



Utrecht University

“To all the little girls watching”

Hillary Clinton’s self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter

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This paper is dedicated to my daughter, Alma, who has been my best distraction during this work. I will also be forever grateful to my Halldór who has shown me endless support.

1 Abstract

This paper analyses how Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter from her Twitter debut in 2013 until November 9th, 2016. It does so through a mixed method of discourse analysis and content analysis. The research question of this thesis is as following: How does Hillary Clinton's transformation from explicit to more reserved online feminist demonstrate contradictions within arguments of online spaces offering uniquely empowering tools for feminist expression? It is argued that by toning down her feminist self-presentation on Twitter while campaigning in 2016, Clinton demonstrated contradictions to popular beliefs among cyberfeminists about the internet being a positive and empowering platform for women. These findings, based on the feminist self-presentation of one of the most powerful female politician in the world, are a small but enriching contribution to the scholarly debate on whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminist in particular.

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2 Introduction

Thanks for the inspiration @ASmith83 & @Sllambe - I'll take it from here...
#tweetsfromhillary¹

This tweet marked Hillary Rodham Clinton's Twitter debut on June 10th, 2013. The tweet was directed to the owners of the famous Tumblr page "Texts from Hillary," a website presenting Clinton as this hip, cool and even "bad-ass" politician, wearing black sunglasses while texting her colleagues. Clinton used the same picture for her Twitter profile as made famous by the Tumblr website, thanking the site owners Adam Smith and Stacy Lambe. With that post alone she entered Twitter with a strong sense of humor and power, announcing that she would be taking over the "Texts from Hillary" series on her Twitter account, thereby placing herself in control.²

This thesis focuses on showing in what way Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter from her Twitter debut in 2013 until November 9th, 2016. It does so through a mixed method of discourse analysis and content analysis. The research question of this thesis is as following: How does Hillary Clinton's transformation from explicit to more reserved online feminist demonstrate contradictions within arguments of online spaces offering uniquely empowering tools for feminist expression? For a deeper understanding of Hillary Clinton's self-presentation on Twitter, two periods of Clinton's feminist Twitter activity will be examined in the context of the debate on whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists. Thus, it focuses on Hillary Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter during the 2016 campaign, and her self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter before the campaign, and the day after the election.

When the Tumblr page "Texts from Hillary" emerged, which Hillary Clinton's Twitter profile was based on, it was broadly embraced. However, some had doubts about how it might affect Clinton's image. In a 2014 study, Karen V. Anderson and Kristina H. Sheeler researched both the popular Tumblr website and Hillary Clinton's early Twitter activity. They argue that in "Texts from

¹ Hillary Clinton, Twitter, 2013.

² Ibid.

Hillary,” Hillary Clinton is presented as “the alpha female in political and popular culture,” which “constructs a postfeminist political fantasy in which sexism is ineffectual; female authority is appealing; and, because one savvy woman politician has gained the upper hand in Washington, DC, all women can similarly succeed.”³ Anderson and Sheeler discuss the false image of Clinton’s powers that “Texts from Hillary” presents and point to a *New York Times* article by Maureen Dowd where she notes how “Hillary has a history of being more popular when she seems less in control.” As Dowd mentions, Hillary Clinton’s most popular moments in the past were during the “Monica fiasco” and when Clinton served as Secretary of State. Becoming Obama’s “hard-working subordinate” after losing to him in the Democratic presidential race, resulted in Clinton scoring higher approval ratings than Obama himself.⁴ Even known Obama-supporters like journalist Michelle Goldberg, who had argued that Clinton’s 2008 presidential campaign was not important in a feminist perspective, suddenly commented that as Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton had been “the feminist hero of this administration.”⁵ This correlates to what Anderson and Sheeler argue in a 2013 publication:

Americans have always preferred *potential* female presidential candidates to actual ones. That is one reason why the feisty, authoritative (and, importantly, fictional) Hillary Clinton showcased in “Texts from Hillary” could be widely embraced. Depictions of Hillary Clinton “running the world” are appealing only when she’s not actually the one running it.⁶

From staying home and baking cookies to playing the “gender card,” Hillary Clinton has from the start been noticed for breaking a certain stereotype and voicing her feminist opinions. Through her career Clinton has received countless comments about herself from the media, the public, and even other politicians, that are based on her gender. In her campaign to become the Democratic

³ Karrin Vasby Anderson and Kristina Horn Sheeler, “Texts (and Tweets) from Hillary: Meta-Meming and Postfeminist Political Culture,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2014): 233-5.

⁴ Maureen Dowd, “State of Cool,” *The New York Times*, April 10th 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/11/opinion/dowd-state-of-cool.html>.

⁵ Rebecca Traister, *Big girls don’t cry: The election that changed everything for American women*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011) 295-7.

⁶ Kristina Horn Sheeler and Karrin Vasby Anderson, *Woman president: Confronting postfeminist political culture*, Vol. 22, Texas A&M University Press, 2013.

presidential candidate, Clinton was, for example, often referred to as a bitch and a lesbian, and many comments were made about her not being able to satisfy her husband. At that time, Clinton was the first female politician who had an actual chance of becoming president of the United States. She became less and less popular the closer it got to the 2008 Democratic primary election and she constantly seemed to be defending herself against various accusations and comments.⁷ In her speech after her loss in 2008, she said that she would continue to work towards equal rights and even though she and her supporters weren't able to shatter the "highest, hardest glass ceiling this time" they managed to leave "18 million cracks in it."⁸

In her latest memoir *What Happened?* Hillary Clinton expresses that in her experience "the balancing act women in politics have to master is challenging at every level, but it gets worse the higher you rise."⁹ This relates to Dowd's as well as Sheeler and Anderson's thoughts that the more powerful Clinton gets, the less popular she becomes.¹⁰ Clinton also addresses that as the 2016 campaign went on, many voters questioned her authenticity and trustworthiness according to polls.¹² To explain why she thinks this happened, Clinton wrote:

Some of this is a direct result of my actions: I've made mistakes, been defensive about them, stubbornly resisted apologizing. But so have most men in politics. (In fact, one of them just became President with a strategy of "never apologize when you're wrong, just attack harder.")¹³

The presidential race 2016 between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump was undoubtedly very interesting for new media enthusiasts. The topic of social media power and especially the influence of Twitter was evident in online media where headlines such as "Did Social Media Ruin Election 2016?"¹⁴, "How the

⁷ Berglind Jónsdóttir, "Getur nokkur stöðvað Hillary?" University of Iceland, June 2014, 31-3.

⁸ Hillary Clinton, "Yes, we can," *The Guardian*, June 7th 2008, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/jun/07/hillaryclinton.uselections20081>.

⁹ *Ibid*, 119.

¹⁰ Dowd 2012; Anderson and Sheeler, 235.

¹² Hillary Rodham Clinton, *What happened*, Simon and Schuster, 2017, 120.

¹³ *Ibid*.

¹⁴ Sam Sanders, "Did Social Media Ruin Election 2016?", *NPR*, November 8th 2016, <https://www.npr.org/2016/11/08/500686320/did-social-media-ruin-election-2016>.

Twitter Candidate Trumped the Teleprompter President,”¹⁵ “Trump won thanks to social media”¹⁶ and “For Election Day Influence, Twitter Ruled Social Media”¹⁷ were noticeable. Based on these headlines and others similar, it was certainly newsworthy how big of a role social media played in the election and therefore interesting to study further the image that Clinton chose to portray online.

The academic relevance of this thesis lies mainly in contribution to the scholarly debate on whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists. While scholars such as Dale Spender argue that the internet is hostile towards women and should be censored, others such as Faith Wilding and Donna Haraway are more positive (yet not agreeing completely) towards the internet and see it as a more neutral platform that opens a world of new opportunities for women and feminists.¹⁸

Although this paper’s largest limitations are that it only focuses on Clinton’s self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter and not other social media platforms such as Facebook or Instagram, it simultaneously adds value since Twitter is has become an excellent tool to “advertise the self” according to media scholars such as José van Dijck.¹⁹ Moreover, feminist media scholar Anthea Taylor claims Twitter is a platform that “cannot be ignored” when it comes to contemporary feminists,²⁰ while it is also an “indispensable tool” for politicians according to van Dijck.²¹ By examining the 2016 election, this thesis covers a recent chapter in Hillary Clinton’s life, which is being actively researched by

¹⁵ Virginia Heffernan, “How the Twitter Candidate Trumped the Teleprompter President,” *Politico*, May/June 2016, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/2016-heffernan-twitter-media-donald-trump-barack-obama-teleprompter-president-213825>.

¹⁶ Laeeq Khan, “Trump won thanks to social media,” *The Hill*, November 15th 2016, <http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/technology/306175-trump-won-thanks-to-social-media>.

¹⁷ Mike Isaac and Sydney Ember, “For Election Day Influence, Twitter Ruled Social Media,” *The New York Times*, November 8th 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/technology/for-election-day-chatter-twitter-ruled-social-media.html>.

¹⁸ Dale Spender, *Nattering on the net: Women, power and cyberspace*, Spinifex Press, 1996, 166; Donna Haraway, “A cyborg manifesto,” *New York* (1991); Faith Wilding and Cyberfeminist International, *Where is feminism in cyberfeminism?*, na, 1998, 12.

¹⁹ José Van Dijck, *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

²⁰ Anthea Taylor, *Celebrity and the Feminist Blockbuster*, Springer, 2017, 179.

²¹ Van Dijck, 2013.

scholars from different fields.²² Over the last several years many scholarly publications, which focused on Clinton and the media have discussed sexism and misogyny towards Clinton.²³ More recent publications about the Twitter behavior of the 2016 presidential candidates are aimed towards quantitative research on the topic and not specifically towards Hillary Clinton as a feminist.²⁴ This thesis therefore adds to the growing research about feminist presentation on Twitter by focusing on one of the most powerful female politician in the world²⁵ and her self-presentation as a feminist.

While the data analyzed for this research comes primarily from Twitter, academic publications are needed for a theoretical perspective. For an understanding of the concept of stereotypes and female stereotypes specifically we look at the works of media studies scholar Richard Dyer, as well as communication scholars Cheris Kramer and Susan Douglas. While the ideas of feminists Spender, Wilding, and Haraway are the main focus in the debate on whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women, more recent publications will also be presented, mainly those of media scholar and feminist Arestea Fotopoulou and sociology professor Kitsy Dixon. To learn more about Twitter's role in online feminism, we focus on a study by Gina Masullo Chen et al. while media lecturer dr. Ealasaid Munro introduces the concept of call-out culture. In order to connect the theoretical framework to the analysis of Hillary Clinton's feminist self-presentation on Twitter, Karin V. Anderson and Kristina H. Sheeler provide an understanding of Clinton's Twitter entrance and the image of

²² Alessandro Nai and Jürgen Maier, "Perceived personality and campaign style of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump," *Personality and Individual Differences* 121 (2018); Gunn Enli, "Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election," *European Journal of Communication* 32, no. 1 (2017); Jayeon Lee & Young-shim Lim, "Gendered campaign tweets: The cases of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump," *Public Relations Review* (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.07.004>.

²³ Jessica Ritchie, "Creating a monster: Online media constructions of Hillary Clinton during the democratic primary campaign, 2007–8," *Feminist Media Studies* 13, no. 1 (2013); Diana B. Carlin and Kelly L. Winfrey, "Have you come a long way, baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and sexism in 2008 campaign coverage," *Communication Studies* 60, no. 4 (2009).

²⁴ Evans, Brown and Wimberly, 2017.

²⁵ Caroline Howard, "Women Who Rule the World: The 25 Most Powerful Female Political Leaders 2017," *Forbes*, November 1st 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/carolinehoward/2017/11/01/women-who-rule-the-world-the-25-most-powerful-female-political-leaders-2017/#42dc75435c1b>.

her created by “Texts from Hillary.”

The main findings of this thesis show how before the 2016 campaign and the day after the election, Hillary Clinton presented herself differently than during the campaign. Before the campaign and the day after the election she presented herself as a feminist with more direct feminist messages than whilst campaigning when the majority of her feminist tweets were rooted in sexist tweets or remarks made about her. In that way Clinton kept on defending herself from sexist and misogynic comments like in the 2008 campaign but this time she did not try to avoid the use of the phrases used against her. Instead she embraced them and appeared to be proud of her gender and the possible advantage it gave her, using it as it was in her favor. However, while campaigning she did not take big risks in her feminist self-presentation on Twitter, which can be argued mirrors female stereotypes in the media and hostility towards feminists online. These findings suggest that while online spaces such as Twitter provide women and feminists with many great opportunities, the reality is that the internet is often hostile towards women who express feminist opinions. This is dramatically demonstrated when even a woman as powerful as Hillary Clinton holds back her feminist expression online, contradicting a seemingly popular belief among cyberfeminists that the internet is a uniquely empowering tool for feminist expression.²⁶

3 Theoretical Framework

The main theoretical support for this thesis is rooted in parts of the feminist debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists. In this chapter, three feminist publications by Spender, Wilding, and Haraway, that discuss this certain issue, will be presented and reviewed. In order to gain a deeper perspective of that debate, related theoretical material will be discussed. To start with, it will be explained how stereotypes function in a media environment, for example how stereotypes in films and television relate to stereotypes of women and feminists online. After reviewing the feminist debate

²⁶ Haraway, 105; Wilding, 12.

of the internet as a space for women, scholarly work on online feminism and feminism on Twitter in particular will be discussed, including hashtag feminism and call-out culture through which women can fight online sexism. By discussing Hillary Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter and suggesting that the internet may be hostile towards women, especially when outside joint online feminist movements, this thesis enriches the debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists.

