =     0.0248
```

A_CxIssues	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
dummy4preelection	.1471566	.0916297	1.61	0.108	-.0324344	.3267476
dumm4postelection	.0033655	.1193362	0.03	0.978	-.2305292	.2372603
dummy4election	0	(omitted)				
WRonly	-.204438	.1319504	-1.55	0.121	-.463056	.0541801
PConly	-.9694103	.1467583	-6.61	0.000	-1.257051	-.6817693
AB_NDPonly	-.8284602	.2145861	-3.86	0.000	-1.249041	-.4078792
BC_NDPonly	-1.003845	.1410232	-7.12	0.000	-1.280245	-.7274445
Libonly	-.4165914	.15482	-2.69	0.007	-.7200331	-.1131497
Greenonly	0	(omitted)				
Women	.001763	.126277	0.01	0.989	-.2457353	.2492613
_cons	.7895655	.1083202	7.29	0.000	.5772617	1.001869

Appendix II: Agentic and Communal Keywords

Agentic and Communal Political Issues

Agentic	Communal
Economy	Healthcare
Government Budget	Education
Energy/Natural Resources	Environment
Immigration	Family issues (Seniors, Childcare etc.)
Agriculture	Women's issues

Agentic and Communal Issue Keywords

Category	Keyword	AB 2012	AB 2015	BC 2013	BC 2017
Agentic	Energy/Natural Resources	Pipeline", "pipeline", "energy", "Energy", "Oil", "oil", "Gas", "gas", "Petroleum", "petroleum", "Oilsands", "oilsands", "Energy east", "energy east", "Industry", "industry", "Royalty", "royalty", "Royalties", "royalties", "Prices", "prices", "Resources", "resources", "Resource", "resource", "Reserves", "reserves", "Reserve", "reserve", "Keystone", "keystone", "Transcanada", "transcanada"	Pipeline", "pipeline", "Energy", "energy", "Oil", "oil", "Gas", "gas", "Oilsands", "oilsands", "Energy east", "energy east", "Industry", "industry", "Royalty", "royalty", "Price", "price", "Prices", "prices", "Resources", "resources", "Resource", "resource", "Reserves", "reserves", "Reserve", "reserve", "Keystone", "keystone"	Energy", "energy", "LNG", "lng", "Site C", "site c", "Pipeline", "pipeline", "Mining", "mining", "Forestry", "forestry", "Carbon", "carbon", "Climate", "climate", "Hydro", "hydro", "dam", "Dam", "Utilities", "utilities", "$50/ton", "Pollution", "pollution", "TransMountain", "transmountain", "Transmountain", "Kinder", "kinder", "Oil", "oil", "Tanker", "tanker", "Royalties", "royalties", "Royalty", "royalty", "Mines", "mines", "Wood", "wood", "timber",	Energy", "energy", "LNG", "lng", "Site C", "site c", "Pipeline", "pipeline", "Mining", "mining", "Forestry", "forestry", "Carbon", "carbon", "Climate", "climate", "Hydro", "hydro", "dam", "Dam", "Utilities", "utilities", "$50/ton", "Pollution", "pollution", "TransMountain", "transmountain", "Transmountain", "Kinder", "kinder", "Oil", "oil", "Tanker", "tanker", "Royalties", "royalties", "Royalty", "royalty", "Mines", "mines", "Wood", "wood", "timber",

				"Timber", "Logging", "logging", "Reforestation", "reforestation", "Exports", "exports", "imports", "Imports", "Environment", "environment", "Environmental", "environmental", "Natural", "natural", "Gas", "gas", "Pricing", "pricing", "Mines", "mines", "Tankers", "tankers", "Inlet", "inlet", "Sustainable", "sustainable"	"Timber", "Logging", "logging", "Reforestation", "reforestation", "Exports", "exports", "imports", "Imports", "Environment", "environment", "Environmental", "environmental", "Natural", "natural", "Gas", "gas", "Pricing", "pricing", "Mines", "mines", "Tankers", "tankers", "Inlet", "inlet", "Sustainable", "sustainable",
