



Article

Bridging the Gap: How Gender Influences Spanish Politicians' Activity on Twitter

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Abstract: Women have historically been underrepresented in politics. However, in the last few decades, more and more women have been elected to both upper and lower houses, particularly in Spain. Social media has become one of the main channels for women to gain visibility, but the issue of unequal distribution of power and influence between men and women remains. This paper sheds light on gender differences among politicians on Twitter by analyzing the social media activity and influence of 277 of the 350 Members of the Spanish Congress of Deputies from March to June 2020. Our research shows there are still major gender differences regarding audience figures and amplification and that both male and female politicians still largely retweet more men than women. In addition, we found significant differences between parties and across the political spectrum, although these are less prominent (albeit not neutralized) in parties with a female leader. This is in keeping with studies that have found broad similarities between male and female politicians' communicative practices, but a persistently large gap to be bridged in terms of their online influence. Female leaders are proposed as a means to bridge this gap.



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1. Introduction

1.1. Gender Differences in Political Power and Influence, and Underrepresentation and Empowerment in Politics

Politics, like many other areas of human activity, has traditionally been male-dominated territory. Female representation in democratic parties, congresses, senates and powerful political offices has only increased in the last few decades (Elder 2020; Bridgewater and Nagel 2020). However, research has shown that the situation is still far from balanced. Although women have populated parties, local governments and parliaments, various studies have revealed that sexism in the culture of political parties tends to favor male candidates on the ballot, to systematically disempower women (Verge and Troupel 2011; Verge and de la Fuente 2014) and to hamper women's access to powerful political offices (Lovenduski 2005; Verge 2010). According to Verge and Wiesehomeier (2019), such discrimination runs across all parties, and parity is still a long way off, even in the most representative democracies.

Spain is a particular case of a country in which women have been historically underrepresented in politics (Fernández and Eugenia 2008). In 1977, two years after dictator Francisco Franco's death, the constituent legislature had 21 female Members (5.8% of the total). This number barely increased in the first legislature in 1979, in which a mere 24 out of 350 Members were women, none of whom held any significant office in government. By the terms of 1989 and 1993, the proportion of female Members in the Spanish Congress had reached a meagre 10%. However, in 1996, almost a hundred women (23.9%) were elected in the first People's Party government. In 2007 a new Equality Law came into force, requiring political parties to ensure minimum gender representation of 40% in candidates running for office (Verge 2010). This helped to balance the male-dominated political culture (see Table 1) visible in Spanish politics since the transition to democracy (Valiente 2008;

Verge 2012). Nevertheless, Verge and Wiesehomeier (2019) argue that discrimination did not suddenly disappear with the 2007 quota. Although quotas tend to balance gender representation, other barriers to women in the political sphere, such as having to conform to male norms (Verge and de la Fuente 2014, p. 71), cause many women to relinquish certain offices (Verge 2015). Notwithstanding the ongoing inequality in Spanish politics, the number of elected women has increased in the last decade, and Spain now ranks sixteenth in the world in terms of women's representation in parliament (Verge and Wiesehomeier 2019).

Table 1. Percentage of women in Spanish Congress in 2019 per party *.

Party	% Women
Vox	26.9
PP	43.2
PSOE	48.3
Cs	50.0
JxCat	50.0
UP	51.4
ERC	53.8

Source: INE (Available online: https://www.ine.es/jaxi/Tabla.htm?path=/t00/mujeres_hombres/tablas_1/10/&file=p02001.px Accessed on 28 March 2021). * Left and left-of-center parties: UP = Unidas Podemos/United We Can; PSOE = Partido Socialista Obrero Español/Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; ERC = Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya/Republican Left of Catalonia. Right-of-center and liberal parties: JxCAT = Junts per Catalunya/Together for Catalonia; Cs = Ciudadanos /Citizens; PP = Partido Popular/People's Party. Far-right parties: Vox.

The aim of this research is to analyze gender differences in Twitter use among Spanish members of parliament. To do so, we gathered all tweets from 277 of the 350 Members of the Spanish Congress from March to June 2020. We measured four variables related to their overall Twitter use: number of tweets, mean number of followers (audience), number of retweets (amplification), and efficacy. In addition, we measured the number of times that Members were retweeted by fellow party members (internal amplification), which can be linked to the internal communication strategies of the parties analyzed.

1.2. Communicating for Influence and Visibility

One way that women can increase their visibility in society is to garner media coverage. Representation in the media allows women to normalize their role in politics while also allowing for an impact on the political agenda (Kreiss 2016) as well as to articulate policy positions (Sobieraj et al. 2020). However, the media have traditionally under- or misrepresented women (Wasburn and Wasburn 2011; Sánchez Calero et al. 2013; Lünenborg and Maier 2015; Larson 2001; Fernández García 2013; Guerrero-Solé 2018; Dunaway et al. 2013). Currently, social networks are at the heart of all political communications strategies (Usher et al. 2018). Politicians the world over utilize social media, not only during electoral campaigns, but also for everyday communications (Graham et al. 2016). Politicians' use of social media is a strategic form of publicity (Kreiss 2016; Cervi and Roca 2017; Casero-Ripollés et al. 2020; Guerrero-Solé and Lluís 2017; Guerrero-Solé and López-González 2019). As a consequence, politicians' influence is no longer estimated exclusively on the basis of their coverage in traditional media, but also on their popularity on social networks, where follower numbers, shares, retweets and likes are the measure of their success. Politicians' activity on social networks is also considered to be a driver for media attention (Rauchfleisch and Metag 2020; Graham et al. 2016). Social media activity is therefore a priority for female politicians, particularly given that research has shown they receive less media attention (Miller and Peake 2013; Baitinger 2015; Tromble and Koole 2020) and more negative coverage (Armstrong and Gao 2011; Ross et al. 2013; Larson 2001) than their male counterparts. McGregor and Mourão (2016) hold that women are more central to the conversation about them and about their opponents than men; this indicates that their connections in social networks are stronger. Various studies suggest that women having