3.1 The power of stereotypes

The stereotypes are . . . highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them. They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defenses we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy.²⁷

In a publication on stereotypes, Richard Dyer dives into the concept of stereotypes, analyzing the ideas of Walter Lippman, who originally coined the term in 1922. Dyer also looks at how stereotypes function in fictions and films and briefly presents an example, where, for a different article, he studied a group of French films that had lesbian characters. He found that it did not matter whether the film had "artistic quality" or not, the plotline was always identical. Dyer argues that the same goes for films about alcoholics for example. That we only "have to be told that we are going to see a film about an alcoholic to know that it will be a tale either of sordid decline or of inspiring redemption." From Dyer's study on stereotypes, it can be understood that the strongest stereotypes are of those who do not "belong" or those who are labeled as "others." This can vary based on context and social groups but Dyer argues that in "recent years" (written in 1979) the main social groups who have found themselves stereotyped in the media and everyday speech are black people, women and gay people. His view is that stereotypes are to "make visible the invisible," as the traits of a stereotype are often things we couldn't know from only looking at a person. Dyer claims that the "degree of rigidity and shrillness of a stereotype indicates the degree to which it is an enforced representation that points to a reality whose invisibility and/or fluidity threatens the received," pointing

²⁷ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, Macmillan, 1956, quoted in Richard Dyer, "The role of stereotypes," *Media studies: A reader* (2000): 245.

towards a reality that threatens “the received.” In this context Dyer uses an example of men and women and asks, “if women are not so very different from men. why are they subordinated?”²⁸

In the past, Hillary Clinton has been known to break stereotypes, whether as a feminist career-driven First Lady or as the first female presidential candidate with an actual chance of winning.²⁹ If we apply Clinton’s Twitter activity to this idea of stereotypes presented by Dyer, it can be interesting to think of it in the same terms as Dyer’s film example. People probably had certain ideas of what Clinton’s Twitter activity would and perhaps should look like before seeing it. This sort of stereotyping may have been a factor in how Clinton chose to construct her self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter, especially during the 2016 campaign. The idea that people might have had of Clinton’s Twitter activity before-hand could therefore have been rooted in various female stereotypes. Stereotypes of online feminists (cyberfeminists), stereotypes of feminists in general, of women in politics (or women seeking power), and stereotypes of women in general could all be possible examples of contributing factors in how Clinton chose to present herself as a feminist on Twitter. As Dyer suggests, there are very strong stereotypes of women that contribute to women being subordinate to men. As discussed in the introduction, Hillary Clinton has been less popular among the American public when she gains or seeks power, while her highest popularity records are closely connected to her being in a vulnerable and weak position.³⁰ This may support Dyer’s ideas of female stereotypes and suggest that the American public has been deeply attached to old stereotypes of women, so attached that it might be much easier for women to be liked when not trying to gain power.

When discussing stereotypes of women it is relevant to mention women’s speech, since according to Cheris Kramer “men can be rated socially on what they do” while “women may be rated primarily on how they appear-so their speech is more important.” In Kramer’s study from 1973, she researches the differences in men’s and women’s speech and claims there are conflicting

²⁸ Dyer, 245-50.

²⁹ Jónsdóttir, 20-5.

³⁰ Ibid, 31-3.

opinions on what women's speech is actually like and what people think it is like. Even more interestingly there seems to be a big difference "between what people think women's speech is like and what they think it should be like." For example, women were not "supposed" to talk more than men and people did not connect women's higher-pitched voice with serious subjects. Kramer discusses how this idea of women's speech resulted in there being almost only male news reporters in the 70's (at the time the study was published), simply because women were not expected to deliver "serious news". Furthermore, when it comes to written text, Kramer's study suggests that while the stereotypical writing style of males tends to present reason and knowledge, the stereotypical female writing is presented with feelings and intuitions.³¹ This information about female expression is important to keep in mind when studying Hillary Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter because the way women's self-presentation is usually seen and heard historically could contribute to how Clinton chose to present herself as a feminist online.

Another possible contributing factor in Clinton's feminist self-presentation on Twitter are stereotypes of feminists. In 1995 feminist and media scholar Susan J. Douglas wrote about mass media's portrayal of feminists in the late 60's and early 70's:

Feminists were cast as unfeminine, unappealing women who were denouncing the importance of the male gaze, yet who secretly coveted that gaze for themselves by protesting in public. These poor girls, it was suggested, sought to get through political flamboyance what they were unable to get through physical attractiveness.³²

Douglas claims that in TV shows and news programs, feminism was "positioned as deviant." She adds that the "standards by which something was judged newsworthy were, in fact, deeply masculine." Douglas discusses the same fact as brought up by Kramer, that women were rarely seen on television and certainly not as news reporters, although sometimes as weather girls. When women were on the news they were mainly presented as victims, sex objects, hysterical or as

³¹ Cheris Kramer, "Women's speech: Separate but unequal?." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 60, no. 1 (1974): 15-20.

³² Susan Jeanne Douglas, *Where the girls are: Growing up female with the mass media*, Three Rivers Press, 1995, 243.

wives of prominent men according to Douglas. She says that not much has changed from this time and still women's voices are rarely heard on the news (in 1995). She points out that when female experts are interviewed for news programs they are mainly discussing issues such as abortion, childcare or affirmative action. When discussing international relations, politics or environmental issues for example, Douglas claims women's voices and especially feminist voices are ignored.³³ This harmonizes with what Dyer and Kramer argue, how women are subordinate to men because of powerful stereotypes that have led to women not being "expected" to deliver serious news.^{34,35} It can be argued that because women and feminists especially were not taken seriously in mass media only a few decades ago, it is still an underlying stereotype when it comes to online expression of women and feminists. In Hillary Clinton's example, the analysis will show how she presented herself differently as a feminist on Twitter while campaigning, sending out less radical feminist messages and selecting her words more carefully than before and after the campaign. That could mean that she tried to appeal to more people by giving in to the stereotype discussed by Douglas and therefore toning down her feminist voice.

3.2 Is the internet hostile towards women?

The question whether women are in fact hesitant to express their opinions online because of certain stereotypes relates to a specific debate that was sparked amongst feminist scholars in the early days of the internet when cyberfeminism was first appearing.³⁶ This debate focused on whether the internet was a positive or negative platform for women and especially feminists. Feminists such as Dale Spender argued that men of the electronic media generation created a strong connection between men and computers that contributed to cyberspace (the internet) being hostile towards women.³⁷ While another known feminist, Faith Wilding, contended that the internet certainly created a great opportunity for women, she also emphasized that cyberfeminists

³³ Ibid, 243-6.

³⁴ Dyer, 247.

³⁵ Kramer, 20.

³⁶ Susanna Paasonen, "Revisiting cyberfeminism," *Communications* 36, no. 3 (2011): 335.

³⁷ Spender, 166.

should think much more critically of it and build on feminist history for it to work.³⁸ The feminist scholar Donna Haraway expresses in *A Cyborg Manifesto* from 1985, a so-called “holy text” of cyberfeminism³⁹, her thoughts on the internet being a new neutral space and a revolutionary tool that has the power to overthrow patriarchy and achieve feminist liberation.⁴⁰

Since cyberfeminism plays a big role in this debate, it is relevant to briefly discuss cyberfeminism’s meaning and history. According to Susanna Paasonen the concept of “cyberfeminism” is in modern discussion understood as “feminist studies of new media (or “cyberspace”).” Paasonen says that cyberfeminism can be traced back to different disciplines, practices and paradigms. However, many scholars agree that Donna Haraway’s *A Cyborg Manifesto* presents the ideas upon which the concept was built.⁴¹

When defining cyberfeminism in her article *Where is the Feminism in Cyberfeminism?* Faith Wilding explains that cyberfeminism is able to link the “historical and philosophical practices of feminism” to more modern feminist networks and projects, both on- and offline, as well as connecting them to the “material lives and experiences of women in the integrated circuit, taking full account of age, race, class, and economic differences.” Wilding emphasizes that cyberfeminists do not shy away from “tough political strategizing and action” out of fear of political disagreements and differences. In her opinion, there is simply too much at stake for cyberfeminists to be frightened away.⁴² When placing Hillary Clinton’s feminist Twitter activity under this description, it might be relevant to when she was not campaigning, but when campaigning, it can be argued that she may have “shied away” from some feminist Twitter moments by polishing the word choice and focusing on retweets and comments made by others in order to avoid political disagreements and differences.

While Wilding expresses her faith in strong-willed and powerful cyberfeminists she also poses her concerns with cyberfeminists’ view on the internet’s capabilities for feminism as mentioned. In her article she discusses

³⁸ Wilding, 12.

³⁹ Paasonen, 337.

⁴⁰ Haraway, 105.

⁴¹ Paasonen, 337-8.

⁴² Wilding, 10.

how many cyberfeminists were under the impression that historical feminism was not relevant to women's circumstances in new media and therefore distanced themselves from "old style" feminism. Wilding argues however, that pushing historical feminism to the side creates a problem because it "throws out the baby with the bathwater" and thus gets too close to popular fears, stereotypes, and misconception about feminism. She describes the popular thought among cyberfeminists that "new e-media will offer women a fresh start to create new languages, programs, platforms, images, fluid identities and multi-subject definitions in cyberspace." This, Wilding argues, is utopianism falsely declaring cyberspace as a free space where "you can be anything you want to be regardless of your *real* age, sex, race, or economic position-and refuses a fixed subject position." Wilding advice is that cyberfeminists "draw on the researches and strategies of avant garde feminist history and its critique of institutionalized patriarchy." ⁴³

Although Wilding certainly has her doubts about the actual change that cyberfeminists are able to create through the internet, Dale Spender has a considerably darker view on the topic. She explains how computers did not have an exclusive connection to men at first but when that connection was created by electronic generation males, it led to many fewer women enrolling in computer science courses in the 1980's than in the 70's. She also argues that this led to boys being violent towards girls in computerized classrooms to show "how screens and controls are a boy's game." Because of the hostile environment the internet has become for these reasons towards women, Spender does not seem very eager to use the internet but states that she has to "learn to live with the cyberworld." For that to happen, however, she requests that plans are made to "use the technology to improve the quality of life for all human beings," and that it is not used to "enhance the lives of the few at the expense of the many." It is therefore possible to argue that Spender saw no other way than to censor the internet in order for women to be able to use it comfortably.⁴⁴ Even though Spender's opinions might seem radical, applying them to Hillary Clinton's situation as a feminist on Twitter is interesting because it can be interpreted

⁴³ Wilding, 7-9.

⁴⁴ Spender, 166-77.

from Spender's words that women cannot freely express their opinions on the internet. Therefore, women such as Clinton might scale down their (feminist) online identity when they feel that the online environment is threatening or hostile towards them.

Dale Spender and Donna Haraway seem to be on separate ends of the spectrum when it comes to their opinions on the internet as a space for women. In *A Cyborg Manifesto* Haraway presents her ideas that cyborgs will be a powerful part of our future. She claims that cyborgs, that at the core are part human and part machine, challenge racial and patriarchal stereotypes. Therefore, she argues that the cyborg presents the "self" that feminists must code or build on. Haraway has hopes to see the internet as a neutral platform where feminists can overthrow existing assumptions of sex and gender. In her view "there is nothing about being 'female' that inherently binds women," and therefore women have the chance to mold the networked environment.⁴⁵

Looking back at this debate from a modern standpoint, it is difficult to state that one of these scholars truly saw the future of online feminism since it can be argued that each one of them had ideas that in some ways came to be reality. In a more recent publication from 2014, media scholar Aristeia Fotopoulou wonders whether feminism is becoming networked and moving us into an era of "digital sisterhood." She argues that "feminist politics are a moving target and it is difficult to capture how they evolve whilst technologies are also changing." Fotopoulou found that age, lack of resources, and media literacy were the three most important factors that modulate participation in networked feminism.⁴⁶

Networked feminism is very related to a recently surfaced concept, hashtag feminism. Hashtag feminism is a concept which has "created a virtual space where victims of inequality can coexist together in a space that acknowledges their pain, narrative and isolation," according to Dr. Kitsy Dixon. Dixon argues that it is difficult to identify online spaces like Twitter and Facebook as safe spaces for feminist expression since it can have consequences

⁴⁵ Haraway, 105-16.

⁴⁶ Aristeia Fotopoulou, "Digital and networked by default? Women's organisations and the social imaginary of networked feminism," *new media & society* 18, no. 6 (2016): 1-3.

that lead to “online harassment, hate speech, disagreements, and a miscommunication in rhetoric.” Dixon says that because of these consequences “the academic discourse becomes lost in transmitting the message of what feminism is and how feminists are identified.” She argues that there is “without question” a new wave of feminism emerging through hashtagging. The presence of hashtags is globally recognized and has redefined the ways people view the “active components of feminism” in modern society according to Dixon. She says that because of Twitter’s large number of active users (over 645 million in 2014) it is difficult to identify exactly what should constitute a hashtag feminist. Dixon references Ramaa Mosley who created the widely popular hashtag #bringbackourgirls that raised awareness for a mass abduction of hundreds of Nigerian school girls in 2014. When asked to define hashtag feminism, Mosley said it was “a way to be involved without directly being involved due to limitations.” Dixon argues that women are participating in hashtag feminism to “rise above the limitations of not only women’s mobility, but the limitations of being a feminist.”⁴⁷

The two recent publications show that the debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists might be able to continue indefinitely. Some may call Haraway’s optimism regarding women’s possibilities to reshape the internet unrealistic but as Dixon mentioned, a new wave of feminism has emerged through hashtagging that tells us that the internet has most likely had a major impact on feminist development. Wilding’s ideas of some cyberfeminists being too optimistic were quite accurate since according to Dixon the internet is not this free space for women as some had hoped. However, Fotoloupou’s concept of “digital sisterhood” tells us that some of the overly optimistic cyberfeminists most likely laid the groundwork for a new wave of feminism. While Spender was very pessimistic about the online environment, it can be argued that some of her ideas are relevant in modern cyberfeminism or hashtag feminism since it fits with what Dixon argued about the risk of hostility towards feminist expression online. Based on this, it seems as the internet is at the same time a good and bad space for online feminists. This

⁴⁷ Kitsy Dixon, "Feminist online identity: Analyzing the presence of hashtag feminism," *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 3, no. 7 (2014): 34-40.

therefore supports the idea that as a woman known to share feminist opinions⁴⁸, Hillary Clinton may have deliberately toned down her self-presentation as a feminist while campaigning in 2016 in order to avoid “online harassment, hate speech, disagreements, and a miscommunication in rhetoric” as discussed by Dixon.⁴⁹

3.3 Using Twitter to fight back and redefine feminism

In a recent publication from 2018, Chen, Pain and Zhang argue that the “digital sphere can be a combative place for women – even for women in power like Hillary Clinton,” thus expressing similar thoughts as Wilding, Spender and Dixon. Chen et al. argue that one of the ways to shift Twitter’s digital space in some way from hostile and dangerous to empowering for women is using hashtag feminism. They explain how hashtags or “keywords marked with a hash, or pound, sign,” have become a powerful tool that can both help women online but also harm them. Twitter was from the start praised for being an equal space, where voices that were rarely heard in mass media, including women’s voices, could be heard according to Chen et al. They argue that this allows the platform to both empower marginalized voices, as well as creating opportunities for hateful speech. They mention that Hillary Clinton has dealt with a lot of digital misogyny, and her experience offers a “microcosm of what many women endure online, as they face digital misogyny and assert their own power through reclaiming this digital sphere through “hashtag feminism.””⁵⁰

Media lecturer dr. Ealasaid Munro discusses a similar topic in a 2013 publication. She says the internet has created a specific call-out culture, where it is easier to call out sexism or misogyny than before, therefore challenging the ones who perform it. In addition, Munro wonders whether the internet itself has “enabled a shift from third-wave to fourth-wave feminism” since it is a fact that a global community of feminists has been created online, and used both for discussion and activism. She argues that because of the hidden element of some

⁴⁸ Jónsdóttir, 30.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 34.

