Tweeting on Presidential Coattails: Congressional Candidate Use of Twitter in the 2020 Elections

EVAN CRAWFORD

MIKAELA FOEHR

NATHANIEL YEE

University of San Diego, USA

There is a long history of political science research focused on congressional candidates riding presidential coattails into office. The underlying theory for this potential relationship is relatively simple—when presidential nominees are popular, they can help bolster the electoral fortunes of their down-ballot, co-partisan candidates. If this is right, congressional candidates should be incentivized to publicly align themselves with their co-partisan presidential nominee, albeit in strategic ways. We look for this relationship by constructing an original dataset of congressional candidate Twitter data and identifying the extent to which candidates mention presidential nominees during the 2020 campaign, a behavior we call "tweeting on coattails." Our data allow us to describe relationships between "tweeting on coattails", candidate party ID, and district-level electoral conditions. We find that overall, challengers tweeted more than incumbents, but incumbents were more likely to "tweet on coattails." In addition, candidates of both parties "tweeted on coattails" more frequently if they were running in a district where their party's nominee is popular. This relationship was not symmetric in magnitude, however, as Republicans were significantly more likely to tweet about Donald Trump than Democrats were to tweet about Joe Biden.

Evan Crawford: ecrawford@sandiego.edu
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Social media has become an increasingly prolific messaging tool for candidates up and down the ballot, and with those messages comes a burgeoning area of study for political scientists. Our aim in this research note is to present an original dataset of congressional candidate tweets from the 2020 elections, and describe the relationship between district and race-specific factors and how frequently candidates tweet about presidential nominees. By describing this data, we review and extend the findings of prior scholarship on Twitter and congressional campaign messaging (Williams & Gulati, 2010; Evans & Clark, 2012; Conway, Kenski, & Wang, 2013; Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014).

We begin with a brief review of the scholarship on Twitter-use by congressional candidates. We articulate how that scholarship informs some general expectations about what we might see in the 2020 congressional Twitter data, and provides justification for the continued gathering and analysis of candidate tweets. We follow this with a description of our data and its construction, including how we coded the tweets and the measures we used for several contextual variables that were matched to congressional candidates. We then describe several relationships revealed by our 2020 data that largely, though not exclusively, affirm prior findings from scholarship on Twitter-use by congressional candidates. We also expand the scope of inquiry in this area by identifying the extent to which candidates mention presidential nominees in their tweets—a behavior we call "tweeting on coattails"—and describe how that behavior is related to party, incumbency, and race competitiveness. In addition, we take advantage of this novel dataset to examine a relationship that has not yet been addressed in the literature (to the authors knowledge)—whether district-level popularity of presidential nominees correlates with the frequency of candidate tweets about those presidential nominees.

We approach our research well-aware of the fact that Donald Trump was unusually active on Twitter compared to other politicians, sending over 25,000 tweets during his presidency (Vazquez et al., 2020), we should be conscious of the fact that Trump, at least during 2020, and relative to Joe Biden, was a uniquely ubiquitous presence on Twitter. This may have incentivized Congressional candidates to tweet about him regardless of their own electoral conditions. Republicans may have been especially incentivized to tweet at Trump given his frequent retweeting of supporters. However, just as we have reason to acknowledge the results we present in this paper may be uniquely attributable to Trump, we also believe it important to document the extent to which candidate campaign messaging via Twitter differs across party and electoral conditions even in the face of this potential "Trump effect."

We find that congressional challengers tweeted more frequently than incumbents and that the incumbent president was the subject of more candidate tweets than the presidential challenger. Relative to candidates running in swing districts, we also find that candidates from both parties were significantly more likely to tweet about their co-partisan presidential nominee *and* the opposing party's nominee if they were running in districts where their co-partisan nominee is popular. What we cannot infer from this finding alone, but what our data provides the foundation for, is whether or not this difference is driven by a conscious effort on the part of swing-district candidates to message *less* about the presidential nominees and focus more on district-level issues or if candidates running in districts where their co-partisan nominee is popular are deliberately "tweeting on coattails" in order to publicly align themselves with the presidential nominee because they *perceive* that it is electorally beneficial.