more visibility on social networks and communicating directly with citizens (Loiseau and Nowacka 2015; Vergeer 2015) can help to redress this.

1.3. The Role of Gender and Party on Twitter

Twitter has become one of the main tools that politicians use to complement their traditional communication strategies (Jungherr and Schoen 2013; Vergeer et al. 2013; Jungherr 2014). But what role does gender play in female politicians' activity and influence on Twitter? Gender research into social media focuses mainly on two areas: harassment of women on social networks and the differing topics that men and women talk about. With regard to the former, the results to date are inconclusive and culture-specific. Some researchers have concluded that female politicians face more negativity on social media than traditional media (Conroy et al. 2015) and are more likely to be the target of hate speech (Wilhelm and Joeckel 2018) or uncivil tweets questioning their positions as politicians (Southern and Harmer 2019). On the other hand, Tromble and Koole (2020) found that in the UK, US and the Netherlands, gendered insults are infrequent. In relation to the second area, past research has found that female politicians tend to talk more about issues that predominantly affect women (Pearson and Dancey 2011). Moreover, although there are only minor gender differences in communication styles in some cases (Hrbková and Macková 2020), in general gender and party have an effect on what women tweet about (Hemphill et al. 2020; Johnstonbaugh 2020; Evans and Clark 2016).

In addition to harassment and styles of communication, research has also been carried out on the following: the gendered distribution of relational power in network discussions (McGregor and Mourão 2016); different patterns of liking practices; support of issues and civic engagement (Brandtzaeg 2017); self-presentation on social networks (Cook 2016); gender stereotypes of politicians online (Beltran et al. 2020; Wagner et al. 2017).

However, few studies have focused on gender and party differences in politicians' number of tweets, size of audience, amplification and efficacy. We believe that this analysis can offer significant insight into the extent to which Twitter evens out any such hypothetical differences between men and women. Consequently, our first research question is as follows:

RQ1: Are there gender differences among Spanish Members with regard to number of tweets, audience, amplification and efficacy on Twitter?

As we have already mentioned, gender is not the only variable that might explain differences between politicians. Party membership can also be a predictor of politicians' activity and influence in online environments (Johnstonbaugh 2020).

Therefore, the second research question is

RQ2: Are there party differences among Spanish Members with regard to number of tweets, audience, amplification and efficacy on Twitter? Are there differences between left- and right-wing parties?

In Spain, left-wing parties have strived to achieve gender equality (Uribe Otalora 2013). Therefore, male–female internal amplification can be a measure of how much attention fellow Members pay their female and male colleagues and whether they are equally likely to retweet them. Thus, the third research question is

RQ3: Is the amplification rate among female and male Spanish Members balanced?

2. Sample and Method

To answer the aforementioned research questions, we gathered all tweets, replies and retweets that Spanish Members posted on Twitter from 14 March to 19 June 2020. This period coincides with the COVID-19 state of alarm in Spain. The sample included 277 out of the 350 Members of the fourteenth legislature, of whom 44% were women and 56% men, from the parties shown in Table 2. They collectively posted 249,874 tweets and retweets in the three months, with an individual minimum of 2 and maximum of 7767 posts.

2.1. Independent Variables

We coded for the following independent variables:

Gender: gender of the Member (male = 151, female = 126).

Political party: political party of the Member (see Table 1).

Political leaning: political leaning (left or right) of the Member's party (left = 135, right = 121, independent = 21).

2.2. Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were defined as follows:

Amount: number of tweets and replies that each Member posted in the period analyzed (min = 0; max = 3045; mean = 259; SD = 341).

Amplification: number of times each Member was retweeted during the period (min = 0; max = 1,427,478; mean = 38,412; SD = 128,870).

Audience: mean number of each Member's followers during the period (min = 137; max = 1,351,574; mean = 38,270; SD = 136,211).

Efficacy: defined as amplification divided by amount and audience (min = 0; max = 209.55; mean = 6.86; SD = 14.06).

Internal amplification: proportion of retweets by fellow Members from the same party.

Table 2. Breakdown of Spanish Members by party.

Party	N	Female	Male
UP	33	17	16
ERC	13	7	6
PSOE	102	49	53
JxCat	8	4	4
Cs	9	5	4
PP	72	31	41
VOX	40	13	27
Other	18	3	15
Total	295	129	166

3. Results

To answer research question one, we first calculated the mean values of the dependent variables: amount, amplification, audience and efficacy. Table 3 shows the mean values by gender of these variables. We performed ANOVA tests to evaluate the statistical significance of the differences between genders.