⁵⁰ Gina Masullo Chen, Paromita Pain, and Jinglun Zhang, “#NastyWomen: Reclaiming the Twitterverse from Misogyny,” In *Mediating Misogyny*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018, 374-9.

social media discussions, modern feminists may not be visible to those who are not sufficiently networked. Furthermore, Munro says that a key issue for contemporary feminists is intersectionality, meaning that “different axes of oppression intersect, producing complex and often contradictory result . . . the experiences of working-class black and white women in the US are insurmountably different – yet each belongs to the category ‘woman’.” Therefore, modern feminists practice “privilege-checking,” as a reminder that you cannot and should not speak for others. According to Munro, the phrase “check your privilege” was born on the internet and despite its good intentions, reflect the reality that “mainstream feminism remains dominated by the straight white middle-classes.”⁵¹ Race, gender and media scholar Susana Loza asks in her study on the #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen hashtag which trended worldwide in 2013, whether mainstream feminism is “destined to remain the terrain of white women” or if the “digital media praxis of women of color,” including Twitter use will participate in radically redefining feminism as a field.⁵² Media studies scholar Fredrika Thelandersson points out how online feminist discourse is often hostile in itself. She says that online feminist debates have a tendency to turn into a spiral process of “calling out and blaming users for offensive terminology and ignorance of various groups,” and therefore much of the discussion revolves around “policing” other participants. She argues that until the spotlight is shifted towards “successfully intersectional online feminism that does exist,” online spaces do not live up to their potential of “enabling revolutionary action.”⁵³

Drawing from this, it can be understood that Twitter is an important platform for modern day feminists and therefore an important tool for Hillary Clinton to present her feminist ideas. However, according to Thelandersson, online feminist discussion can also be difficult because of hostility of other feminists. According to Munro and Loza’s arguments, Twitter was an important platform for Clinton to appeal to voters of different backgrounds while according to Thelandersson it could also have been hard for Clinton to present herself as a

⁵¹ Ealasaid Munro, "Feminism: A fourth wave?" *Political insight* 4, no. 2 (2013): 23.

⁵² Susana Loza, "Hashtag feminism, # SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen, and the other # FemFuture," *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media, and Technology* 5 (2014):2.

⁵³ Fredrika Thelandersson, "A Less Toxic Feminism: Can the Internet Solve the Age Old Question of How to Put Intersectional Theory into Practice?," *Feminist Media Studies* 14, no. 3 (2014): 528-30.

feminist online without risking losing some of her feminist supporters. In the analysis chapter, evidence will be presented to show how it can be argued that Clinton was a participant in call-out culture and hashtag feminism, while toning her feminist voice down during the 2016 campaign.

When Hillary Clinton joined Twitter for the first time, she built her profile on the popular Tumblr page “Texts from Hillary.” As discussed in the introduction, academics Anderson and Sheeler found that the “Texts from Hillary” presented a fictional, post-feminist image of Hillary Clinton where her powers were shown to be more than they actually were after her loss for Barack Obama in the Democratic presidential primary election in 2008. The overall humor behind “Texts from Hillary,” is problematic according to Anderson and Sheeler in the way that it “promotes the postfeminist narrative of “individualism, choice and empowerment,”” by presenting Clinton as widely popular while hiding the “cultural backlash” that she experienced when trying to achieve her political goals. They also describe US media coverage of “Texts from Hillary,” where the word “cool” was frequently used to describe the Secretary of State at the time, referencing Dowd’s *New York Times* article titled “State of Cool.”⁵⁴ In the article a young woman is quoted who had seen the original photo that started “Texts from Hillary,” which shows Clinton holding her phone with her sunglasses on inside a military airplane. The young woman remarked that seeing that photo had sent chills down her spine and that she felt the urge to immediately show it to her daughter because of “the power it portrayed.”⁵⁵ Anderson and Sheeler argue that this sort of sentiments likely prompted Hillary Clinton to “redeploy” the theme of “Texts from Hillary” a few months later when creating her Twitter account.⁵⁶ They therefore suggest that Clinton wanted to present this powerful female figure who “had it all” on Twitter and that might have molded the way she presented herself as a feminist on that platform.

Female stereotypes have undeniably made their mark on women’s self-presentation online. Stereotypes of women in the media have led to women not being taken seriously on media platforms or having to work harder for public

⁵⁴ Anderson and Sheeler, 233-4.

⁵⁵ Dowd, 2012.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

acceptance than men. Studies have found that Hillary Clinton is less popular when she is stronger or less vulnerable which contributes to the idea of female stereotypes are still very powerful.⁵⁷ Women are not able to express their feminist opinions online without taking a certain risk, making the internet hostile towards women and especially feminists. However, Twitter is being increasingly used for the purpose of calling-out those with sexist or misogynic opinions and to redefine feminism. Therefore it is interesting to wonder whether Hillary Clinton may have held back some of her feminist opinions on Twitter during the 2016 campaign while using her feminist Twitter moments to participate in call-out culture at the same time.

4 Method

In order to find out how Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter and how that feminist self-presentation enriches the debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists, a mixed method approach of content analysis and discourse analysis is applied. Content analysis is used to select relevant material from the available dataset and discourse analysis is applied to analyze the meaning of the chosen content.

On content analysis in the “Interactive Media Age,” Paul D. Skalski et al. argue that interactive media users (Twitter users for example) are “more than just receivers or consumers,” as they are with traditional media. Now users have an “active role in adapting, altering, and even producing content.” They add that never before has content been so easily available and that newer interactive media “empower the content analyst” in exciting ways when it comes to creating, acquiring, archiving, and coding content. According to them it is the researchers’ choice to decide which units of datasets are applicable for their project. A challenge for the researcher they say, is to determine what content has been created by the profile owner, a point that is relevant for this study where it cannot be guaranteed whether a tweet from Clinton’s Twitter profile is accepted by her or is posted without her knowledge by campaign staff. Skalski et al. claim

⁵⁷ Jónsdóttir, 23-5.

“Much of the content creation today depends in part on choices made by a user while interacting with or within a medium.”⁵⁸ That supports the idea that Hillary Clinton’s self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter, may sometimes have been influenced by the online environment and other Twitter users.

The period chosen for this study was the period from Hillary Clinton’s first Twitter entry in 2013 until November 9th, 2016, the day after the 2016 presidential election in the United States. The reason for choosing this period is that the main emphasis is on analyzing Clinton’s tweets while campaigning. Clinton’s Twitter entrance did raise a lot of attention so that is why it was important to include her start on the platform and her feminist presentation before announcing her candidacy. It was decided to include tweets from after her campaign to be able to see whether there was a noticeable change from before, during and directly after the campaign and get a better perspective of Clinton’s overall self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter without including too many examples.

A complete dataset of Hillary Clinton’s tweets from her first tweet and until October 2016 was downloaded from the database Kaggle (kaggle.com). The remaining tweets from October 2016 until November 9th 2016 were retrieved manually from Clinton’s verified Twitter profile with the username @HillaryClinton. The tweets were hand-coded. A list of words related to women and feminism was identified and a word search was performed. To identify feminist words, the footsteps of Evan et al.⁵⁹ were followed. However Evan et al. found key words that identified “women’s issues” so while this analysis built on their key word search; the focus was set on feminist and female words in general such as: feminist, woman, girl, gender etc. In addition, all of Clinton’s tweets in the dataset were thoroughly read through to see whether occasional tweets could be identified as feminist without including feminist words (for example, “Delete your account.”). The dataset of feminist tweets was cleaned up by hand and irrelevant tweets (including repeated feminist tweets) deleted giving the

⁵⁸ Paul D. Skalski, Kimberly A. Neuendorf, and Julie A. Cajigas, “Content Analysis in the Interactive media Age,” in *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, ed. Kimberley A. Neuendorf (London: Sage, 2017), 201-9.

⁵⁹ Evans, Brown and Wimberly, ““Delete Your Account”: The 2016 Presidential Race on Twitter,” *Social Science Computer Review* (2017): 2-5, doi: 10.1177/0894439317728722.

result of 268 tweets. The rest of the tweets were color coded into two color categories, yellow and red, to help simplify the selection process for this thesis. Category yellow included tweets that were in many cases policy related, used for tagging other Twitter users, included links to websites or were in other ways not relevant for this study. Category red included tweets of feminist statements, empowering messages towards women, or tweets that had underlying historical feminist messages or associations. A majority of the tweets in category red were stand-alone statements, not tied with links and/or tags. Relevant feminist tweets from the red category were chosen to represent Hillary Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter before, during and directly after the 2016 presidential campaign in the US. A complete dataset of Hillary Clinton's feminist tweets is presented in the appendix.

Since tweets contain discourses, their meaning will be reviewed through discourse analysis in this thesis, as well as media discourse surrounding some of them. Philosopher and theorist Michel Foucault argues that a key prerequisite to gain power in the society is by owning production and form of discourse, therefore presenting the relations between discourse and power.⁶⁰ Discourse analysis academic Margaret Wetherell et al. say that the best way to describe discourse analysis is to say it is the "study of talk and texts." They explain it as a set of theories and methods to investigate language in use as well as language in social contexts.⁶¹ Norman Fairclough explains how more people are becoming critical of language in contemporary social life and takes an example of feminists that often are critical of language use and work towards the change of sexist use of language.⁶²

So why study tweets through discourse analysis? In context to the above, it can be interesting to wonder what kind of power lies in a tweet. An analysis by Andranik Tumasjan et al. indicated that the content of Twitter messages "plausibly reflects the offline political landscape," suggesting that Twitter is in

⁶⁰ Stuart Hall, "Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse," *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* 72 (2001): 81.

⁶¹ Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, eds., *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis*, Sage, 2001, 1-2.

⁶² Norman Fairclough, "Discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis," in *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis*, eds. Wetherell et al., Sage, 2001, 229-30.

fact enormously powerful when it comes to politics.⁶³ This shows the strong relations between (Twitter) discourse and power. If building upon Foucault's theories, a person who seeks power in a society must own production and form of a discourse that in this case would be Twitter discourse. Foucault might therefore argue that it would be necessary for Hillary Clinton to own production and form of Twitter discourse when seeking the president's office. By studying tweets we are studying "talk and texts" and in this thesis, investigating the feminist language used by Hillary Clinton on Twitter. It is particularly relevant to use discourse analysis to study this topic because of what Fairclough argues. The fact that feminists are critical of language use suggests how much discourse and language matters when it comes to feminist expression.

This thesis is not aimed at finding out Hillary Clinton's feelings or motivations behind certain tweets. It is aimed at using related discourses and theories to shed light upon Clinton's self-presentation on Twitter as a feminist, the discourse in her feminist tweets as well as surrounding media discourse when relevant. This thesis therefore emphasizes what is being said (or noticeably not said), it's context and history.

5 Analysis

In order to find out how Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter, some of Clinton's feminist tweets will be examined. While the main focus will be on tweets from the 2016 presidential campaign, feminist tweets from her Twitter debut in 2013 will be examined, as well as Clinton's Twitter activity the day after the election. Examples will be presented of the different ways of feminist self-presentation Hillary Clinton performed on her Twitter account over this period. Selected feminist tweets from her account will be presented and the media discourse surrounding those tweets will be discussed in order to gain better context. This thesis finds that Clinton presented herself as

⁶³ Andranik Tumasjan, Timm Oliver Sprenger, Philipp G. Sandner, and Isabell M. Welpe, "Predicting elections with twitter: What 140 characters reveal about political sentiment," *Icwsn* 10, no. 1 (2010): 178.

a feminist on Twitter in a different way during the 2016 presidential campaign than before the campaign and the day after the 2016 presidential election. This difference is mostly evident in the way that during the campaign, many of Clinton's feminist tweets were either re-tweets or messages originated from sexist or misogynic comments that had been made about her, which she used to strengthen her own policy. By providing evidence for this, it will be argued that Clinton was participating in the feminist act of calling out those who were sexist or misogynic towards her during her campaign. Apart from participating in call-out culture and tweeting about other women (such as female athletes) or feminist events, Clinton did not have many direct feminist moments on Twitter during the 2016 campaign. In this chapter, examples will be presented to show how before and after the campaign, Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter more directly while toning down her feminist identity on Twitter while campaigning, supporting the idea that online spaces such as Twitter can be considered a negative platform for women and especially hostile towards feminists.

5.1 “Hillary Clinton joins Twitter, sounds human”

As previously noted, Hillary Clinton's Twitter debut was built on the popular “Texts from Hillary” meme. Clinton's first tweet got a lot of attention and most major online news mediums wrote news stories about it.^{64,65} Clinton's personal description or “bio” on Twitter also raised some attention for being sharp and humorous where she described herself as a “*Wife, mom, lawyer, women & kids advocate, FLOAR, FLOTUS, US Senator, SecState, author, dog owner, hair icon, pantsuit aficionado, glass ceiling cracker, TBD...*”. In their article “Hillary Clinton joins Twitter, sounds human,” *The Washington Post* addressed how using the photo made famous by “Texts from Hillary” and choosing these titles for her bio she was “defining herself not as a staid politician but as a witty, self-effacing and almost hip netizen.” The *Post* also used the opportunity and compared Clinton's bio to the 32 Twitter bios of the possible 2016 presidential candidates at the

⁶⁴ Zeke J. Miller, “Hillary Clinton Joins Twitter,” *TIME*, June 10th 2013, <http://swampland.time.com/2013/06/10/hillary-clinton-joins-twitter/>.

⁶⁵ BBC News, “Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton joins Twitter,” June 10th 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-22849741>.

time and stated that in comparison to Clinton's, the other bios were "official, dull, brief, and nearly completely devoid of humor or humanness." Journalist Jena McGregor continued to say that by showing more personality than other possible candidates and not letting her "professional role" define herself as a woman, Clinton was "making her Twitter debut not only a play for young voters, potentially, but for female ones, too."⁶⁶ It was thus implied that Clinton's Twitter profile was in some way a feminist statement, and a way for Clinton to reach her female supporters online.

The first weeks and months after joining Twitter, Hillary Clinton's Twitter activity continued on a similar path as her debut. She kept a light, humorous profile, although a few political messages were also evident. Through her occasional tweets she mainly shared personal stories, was joking and discussing with fellow Twitter members, and raising awareness for animal welfare. After a few months of "casual tweeting" things started to look more serious and Clinton became a more active Twitter user by the end of year 2013. At that time, she had neither confirmed nor denied making her second bid for president, this time for the 2016 election. However, speculations about her candidacy were already intense, 3 years before the election, and the media waited excitedly for her announcement. Clinton's Twitter feed started to take a more political turn in the first half of 2014 and at that time her first tweets aimed specifically towards women's rights appeared, supporting the idea that expressing feminist opinions was part of her Twitter presence. In the first few months of 2014 she had sent out a few tweets including facts and statistics about women's rights and the importance of education for girls, evidently emphasizing women's rights more on her Twitter feed than before. Her first sharp feminist tweets were, however, not posted until April 2014. In only one week she posted three tweets that could all be considered feminist. Two of them were focused on the fight for equal pay while one sent a clear message about Clinton's position as a feminist, where she wrote:

⁶⁶ Jenna McGregor, "Hillary Clinton joins Twitter, sounds human," *The Washington Post*, June 11th 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/on-leadership/wp/2013/06/11/hillary-clinton-joins-twitter-sounds-human/?utm_term=.c4c682c2c261.