Agentic	Economy	Economy", "economy", "Economies", "economies", "Jobs", "jobs", "Job", "job", "Investment", "investment", "Fiscal", "fiscal", "Growth", "growth", "Recover", "recover", "Recovery", "recovery", "Diversify", "diversify", "Prosperity", "prosperity", "Prosperous", "prosperous", "Business", "business", "Innovate", "innovate", "Innovative", "innovative", "Layoffs", "layoffs", "layoff", "Layoff", "Wages", "wages",	Economy", "economy", "Economies", "economies", "Jobs", "jobs", "Job", "job", "Investment", "investment", "Fiscal", "fiscal", "Growth", "growth", "Recover", "recover", "Recovery", "recovery", "Diversify", "diversify", "Prosperity", "prosperity", "Prosperous", "prosperous", "Business", "business", "Businesses", "businesses", "Innovate",	Economy", "economy", "Economies", "economies", "Jobs", "jobs", "Job", "job", "Investment", "investment", "Fiscal", "fiscal", "Growth", "growth", "Recover", "recover", "Recovery", "recovery", "Diversify", "diversify", "Prosperous", "prosperous", "Prosperity", "prosperity", "Business", "business", "Businesses", "businesses", "Innovate",	Economy", "economy", "Economies", "economies", "Jobs", "jobs", "Job", "job", "Investment", "investment", "Fiscal", "fiscal", "Growth", "growth", "Recover", "recover", "Recovery", "recovery", "Diversify", "diversify", "Prosperity", "prosperity", "Prosperous", "prosperous", "Business", "business", "Innovate", "innovate", "Innovative",

		"Wage", "wage", "Economic", "economic"	"innovate", "Layoffs", "layoffs", "Layoff", "layoff", "Wage", "wage", "Wages", "wages"	"innovate", "Wage", "wage", "Wages", "wages", "Tourism", "Film", "tourism", "film	"innovative", "Layoffs", "layoffs", "layoff", "Layoff", "Wages", "wages", "Wage", "wage", "Economic", "economic"
Agentic	Gov't spending	Tax", "tax", "Taxes", "taxes", "Spending", "spending", "Sales", "sales", "PST", "pst", "Carbon", "carbon", Fiscal", "fiscal", "Balance", "balance", "Budget", "budget", "Finance", "finance", "Financial", "financial", "Finances", "finances", "Revenue", "revenue", "Debt", "debt", "Accountability", "accountability", "accountable", "Accountable", "Deficit", "deficit", "Surplus", "surplus"	Fiscal", "fiscal", "Balance", "balance", "Budget", "budget", "Finance", "finance", "Finances", "finances", "Financial", "financial", "revenue", "Revenue", "Debt", "debt", "Accountability", "accountability", "accountable", "Accountable", "Deficit", "deficit", Tax", "tax", "Taxes", "taxes", "Sales", "sales", "PST", "Pst", "pst", "Carbon", "carbon"	Personal", "personal", "Corporate", "corporate", "Harmonized", "harmonized", "Sales", "sales", "PST", "pst", "Pst", "Tax", "tax", "Taxes", "taxes", "Investments", "investments", "Investment", "investment", "Fiscal", "fiscal", "Fiscally", "fiscally", "Balanced", "balanced", "balance", "Balance", "Budget", "budget", "Finance", "finance", "Finances", "finances", "Financials", "financials", "Revenue", "revenue", "Debt", "debt", "Accountability", "accountability", "Accountable",	"Fiscal", "fiscal", "Balance", "balance", "Budget", "budget", "Finance", "finance", "Financial", "financial", "Finances", "finances", "Revenue", "revenue", "Debt", "debt", "Accountability", "accountability", "accountable", "Accountable", "Deficit", "deficit", "Surplus", "surplus", "Tax", "tax", "Taxes", "taxes", "Spending", "spending", "Sales", "sales", "PST", "pst", "Carbon", "carbon", "Personal", "personal", "Corporate", "corporate", "Harmonized",

				"accountable", "Deficit", "deficit", "Surplus", "surplus"	"harmonized", "Investments", "investments", "Investment", "investment"