Table 3. Mean values of amount of tweets, number of followers and efficacy of Spanish Members on Twitter by gender.

	Mean (SD)		Sign.
	Male	Female	
Amount	269 (342)	247 (341)	0.608
Retweets published	641 (952)	646 (875)	0.962
Posts published	909 (1133)	893 (1110)	0.907
Amplification	46,349 (149,153)	28,901 (99,026)	0.263
Audience	52,397 (174,181)	21,339 (63,475)	0.059
Efficacy	7.21 (17.87)	6.44 (14.06)	0.654

To answer research question two, we calculated the mean values of the dependent variables for each of the seven main parties in the Spanish Congress of Deputies. First, we analyzed the differences in tweet amount, amplification, efficacy and audience (Table 4).

As above, we performed ANOVA tests for statistical differences. The results are also shown in Figure 1.

Table 4. Mean amount, amplification, efficacy and audience of Spanish Members by gender and party.

Party	Amount		Amplification	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
UP	208 (144)	231 (228)	21,877 (47,071)	70,310 (160,379)
ERC	222 (314)	226 (139)	3040 (3070)	59,413 (138,982)
PSOE	190 (197)	220 (267)	6190 (16,343)	17,516 (46,442)
JxCat	855 (1462)	287 (198)	54,550 (72,652)	62,832 (117,001)
Cs	452 (340)	593 (549)	48,826 (69,123)	76,490 (45,708)
PP	226 (238)	169 (164)	43,920 (123,292)	20,980 (89,027)
VOX	315 (317)	497 (572)	86,247 (223,851)	117,460 (287,975)
	Efficacy		Audience	
UP	5.04 (4.51)	6.76 (7.47)	23,543 (31,506)	132,268 (294,564)
ERC	4.91 (3.02)	1.89 (0.83) *	5797 (6059)	133,505 (304,188)
PSOE	4.66 (6.62)	4.88 (5.19)	11,128 (18,067)	54,672 (203,697)
JxCat	5.79 (5.55)	4.46 (2.61)	52,955 (60,473)	40,346 (69,686)
Cs	5.23 (5.30)	8.92 (5.71)	140,063 (279,352)	27,929 (24,495)
PP	8.77 (9.19)	5.16 (4.60) *	16,784 (41,930)	16,166 (66,196)
VOX	11.26 (8.42)	16.67 (40.39)	20,781 (34,141)	43,006 (95,364)

* $p < 0.05$.

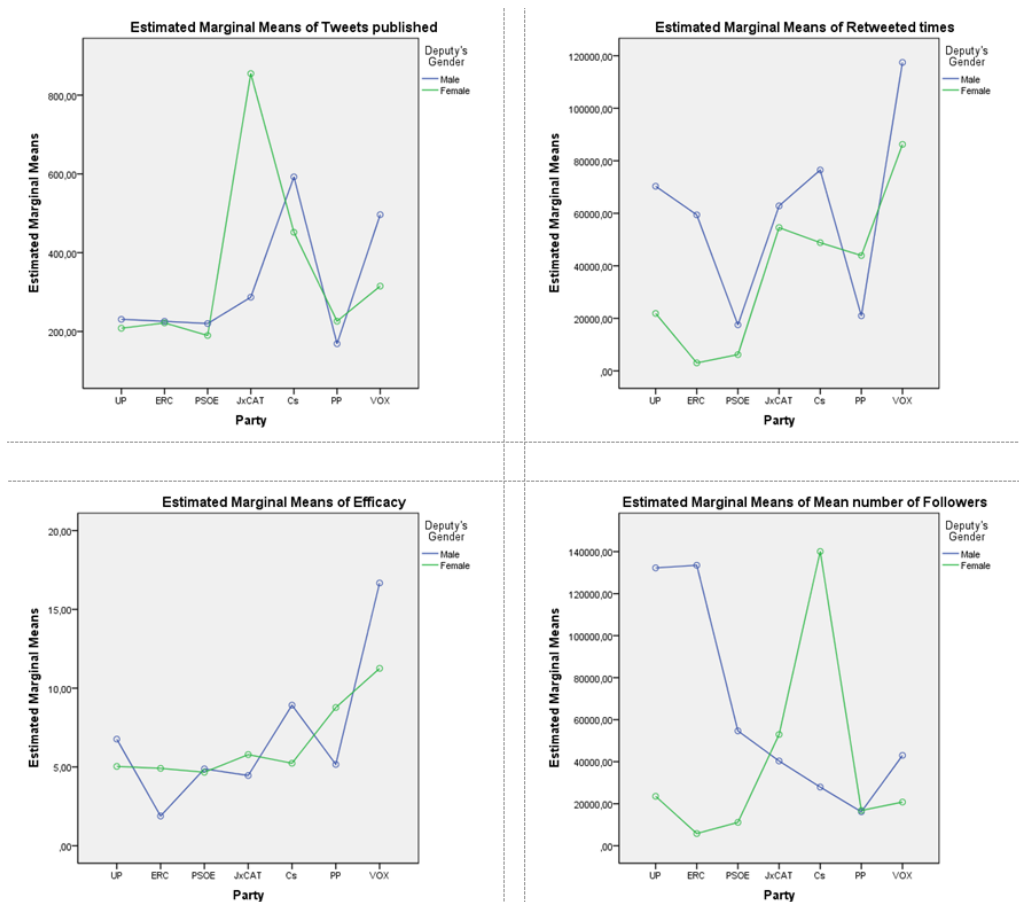


Figure 1. Mean amount, amplification, efficacy and audience of Spanish Members by gender and party.