Great to meet the strong & brave young women from #PussyRiot, who refuse to let their voices be silenced in #Russia.⁶⁷

With this tweet, Hillary Clinton showed her support for the feminist Russian girl band Pussy Riot, whose members had been arrested for protesting and criticizing Russian president Vladimir Putin. Most of American online media wrote about this particular tweet, since it was also interpreted as a message from Clinton to Putin and the cold relationship between the US and Russia at the time.⁶⁸ However, Kelsey Haight, a journalist for the feminist magazine *BUST*, focused mainly on Clinton's feminist statement in the tweet, writing that Clinton's choice of words made her "feminist heart sing."⁶⁹ It can be argued that this tweet was especially powerful for Clinton as a feminist on Twitter, since it made a clear statement on her position as a feminist sending the message that women should never let their "voices be silenced."

Even though it might have gotten some feminist hearts racing, the #PussyRiot tweet was far from being the start of a series of feminist tweets from Clinton since there was not a lot of noticeable activity on her account the following months. On International Women's Day, March 8th 2015, almost a year after the #PussyRiot tweet, Hillary Clinton removed her famous "Texts from Hillary" profile photo on Twitter. Instead she put up a picture of a blank profile with the website "NOT-THERE.ORG" written on it. She tweeted to explain that this was a way to raise awareness for the lack of gender equality around the world. Showing that although progress has been made, we are "not there yet." This was part of a campaign unveiled by The Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation called "No Ceilings" initiative, clearly referencing Hillary Clinton's famous "glass ceiling" speech after her loss in the run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008.⁷⁰ The campaign got a lot of attention and many

⁶⁷ Clinton, Twitter, 2013.

⁶⁸ Kirsten Andersen, "Hillary Clinton praises bravery of Pussy Riot band members who desecrated Russian Orthodox cathedral," *LIFESITE*, April 9th, 2014, <https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/hillary-clinton-praises-bravery-of-pussy-riot-band-members-who-desecrated-r>.

⁶⁹ Kelsey Haight, "Hillary Clinton + Pussy Riot Make A Dream Team," *BUST*, 2014, <http://bust.com/feminism/11929-hillary-clinton-pussy-riot-make-a-dream-team.html>.

⁷⁰ Nisha Chittal, "Women disappear from ads for #NotThere gender equality campaign," *MSNBC*, March 8th 2015, <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/women-disappear-ads-notthere-gender-equality-campaign>.

female celebrities, companies and corporations participated in it, removing their Twitter profile photos and removing women from ads and magazine covers to show what the world would look like if women were “not there.”⁷¹ This shows how Hillary Clinton subtly used her experience from the 2008 primary election to emphasize her feminist values and ongoing fight for equal rights. By devoting her whole Twitter profile to a campaign fighting for gender equality, it can be argued that Clinton was using Twitter to present her position as an online feminist.

The following month, on April 12th, 2015, Hillary Clinton released a video to announce that she was running for president in 2016.⁷² On Twitter, she announced her candidacy by presenting herself as a strong and a promising candidate, in her words a “champion”, using a line from her video:

I’m running for president. Everyday Americans need a champion, and I want to be that champion. -H⁷³

Clinton’s choice to use the word “champion” to describe herself in that tweet could be considered feminist, since it is used to imply that the people of the United States, a country that has never had a female president, “need” her for that role. Using this particular word also portrays the confidence she had in herself to become president at this time. Based on this tweet alone, it could have been expected that Clinton and her team would use Twitter to send strong and direct feminist messages similar to this one, but that was not the case.

Later the same day Hillary Clinton’s campaign staff sent out a tweet addressing that the Twitter profile would be “run by campaign staff from now on,” adding that Clinton herself would still use the account from time to time, signing all personal tweets “-H.” Even though Clinton’s campaign staff handled the majority of the tweets that followed throughout her campaign, it can still be

⁷¹ Sydney Ember, “‘Not There’ Campaign Removes Women From Ads for International Women’s Day,” *The New York Times*, March 8th 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/09/business/media/not-there-campaign-removes-women-from-ads-for-international-womens-day.html>.

⁷² Amy Chozick, “Hillary Clinton Announces 2016 Presidential Bid,” *The New York Times*, April 12th 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/13/us/politics/hillary-clinton-2016-presidential-campaign.html>.

⁷³ Clinton, Twitter, 2015.

argued that many of them were mirroring Clinton's opinions and perhaps feelings, even when not signed "-H," since the tweets were often quotes from her speeches or comments. The ratio of personal tweets and campaign tweets suggests that the strategy for Clinton's Twitter profile was to add as many personal tweets as possible, preferably one personal tweet for every 2 campaign tweets. Over the following weeks however, the tweets signed "-H" started to appear less and less, shifting Clinton's Twitter account even more towards the campaign and a lot further away from personal and humorous tweets than in the beginning.⁷⁴ While this thesis does not try to explain specific reasons or feelings behind the actions of Hillary Clinton and her team regarding her Twitter account, it is tempting to wonder why Clinton's Twitter presence changed early in the campaign period and if it can be tied to the debate of whether internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists.

5.2 A "champion" playing the #gendercard

It should not come as a surprise if Hillary Clinton did not find time to tweet very often while running for president. However, one of Clinton's possible opponents at the time from the Republican Party, Donald Trump, seemed to find plenty of time to publish his personal opinions and attack others on his Twitter page.⁷⁵ The way Trump used Twitter was very different from the way Clinton used it. A 2017 study by Heather K. Evans et al. presents some interesting discoveries about the content and frequency of the 2016 candidates use of Twitter. For example, they found that Clinton (or her campaign staff) used the platform a lot more during the campaign than Trump did. In the period July 1st – November 7th, 2016, Clinton's account sent a total of 2,179 original tweets (not re-tweets) while Trump's account sent 1,184 tweets.⁷⁶

Regardless of the frequency of the tweets, it is interesting to take a closer look at the content when discussing Hillary Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter. In early 2015 Lee and Lim examined Clinton's and Trump's website biographies and Twitter activity for a two-week period during the primary election and found that gender affected the content of the tweets. In

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Donald Trump, Twitter, 2015.

⁷⁶ Evans et al., 2.

their results they say that in comparison to Trump, Clinton used more words than Trump to reveal her personality traits, both masculine and feminine. Among the identified gendered trait words used by Clinton, almost 65% were masculine while only 35% were feminine.⁷⁷ It could be argued that this shows how Clinton felt the need to use this platform to portray herself as more masculine in order to be taken seriously as a female presidential candidate, seeking an enormously powerful position that has only been held by men. According to feminist media scholar Clare Walsh, Clinton was by this time already very used to having to appear more masculine to be taken seriously as a woman in a leadership role.⁷⁸ This relates closely to the discussion of stereotypes. In Dyer's view, people have specific expectations of certain things because of stereotypes and in this example, people might expect different things from Hillary Clinton as a female candidate, which makes her seek a more masculine position.⁷⁹ Kramer argued that there were stereotypes of female and male expression, that males were expected to present reason and knowledge opposed to feelings, which is another reason for Clinton to want to appear more masculine.⁸⁰ Thirdly, as Douglas claims "standards by which something was judged newsworthy were, in fact, deeply masculine," supporting the idea that Clinton was affected by stereotypes when presenting herself as a feminist on Twitter.⁸¹

The list of words coded as masculine traits by Lee and Lim included the words strong, confident, fighting, determined and champion.⁸² For a few months after Clinton used the word "champion" when announcing her candidacy, the word could be spotted on several occasions on her Twitter page.

Daughter, mother, grandmother – and a fierce champion for mothers, children, and families⁸³

⁷⁷ Jayeon Lee & Young-shim Lim, "Gendered campaign tweets: The cases of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump," *Public Relations Review* (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.07.004>.

⁷⁸ Clare Walsh, "Media Capital or Media Deficit? Representations of women in leadership roles in old and new media," *Feminist Media Studies* 15, no. 6 (2015): 1026-8.

⁷⁹ Dyer, 247-50.

⁸⁰ Kramer, 15-20.

⁸¹ Douglas, 243.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Clinton, Twitter, 2015.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.⁸⁴

In these two tweets posted in May and June 2015 respectively, it can be interpreted that the masculine word “champion” is used to emphasize the strength of women and the importance of women having a strong female leader or role model.

This is a theme that can be noticed when looking at Hillary Clinton’s feminist tweets after her announcement to run for president in 2016. Many of the tweets were focused on female voters being able to vote for a woman and having a leader in the White House who is aware of women’s situations and roles in society. Or as some might call it, playing the #gendercard:

If you think you shouldn’t have to choose between taking care of your family and getting a paycheck, you might be playing the #gendercard.⁸⁵

Think women should be paid equally? You might be playing the #gendercard.⁸⁶

If fighting for policies that help families get ahead is playing the #gendercard – well then, proud to play it.⁸⁷

If Hillary is playing the so-called #gendercard, what cards are Republicans holding?⁸⁸

Those tweets were all posted from Clinton’s account on July 21st 2015 following a comment that Republican Senator Mitch McConnell made the day before when he said that the “gender card alone” would not be enough for Hillary Clinton to win the 2016 presidential race.⁸⁹ Clinton had a question-and-answer session on Facebook shortly after the comment was made and when asked by *Huffington Post* journalist Laura Basset how she would respond to the comment Clinton wrote:

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Clinton, Twitter, 2015.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Issie Lapowsky, “Hillary Clinton Wants Us All to Play the #GenderCard,” *Wired*, July 21st 2015, <https://www.wired.com/2015/07/hillary-clinton-gendercard/>.

Wow. If that's what he said, Mitch McConnell really doesn't get it. There is a gender card being played in this campaign. It's played every time Republicans vote against giving women equal pay, deny families access to affordable child care or family leave, refuse to let women make decisions about their health or have access to free contraception. These aren't just women's issues, they are economic issues that drive growth and affect all Americans. Anyone who doesn't get that doesn't understand what our lives are like. -H⁹⁰

Following this response from Hillary Clinton on Facebook, her team also reacted on Twitter by tweeting:

If Sen. McConnell thinks fighting for women and families is playing the "gender card" – okay. Here's our #gendercard:⁹¹

Attached to the tweet was an illustration of an actual card that read: “

We need:
Affordable child care
Paid family leave
Earned sick days
Equal pay

#gendercard⁹²

Written next to the card were the words: “I believe that when women get ahead, America gets ahead.”⁹³

This was not the first time Hillary Clinton was accused of playing the so called “gender card”. In November 2007 when speaking at her former college, Wellesley, Clinton addressed how women often have to fight discrimination in career advancement. Afterwards she was accused of having “played the gender card” by MSNBC TV show host Tucker Carlson. Many people followed Carlson's footsteps and soon the idea of Clinton was “playing the gender card” was all over the media. Erica Falk traces the media's use of this phrase back to the 1990s and identified four different meanings of it prior to the media using it to describe

⁹⁰ Laura Bassett, “Hillary Clinton Responds To ‘Gender Card’ Dig: ‘Mitch McConnell Really Doesn't Get It,’” *Huffington Post*, July 20th 2015, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/hillary-clinton-mitch-mcconnell-gender-card_us_55ad4b5be4b065dfe89f02bd.

⁹¹ Clinton, Twitter, 2015.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

Clinton in 2007. Falk says the first meaning was to “highlight one’s gender as an aspect of one’s candidacy.” The second meant appealing to women voters. The third meaning was to “argue the election of women promotes fairer representation” and the fourth that a candidate had been “subject to sexist attacks.” Falk argues that by compressing these various arguments into metaphoric shorthand, the media “failed to convey the complex and nuanced way gender operates in politics.”⁹⁴ It is interesting to see how Hillary Clinton and her team decided to turn the tables and use this negative phrase as a positive one for their campaign, using the hashtag #gendercard on Twitter and illustrating their own “gender card”, actively constructing yet another meaning of the phrase. By actively using the hashtag #gendercard, Hillary Clinton and her team participate in the so-called hashtag feminism through which a new wave of feminism has emerged according to Dixon and according to Chen et al. has helped women face digital misogyny.

Hillary Clinton and her team continued to participate in hashtag feminism as a response to negative and sexist comments made about Clinton. Ten months after the “gender card” incident occurred, another similar card was drawn from the deck when Donald Trump told his rally supporters “You know, she’s playing the woman’s card,” adding that “If she didn’t play the woman’s card she would have no chance, I mean zero, of winning.”⁹⁵ When asked about this by a *Vox* journalist he said, “The only card she has is the woman’s card. She’s got nothing else to offer.”⁹⁶ After this comment was made, Hillary Clinton and her team started using the “woman’s card” phrase in a positive way and later the hashtag #womancard appeared. On the same day as Donald Trump made the comment, Clinton tweeted:

“If fighting for women’s health care and paid family leave and equal pay is playing the ‘woman card,’ then deal me in.” —Hillary⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Erika Falk, “Clinton and the playing-the-gender-card metaphor in campaign news,” *Feminist Media Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013): 193-6.

⁹⁵ Asma Khalid, “Is Donald Trump Playing The ‘Man Card’?”, *NPR*, May 10th 2016, <https://www.npr.org/2016/05/10/477423028/is-donald-trump-playing-the-man-card>.

⁹⁶ Libby Nelson, “Donald Trump says women don’t like Hillary Clinton. They dislike him even more,” *Vox*, April 26th 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2016/4/26/11514948/trump-clinton-women>.

⁹⁷ Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

In the next weeks, Clinton sent out several tweets similar to this one, discussing the “woman card” in a feminist way, saying that “fighting for women’s rights” was a card they would play any day. Clinton and her team even posted a picture on Twitter of an actual woman card that looked like a pink credit card with an illustration of a woman and the words “Woman Card” written across the card.⁹⁸

As these examples suggest, many of Hillary Clinton’s notable feminist moments on Twitter during her campaign were reactions to sexism towards herself. She took the phrases “gender card” and “women’s card” that were used against her in a negative way and applied positive context to them. By doing so, Clinton was able to call-out the sexism she was subject to and utilize it to bring attention to some of her main policies concerning women and families, at the same time. This way Clinton participated in the call-out culture that dr. Munro argues shifted feminism towards the fourth-wave by creating a global community of online feminists.⁹⁹ This is a good example of how the internet can be a positive platform for women and feminists, where they can join forces and empower one another to stand up to digital misogyny and sexism, in a way supporting Wilding and Haraway’s ideas of the internet’s potential for women. However, using Clinton’s example of mainly focusing on comments made by others on Twitter and rarely posting direct feminist messages, it brings us closer to the other side of the debate and closer to Spender’s thoughts on whether the internet may be hostile towards women. It specifically raises the question of whether the internet may be hostile towards women who share feminist messages on their own, and not as a part of a community like call-out culture or hashtag feminism.