	Environment	Environment", "environment", "Environmental", "environmental", "Clean", "clean", "Green", "green", "Climate", "climate", "flood", "Flood", "GHG", "ghg", "Ghg", "Greenhouse", "greenhouse", "Emissions", "emissions", "Emission", "emission", "Renewable", "renewable", "Renewables", "renewables", "Sustainable", "sustainable"	Clean", "clean", "Environment", "environment", "Environmental", "environmental", "Green", "green", "Climate", "climate", "flood", "Flood", "ghg", "GHG", "Ghg", "Greenhouse", "greenhouse", "Emission", "emission", "Emissions", "emissions", "Renewable", "renewable", "Renewables", "renewables"		
Agentic	Infrastructure	Roads", "roads", "Road", "road", "Highway", "highway", "Highways", "highways", "Transit", "transit", "Transportation", "transportation", "ring", "Ring", "Infrastructure", "infrastructure", "Construction", "construction		Transportation", "transportation", "Transit", "transit", "Translink", "translink", "transport", "Transport", "Buses", "buses", "Bus", "bus", "Skytrain", "skytrain", "Ferry", "ferry", "Ferries", "ferries", "bridges", "bridge", "Bridges", "Bridge", "Tolls", "tolls",	Transportation", "transportation", "Transit", "transit", "Translink", "translink", "transport", "Transport", "Buses", "buses", "Bus", "bus", "Skytrain", "skytrain", "Ferry", "ferry", "Ferries", "ferries", "bridges", "bridge", "Bridges", "Bridge", "Tolls", "tolls",

				"Subway", "subway", "Broadway", "broadway", "Massey", "massey", "Patullo", "patullo", "Port Mann", "Mann", "mann", "port mann", "Golden Ears", "golden ears", "Golden", "golden", "Ears", "ears", "Railway", "railway", "Railroad", "railroad"	"Subway", "subway", "Broadway", "broadway", "Massey", "massey", "Patullo", "patullo", "Port Mann", "Mann", "mann", "port mann", "Golden Ears", "golden ears", "Golden", "golden", "Ears", "ears", "Railway", "railway", "Railroad", "railroad"
	Education	Students", "students", "student", "Student", "School", "school", "Schools", "schools", "Teachers", "teachers", "Teacher", "Teacher", "Educators", "Educator", "educators", "educator", "Educating", "educating", "UofC", "uofc", "UofA", "uofa", "University", "university", "Universities", "universities", "College", "college", "Colleges", "collesges", "Teach", "teach", "Class", "class", "Classes", "classes", "Post-secondary", "post-secondary", "Education", "education"	Student", "student", "Students", "students", "School", "school", "Schools", "schools", "Teachers", "teachers", "Teacher", "teacher", "UofC", "uofc", "UofA", "uofa", "University", "university", "Universities", "universities", "college", "College", "Teach", "teach", "Class", "class", "Classes", "classes", "post-secondary", "Post-secondary",	Student", "student", "Students", "students", "School", "school", "Schools", "schools", "Teachers", "teachers", "Teacher", "teacher", "Univerisities", "universities", "University", "university", "UBC", "ubc", "UVIC", "uvic", "UNBC", "unbc", "TRU", "tru", "College", "college", "Colleges", "colleges", "Teach", "teach", "Class", "class", "Classes",	Student", "student", "Education", "education", "Educational", "education", "Students", "students", "Student loans", "student loans", "pre-school", "Pre-school", "Post-secondary", "post-secondary", "Tuition", "tuition", "Classes", "classes", "class", "Class", "Teachers", "teachers", "Teaching", "teaching", "Teach", "teach", "Learning",

			"Education", "education	"classes", "Post-secondary", "post-secondary", "Education", "education", "educate", "Educate", "Educational", "educational	"learning", "Learn", "learn", "K-12", "k-12", "K12", "k12", "College", "college", "Colleges", "colleges", "Technical", "technical", "University", "university", "Universities", "universities", "Strike", "strike", "Schools", "schools", "school", "School", "Classroom", "classroom", "UBC", "ubc", "UNBC", "unbc", "UNVIC", "uvic", "TRU", "tru",