The second part of RQ2 aimed to ascertain differences between left- and right-wing parties in Spain. For this purpose, we labelled UP and PSOE Members as ‘left-wing’ and Cs, PP and Vox Members as ‘right-wing’. We calculated the mean scores of the dependent variables: amount, amplification, audience and efficacy (Table 5).

Table 5. Mean amount, amplification, audience and efficacy by political spectrum (left/right).

Party	Mean (SD)		<i>p</i> -Value
	Left (N = 135)	Right (N = 121)	
Amount	643 (617)	1116 (1358)	0.000
Amplification	20,211 (66,718)	58,384 (176,207)	0.020
Audience	44,144 (165,751)	28,318 (85,225)	0.346
Efficacy	5.05 (5.96)	9.39 (20.11)	0.018

Whereas the first two questions were related to the general Twitter activity of the Spanish Members, and amplification was defined as how many times they were retweeted overall, RQ3 explored how often Members retweeted posts published by fellow party Members (internal amplification). Table 6 below shows the gender breakdown of intra-party retweets.

Table 6. Mean internal amplification of women and men, standard deviation, and significance by gender of the retweeter.

Gender	IA of Women (SD)	IA of Men (SD)	Signif.
Male (N = 151)	55.16 (116.36)	123.35 (202.94)	0.000
Female (N = 126)	62.51 (104.15)	97.73 (125.83)	0.000
Total (N = 277)	58.50 (110.83)	111.70 (172.38)	0.000

As Table 7 shows, male politicians retweet other male politicians twice as much as they retweet female politicians. Furthermore, female politicians also retweet male politicians more frequently, although the difference is slightly smaller.

Table 7. Internal amplification (IA) among Spanish Members by party.

Party	IA to Women	IA to Men	Sign.	Norm. W	Norm. M
UP (N = 33)	17.21 (15.68)	33.67 (34.92)	0.001	0.51	1
ERC (N = 13)	65.00 (60.50)	117.08 (111.01)	0.016	0.56	1
PSOE (N = 102)	35.95 (50.69)	67.43 (73.02)	0.000	0.53	1
JxCat (N = 8)	37.38 (28.85)	53.63 (41.27)	0.221	0.70	1
Cs (N = 9)	81.89 (87.93)	91.00 (105.76)	0.749	0.90	1
PP (N = 72)	98.11 (172.66)	149.47 (200.14)	0.000	0.66	1
Vox (N = 40)	75.63 (129.39)	235.48 (294.53)	0.000	0.32	1
Total (N = 277)	58.83 (114.39)	113.24 (177.28)	0.000	0.52	1

We performed a detailed analysis of the internal amplification strategies of men and women by party and gender (Table 8) and found that, in all cases, both men and women retweeted more tweets from men than from women. We performed a *t*-Test for paired samples and found that in the ruling party PSOE, the right-wing PP, and the far-right party Vox, the gender differences were highly significant.

Table 8. Internal amplification (IA) of women and men by party and gender.

Party	Women			Men		
	IA of Women	IA of Men	Signif.	IA of Women	IA of Men	Signif.
UP	12.82 (11.46)	24.35 (26.59)	0.053	21.88 (18.41)	43.56 (40.55)	0.011
ERC	44.57 (51.30)	101.00 (136.51)	0.142	88.83 (66.04)	135.83 (80.20)	0.026
PSOE	51.42 (62.11)	78.47 (87.73)	0.001	21.64 (31.55)	57.23 (55.04)	0.000
JxCAT	56.50 (28.87)	85.25 (34.24)	0.288	18.25 (11.53)	22.00 (11.63)	0.704
Cs	49.00 (66.97)	58.20 (66.21)	0.261	123.00 (102.87)	132.00 (141.24)	0.901
PP	122.97 (177.43)	157.1935 (190.10)	0.102	79.32 (168.71)	143.63 (209.58)	0.000
Vox	41.77 (38.38)	141.77 (103.51)	0.001	91.93 (153.57)	280.59 (344.49)	0.000

4. Discussion

Research has shown that women have historically been discriminated against in politics. Unequal distribution of political positions and responsibilities coupled with women's underrepresentation in parliaments have driven the need for gender quotas (Verge 2010; Verge and de la Fuente 2014). This has resulted in significantly more women in parties and governments than in the past. However, parity is still a long way off, particularly due to the underlying androcentric political culture in some countries. Spain has been no exception when it comes to a gender imbalance in politics, and women have achieved increased visibility and power only in the last decade. The media have often spearheaded this shift, and today social media is one way that enables women to increase their presence, power and visibility. However, the issue of equality remains.