5.3 “Delete Your Account”

One of the biggest feminist moments of Hillary Clinton’s self-presentation on Twitter was this kind of a moment. Even though it was a response to another comment, it was different than most of the other feminist tweets, more direct, and without any hashtags. It began on June 9th, when Donald Trump tweeted:

⁹⁸ Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

⁹⁹ Munro, 23.

Obama just endorsed Crooked Hillary. He wants four more years of Obama – but nobody else does!¹⁰⁰

A few months earlier, Trump first introduced the nickname “Crooked Hillary,” referring to Clinton being funded by others while he was self-funding and not “controlled by the lobbyists, by the lobbyists and special interests.”¹⁰¹ Soon after, Clinton said on an *ABC* talk show “He can say whatever he wants to say about me, I really could care less,” adding “I don’t respond to Donald Trump and his string of insults about me.”¹⁰²

However, only a few minutes after Donald Trump sent out that tweet, Clinton responded by retweeting Trump’s message and writing above it:

Delete your account.¹⁰³

It is safe to say that this response from Clinton got a lot of attention, over 700,000 likes and more than half a million re-tweets on Twitter as well as countless media and news articles were written about it. In other words, it went viral. According to Evans et al., this was the most attention Clinton received for any tweet during the presidential campaign. They also argue that while she sent out more tweets similar to this one, the news media focused mainly on Donald Trump’s use of Twitter in the presidential campaign and not on Clinton’s Twitter activity.¹⁰⁴

Even though her other tweets did not catch the media’s attention, this tweet certainly made its mark on her image in the media. *Vanity Fair* wrote “Hillary Clinton Is Suddenly Cool Again,” using the famous “Texts from Hillary” photo in their article, the same photo that had gone from positive to negative a year earlier.¹⁰⁵ In an article on *Vox* it is explained how “Delete your account” is a

¹⁰⁰ Donald Trump, Twitter, 2016.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Liz Kreutz, “Hillary Clinton Says ‘I Really Could Care Less’ About Donald Calling Her ‘Crooked Hillary,’” *ABC NEWS*, April 17th 2016, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/hillary-clinton-care-donald-trump-calling-crooked-hillary/story?id=38447843>.

¹⁰³ Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Evans, Brown and Wimberly, 2017, 5-8.

¹⁰⁵ Abigail Tracy, “Hillary Clinton Is Suddenly Cool Again,” *Vanity Fair*, June 10th 2016, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/06/hillary-clinton-is-suddenly-cool-again>.

“pretty standard joke tweet,” used as a response to a failed “burn” for example. It is claimed this is never a serious demand, except of course in Clinton’s case.¹⁰⁶

It can be argued that what suddenly made Hillary Clinton “cool again” was how she stood up to Donald Trump by firing back and not “playing nice,” as the stereotype might have done and people therefore might have expected. By breaking the stereotypical behavior, this tweet can certainly be considered feminist and fits into Munro’s call-out culture. In regards to how Donald Trump’s tweet about “Crooked Hillary” was sexist or misogynistic it can be contended that by using this particular word, Trump might not only be referring to Clinton’s alleged corrupt connections. He also implies that something is “twisted” or “out of place” about Clinton, as Merriam-Webster Dictionary claims is partly the meaning behind the word “crooked.”¹⁰⁷ While many praised Clinton for the tweet, she also got a lot of negative responses. Journalist Julia Azari asked in an online article whether Clinton’s tweet had been “unpresidential.” Azari said that while the tweet was a joke, “some presidential norms exist for a reason,” while hardly mentioning Clinton’s male opponent and whether his behavior could be considered “unpresidential.”¹⁰⁸ This leads to the belief that women and men are expected to behave differently on Twitter, which relates to the discussion of stereotypes. Thus, it seems to be socially accepted that a man behaves aggressively online but causes more of a concern if a woman does it. The negative responses to this particular tweet also supports the idea that the internet may be particularly hostile towards online feminists who express their feminist opinions outside of movements such as hashtag feminism or call-out culture.

Later in the campaign, during the final presidential debate, Donald Trump interrupted Hillary Clinton and described her as “such a nasty woman.” The Clinton team’s reaction was similar to the reaction to many other tweets, and the

¹⁰⁶ Dara Lind, “Hillary Clinton’s viral Twitter burn of Donald Trump,” *Vox*, June 9th 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2016/6/9/11895658/clinton-trump-twitter>.

¹⁰⁷ *Merriam-Webster*, “Definition of crooked,” <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/crooked>.

¹⁰⁸ Julia Azari, “Was Hillary Clinton’s “delete your account” tweet “unpresidential”?, *Vox*, June 10th 2016, <https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/6/10/11906468/clinton-trump-delete-your-account>.

phrase “nasty woman” was turned around and used as a positive phrase. Clinton tweeted part of Elizabeth Warren’s speech from a Clinton rally where she said:

“Get this Donald: nasty women are smart, nasty women are tough, and nasty women vote”¹⁰⁹

Shortly after, the hashtag #nastywoman appeared and many companies started producing and selling clothing and merchandise labeled with the phrase “nasty woman,” which became quite popular.¹¹⁰ This once again demonstrates how Clinton often expressed herself as a feminist on Twitter by participating in call-out culture or hashtag feminism to respond to sexist or misogynistic comments that were made about her during the 2016 presidential campaign. Therefore Clinton arguably chose a “safer” and more toned down way of online feminist expression, than by sending out original feminist statements untied to hashtag feminism or call-out culture.

5.4 “To all the little girls watching”

Throughout the campaign, Hillary Clinton and her team used Twitter to send inspiring messages to women and young girls. This was another way for Clinton to show her feminist side to her Twitter audience. For example, there were many tweets posted where Clinton praised female athletes for their success. She also discussed matters such as equal pay, women’s right to abortion, health care and birth control, on a regular basis.¹¹¹

The last few weeks before Election Day, Hillary Clinton’s Twitter account was more active by the day, mainly encouraging people to vote, sharing policy statements and campaign updates. November 8th, 2016 was Election Day. Clinton re-tweeted a tweet from her running mate Tim Kaine where he had shared an old photograph of himself and his baby daughter and wrote:

Thinking about my daughter right now. No little girl will ever again have to wonder whether she, too, can be president.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

¹¹⁰ Leah Chernikoff, “The Nasty Woman Merch You’ve Been Waiting For Is Here,” *ELLE*, October 20th 2016, <http://www.elle.com/fashion/news/a40150/nasty-woman-merch-is-already-here/>.

¹¹¹ Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

¹¹² Tim Kaine, Twitter, 2016.

Hillary Clinton's last tweet on Election Day included a photograph of Clinton hugging a young girl at her election night event, along with the words:

This team has so much to be proud of. Whatever happens tonight, thank you for everything.¹¹³

It can be contended that these two tweets demonstrate how strongly Hillary Clinton and her team wanted to emphasize women's rights in her campaign and how Clinton was a role model for other women and girls.

On November 9th, when it had become clear that Clinton would not become president, she made a speech, thanking her supporters and her team. Parts of the speech were sent out on her Twitter account and two of them could easily be identified as feminist:

"To all the women...who put their faith in this campaign and in me...nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion." – Hillary¹¹⁴

In this tweet, Hillary Clinton refers back to when she announced her presidential candidacy and said she was the "champion" that everyday Americans needed. It could be considered feminist that even though she lost the election, she still uses the word "champion" to describe herself and speaks directly to her female supporters. The other feminist tweet sent out from the speech was pinned on top of her Twitter account, meaning that this tweet is still at the top of her Twitter profile, even though it's not the most recent one:

To all the little girls watching...never doubt that you are valuable and powerful & deserving of every chance & opportunity in the world.¹¹⁵

Similar to the other tweet, Hillary Clinton places herself here in the role of a leader and a role model for women and girls. By reminding them of how valuable and powerful they are and "deserving of every chance & opportunity in the world," it could be interpreted that she suggests she was fully equipped and qualified to take on the role of president and perhaps more so than her

¹¹³ Hillary Clinton, Twitter, 2016.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

opponent. By mentioning “little girls” specifically, it could be argued that Clinton is pointing out that gender is still a hindrance for her when trying to reach her goals but that it might not be the case when the generation of “little girls” enters the job market. This way, Hillary Clinton seemed to make it clear that she wanted to end her campaign on Twitter by presenting herself as a feminist and a female role model. Both of the tweets posted after Election Night are very clearly intended to send a feminist message without relating to hashtag feminism or call-out culture, which makes them stand out from the theme of feminist tweets from Clinton while campaigning.

5.5 A positive or negative platform for feminist expression?

From the examples put forward, it can be seen how Hillary Clinton presented herself differently as a feminist on Twitter while campaigning than before and directly after her 2016 campaign period. Before announcing her candidacy she sent out tweets such as the Pussy Riot tweet, something that could be identified as a bold feminist statement. A similar pattern can be seen right after the election where she reaches out to women and girls, declaring herself a champion in spite of losing the role she was seeking to her opponent. While campaigning, most of Clinton’s tweets seemed more toned down, suggesting that it was not in her favor to be seen as a woman with strong feminist opinions on Twitter while seeking the presidential position. Therefore, it is contended that while women are expressing feminist opinions as part of hashtag feminism or call-out culture, the internet is a relatively positive platform. This might be the closest modern online feminism gets to Donna Haraway and Faith Wilding’s ideas and hopes of the internet offering women an empowering platform for feminist expression.¹¹⁶ However, when expressing feminist opinions online without the “safety net” of hashtag feminism or call-out culture, it can be argued that online spaces are more hostile towards women. This relates to Dale Spender’s idea of the internet being a negative platform for women¹¹⁷, a contradicting idea to the internet being a uniquely empowering tool for feminist expression. While Spender might not have had a similar scenario in mind when discussing hostility towards

¹¹⁶ Wilding, 7-9; Haraway, 105-16.

¹¹⁷ Spender, 166.

women on the internet, her ideas are quite relevant in this context. According to the above, Clinton was more of a direct and explicit online feminist before and right after the 2016 campaign and more of a participant in hashtag feminism and call-out culture while campaigning. It could therefore be argued that hostility towards women expressing feminist opinions on Twitter outside of a joint or recognized movement, was a factor in Clinton's self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter while campaigning. Another possible factor is the way existing female stereotypes encourage the idea that women should not be in powerful positions or discuss serious issues.

6 Conclusion

This thesis has studied through a mixed method of content analysis and discourse analysis, how Hillary Clinton presented herself as a feminist on Twitter before, during, and after the 2016 presidential campaign in the US. In doing so, it asked how Clinton's transformation from explicit to more reserved online feminist demonstrates contradictions within arguments of online spaces offering uniquely empowering tools for feminist expression. The debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women was introduced from three perspectives of Spender, Wilding, and Haraway, while theoretical background concerning stereotypes and online feminism was also reviewed. The concept of stereotypes was discussed where Dyer argues that people often have a certain image in mind when certain things are discussed, for example when hearing that the main character in a film is an alcoholic and they instantly have an idea of the plotline.¹¹⁸ Kramer provides an insight into stereotypes of female expression and mentions how in the 70's, women were not expected to deliver "serious news" on television, simply because of their gender.¹¹⁹ Douglas claims that in the same period, feminism was "positioned as deviant" in television and news programs, and that the "standards by which something was judged newsworthy were, in

¹¹⁸ Dyer, 245-8.

¹¹⁹ Kramer, 17.

fact, deeply masculine.”¹²⁰ Since women and feminists were not taken seriously in the media only a few decades ago, there could still be an underlying stereotype concerning online expression of these groups.

This relates to the debate that started in the early days of the internet and focused on whether the internet was a positive or negative platform for women and feminists. Spender argues that the strong connection between men and computers built by men of the electronic media, contributed to the internet becoming hostile towards women.¹²¹ Wilding expresses her faith in strong-willed and powerful cyberfeminists but argues that they should apply more critical thinking towards the internet’s opportunities for women and build their actions on feminist history.¹²² Haraway however, is for many cyberfeminists the mother of cyberfeminism after writing *A Cyborg Manifesto*, presenting her ideas that the internet is a neutral platform where feminists can overthrow existing assumptions of sex and gender.¹²³ A closely related concept to cyberfeminism, hashtag feminism, was discussed as a modern concept which has according to Dixon, created a virtual space that binds together victims of inequality and acknowledges their reality.¹²⁴ Chen et al. argue that hashtag feminism can be used to shift Twitter’s digital space from hostile and dangerous to empowering for women.¹²⁵ By calling out those who express sexist and misogynic opinions on Twitter, dr. Munro argues that people (especially women) participate in a certain call-out culture, helping them face digital misogyny.¹²⁶ Thelandersson however, discusses how online feminist discourses can often become hostile to its participants, and argues the spotlight needs to be shifted towards “successfully intersectional online feminism.”¹²⁷

It can be argued that stereotypes of women in the media and of female expression, has led to women not being taken seriously on online platforms such as Twitter. As discussed by Anderson, Sheeler, and Dowd, Hillary Clinton has

¹²⁰ Douglas, 243.

¹²¹ Spender, 166.

¹²² Wilding, 7-9.

¹²³ Haraway, 105-16.

¹²⁴ Dixon, 34-40.

¹²⁵ Chen et al. 375.

¹²⁶ Munro, 2.

¹²⁷ Thelandersson, 529; Dowd, 2012.

gained popularity amongst the American public during moments when she was in a weak position¹²⁸, suggesting that female stereotypes are still very much alive in American society. While hashtag feminism and call-out culture may help women and feminists shift online spaces away from sexism and misogyny, it seems as though it is mainly through joint effort where women can safely express feminist opinions online. When sending out direct feminist messages without using hashtags or calling someone out, women seem to be risking more and entering a more hostile environment than when such messages are sent out as part of a campaign or a movement. The example of the reaction Clinton got when posting “Delete your account.” supports this idea. Most of Clinton’s feminist tweets could be identified as hashtag feminism or part of call-out culture, but when she posted this direct message she was scrutinized for being “unpresidential” while her male opponent was constantly and deliberately using Twitter to offend others.^{129,130}

As the analysis exhibits, there are examples from Hillary Clinton’s Twitter profile suggesting that she toned down her feminist side on Twitter while campaigning. Therefore, it was argued that while women are expressing feminist opinions as part of hashtag feminism or call-out culture, the internet is a relatively positive platform, relating to Haraway and Wilding’s hopes for cyberfeminism. However, it was contended that online spaces are more hostile towards women when expressing feminist opinions online outside the “safe” environment of hashtag feminism or call-out culture, bringing us closer to Spender’s idea of the internet being a negative platform for women. As presented in the analysis, Clinton was more of a direct and explicit online feminist before and right after the 2016 campaign and more of a participant in hashtag feminism and call-out culture while campaigning. The findings of this thesis therefore demonstrate how hostility towards women expressing feminist opinions on Twitter outside of collective action, may have been a factor in Clinton’s self-presentation as a feminist on Twitter while campaigning. Another possible factor put forward in the analysis was the way existing female stereotypes encourage

¹²⁸ Anderson and Sheeler, 233-5.