We also find that tweeting on coattails is not symmetric in magnitude— Republicans were significantly more likely to tweet about Donald Trump than Democrats were to tweet about Joe Biden. In addition, Republican and Democratic candidates in Biden-favored districts were *as likely* to tweet about their co-partisan nominees', but in Trump-favored districts Republicans were 9 times more likely to tweet about Trump than

Democrats were to tweet about Biden. Whether this was this the result of inherent differences between Republican and Democratic candidate Twitter behavior, the presence of Donald Trump as the Republican nominee, a combination of the two, or something else altogether is beyond the scope of this paper, but the district-level analysis that allowed for the identification of this asymmetric relationship can provide a foundation for future examination of differential campaign behavior—whether on Twitter or elsewhere—between Democrats and Republicans. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of other questions we do not address here but may be suitable for future inquiry using our data.

Literature Review
Twitter, Congress, and Campaigning

Scholarship on politicians' use of Twitter has largely centered around questions related to differential Twitter use by party, gender, race, age, and the types of messages employed (Williams & Gulati, 2010; Evans & Clark, 2012; Conway, Kenski, & Wang, 2013; Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014). Minority-party members, challengers, or members of historically-excluded groups have been found to be more likely to adopt Twitter accounts in the first place and to tweet more frequently once they do (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014; Evans and Clark, 2016). Challengers, women candidates, and those in competitive races have also been found to send more tweets that try to mobilize voters (to vote or donate, e.g.) and that were critical of their opponent (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014; Evans & Clark, 2016). These findings support prior work that challengers and those from historically-excluded groups have greater obstacles to overcome during campaigns (Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin, 2013; Evans & Clark, 2016).

Challengers in particular face an uphill climb to make themselves known to voters, and are often at a fundraising disadvantage compared to incumbents. They therefore have incentive to be more active with campaign messaging, and thus possibly more risk accepting—after all, the more messaging they do, the more opportunities there are for gaffes (or for tweets to go viral for the wrong reason). It is also the case that incumbents,

who are able to rely more on name recognition, have reason to be risk averse (Trent & Friedenber, 2008; Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin 2009, 2013).

During the 2012 presidential primaries, Conway, Kenski, and Wang (2014) tracked presidential candidate Twitter use. They found little to no evidence that any form of Twitter function—frequency of tweets, type of tweet, or number of accounts followed—correlated with increased followers on the platform. Instead, they concluded that a candidate's reputation and recognition outside of Twitter was most influential in increasing followers. Understanding Twitter as a tool to shape rather than create a reputation is also central to findings by Williams and Gulati (2010). They found, through looking at Twitter adoption and content by members of Congress in 2010, that politicians are aware that their Twitter audience goes beyond their constituency, establishing Twitter as an important messaging and position-taking tool from its infancy (Williams & Gulati, 2010).

Partisanship and Out-Party Status

Some of the first research on congressional Twitter-use identified a few important partisan differences, many of which may have evened out as the platform became more ubiquitous. Republicans adopted Twitter faster and to a greater extent than did Democrats, but it must be noted that at the time Republicans were also the minority party in Congress (Lassen & Brown, 2011). So, was it the case that Republicans were systematically different than Democrats in early Twitter adoption, or is it more likely the case that as the out-party (both in Congress and relative to the White House at the time), Republicans were incentivized to adopt Twitter as a communication tool? Other Twitter research indicates that out-party politicians are more likely to have active accounts (Williams & Gulati, 2010; Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014).

During the run up to the 2012 elections Republicans had already re-gained the majority in the House. On the one hand, Republicans could have been thought of as the majority party and thus the expectations about their campaign style would have pointed to

less Twitter use than Democrats. On the other hand, Republicans could still have been perceived as the out-party relative to the White House, and thus be expected to tweet *more* than Democrats. It turns out that Republican House candidates were only slightly more likely to have an account than Democrats and neither party's candidates tweeted significantly more than the other over the final two months of the 2012 campaign (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014).

While there were no significant partisan differences in tweet volume in 2012, the parties differed in other ways. First, Republicans tweeted more about Obama than did Democrats (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014). Was this a function of being Republican or is it more appropriate to view this difference as a function of the out-party (relative to the White House) strategically using Twitter to position itself against the incumbent president? We do not presume to answer that question in this paper, but we do offer a step towards gaining more insight on this dynamic. The nature of the partisan composition of government in 2020 makes for an interesting comparison case. In 2012 there was an incumbent Democratic president running for reelection while the Republicans controlled the House. The 2020 campaign offers a reversal, with an incumbent Republican president running for reelection and a Democratic-controlled House.