Our research analyzed the extent to which male and female Members of the Spanish Congress are equally influential in terms of content amount, amplification, audience and efficacy on Twitter, one of the most widely used social networks for political communications in Spain. The results show that there are few overall gender differences when it comes to number of tweets. We found that male and female Members are equally active on Twitter, which is in tune with the reported increase in women's visibility on social networks (Loiseau and Nowacka 2015; Vergeer 2015). Our results also echo previous studies that have found minor differences in candidate online campaigning coverage (Tromble and Koole 2020) and reveal Spanish female politicians' effort to be as active and influential on social networks as men. However, we found major disparities in the amplification of tweets (men are retweeted twice as many times as women) and audience (men have more than double the audiences of women). Nevertheless, most of these differences were not statistically significant due to the skewed distribution of variables (see Table A1 in Appendix A for the scores of variables for each Member).

When we broke down the analysis by party, the only considerable gender difference in amount of tweets was in the female-led Catalan party JxCat (women tweeted three times more than men) and the populist far-right party Vox (men tweeted twice as much as women). With regard to the other variables analyzed, we found that gender differences in amplification were notable, in particular in UP and ERC. In all parties except the right-wing PP, women were less amplified on the network than men. These results are in tune with previous research on the interaction of party and gender stereotypes on politicians' effectiveness when they use Twitter (Holman et al. 2011). There were also stark differences in audience in the female-led party Cs. Finally, we found statistically significant differences between men and women in efficacy in ERC and UP. While the UP male Members' efficacy was significantly greater than the women's, in ERC, women had almost three times the efficacy of their male counterparts. The case of UP is significant because it defines itself as a feminist party and has clearly feminist policies. However, as the overall results show, women remain a minority in the male-dominated political sphere.

Statistically significant differences emerged when we grouped parties by ideological leaning. The right-wing parties Cs, PP and Vox were far more active than left-wing parties UP and PSOE. The same was true of amplification and efficacy, although the differences were lesser ($p < 0.05$). Amplification in right-wing parties was three times greater than in left-wing parties; efficacy was twice as high, and mean audience was almost half. In short, the right-wing parties, currently in the opposition, were far more active, had a greater

impact on the network, and were much more efficient than the ruling left-wing parties. These results suggest that party and ideological leaning are better predictors of differences than gender in content amount, amplification and efficacy.

However, the most relevant and interesting results of this research are for internal amplification according to political party. We found that in all seven parties analyzed, internal amplification of men was substantially larger (broadly double) than of their female counterparts. Moreover, in five parties this difference was statistically significant. Earlier research found a sexist and discriminatory culture in most parties that favors male candidates on ballots, systematically disempowers women (Verge and Troupel 2011; Verge and de la Fuente 2014) and hampers women's access to relevant political positions (Lovenduski 2005; Verge 2010). It is interesting to note that the two parties in which gender differences in internal amplification were not statistically significant (JxCat and Cs) were both led by a woman. It is therefore possible to conclude that having a female leader, i.e., allowing women to access relevant political positions, may balance out differences in internal amplification.

The results are similar when we look at internal amplification by gender. Women internally amplify more men than women, although the differences are only statistically significant in the ruling party PSOE and the far-right party Vox. Men also retweet more male than female fellow party members. Again, all of the differences observed are significant except for JxCat and Cs, the two parties in the Spanish Congress of Deputies with female leaders. We can therefore conclude that women are broadly discriminated against in the internal communications strategies of political parties in Spain on Twitter, especially in the case of women who are discriminated against by male party colleagues. This discrimination is not related to the party's position on the political spectrum and is only neutralized in female-led parties. These results confirm previous findings that show that Twitter is far from being a public sphere in which gender inequalities are eliminated (Hu and Kearney 2020).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that this research was performed with a sample of tweets collected during the first COVID-19 state of alarm in Spain. There is evidence that contexts with heightened states of national security threat—and the COVID-19 outbreak may be considered such a case—can activate preferences for male politicians (Holman et al. 2011). Consequently, new research is needed in the future to support and generalize the conclusions of our work.

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Appendix A

Table A1. Twitter data of the 277 Spanish Members in the sample.