¹²⁹ Azari, 2016.

¹³⁰ Trump, Twitter.

the idea that women should not be in powerful positions or discuss serious issues.

These findings are a small contribution towards the debate of whether the internet is a positive or negative platform for women and feminists. The biggest limitation to this research is that it only looks at Twitter and not other social media platforms where Hillary Clinton was active. Twitter is however very relevant due to the attention it got as a social media platform during the 2016 presidential campaign. Since the work of this thesis began, interesting theories have appeared about how Hillary Clinton actually started a global online feminist movement by losing, referring to the #METOO campaign for example.¹³¹ For future research it might be interesting to dive into these new online feminist campaigns to see the evolution of hashtag feminism and call-out culture. It could also be intriguing to ask whether online feminists experience more hostility when outside of a joint movement like hashtag feminism where many people are discussing a specific feminist topic at the same time. An important question this thesis might therefore inspire is whether the internet is mainly an empowering platform for online feminists when they join forces. Or can the internet perhaps never be considered an empowering platform for women and feminists because of the hostility it presents when expressing feminism outside of a joint movement, since it encourages feminists to censor their feminist expression?

Hillary Clinton will probably not experience being a presidential candidate on Twitter again. However, since Twitter played such a big role in the last presidential campaign, it will be interesting to see the future role of Twitter in American presidential campaigns as well as its future role in online feminism.

¹³¹ Amy Chozick, "Hillary Clinton Ignited a Feminist Movement. By Losing.", *The New York Times*, January 14th, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/13/sunday-review/hillary-clinton-feminist-movement.html>.

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8 Appendix

This appendix presents a complete dataset of Hillary Clinton's tweets from June 10th 2013 until November 9th 2016, that have been identified as feminist tweets. As described in the Method chapter the color-coding was mainly used to simplify the selection process of tweets for this study. In addition to the yellow and red feminist tweets, this appendix shows four relevant tweets (color-coded green) from Clinton's Twitter account that were presented in the thesis without being feminist tweets. The tweets presented in this thesis have been made bold.

date	text
Nov 9 2016	To all the little girls watching...never doubt that you are valuable and powerful & deserving of every chance & opportunity in the world.
Nov 9 2016	"To all the women...who put their faith in this campaign and in me...nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion." - Hillary
Nov 8 2016	This team has so much to be proud of. Whatever happens tonight, thank you for everything
Nov 8 2016	Retweet from Tim Kaine: Thinking about my daughter right now. No little girl will ever again have to wonder whether she, too, can be president.
Oct 24 2016	"Get this Donald: nasty women are smart, nasty women are tough, and nasty women vote." — @ElizabethForMA:
Oct 15 2016	"If we let Hillary's opponent win this election, then we are sending a clear message to our kids." —@FLOTUS http://IWillVote.com pic.twitter.com/wU4W9Dh9u8
Oct 4 2016	"I've known Hillary since September of 1958...we were just thinking of the next Nancy Drew book." —Hillary's lifelong friend, BetsyPic.twitter.com/nVs01awNQ6
Sep 30 2016	When Ruline was born, women couldn't vote. Yesterday, at 103, she voted for Hillary. Make sure you're registered: http://IWillVote.com pic.twitter.com/Sjn4wPcytB
Sep 30 2016	Trump admits he "can't say" he treats women with respect. https://amp.twimg.com/v/08853b75-592e-4220-8802-ab8fb2332f87 ...
Sep 30 2016	Trump on equal pay: "Do as good a job" as men. Abortion? Should be "punished." Pregnancy? An "inconvenience." Wives working? "Dangerous."
Sep 30 2016	Trump obsessively bullies Rosie O'Donnell—an accomplished actor. He insulted Kim Kardashian for her weight—when she was pregnant. Pathetic.
Sep 29 2016	Born before women could vote, Ruline just cast her ballot for Hillary in Iowa today. Join her: http://IWillVote.com pic.twitter.com/LQ1qozY3NH
Sep 28 2016	With a mother in the Oval Office, we may finally catch up to the rest of the world on paid leave. http://hrc.io/2dAQKyQ
Sep 27 2016	Trump on Alicia, 1996: "Miss Piggy." This morning: "She gained a massive amount of weight...it was a real problem." pic.twitter.com/0wrISjje6z

Sep 26 2016	Donald Trump called her "Miss Piggy" and "Miss Housekeeping." Her name is Alicia Machado. #DebateNightpic.twitter.com/0wrISjJe6z
Sep 26 2016	The woman Trump called "Miss Piggy" has a name: Alicia. #debatenightpic.twitter.com/XlthzE8X8j
Sep 26 2016	Our daughters deserve better.pic.twitter.com/LJPIFegSTs
Sep 24 2016	"I thought, this woman—I want to ride with her." —Roxie, a Republican and small business owner, on meeting Hillarypic.twitter.com/s5zyaOBLXB
Sep 23 2016	If the young women of this country have Donald Trump as their president, what will they think of themselves?pic.twitter.com/1IrjWddzzy
Sep 23 2016	Is this the president we want for our daughters?pic.twitter.com/GP4rfhPDGm
Sep 20 2016	On this day in 1973, tennis champion Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes."pic.twitter.com/G06O190j10
Sep 16 2016	"The good news is that my pneumonia finally got some Republicans interested in women's health." —Hillary
Sep 5 2016	"Human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights." —Hillary in Beijing, 21 years ago todaypic.twitter.com/T46TNfDikW
Sep 5 2016	Sec. of Labor Frances Perkins was our first woman cabinet member and an architect of the Fair Labor Standards Act.pic.twitter.com/T6SXpU9oOm
Sep 2 2016	When Ruline was born in 1913, women couldn't vote. In 2016, she'll cast her vote to elect the 1st woman president.pic.twitter.com/QSCZ17JbrV
Sep 1 2016	Born Sept. 1, 1933, former TX Gov. Ann Richards opened doors for women and minorities in her own state and beyond.pic.twitter.com/K1h1Hcdgiq
Aug 26 2016	Happy #WomensEqualityDay from @realDonaldTrump.https://amp.twimg.com/v/33f5c2b0-08c8-4d3e-9701-981b9f4b7481 ...
Aug 26 2016	On this day in 1920, the 19th Amendment was adopted and many women won the right to vote. Let's break more ceilings.pic.twitter.com/AGskZ5jhFK
Aug 26 2016	We've made our union more perfect because people refused to be kept on the sidelines. Onward. #WomensEqualityDayhttps://amp.twimg.com/v/db2af8b1-f1a0-4801-9bd1-6ddff047a2d8 ...
Aug 26 2016	Countless women fought to win the right to vote. On the anniversary of the 19th Amendment's adoption, let's recommit to protecting it. -H
Aug 23 2016	The gender wage gap is even wider for women of color. It's time to ensure equal pay. #BlackWomensEqualPayhttp://hrc.io/2bCbZk5
Aug 23 2016	On average, it takes black women until today to catch up to white men's 2015 earnings. Time to close the pay gap.pic.twitter.com/5eYBD4Y7Mr
Aug 19 2016	When the IOC introduced women's wrestling in 2004, @Helen_Maroulis dreamed of gold. Yesterday that dream came true.pic.twitter.com/ZvyuQYK36v
Aug 17 2016	At the 1988 Olympic games, Jackie Joyner-Kersey became the first woman to win gold in the long jump for @TeamUSA.pic.twitter.com/SM21RY7QWn
Aug 16 2016	Today, @Simone_Biles landed a spot in history as the first woman from @USAGym to win 4 golds. Well done, Simone!pic.twitter.com/WldxYrC2ep

2016	
Aug 6 2016	Four gold medals and counting: Today, @SerenaWilliams hits the court in Rio to add to her collection.pic.twitter.com/iOMV0FH38S
Aug 5 2016	Our first-ever gold medal-winning women's gymnastics team: the Magnificent Seven.pic.twitter.com/MVkhHBh7hI
Aug 4 2016	"That's what 21st century feminism is about: The idea that when everybody is equal, we are all more free." — @POTUShttp://hrc.io/2aLxfmT
Jul 31 2016	Their paths may vary, but their call is the same. Meet the women of the U.S. Senate:https://amp.twimg.com/v/e09ddab9-2cd6-48a7-9877-386129a98c4e ...
Jul 28 2016	"If fighting for affordable child care and paid family leave is playing the woman card, then deal me in!" — Hillarypic.twitter.com/xdbNvUvcVC
Jul 28 2016	"If you believe that your working mother, wife, sister, or daughter deserve equal pay, join us!" —Hillary
Jul 28 2016	"We've reached a milestone...the first time that a major party has nominated a woman for president." — Hillarypic.twitter.com/WizdsD8vgk
Jul 28 2016	"I accept your nomination for president of the United States!" —Hillaryhttp://www.snappytv.com/tc/2470927
Jul 28 2016	About to head out and accept your nomination for president. I'm so grateful to everyone who made this moment possible. -H
Jul 27 2016	"We all understand what it will mean for our daughters and granddaughters when Hillary Clinton walks into the Oval Office." —@JoeBiden
Jul 27 2016	"Speaking is difficult for me. But come January, I want to say these two words: Madam President." — @GabbyGiffordshttp://www.snappytv.com/tc/2461148
Jul 27 2016	"It's time to put a bully, racist in his place and a tough woman in hers—the White House!" — @MartinOMalleyhttp://www.snappytv.com/tc/2460730
Jul 27 2016	A young girl asked Hillary, "Do you think when you're president, you'll be paid as much as a man?"https://amp.twimg.com/v/3ca16bbe-9279-495c-ac88-be99cb2b94aa ...
Jul 26 2016	We just put the biggest crack in that glass ceiling yet." —Hillaryhttp://www.snappytv.com/tc/2454374
Jul 26 2016	"Hillary Clinton will be our first woman president. And she will be a great president." —Meryl Streephttp://www.snappytv.com/tc/2454311
Jul 26 2016	This moment is for every little girl who dreams big. #WeMadeHistoryhttps://amp.twimg.com/v/7e917dda-0c1e-4c15-a41b-1ee3a318db9c ...
Jul 26 2016	"It is ridiculous that there has never been a female president before."https://amp.twimg.com/v/995761c9-1198-495e-b7bf-c16931404ecf ...
Jul 25 2016	"Because of Hillary Clinton, my daughters...can take it for granted that a woman can be president." — @FLOTUSpic.twitter.com/bCezrX9W5
Jul 25 2016	"Because of Hillary Clinton, my daughters...now take for granted that a woman can be president of the United States." —@FLOTUS #DemsInPhilly
Jul 23 2016	"My mom once told me...if you want to do right, be an optimist." —@timkaine
Jul 22 2016	"We need more love and kindness in this country...The last thing we need are leaders who try to divide us even more than we are." —Hillary
Jul 21 2016	"I'm with you*" —@realDonaldTrump *Not included: women, African Americans, LGBT people, Muslims, Latinos, immigrants...
Jul 19 2016	Not according to your anti-woman, anti-LGBT, anti-immigrant @GOP platform. #RNCinCLEhttps://twitter.com/PRyan/status/755575257713344513 ...
Jul 16 2016	Bad for: The economy Women Immigrants And *literally* the planetpic.twitter.com/M0s5sQOGrd
Jul 14	"We need to close the gender pay gap...Latinas earn just 55 cents for every dollar earned by a white man. That is

2016	just outrageous." —Hillary
Jul 12 2016	Happy birthday, Malala! Thank you for fighting for every girl's right to an education. pic.twitter.com/GjC69J0rSr
Jul 9 2016	Congrats, @serenawilliams on your record-tying 22nd Grand Slam title! #Wimbledon pic.twitter.com/MAqFwyM0R
Jul 5 2016	"There has never been any man or woman more qualified for this office than Hillary Clinton. That's the truth." — @POTUS
Jul 4 2016	Here's to 240 years of progress. pic.twitter.com/rxZa7Niodt
Jul 3 2016	Every American should have the opportunity to live up to their God-given potential. https://amp.twimg.com/v/90f972f2-68e4-43d8-a2a5-e071cd3149c8 ...
Jun 10 2016	A man with this much contempt and disrespect for women has no business becoming president. https://amp.twimg.com/v/08853b75-592e-4220-8802-ab8fb2332f87 ...
Jun 10 2016	.@realDonaldTrump says he'll be "the best for women." Don't think so. pic.twitter.com/zsXgf8wQF2
Jun 10 2016	Trump has called women "pigs," "dogs," and "disgusting animals." We can't even count on him to respect women—much less protect our rights.
Jun 9 2016	Delete your account. https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/740972317191352320 ...
Jun 7 2016	For the first time in our history, a woman will be a major party's nominee for President of the United States. pic.twitter.com/4iLojpuPj8
Jun 7 2016	Tonight, we can say with pride that, in America, there is no barrier too great and no ceiling too high to break. pic.twitter.com/7vbGPJe543
Jun 7 2016	To every little girl who dreams big: Yes, you can be anything you want—even president. Tonight is for you. - H pic.twitter.com/jq7fKlfgV
Jun 7 2016	"Although we weren't able to shatter that highest, hardest glass ceiling...it's got about 18 million cracks in it." https://amp.twimg.com/v/c2005f36-c647-4bbd-84d3-2424b581142f ...
Jun 6 2016	We are on the brink of a historic moment, but we still have work to do. Let's keep fighting for every vote: http://hrc.io/1WCxROB
May 26 2016	Born on this day in 1951, Dr. Sally Ride was the first American woman & first LGBT astronaut in space. #SallyRideDay pic.twitter.com/N0ckF5Ew7x
May 22 2016	"She taught me resilience, courage, and the power of love and kindness." —Hillary on her mom https://amp.twimg.com/v/fa8bcbac-1661-454b-b5a3-a9cdcbfac229 ...
May 21 2016	These moms want to make sure no other family has to lose a child to senseless violence. https://amp.twimg.com/v/c3c6efd7-0db0-44cc-a28f-cad9c7e5af00 ...
May 16 2016	Every woman, no matter where she works, deserves birth control coverage. This shouldn't be a question. #SCOTUS-H
May 15 2016	"What can we do for women that doesn't make them a liability because they're pregnant?" https://amp.twimg.com/v/73dab212-3bfb-47b7-9078-abfd04beac28 ...
May 11 2016	When women are paid less, they're also short-changed in saving for retirement and contributing to Social Security. We've got to change this.
May 10 2016	A woman told Hillary she was fired after losing her baby: "What happened to you was not only wrong—it's illegal." https://amp.twimg.com/v/debbf20c-4810-4871-bf55-8a4817efdbd3 ...
May 9 2016	Women earn just \$0.79 for every \$1 men do. That's a problem for all of us. http://hrc.io/1VR0EyK pic.twitter.com/OpUw08xWOF