Coattails

The extent to which presidential nominees provide coattails for their down-ballot co-partisans has long been a topic of study for scholars of American politics. We follow Miller's (1955) conception of what motivates a coattail effect (when it is present)—"if the congressional vote decision, as well as the presidential decision, is motivated by the appeal of the presidential candidate, the result is a coattail-influenced vote for congress." In this paper, our interest lies in the possibility that candidates *perceive* that Miller's conception of what motivates a coattail effect may still be active – that the congressional vote decision may be influenced by the appeal of the presidential candidate. Presidential nominees with relatively popular appeal have been shown to help turn out voters who, in turn, vote for

that candidates' co-partisans in Senate elections (Campbell & Sumners 1990). At the same time, there is evidence that this effect is not preordained, and remains sensitive to election-specific conditions (Godbout 2013). Abramowitz and Panagopolous (2020) found no significant effects of Trump campaign stops during the 2018 midterms on either turnout or electoral support for Republican Senate candidates.

Separate and apart from analysis of how strong a coattail effect may exist, or whether its effect has been completely supplanted by partisanship, most of the research in this area has been voter-centric, where the outcome variable of interest is turnout or vote-share. This is part of the rationale that motivates studying coattail effects within the context of midterm loss (Erikson, 1988; Campbell, 1991; Erikson, 2010). More recent work related to the possibility of a coattail effect uses actual presidential visits as the outcome of interest, showing mixed results when it comes to the relationship between state-level presidential approval, competitiveness of down-ballot races, and frequency of presidential rallies in those states (Lang, Rottinghaus, & Peters, 2011; Eshbaugh-Soha & Nicholson-Crotty, 2009).

But what if candidates can recover some of the benefits of a presidential campaign visit without the loss of time and money such a visit would require? Particularly in 2020, when in-person campaigning was limited due to COVID-19, there is reason to believe candidates may be even more incentivized to find additional means to communicate their presidential allegiances to their voters. Part of our aim in this paper is to describe the relationship between the frequency of candidates' tweets about presidential nominees and the relative popularity of those nominees in the candidates' district. We do not suggest that public alignment with a co-partisan presidential nominee would create a coattail effect. Rather, we theorize that candidates may *perceive* an electoral benefit to publicly aligning (or not) with their co-partisan nominee, and part of that calculus may be affected by how popular the candidate believes the presidential nominee is with the voters who will turn out in their district. Unlike tv or radio ads, or campaign travel and rallies, Twitter provides a

costless platform for candidates to disseminate any campaign message they wish, including their allegiance to a nominee.

We are aware of two studies that have systematically documented the frequency of congressional candidate tweets about presidential nominees: Evans, Cordova, and Sipole's (2014) study of 2012 House candidates during the final two months of the campaign and Pew Research Center's (2021) study of charting and comparing social media use by lawmakers in the 2016 and 2020 election cycles. Among their many findings, Evans, Cordova, and Sipole (2014) showed that Republicans were more likely to mention President Obama by name than Democrats, and that Republicans were more likely to criticize President Obama than Democrats were to criticize Mitt Romney. And while they reaffirmed prior work expecting challengers to tweet more overall than incumbents, they also found that challengers did not tweet any more or less about the presidential nominees than incumbents. However, candidates in competitive races were significantly *less* likely to tweet about both nominees compared to those in uncompetitive races (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014, pp. 559-561). A 2021 Pew study examined social media use (on Facebook and Twitter) by sitting members of Congress in the final two months of the last two presidential elections, showing significant increases in original posting and sharing/liking of posts between 2016 and 2020, indicating that social media is becoming not only a more popular campaign tool for politicians but also a more popular information-gathering tool for voters (Center, 2021).

Data and Methods
Sample

We used Twitter's Application Programing Interface (API) to gather all tweets from general election House and Senate candidates (Republican and Democrats only), who had active Twitter accounts for the 2020 elections. If the candidate did not have a campaign-specific account, we used their existing professional account, or we used a personal account if they did not have either. Through this data-gathering effort we identified Twitter handles,

and were able to gather tweets for, 792 House and 69 Senate candidates who appeared on a general election ballot.[2]

Our full dataset includes all tweets from these candidates sent between January 1 and November 3, 2020 (N=626,007 tweets). For our analytic sample we restrict our data to candidates in contested House races and their tweets sent after April 9 (N=432,411 tweets). This was the day after Bernie Sanders suspended his campaign, making Joe Biden the presumptive nominee, and thus a singular Democrat that might be targeted for tweeting on coattails.[3]