Gender	Party	Twitter Handle	Followers	Activity	Retweets	RT Times
F	Cs	inesarrimadas	638,783	476	249	168,040
F	Cs	mariadelamiel	45,465	1071	163	49,758
F	Cs	martamartirio	10,242	2672	1947	16,115
F	Cs	mcmartinez_cs	1094	521	288	3259
F	Cs	saragimnez	4733	284	118	6958
M	Cs	baledmundo	28,279	802	623	74,017
M	Cs	guillermodiazc	15,015	2790	1391	65,040
M	Cs	marcosdequinto	62,087	515	71	138,377
M	Cs	paucambroneros	6333	2281	1933	28,526
F	ERC	bassamontse	11,445	168	85	8286
F	ERC	caroltelechea	2606	59	32	531
F	ERC	inesgranollers	987	1498	1202	2065
F	ERC	martarosi	16,775	311	184	4390
F	ERC	normapujol	2373	433	365	400
F	ERC	pilarvallugera	1044	369	322	265
F	ERC	_maria_dantas_	5346	4710	3806	5344
M	ERC	capdevilajoan	8306	1528	1398	1668
M	ERC	gabrielrufian	754,249	1334	1145	343,089
M	ERC	joanmargall	4346	1420	1151	3225
M	ERC	jsalvadorduch	7109	432	304	1538
M	ERC	nuet	23,466	2612	2124	5654
M	ERC	xavieritja	3555	914	763	1302
F	JxCAT	concepermens	939	370	314	694
F	JxCAT	lauraborras	114,448	7033	3988	154,404
F	JxCAT	marionaid	1105	742	648	684
F	JxCAT	miriamnoguerasm	95,328	1587	1363	62,417
M	JxCAT	ferran_bel	7698	875	515	6943
M	JxCAT	genisboadella	2498	416	326	1859
M	JxCAT	jacs_jaumeacs	144,823	823	293	238,307
M	JxCAT	sergimiquel	6365	293	125	4221
F	PP	abeltran_ana	8121	374	204	29,416
F	PP	aliciagarcia_av	4603	1141	716	10,699
F	PP	anadebande	12,228	4131	3196	59,218
F	PP	anapastorjulian	106,286	730	417	133,732
F	PP	anazurita7	3449	645	519	3584
F	PP	auxipd	1462	180	180	0
F	PP	bealinuesa	1553	336	160	454
F	PP	bea_fanjul	59,436	735	306	580,147
F	PP	belenhoyo	11,017	593	419	4462
F	PP	borrego_corte	1679	923	914	143
F	PP	carmenriolobos	6262	3721	3029	3534
F	PP	carolinaespanar	3192	449	440	96
F	PP	cayetanaat	212,899	319	163	389,637
F	PP	cnlacoba	1901	223	140	547
F	PP	cucagamarra	10,328	595	362	14,384
F	PP	edurneuriarte	21,967	213	24	62,997
F	PP	llanosdeluna	673	202	182	494
F	PP	margaprohens	5743	3211	2643	10,416
F	PP	mariaramallo	433	51	30	17
F	PP	martaglezvzqz	7841	32	21	374
F	PP	mdelaoredondo	284	160	154	15
F	PP	milamarcos	2033	1304	1051	951
F	PP	moromjesus	3796	2463	2249	2118
F	PP	palomagazquez	2098	4816	4768	3307
F	PP	pilarmarcosd	4660	2505	2076	8433

Table A1. Cont.

Gender	Party	Twitter Handle	Followers	Activity	Retweets	RT Times
F	PP	rosaromero	9571	988	278	13,764
F	PP	solcruzguzman	2145	683	475	1310
F	PP	tejerinapp	2180	32	32	0
F	PP	teresajbecerril	6645	324	119	20,190
F	PP	tristanamg	2593	414	407	109
F	PP	valentinam	3227	317	125	6975
M	PP	aalmodobar	4093	1393	642	4131
M	PP	aglezterol	19,432	431	160	35,821
M	PP	albertocasero	2147	1294	1173	715
M	PP	andreslorite	3822	832	495	10,697
M	PP	carlosrojas_ppa	5440	1321	1233	3064
M	PP	celsodelgadoou	1240	141	126	28
M	PP	diegogagob	7556	434	341	3219
M	PP	diegomovellan	1621	696	639	1481
M	PP	educarazo	2967	628	353	2445
M	PP	eloy Suarez	4786	451	149	2669
M	PP	gmariscalanaya	6065	439	412	1075
M	PP	herrerobono	4830	171	36	826
M	PP	hispanpablo	855	27	14	164
M	PP	jacallejascano	629	307	136	558
M	PP	jaimedeolano	13,456	2682	2317	30,005
M	PP	jangelvillalon	2032	283	207	569
M	PP	javierbasco	332	236	231	0
M	PP	javier_merino	2463	397	259	638
M	PP	jiechaniz	3146	574	118	27,000
M	PP	josemiguel_glez	379	68	64	4
M	PP	jspostigo	656	430	403	31
M	PP	juan_pedreno	175	42	22	5
M	PP	luisstamaria	4174	339	273	509
M	PP	mapaniagua	4532	189	83	1300
M	PP	mariogarcessan	4339	172	50	7477
M	PP	mcastellonpp	1523	346	232	243
M	PP	miqueljerez	1617	656	607	651
M	PP	montesinospablo	40,420	537	357	21,305
M	PP	oscarclavell	2905	48	32	211
M	PP	oscargamazo	1702	1528	1174	679
M	PP	otazu35	696	1097	937	1533
M	PP	pablocasado_	423,738	760	292	562,173
M	PP	pedronavarrol	2299	1686	1306	1492
M	PP	quin1954	2382	82	66	212
M	PP	sanchezcesar	8575	155	83	748
M	PP	sebastianlede15	691	1146	1055	119
M	PP	tcabcas	1080	635	561	689
M	PP	teogarciaegea	61,518	434	214	123,982
M	PP	vicentebetoret	5399	627	478	2953
M	PP	vicentetiradopp	1548	6470	6360	1083
M	PP	vicpiriz1975	5527	876	443	7693
F	PSOE	adri lastra	81,460	566	465	107,381
F	PSOE	afernb	12,972	924	344	25,213
F	PSOE	anaprietoniето	8163	3753	2895	8084
F	PSOE	angelesmarra	959	536	301	251
F	PSOE	ariagonagp	522	22	14	4
F	PSOE	beamcarrillo	2611	413	299	821
F	PSOE	beatrizcorredor	13,269	967	820	1172
F	PSOE	begonasarre	2332	882	574	755
F	PSOE	belenfcasero	1775	701	631	1278
F	PSOE	belitagl	760	854	796	289
F	PSOE	caballerohelena	577	1537	1144	363

Table A1. Cont.