	Healthcare	"Healthcare", "healthcare", "Health", "health", "Cancer", "cancer", "AHS", "ahs", "Patients", "patients", "patient", "Patient", "Medical", "medical", "Medicine", "medicine", "Care", "care", "Hospitals", "hospital", "Hospital", "hospital", "Dr", "dr", "Dr.'s", "dr.'s", "Nurse", "Nurses", "nurse", "nurses", "Careworkers", "careworkers", "carework", "Carework	Healthcare", "healthcare", "Health", "health", "cancer", "Cancer", "AHS", "ahs", "Patients", "patients", "Patient", "patient", "Medical", "medical", "Care", "care", "Hospitals", "hospitals", "Hospital", "hospital", "Dr", "dr", "Dr.'s", "dr.'s", "nurse", "Nurse",	Healthcare", "healthcare", "Health", "health", "Cancer", "cancer", "MSP", "msp", "HIBC", "hibc", "healthlink", "Healthlink", "Patients", "patients", "Patient", "patient", "Medical", "medical", "Medicine", "medicine", "Care", "care", "Hospitals", "hospitals", "Hospital",	"Healthcare", "healthcare", "Health", "health", "Cancer", "cancer", "Patients", "patients", "Patient", "patient", "Medical", "medical", "Care", "care", "medicine", "Medicine", "Hospitals", "hospital", "Hospital", "hospitals", "Dr", "dr", "Dr.'s", "dr.'s", "Nurse",

			"careworkers", "Careworkers"	"hospital", "Dr", "dr", "Dr.'s", "dr.'s" "Nurse", "nurse", "Nurses", "nurses", "Careworkers", "careworkers", "mental", "Mental", "Addictions", "addictions", "Addiction", "addiction", "Recovery", "recovery", "Fentanyl", "fentanyl", "Overdose", "overdose", "Clinics", "clinics", "Clinic", "clinic", "Substance", "substance", "Prescription", "prescription", "Drugs", "drugs", "Pharmacare", "pharmacare", "Urgent", "urgent", "Doctors", "doctors", "doctor", "Doctor	"nurse", "Nurses", "nurses", "Careworkers", "careworkers", "Carework", "carework", "MSP", "msp", "HIBC", "hibc", "healthlink", "Healthlink", "mental", "Mental", "Addictions", "addictions", "Addiction", "addiction", "Recovery", "recovery", "Fentanyl", "fentanyl", "Overdose", "overdose", "Clinics", "clinics", "Clinic", "clinic", "Substance", "substance", "Prescription", "prescription", "Drugs", "drugs", "Pharmacare", "pharmacare", "Urgent", "urgent", "Doctors", "doctors", "doctor", "Doctor"
	Housing	Affordable", "affordable", "Housing", "housing", "House", "house", "Development", "development", "Developers", "developers", "Dwelling", "dwelling", "Multi-			"Affordable", "affordable", "Housing", "housing", "Developers", "developers", "Development", "development", "Dwelling",

		family", "multi-family", "Build", "build", "Building", "building", "Property", "property", "Condo", "condo", "Realestate", "realestate", "homeowners", "Homeowners", "Renters", "renters", "Rental", "rental", "Rent", "rent", "Rentals", "rentals", "low-income", "Low-income", "Units", "units", "Tent", "tent", "Homeless", "homeless", "Market", "market", "afford", "Afford			"dweeling", "Home", "home", "Houses", "houses", "House", "house", "Multi-family", "multi-family", "Build", "build", "Building", "building", "Property", "property", "foreign buyers tax", "Foreign buyers tax", "Condo", "condo", "Estate", "estate", "Homeowners", "homeowners", "Rental", "rental", "Rent", "rent", "low-income", "Low-income", "Units", "units", "Tent", "tent", "Homeless", "homeless", "Homelessness", "homelessness", "Market", "market", "Afford", "afford", "Realestate", "realestate", "Renters", "renters"
	Campaign financing				"Corporate", "corporate", "Individual", "individual", "Contributions",

					"contributions", "Campaign", "campaign", "Cap", "cap", "Election", "election", "Coffers", "coffers"