We limit our main analysis to contested House races primarily due to limitations based on sample size. Only 11 major party House candidates ran unopposed. Another 8 major party candidates ran only against third-party challenger. This small sample size makes it difficult to draw any type of sound inferences in a comparison of candidates facing traditional major-party opposition versus those that did not. We also exclude 25 House candidates who each tweeted less than seven total times between Apr. 9 and Nov. 3. In addition to being at the lowest end of the distribution with respect to total tweets, this group also included the only candidates whose percentage of tweets about either Biden or Trump exceeded 80%.[4]

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[2] Using the official election statistics compiled by the House of Representatives Office of the Clerk, we counted 432 Democratic and 419 Republican candidates (only including the top vote-getters in each party in the state of Louisiana). Therefore, our data includes twitter handles from 93 percent of major-party general election candidates for the House. We also gathered the same data on all 69 major party Senate candidates, we make its tweet data available in our data repository along with our House data.

[3] Including all candidate tweets beginning April 9 means that our analyses include tweets from candidates who would have already secured their party's nomination and those who would be in primary races for several more weeks or months. The full dataset includes a date and timestamp for each tweet, thus enabling interested researchers in testing for pre/post-primary effects. We checked for differences in 'tweeting on coattails' for candidates before and after their primary election and did not observe any significant differences.

[4] We conducted OLS regressions on data including and excluding these 25 outliers. Including these candidates in the analysis did not substantively change any of the results or conclusions.

We created binary variables, 'trump_ref' and 'biden_ref,' which signified if there was a reference to Trump or Biden in a given tweet. We coded these variables by creating a keyword list that included variations of each nominee's first and last name, and a combination of the two, and iterated through the text of each tweet to identify references.[5] A non-trivial number of tweets contained only the words "Joe" or "Donald." We hand-coded these tweets to distinguish between tweets that were actually referencing the presidential nominees as opposed to those referencing some other "Joe" or "Donald." Hand-coded tweets made up less than 2 percent of the entire sample.[6] As part of the process of identifying tweets referencing either nominee, we also coded for whether a congressional candidate "tweeted at" and/or "quote-tweeted" one of the nominees.

Analysis of the public's use of Twitter has demonstrated the value in delineating between these types of tweets (among others) and has found, for example, that retweets are more frequently used to amplify content while quote tweets are used more to modify content (Shugars et al, 2021). We have our own reasons for specifically examining the extent to which candidates "tweet at" presidential nominees, which we explain later in the paper. The first screenshot below (Figure 1), from then-candidate Nancy Mace (R, SC-01), represents an example of both "tweeting at" Donald Trump and also quote-tweeting him.[7] The second screenshot (Figure 2), from then-candidate Jackie Speier (D, CA-14), is an example of a tweet that is coded as a reference to Joe Biden but is not an example of

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[5] We used the 'grepl' function for pattern matching in R. Tweets that contained any of the variations of the nominees' names received a '1' and a '0' otherwise. We also identified instances of candidates tweeting "MAGA" or "TeamJoe," although the number of tweets that contained these phrases but not specific mentions of the nominees' name was trivial.

[6] A complete description of the coding scheme, along with the original data and a codebook, are available in supplemental material.

[7] Donald Trump's tweets, including those that had been "quote-tweeted" by another Twitter user, became unviewable upon his permanent suspension from Twitter on January 8, 2021. However, it is still possible to see that a candidate had in fact "quote-tweeted" him.

"tweeting at" or "quote-tweeting." Both tweets are examples of what we refer to as "tweeting on coattails."

Figure 1. Rep. Nancy Mace quote-tweeting and tweeting @ Donald Trump.

Figure 2. Candidate Jackie Speier references Joe Biden (a "coattail tweet").