Gender	Party	Twitter Handle	Followers	Activity	Retweets	RT Times
F	PSOE	carmenandres_	3912	323	267	346
F	PSOE	carmencalvo_	66,863	325	272	17,196
F	PSOE	celaaisabel	35,923	144	33	16,063
F	PSOE	elviraramon	3471	2365	2109	1612
F	PSOE	estherpadillar	3271	571	454	796
F	PSOE	estherpcamarero	4015	303	170	866
F	PSOE	evabravobarco	731	85	33	406
F	PSOE	evapatriciab	649	92	51	220
F	PSOE	fuensantalima	2667	1588	1093	957
F	PSOE	graciacanales3	563	182	114	62
F	PSOE	hernanzsofia	4698	397	360	452
F	PSOE	lauraberja86	3240	1238	1030	4283
F	PSOE	lidiaguinart	4626	1037	634	4492
F	PSOE	luisacarcedo	10,310	87	53	5028
F	PSOE	luzseijo	7184	357	178	7110
F	PSOE	maraluisavilch1	180	294	277	16
F	PSOE	marina_ortega_	1140	585	366	4564
F	PSOE	maritxu30	1810	121	14	513
F	PSOE	marotoreyes	13,933	556	388	7636
F	PSOE	marrodanmaria	816	5	4	34
F	PSOE	merceperea	5605	2028	1498	4281
F	PSOE	meritxell_batet	49,523	583	243	11,290
F	PSOE	mjmonteroc	41,120	11	3	1311
F	PSOE	montseminguez	4019	609	475	1025
F	PSOE	msolsj	2866	2007	1677	2099
F	PSOE	mvalerio_gu	21,199	791	764	2414
F	PSOE	nvillagrasa	1284	304	188	346
F	PSOE	olgaalonso62	155	551	398	74
F	PSOE	patri_blanquer	1644	333	254	1161
F	PSOE	pilicancela	6243	1346	673	8824
F	PSOE	rafi_crespin	2827	141	76	207
F	PSOE	sandrage76	1028	2397	2183	827
F	PSOE	soniafetesoro	2786	53	20	41
F	PSOE	ssumelzo	21,687	441	398	1222
F	PSOE	susana_ros	6386	528	435	1685
F	PSOE	tamarayar	1846	309	293	91
F	PSOE	teresaribera	44,329	432	229	11,675
F	PSOE	zaidacantera	35,318	1923	1303	36,460
M	PSOE	abalosmeco	70,836	403	185	61,864
M	PSOE	alejandrosolerm	3412	798	208	1939
M	PSOE	alfonsocendon	2726	1470	812	7486
M	PSOE	antidiofagundez	254	4	4	0
M	PSOE	apabellas	163	11	8	0
M	PSOE	arandapaco	3521	1552	1218	3413
M	PSOE	arnauramirez	7134	514	324	6093
M	PSOE	asanchog	137	146	144	2
M	PSOE	astro_duque	522,984	159	41	29,125
M	PSOE	cesarjramos	9120	598	187	4246
M	PSOE	conjosemfranco	7058	1731	1662	5525
M	PSOE	dioufluc	1708	432	425	90
M	PSOE	felipe_sicilia	10,472	372	306	18,655
M	PSOE	franciscopolo	24,769	709	642	657
M	PSOE	germanrenau	1200	189	88	354
M	PSOE	gomezdcelis	9463	230	122	8309
M	PSOE	guillermomeijon	2795	765	597	1415
M	PSOE	hectorgomezh	5370	332	250	3720
M	PSOE	javieranton	1438	330	311	116
M	PSOE	javiercerqueir4	252	317	125	578

Table A1. Cont.