May 6 2016	@JLo thanks for this. Women are so much more than the roles they've been assigned. -H
May 4 2016	"As he goes after women, as he goes after literally every group, I'm going to be their voice." —Hillary on Trump https://amp.twimg.com/v/31f9bc78-c93a-4e85-9a61-a77126ff9a97 ...
Apr 30 2016	The #WomanCard? Fighting for women's rights is a card we'd play any day. https://amp.twimg.com/v/0615651f-b4d9-45d3-9b04-dc0c5e9c4e57 ...
Apr 28 2016	If fighting for women is "playing the #WomanCard," what card is Trump playing? https://amp.twimg.com/v/8ab2fd4d-cb09-49a8-937f-58bdf54cb577 ...
Apr 27 2016	So if fighting for women is playing the #WomanCard, well... pic.twitter.com/wUuif8qoj
Apr 27 2016	Last night, the "#womancard." This morning, Trump said he "hasn't recovered" from Hillary's "shouting." Really? pic.twitter.com/wOXffrFuN2
Apr 27 2016	Fighting for women's health care, equal pay, and paid leave. Or as Donald Trump says, playing the "woman's card." https://amp.twimg.com/v/4e9f3390-28d3-4a8d-b81f-d149ad594e0c ...
Apr 26 2016	"If fighting for women's health care and paid family leave and equal pay is playing the 'woman card,' then deal me in." —Hillary
Apr 26 2016	Women deserve the same rights as men in every aspect of our economy and our society—at home and around the world. https://amp.twimg.com/v/9cc4d7ce-8b82-4a36-946e-da875990bd74 ...
Apr 25 2016	"I'm a feminist because I believe women deserve the same rights as men." —Hillary #MSNBCTownhall
Apr 25 2016	This might sound strange coming from a presidential candidate, but what we really need is more love and kindness. https://amp.twimg.com/v/ac4189f3-0826-4234-9f65-8b2dd5bb7b62 ...
Apr 15 2016	A typical woman working full-time is paid just 79% of what a man makes, but there's no discount for being a woman. https://amp.twimg.com/v/9f36b263-54e0-4f80-b1a7-8779e3e94353 ...
Apr 15 2016	Women's rights aren't a "distraction." They're at the heart of who we are—and we need to defend them. https://amp.twimg.com/v/73758b18-8ad7-4cf7-8a38-40eeb04609ff ...
Apr 14 2016	Donald Trump said women should be punished for seeking an abortion. That's not a distraction—it's a disgrace. https://amp.twimg.com/v/73758b18-8ad7-4cf7-8a38-40eeb04609ff ...
Apr 14 2016	With women's health under attack across the country, how is it possible that there hasn't been a single #DemDebate question on it?
Apr 13 2016	"Speaking is hard for me. But come January, I want to say these two words: Madam President." — @gabbygiffords https://amp.twimg.com/v/3c14f8d9-585c-4e27-8967-5f8f87f93c4b ...
Apr 12 2016	There's no discount for being a woman—yet women are still paid less. Myths on the wage gap, debunked: http://hrc.io/1WqOiw6 #EqualPayDay
Apr 12 2016	It's not like women get charged less than men for groceries. We need to ensure equal pay. https://amp.twimg.com/v/8b793383-6062-4a77-a82f-18dd7b12d6bf ...
Apr 12 2016	Women lose out on every paycheck—and women of color feel it the most. It's time to close the pay gap. #EqualPayDay pic.twitter.com/MaWQC9oqg9
Apr 12 2016	The average woman makes just \$0.79 for every \$1 a man earns. RT if you agree we have to fix that. #EqualPayDay pic.twitter.com/woffArPvnl

Apr 12 2016	Women earn just \$0.79 for every \$1 men do. It's worse for women of color. Let's close that gap. #EqualPayDay - H https://amp.twimg.com/v/e3da182c-6ee1-4fee-812b-f10bcf7c321b ...
Apr 12 2016	"Do you think that when you're president, you'll be paid as much as a man?" #EqualPayDay https://amp.twimg.com/v/2e0dd44e-5ca1-4c6f-b535-e89b8fdcbc17 ...
Apr 7 2016	Fighting for women and girls for 40 years and counting. https://amp.twimg.com/v/15fc5eab-9cea-4f1c-8ec3-216ea23b51d2 ...
Apr 6 2016	Women should be paid equally to men. Period. Thanks for leading the fight on paycheck fairness, @SenatorBarb. - H https://twitter.com/SenatorBarb/status/717774755336757249 ...
Apr 5 2016	Women deserve a president who'll stand up for our rights—and against Republican attempts to restrict health access and criminalize doctors.
Apr 5 2016	When you shortchange women, you shortchange all of us. We need to close the pay gap once and for all. pic.twitter.com/TtZHbEtESR
Apr 5 2016	Minimum wage earners are disproportionately women of color. Raising it would help millions of families. pic.twitter.com/9GxTWyN6ed
Apr 2 2016	Picked up this necklace at a great women-owned shop in Madison, WI. Looks like they've got fans in New York, too. -H pic.twitter.com/nsYBTtSwRc
Apr 1 2016	Candidates who support the assault on women's rights have no business being president. https://amp.twimg.com/v/857921b3-aad0-42b8-b6d1-b84870c33f97 ...
Mar 31 2016	.@realDonaldTrump said women should be punished for having an abortion. We can't let him be president. https://amp.twimg.com/v/fe9275ff-139f-4c8f-94c3-4133f0660ee5 ...
Mar 30 2016	Every woman—regardless of income or zip code—deserves access to health care. If you don't get that, you have no business being president.
Mar 30 2016	Women, especially low-income women and women of color, are already being punished by GOP-led efforts to stigmatize and restrict health care.
Mar 30 2016	Remember: If you make abortion a crime, you make women who seek abortions criminals. You put one in three women at risk.
Mar 30 2016	Even by his impossibly low standards, @realDonaldTrump's suggestion that women be punished for seeking abortion is abhorrent.
Mar 30 2016	We can't let someone with this much contempt for women's rights anywhere near the White House. https://amp.twimg.com/v/3b556fdd-e0cb-4b44-85c7-20fccafd3df5 ...
Mar 23 2016	Women deserve birth control coverage no matter where they work. Bosses shouldn't get to interfere. http://hrc.io/1q2sbQ7
Mar 20 2016	"Speaking is hard for me. But come January, I want to say these two words: Madam President." — @gabbygiffords https://amp.twimg.com/v/49dcc903-3300-48dd-9663-b4869142bde7 ...
Mar 19 2016	"She is one of the most experienced people to ever run for president." —@azcentral http://hrc.io/1R7gQHs
Mar 11 2016	Humbled to stand with these women, who have turned unimaginable grief into a call to action we all need to hear. -H https://amp.twimg.com/v/c3c6efd7-0db0-44cc-a28f-cad9c7e5af00 ...
Mar 8 2016	"Women's rights are human rights." #IWD2016 https://amp.twimg.com/v/68cf2e78-5975-4c47-aade-6a028b4a4b45 ...
Mar 7 2016	In March 1933, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt held the first women-only press conference at the White House. pic.twitter.com/bC9xmwYqak
Mar 3 2016	Happy #WomensHistoryMonth! We're celebrating Dr. Mae Jemison, the first African American woman to travel in space. pic.twitter.com/bQMpE2GktT
Mar 2 2016	It might be unusual for a presidential candidate to say that we need more love and kindness in America—but we

2016	do.https://amp.twimg.com/v/992e6689-1a47-4d37-b51b-fa807bc0a58a ...
Feb 29 2016	A father to Hillary: "I need you to win for my daughters." https://amp.twimg.com/v/756954be-cef4-4ff5-9f29-e35b809acf44 ...
Feb 27 2016	Couldn't ask for a better right-hand woman on the trail. Happy birthday, @chelseaclinton—I'm so proud of you. - Hpic.twitter.com/X5GLXTU3p7
Feb 22 2016	It's 2016. A woman's place is...wherever she wants it to be. https://twitter.com/thomaskaplan/status/701803313734533120 ...
Feb 18 2016	It's 2016. Women deserve equal pay. Thanks for leading this effort in Oklahoma, @RepEmilyVirgin & @jdunnington. - Hhttps://twitter.com/RepEmilyVirgin/status/700110430652362752 ...
Feb 12	A socialist feminist on why she'll vote for Hillary: http://hrc.io/1TXXFCq
Feb 4	No questions on this at #DemDebate, but a reminder: women deserve a champion in the White House. pic.twitter.com/QEtLUH2twa
Feb 3	We have to protect the gains we've made on LGBT rights and women's rights—and do more to expand them. That's what's at stake. #DemTownHall
Feb 2	Hillary just became the first woman ever to win the #IowaCaucus. http://hrc.io/1Sr8Yng
Feb 1	"I know we can protect our rights: women's rights, gay rights, voting rights, immigrants' rights, workers' rights." —Hillary
Jan 29	"I have seen many incredible things...I look forward to seeing a woman president." http://hrc.io/1QMti08 pic.twitter.com/D5bzlg1nsv
Jan 26	Gender equality and economic equality go hand in hand. You can't fight for one without understanding the other.
Jan 25	"Every person in this country deserves to be treated with respect." —Hillary #DemTownHall
Jan 25	"I have a 40-year record of going after inequality." —Hillary #DemTownHall
Jan 24	You can't confront income inequality without confronting gender inequality. http://hrc.io/1SGqd3w pic.twitter.com/pbCyx5JL48
Jan 24	"What are our children going to say about your presidency beyond 'she was the first woman?'" https://amp.twimg.com/v/bc5e37cb-dbc1-4345-8ab0-08ed45544042 ...
Jan 22	We've come too far to let Republicans take us back. The fight for women's reproductive rights is far from over. pic.twitter.com/XuuOyFV0ym
Jan 18	"Do you think that when you're president, you'll be paid as much as a man?" https://amp.twimg.com/v/abeb36d0-aa69-4762-81a0-805c2dc017d9 ...
Jan 15	"I would like to see Planned Parenthood even get more funding." How to ensure all women have access to health care: http://hrc.io/1PvYaxn
29 Dec 2015	There's no reason for teachers and nurses to ever pay higher tax rates than top CEOs. pic.twitter.com/ipCwK2Ee4f
29 Dec 2015	Little feminists, moms, love stories—some of the most heartwarming campaign moments of 2015: http://hrc.io/1OiiG3f pic.twitter.com/VwOcllNQRe
7 Dec 2015	The US women's soccer team faces unequal treatment in playing surfaces and pay—but they're not alone. http://hrc.io/1XXkmVE
3 Dec 2015	Women deserve access to the health care they need—without interference, intimidation, or violence. #StandWithPP - Hhttps://twitter.com/thehill/status/672507120839999489 ...
1 Dec 2015	These little girls have a message for America: When it comes to presidents, "44 boys is too many." https://amp.twimg.com/v/b3a6a403-1d58-4f55-b9dc-cafd2f32a2fa ...
1 Dec 2015	On this day in 1955, Rosa Parks' act of rebellion on a Montgomery bus sparked a national movement for equal rights. pic.twitter.com/qJZ3rtfrqf
29	What did her mom say when Hillary thought @Wellesley was too hard? The best advice she could have

Nov 2015	gotten.https://amp.twimg.com/v/4f1bb03f-5f9a-41a0-a6d0-6b88a322eac7 ...
28 Nov 2015	From Olivia, age 12: "I am a little feminist growing up to help all women with equal rights." Read her letter pic.twitter.com/81NmApY5ge
28 Nov 2015	Hillary Rodham and Bill Clinton met at law school—and she made the first move. http://hrc.io/11QF1iw
15 Nov 2015	"I'm very proud that...a majority of my donors are women." —Hillary at the #DemDebate https://amp.twimg.com/v/be7ead71-a464-4e6f-9b16-413957169edf ...
14 Nov 2015	Are you ready for the first woman president? #DemDebate #Hillary2016
14 Nov 2015	"I think the president's job is to do everything possible—everything she can do—to lift up the people of this country." —Hillary #DemDebate
14 Nov 2015	For too long, issues affecting women and families—from childcare to paid leave—have been dismissed as "women's issues." Those days are over.
14 Nov 2015	It's 2015. Every woman deserves equal pay. Full stop. #DemDebate pic.twitter.com/10kBI6hPtp
12 Nov 2015	In 1991 Hillary Clinton filed her husband's papers to run for president. In 2015 she filed her own. http://hrc.io/1MB03K1
10 Nov 2015	Every woman deserves to make her own decisions about birth control—without interference from politicians or her boss. #ThxBirthControl
9 Nov 2015	Women shouldn't make less than men in 2015. Period. http://hrc.io/1Mu2kID
6 Nov 2015	"If you stand for equal rights, if you stand against discrimination, you don't just do it once—you've got to keep fighting." —Hillary
5 Nov 2015	Malala is brave, inspiring—and really onto something here. http://hrc.io/1HuCv5H (via @EmWatson) pic.twitter.com/Zqxxn9sAhx
5 Nov 2015	Meet Olivia, the 12-year-old feminist who wrote Hillary this letter: http://hrc.io/1PcY82o pic.twitter.com/STEECewzkM
3 Nov 2015	@GregAbbott_TX is right about one thing: equality is one of Hillary's values. Houston—vote #YesOnProp1 today. https://twitter.com/GregAbbott_TX/status/661202532518105088 ...
3 Nov 2015	Voting is one of our most important and sacred rights. If there's an election near you today, make your voice heard—go vote! -H
3 Nov 2015	A 12-year-old feminist named Olivia wrote Hillary this brave, heartwarming letter. Olivia 2040, anybody? pic.twitter.com/5ZEKdOpTrQ
31 Oct 2015	Too often, women still make less on the dollar than men. It's time for equal pay now. https://amp.twimg.com/v/65013c5e-8c31-4735-8444-7f6e7aed7365 ...
28 Oct 2015	Every woman deserves equal pay. Period. http://hrc.io/1RBRU9K #GOPdebate
27 Oct 2015	"Strong women help create strong families!" Read @katyperry's note for Hillary's birthday: http://hrc.io/1PSPsx7 pic.twitter.com/N78xLo4OfZ
25 Oct 2015	"If talking about equal pay, paid family leave, child care, & women's health is playing the gender card—deal me in." https://amp.twimg.com/v/f8a11e2f-7626-456f-9f35-972693681103 ...
25 Oct 2015	Hillary's birthday is tomorrow—and she's still on track to be the youngest woman US president ever. Sign her card! http://hrc.io/HRCbirthday