	family		Community", "community", "Communities", "communities", "Child", "child", "childcare", "Childcare", "Poverty", "poverty", "Seniors", "seniors", "Elderly", "elderly", "AISH", "aish", "Aish", "Disability", "disability", "Disabilities", "disabilities", "Disabled", "disabled", "Assisted-living", "assisted-living", "Assisted", "assisted", "nursing", "Nursing		Community", "community", "Communities", "communities", "Child", "child", "Childcare", "childcare", "Seniors", "seniors", "Senior", "senior", "Elderly", "elderly", "Disability", "disability", "Disabilities", "disabilities", "Disabled", "disabled", "Assisted-living", "assisted-living", "Assisted", "assisted", "Nursing", "nursing"
	poverty				"Poverty", "poverty", "Poor", "poor", "middle class", "middle", "Middle", "Minimum", "minimum", "Welfare", "welfare", "Living wage", "living wage"

Agentic and Communal Behavioral Traits and Keywords

Communal word	Keywords	Agentic word	Keywords
Cautious	"Cautious", "cautious", "Caution", "caution", "Safe", "safe", "Safely", "safely", "Cautiously", "cautiously", "Prudent", "prudent", "Wary", "wary", "Watchful", "watchful", "watching", "Watching", "Safety", "safety"	**Active**	"Work", "work", "Working", "working", "Deal", "deal", "Dealt", "dealt", "Trade", "trade", "Actions", "actions", "Action", "action", "Bold", "bold", "Eager", "eager", "Engage", "engage", "Engaged", "engaged", "Energized", "Energize", "energized", "energize", "Energetic", "energetic", "Enterprise", "enterprise", "Enterprising", "enterprising", "Resolute", "resolute", "Purposeful", "purposeful", "purpose", "Purpose", "Sharp", "sharp", "Active", "active"
Compassionate	"thanks", "Thanks", "thankful", "Thankful", "Thank", "thank", "kind", "Kind", "Concern", "concern", "concerned", "Concerned", "heartfelt", "Heartfelt", "heart", "Heart", "Condolences", "condolences", "condolence", "Condolence", "Humanity", "humanity", "Sympathy", "sympathy", "Sympathies", "sympathies",	**Admin Skills**	"Effective", "effective", "Skilled", "skilled", "Skills", "skills", "Experience", "experience", "Experienced", "experienced", "Experiences", "experiences", "Cabinet", "cabinet"

	"Compassion", "compassion", "Compassionate", "compassionate"		
Emotional	"Emotional", "emotional", "Emotions", "emotions", "Emotion", "emotion", "Spontaneous", "spontaneous", "Enthusiastic", "enthusiastic", "Enthusiasm", "enthusiasm", "Passionate", "passionate", "Nervous", "nervous", "Nerves", "nerves", "Touching", "touching", "Touched", "touched", "Heated", "heated", "Excited", "excited", "Exciting", "exciting", "Hysterical", "hysterical", "Moving", "moving", "Ecstatic", "ecstatic", "Thrilled", "thrilled"	**Aggressive**	"Aggressive", "aggressive", "Aggression", "aggression", "action", "Action", "Defend", "defend", "Albertans", "albertans", "Albertan", "albertan", "Alberta", "alberta", "Stand", "stand", "Stands", "stands",
Family-Oriented	"Families", "families", "Family", "family", "kids", "Kids", "Children", "children", "Child", "child", "Mother", "mother", "Father", "father", "Parents", "parents", "Parent", "parent", "Parenthood", "parenthood", "Grandchildren", "grandchildren",	**Ambitious**	"Opportunity", "opportunity", "Challenge", "challenge", "Challenges", "challenges", "Grows", "grows", "grow", "Grow", "Develop", "develop", "develops", "Develops", "Expand", "expand", "Expanding", "expanding", "Build", "build", "building", "Building", "Business",