Gender	Party	Twitter Handle	Followers	Activity	Retweets	RT Times
M	PSOE	javizqui	5140	779	594	5678
M	PSOE	jccampm	6106	267	141	2381
M	PSOE	jcduran_	5957	362	353	192
M	PSOE	jfrserrano	3536	902	541	1508
M	PSOE	jlaceves	2443	2889	2696	907
M	PSOE	joseantoniojun	405,094	573	417	45,650
M	PSOE	josluisramosro2	235	131	130	0
M	PSOE	jruizcarbonell	10,373	262	235	187
M	PSOE	juanb0462	386	146	137	9
M	PSOE	juanluissotoadd	2409	651	437	552
M	PSOE	j_zaragoza_	48,567	418	11	158,209
M	PSOE	lcsahuquillo	1262	55	55	0
M	PSOE	luisplanas	13,176	328	159	6938
M	PSOE	marclamua	3097	280	228	591
M	PSOE	migonzaezcaba	1542	458	337	645
M	PSOE	montimar66	1481	52	28	450
M	PSOE	morissiero	1273	1158	954	1513
M	PSOE	nasholop	5462	780	499	11,024
M	PSOE	odonorza2011	56,853	1118	192	28,813
M	PSOE	pabloaranguena	2428	519	51	15,358
M	PSOE	patxilopez	195,809	234	162	13,409
M	PSOE	pedrosaurag	5536	118	100	109
M	PSOE	pedro_casares	7061	996	538	17,958
M	PSOE	perejoanpons	4123	1181	634	1097
M	PSOE	pmklose	15,558	1837	913	13,581
M	PSOE	salazarropaco	5543	518	375	11,369
M	PSOE	sanchezcastejon	1,351,574	628	332	284,959
M	PSOE	santicl	4070	159	137	888
M	PSOE	sarrimorell	1853	231	222	3
M	PSOE	sergio_gp	7978	785	627	2055
M	PSOE	simancasrafael	25,695	654	500	44,649
M	PSOE	valentingarciag	4665	802	590	447
M	PSOE	viondi	6535	1890	571	103,622
F	UP	ainavs	14,655	516	322	7825
F	UP	antonia_jover_	1260	156	49	216
F	UP	gagupilar	3569	254	102	3803
F	UP	gloriaelizo	20,056	742	498	21,838
F	UP	ionebellarra	69,252	204	141	20,034
F	UP	isabel_franco_	13,447	407	204	14,110
F	UP	lauralopezd	2343	163	105	659
F	UP	luciadalda	2208	423	366	2616
F	UP	margpuig	5328	227	87	1458
F	UP	maria_podemos	1891	715	270	7168
F	UP	marisasaavedram	1623	501	279	2104
F	UP	martinavelardeg	4528	681	264	2563
F	UP	roser_maestro	3008	131	87	515
F	UP	sofcastanon	27,590	677	256	23,745
F	UP	veranoelia	48,083	142	93	8404
F	UP	vickyrosell	83,699	607	279	59,418
F	UP	yolanda_diaz_	97,692	726	330	195,440
M	UP	agarzon	1,124,488	504	305	140,042
M	UP	alber_canarias	48,644	133	97	9804
M	UP	antongomezreino	14,567	1388	1067	21,902
M	UP	ensanro	29,365	474	219	51,465
M	UP	eselkaos	3459	1026	771	2969
M	UP	g_pisarello	41,505	816	542	27,690
M	UP	hector_illueca_	7533	74	61	2398

Table A1. Cont.

Gender	Party	Twitter Handle	Followers	Activity	Retweets	RT Times
M	UP	ismael_cortesg	1935	315	296	627
M	UP	jaumeasens	77,359	733	386	43,254
M	UP	joanmena	28,971	489	293	12,949
M	UP	juralde	83,061	1780	895	106,468
M	UP	j_sanchez_serna	11,223	363	253	27,173
M	UP	mayoralrafa	97,475	180	134	21,231
M	UP	pnique	536,961	1147	589	653,245
M	UP	roberuriarte	5169	142	20	2406
M	UP	txemaguijarro	4577	237	179	1335
F	VOX	crisestebanvox	5943	1767	759	13,653
F	VOX	eledhmel	62,742	419	66	137,998
F	VOX	georgina_vox	3057	534	429	6000
F	VOX	lourdesmndezm1	12,489	564	520	10,974
F	VOX	macarena_olona	121,559	3176	2275	820,263
F	VOX	malenanevado	3473	563	250	6132
F	VOX	meerrocio	9977	1768	1267	71,004
F	VOX	mestremmanuel	14,029	1865	1668	16,530
F	VOX	patriciadlheras	4050	448	195	9055
F	VOX	romerovilches	15,720	980	708	17,268
F	VOX	ruizsolas	5416	39	13	1572
F	VOX	teresagdvinuesa	2839	953	890	5884
F	VOX	_patricia_rueda	8854	509	447	4883
M	VOX	agustinrosety	44,040	1612	659	234,249
M	VOX	a_lopezmaraver	1263	123	120	794
M	VOX	cfdezrocysua	5088	2016	1663	36,585
M	VOX	czambranogr	257	135	99	412
M	VOX	edelvallerod	4011	7767	6976	26,839
M	VOX	fjconpe	10,417	1064	545	19,733
M	VOX	fjosealcaraz	38,100	4383	2631	203,771
M	VOX	igarrigavaz	63,900	1462	962	120,222
M	VOX	ivanedlm	225,450	1422	962	544,576
M	VOX	jlsteeg_doc	417	11	9	0
M	VOX	joaquinroble55	1877	1763	1427	5934
M	VOX	joseramirezdel2	8695	5260	4100	34,231
M	VOX	juanjoaizcorbe	4134	347	239	11,043
M	VOX	luisgestoso	4094	3386	2018	53,436
M	VOX	mariscalzabala	23,501	617	529	25,344
M	VOX	mazureque	235	2	2	0
M	VOX	ortega_smith	141,367	1021	923	100,778
M	VOX	pablosaezam	15,741	413	165	15,274
M	VOX	pcalvoliste	2101	1506	1306	5002
M	VOX	pedro_fhz	26,928	976	939	11,591
M	VOX	rafalomana	15,384	64	28	1564
M	VOX	rchamode	6781	3713	3017	11,707
M	VOX	rodrijr111	2032	715	400	3917
M	VOX	rubenmansolivar	5357	683	68	9484
M	VOX	sanchezdelreal	50,262	4117	1848	255,674
M	VOX	santi_abascal	450,989	1048	752	1,427,478
M	VOX	vicpiedra	8739	561	393	11,788

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