24 Oct 2015	"Together we're going to build an America where...a father can tell his daughter, 'you can be anything you want to be—including president.'"
24 Oct 2015	"I've spent my life working for children, women, families, and our country...and I'm just getting warmed up." —Hillary at #IDPJ
24 Oct 2015	"When you short-change women, you short-change families and you short-change America." —Hillary on why she's fighting for equal pay #IDPJ
24 Oct 2015	"There is something wrong when the top 25 hedge fund managers make more than all the kindergarten teachers in America combined." —Hillary
24 Oct 2015	"Sometimes, you just have to ROAR!" —Hillary after @katyperry's performance at the @HillaryforIA rally in Des Moines. #HillYes
24 Oct 2015	"I'm tired of the stranglehold that women have had on presidential spouse." —President @billclinton at the @HillaryforIA rally in Des Moines
23 Oct 2015	Anyone who's sick of Hillary standing up for women had better get ready for a long campaign. http://hrc.io/1jZyl01
23 Oct 2015	"I am a little feminist growing up to help all women with equal rights." Meet Olivia: http://hrc.io/1kAD4Gc
23 Oct 2015	"I'm doing everything I can to make sure the issues that matter most to women and families are front and center in this election." —Hillary
16 Oct 2015	Brava, Jennifer. It's hard to speak up against inequity and risk being unpopular—but equal pay matters for us all. http://hrc.io/1LenzMV
13 Oct 2015	"Finally, fathers will be able to say to their daughters: you too can grow up to be president." #DemDebate https://amp.twimg.com/v/8e426e34-5b1d-4494-812d-c0d81a79d156 ...
13 Oct 2015	Hillary has fought for women her whole life—and she's just getting started. #ImWithHer #DemDebate pic.twitter.com/vr1z1APQxj
13 Oct 2015	Attacks on Planned Parenthood are attacks on women's health and rights. We can't let them take us backwards. pic.twitter.com/AwABjhFCjg
13 Oct 2015	For too long, issues affecting women—from reproductive rights to paid leave—have been dismissed as "women's issues." Those days are over.
13 Oct 2015	No politician should interfere with a woman's personal medical decisions. Full stop. #DemDebate #ImWithHer
13 Oct 2015	Equal pay, paid leave, childcare: These aren't just "women's issues," they're family issues and economic growth issues. #DemDebate
12 Oct 2015	Hillary talks sexism in the workplace with @Buzzfeed's @AnotherRound: http://hrc.io/1LqzfNI pic.twitter.com/Ustefl9Sjw
12 Oct 2015	"One of the merits is I am a woman." pic.twitter.com/v3W8c6sASU
11 Oct 2015	Just 30% of girls around the world are enrolled in secondary school. Together, we can change that: http://dayofthegirl.org #DayoftheGirl
27 Sep	Xi hosting a meeting on women's rights at the UN while persecuting feminists? Shameless. #Freethe20 http://hrc.io/1KDkyFz -H

2015	
26 Sep 2015	"A feminist is by definition someone who believes in equal rights." —Hillary http://hrc.io/1L8wYbL pic.twitter.com/RB7qrBQAXa
25 Sep 2015	Today in 1981, Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court. pic.twitter.com/TjH56UEYx6
25 Sep 2015	For every daughter who dreams that someday, she'll be president—join #WomenforHillary: http://hrc.io/women https://amp.twimg.com/v/5e2052d5-2af9-4731-a1b3-c675f20f7b09 ...
24 Sep 2015	.@lenadunham: "Do you consider yourself a feminist?" Hillary: "Yes. Absolutely." http://hrc.io/1L8wYbL pic.twitter.com/mAIB4bL28z
17 Sep 2015	"Don't attack women's health care. And don't shut down the government." Hillary's message to Republicans: pic.twitter.com/L7Uyb3vYmt
16 Sep 2015	Women—not the politicians on stage—should make decisions about their own reproductive health care. Period. #GOPdebate
10 Sep 2015	Five-year-old Macey tells Hillary about her presidential aspirations backstage at @TheEllenShow: https://amp.twimg.com/v/cc8b711f-75c1-47e1-ac0e-cf1c66e328bf ...
5 Sep 2015	Say you're on Team #WomenForHillary: http://hrc.io/1KxNa6f pic.twitter.com/tjTS2b4b9V
2 Sep 2015	"Women's rights are human rights." Watch Hillary say the words that are as true now as they were in 1995. #Beijing20 https://amp.twimg.com/v/f0e53280-b13e-4630-b8d8-4b0dee2945b6 ...
1 Sep 2015	Born September 1, 1933, Ann Richards was the 1st woman governor of TX in her own right—and a fighter for families. pic.twitter.com/FYXCIEn4Fw
1 Sep 2015	In 1995, Hillary led the US delegation to the UN Women's Conference, despite opposition. #Beijing20 https://amp.twimg.com/v/5a5d83ba-e0be-476b-bee4-74ac4c90fb05 ...
31 Aug 2015	20 years ago, Hillary gave her historic speech to the United Nations Women's Conference. #Beijing20 https://amp.twimg.com/v/e015b084-e59d-485c-8b78-22a82e229e6b ...
28 Aug 2015	"If calling for equal pay and paid leave and women's health is playing the gender card, well, then, deal me in."—Hillary
28 Aug 2015	Denying women access to health care might be good politics in a Republican primary, but it's terrible policy in the real world.
26 Aug 2015	Equal pay, paid leave, childcare: These aren't just "women's issues," they're family issues and economic issues. #WomensEqualityDay
26 Aug 2015	No woman should have to go back to work 24 hours after giving birth. #WomensEqualityDay
26 Aug 2015	The United States is the only country in the developed world without guaranteed paid leave. This needs to change. #WomensEqualityDay
26 Aug 2015	Too many women still earn less than men on the job—and women of color often lose out the most. This needs to change. #WomensEqualityDay
21 Aug 2015	.@TheEllenShow's new clothing line celebrates girls being themselves, free from gender stereotypes. Hear, hear! http://hrc.io/1No5ejg
18 Aug 2015	95 years ago today, women got one step closer to winning the right to vote. Here's to making history. pic.twitter.com/tpgGIWkzPI
12	We can all do our part to make sure every young person has the opportunity to reach her or his full

Aug 2015	potential.pic.twitter.com/QAgss4qRdD
10 Aug 2015	What Trump said about Megyn Kelly is outrageous—but what's really outrageous is Republicans' actual positions on issues that affect women.
5 Aug 2015	"We've had a lot of grandfathers in the White House, but we haven't had a grandmother." —Hillary at @scdp: http://hrc.io/1T0cpN5
4 Aug 2015	Hillary's spent her entire life standing up for kids & families. Watch one of our first TV ads of the 2016 campaign: https://amp.twimg.com/v/f86e25d8-d9c4-4bf4-a051-ae77dcd29abc ...
1 Aug 2015	Voting rights, equal pay, immigration reform, LGBT equality—see more of What We're Fighting For on Pinterest: http://hrc.io/1lc68eg
24 Jul 2015	Equal pay, paid leave, child care—these are not "women's issues." https://amp.twimg.com/v/ca50e251-a727-4310-a976-d5ba3c74db5d ...
21 Jul 2015	Congrats, @BeckyHammon—first woman head coach in the NBA Summer League, and the first woman to win it. (Coincidence?) http://hrc.io/1MnhGiR
21 Jul 2015	If Hillary is playing the so-called #gendercard, what cards are Republicans holding? https://amp.twimg.com/v/22398a9a-51e3-4bd8-a808-463252160e6a ...
21 Jul 2015	If fighting for policies that help families get ahead is playing the #gendercard—well then, proud to play it. pic.twitter.com/xAbEyfnTka
21 Jul 2015	Think women should be paid equally? You might be playing the #gendercard.
21 Jul 2015	If you think you shouldn't have to choose between taking care of your family and getting a paycheck, you might be playing the #gendercard.
20 Jul 2015	If Sen. McConnell thinks fighting for women and families is playing the "gender card"—okay. Here's our #gendercard:
20 Jul 2015	...and that's why you don't try to pick a fight on women's economic security with Hillary clinton.pic.twitter.com/85tdES0q3x
20 Jul 2015	"I am running for everyone who's ever been knocked down but refused to be knocked out."—Hillary pic.twitter.com/wa5dp016aU
15 Jul 2015	Bottom line: When women get ahead, America gets ahead.pic.twitter.com/71MA2KUy53
12 Jul 2015	Retweet if you agree with Hillary: We need to do more to make sure women and families can get ahead. pic.twitter.com/Ev9iKhoNZV
7 Jul 2015	"A woman should have her own bill."—Hillary https://twitter.com/aterkel/status/618530391536869376 ...
5 Jul 2015	Here's to fearless women chasing their goals. Congratulations, Team #USA! —H
5 Jul 2015	Pinning the stories of women who lift us up and lead us forward: http://hrc.io/inspire pic.twitter.com/DB1vFr9u6N
13 Jun 2015	"My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one." pic.twitter.com/YC15bKYSLA
13 Jun 2015	"They shame and blame women rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions." pic.twitter.com/VpGcYpyg7F
12 Jun 2015	"She taught me that there were no limits to what I could achieve." http://youtube.com/watch?v=l_GYGslpP54 ...
12 Jun 2015	Everyone deserves a champion in their corner. That's been my life's work—and it's why I'm running for president. -H http://hrc.io/1QS7fl7
3 Jun 2015	Grandmothers for Hillary. pic.twitter.com/VVuZHUdS8M
29 May 2015	Girls just wanna have fun bumper stickers. Get your own: http://hrc.io/1J8GppM (Thanks, @lenadunham!) pic.twitter.com/WqqBvmG4qB

27 May 2015	Hillary on equal pay: "This is not a women's issue. This is a family issue. This is an American economic issue." pic.twitter.com/DY32ByokFW
26 May 2015	Today we celebrate Sally Ride—a pioneer who showed generations of girls that the sky is no longer the limit. pic.twitter.com/Hk3Ywz62lO
21 May 2015	That's all for me! Thanks for the opportunity, Hillary—and thank you for fighting for women & business owners like me! pic.twitter.com/B6bKZZ1LQL
21 May 2015	I want to say: Equality for women is so important to me. Hillary's deep understanding—to live it and to understand it—means a lot to me.
21 May 2015	Here's Haley, light of my life. She wants to run her own company, too. It's true: They're not bossy, they're leaders! pic.twitter.com/SkFmFVFPJh
21 May 2015	Hi there! I'm Mary Jo—a mom, small business owner, and Granite Stater—and I'm taking over this Twitter account today. Welcome to Portsmouth!
14 May 2015	Harriet Tubman could be the first woman on the \$20 bill. Awesome, well deserved—and about time. http://hrc.io/1JHHyl2 #womenon20s
13 May 2015	If you agree that these priorities are backward, add your name: http://hrc.io/1CaPif pic.twitter.com/Z4rerM4Nre
13 May 2015	When it comes to women's health, there are two kinds of experts: women and their doctors. True 40+ years ago, true today. -H
10 May 2015	The best Mother's Day gift has been seeing my daughter become a mom. Happy Mother's Day to @ChelseaClinton—and to every mom and grandma! -H
10 May 2015	Daughter, mother, grandmother—and a fierce champion for mothers, children, and families: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TV06e-t048k ...
30 Apr 2015	Hillary will protect women's ability to make their own health decisions. Say you're with her: http://hrc.io/1PbZUvZ pic.twitter.com/J9q5bR8lFV
12 Apr 2015	This account will be run by campaign staff from now on—but you'll still see tweets from Hillary. They'll be signed “-H.”
12 Apr 2015	I'm running for president. Everyday Americans need a champion, and I want to be that champion. -H https://www.hillaryclinton.com
26 Mar 2015	Protecting pregnant women from discrimination shouldn't be a fight, should be as American as apple pie. More to do: http://www.usnews.com/opinion/economic-intelligence/2015/03/26/peggy-young-supreme-court-victory-is-not-enough-for-pregnant-workers ...
16 Mar 2015	...2) Playing politics with trafficking victims... 3) Threatening women's health & rights.
8 Mar 2015	See my new profile pic to raise awareness on how far we've come in reaching equal rights for women & girls worldwide. http://Not-There.org
30 Jun 2014	Hard-working women will pay the price for today's two troubling #SCOTUS decisions -- in wages, health care & dignity.
8 Apr 2014	20 years ago, women made 72 cents on the dollar to men. Today it's still just 77 cents. More work to do. #EqualPay #NoCeilings
4 Apr 2014	Great to meet the strong & brave young women from #PussyRiot, who refuse to let their voices be silenced in #russia. pic.twitter.com/7JvkZ9TYx3
2 Apr 2014	A majority of lower wage jobs are held by women. Raising the minimum wage is good for women & for the economy.

	http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/20140325minimumwageandwomenreportfinal.pdf ...
20 Jan 2014	As a teenager I saw #MLK speak in Chicago & shook his hand. He urged us to stay engaged with the cause of justice. As vital as ever today.
16 Jan 2014	1 in 3 women live at or on the brink of poverty in the US. 28 million children depend on them. @ShriverReport @amprog http://goo.gl/30dclx
30 Jun 2014	Hard-working women will pay the price for today's two troubling #SCOTUS decisions -- in wages, health care & dignity.
4 May 2014	Access to education is a basic right & an unconscionable reason to target innocent girls. We must stand up to terrorism. #BringBackOurGirls
8 Mar 2014	For #IWD2014, I celebrate the work of Eleanor Roosevelt, a courageous advocate for human rights. Her work continues to inspire. #NoCeilings
16 Jan 2014	1 in 3 women live at or on the brink of poverty in the US. 28 million children depend on them. @ShriverReport @amprog http://goo.gl/30dclx
4 Oct 2013	As a mom, I made reading to @ChelseaClinton a priority every night. New studies show us the importance of words: http://goo.gl/mh6ffW
12 Jul 2013	Malala today at the UN: "Nothing changed in my life except this-weakness, fear and hopelessness died." Extraordinary young woman. #MalalaDay
10 Jul 2013	.@WSPProject at Bryn Mawr was so inspiring. Women in public sector jobs: 50% by 2050. That's the goal. pic.twitter.com/8xp0ggoKT8
10 Jun 2013	Thanks for the inspiration @ASmith83 & @Sllambe - I'll take it from here... #tweetsfromhillary