	"Foster", "foster", "Youth", "youth", "Youths", "youths", "Baby", "baby", "Babies", "babies", "Teach", "teach", "Young", "young", "Generation", "generation", "Seniors", "seniors", "Senior", "senior"		"business", "Businesses", "businesses", "determined", "Determined", "determination", "Determination", "Determine", "determine", "Aspire", "aspire", "Aspiring", "aspiring", "Adamant", "adamant", "unwavering", "Unwavering", "Ambitious", "ambitious", "Ambition", "ambition"
Gentle	"Neighbour", "neighbour", "Neighbours", "neighbour", "Friends", "friends", "Friend", "friend", "Citizen", "citizen", "Citizens", "citizens", "Residents", "residents", "Resident", "resident", "Gentle", "gentle", "gently", "Gently"	**Articulate**	"Speak", "speak", "Spoke", "spoke", "Spoken", "spoken", "Talk", "talk", "Talked", "talked", "Articulate", "articulate", "Discuss", "discuss", "Discussed", "discussed", "Meeting", "meeting", "Met", "met", "Meet", "meet"
People Skills	"Together", "together", "Listen", "listen", "Listening", "listening", "Listened", "listened", "Wish", "Wishes", "wish", "wishes", "Wishing", "wishing", "Partnership", "partnership", "Partner", "partner"	**Assertive**	""Assertive", "assertive", "Assertion", "assertion", "Strong", "strong", "Stronger", "stronger", "Strength", "strength", "Strengthen", "strengthen", "Demand", "demand", "Demanding", "demanding", "demanded", "Demanded", "Champion", "champion", "PC", "NDP", "Wildrose", "pc", "ndp", "wildrose", "Liberal", "liberal", "@abdaniellesmith,

			“@bmasonNDP”, “@Redford_Alison”, “Redford”, “redford”, “Smith”, “smith”, “Mason”, “mason”, "assert", "Assert"
Sensitive	"Sensitive", "sensitive", "Sensitivity", "sensitivity", "Diverse", "diverse", "Diversity", "diversity", "Tragic", "tragic", "tragicly", "Tragicly", "Loss", "loss", "Losses", "losses", "Losing", "losing", "Hopeful", "hopeful", "Hope", "hope", "Thoughtful", "thoughtful", "Thoughts", "thoughts", "Prayers", "prayers"	**Coarse**	**“**LOL", "lol", "LMFAO", "lmfao", "lmao", "LMAO", "SMH", "smh", "IMO", "imo", "Shit", "shit", "Hell", "hell", "Bitch", "bitch", "Witch", "witch", "YOLO", "yolo"
Talkative	**Leader tweet count**	**Rational**	"Rational", "rational", "Rationally", "rationally", "Intelligent", "intellegent", "Intelligence", "intelligence", "Intellect", "intellect", "Intellectual", "intellectual", "Impartial", "impartial", "Balance", "balance", "Agnostic", "agnostic", "Balanced", "balanced", "Logic", "logic", "Logical", "logical", "Sensible", "sensible", "Sensibility", "sensibility", "Sensibilities", "sensibilities", "realistic", "Realistic"

Trustworthy	"hear", "heard", "ties", "support", "supported", "believe", "ethics", "ethical", "honourable", "honest", "truthful", "trustworthy", "trust", "responsible", "principled", "principles", "dependable"	**Self-confident**	"Confident", "confident", "Confidence", "confidence", "Proud", "proud", "Pride", "pride", "Courage", "courage", "Courageous", "courageous", "Self-confidence", "Self-confident", "self-confident", "self-confidence", "assured", "Assured"
Warm	“Warm", "warm", "Warmth", "warmth", "Welcome", "welcome", "Welcoming", "welcoming", "Welcomed", "welcomed", "Honoured", "honoured", "honour", "Honour", "Honouring", "honouring", "Fortunate", "fortunate", "Lucky", "lucky", "Good-natured", "good-natured"	**Tough**	"Tough", "tough", "Investigation", "investigation", "Investigate", "investigate", "Investigating", "investigating", "Vigilant", "vigilant", "Vigilance", "vigilance", "Alter", "alter", "Alteration", "alteration", "Protect", "protect", "Protected", "protected", "Protection", "protection", "Protections", "protections", "Resilient", "resilient", "resilience", "Resilience", "Firm", "firm", "Vigorous", "vigorous"