Implicit in our analysis is an assumption that, generally speaking, when a Democrat (Republican) candidate tweets about their Biden (Trump), it will generally be a positive message, whereas when a Democrat (Republican) tweets about Trump (Biden), it will generally be a negative message. In the prior examples (Figures 1 and 2) we showed an example of congressional candidates tweeting positively about their co-partisan presidential nominee. Figures 3 and 4 (below) are examples of candidates tweeting negatively about the opposition-party nominee.
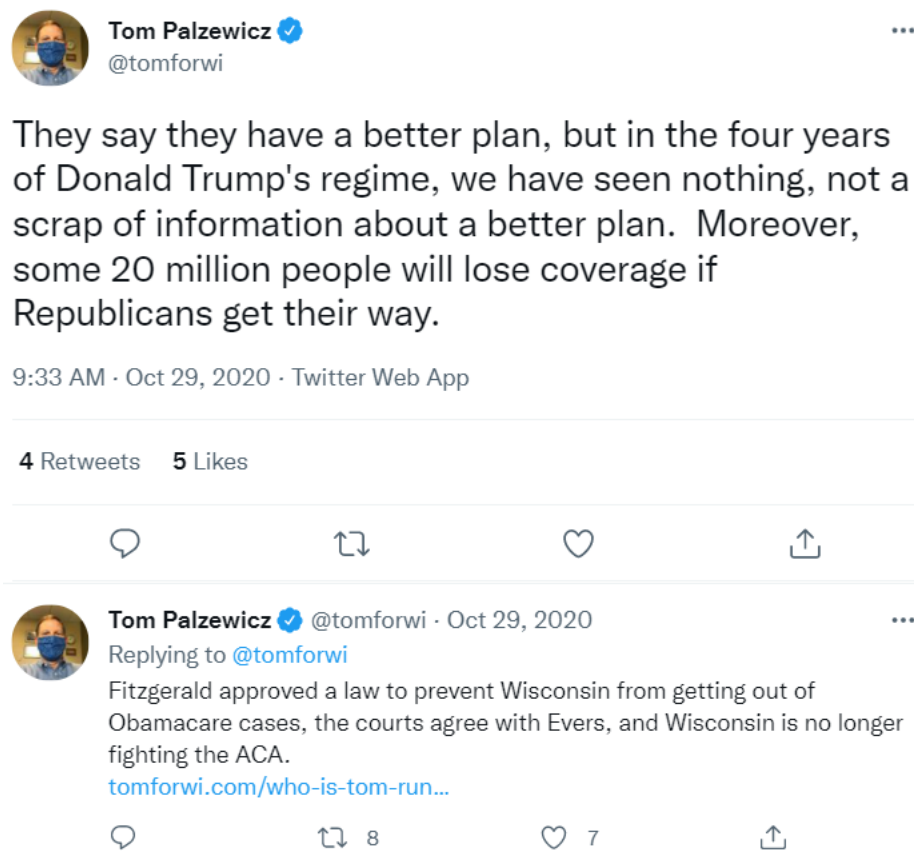

Figure 2. Example tweet of a Democratic candidate tweeting negatively about Donald Trump.

Figure 4. Example tweet of a Republican candidate tweeting negatively about Joe Biden.

As a way to provide a check on our assumption about the tone of candidate tweets directed at each party's presidential nominee, we conducted a basic text analysis of candidate tweets by identifying the frequency of words associated with positive and negative sentiment. To do this we first split our tweet data into four categories: 1) Democratic candidates tweeting about Biden, 2) Democratic candidates tweeting about Trump, 3) Republican candidates tweeting about Biden, and 4) Republican candidates tweeting about Trump. Because our aim here is to check for the general sentiment of how candidates tweet about their co-partisan nominee as opposed to the opposition-party nominee, we exclude any tweets in which a candidate mentions *both* presidential nominees (in the remaining analysis however, we do not treat a Biden reference and Trump reference as mutually exclusive, tweets that contain both references are coded as such). We also

included as stop words any reference to the actual names, or variations of the names of the two presidential nominees, since by definition all of the tweets we examine here had already been identified by our coding scheme as referencing Biden or Trump. The words identified here are not the most frequent words that appear in candidate tweets, but just the most frequently used words that also have a positive or negative sentiment attached to it based on a sentiment lexicon. In this case, we code for positive and negative words using the 'bing' sentiment lexicon as provided by the tidytext package in R (Bing, 2012; Silge & Robinson, 2016).

While imperfect as a measure for sentiment in the context of a political campaign, applying this sentiment lexicon to our tweet data provides general support for our assumption that when candidates tweet about a presidential nominee, their tone is generally positive when referencing their co-partisan and generally negative when referencing the opposition-party nominee (Table 1). In Democratic tweets about Biden, 30 of the 37 most-used words were positive, compared to only 10 of the top 35 words used when Democrats tweeted about Trump. The story is the same for Republicans; positive words made up 27 out of the top 37 most-used words when tweeting about Trump but only 8 out of the top 36 words when tweeting about Biden. The reason we display a different number of most-tweeted words (such as 37 for Democrats about Biden but 36 for Republicans about Biden) is because we began with the top-40 most tweeted words but then combined different instances of the same word (i.e. "support" and "supports"). We denote these instances with an asterisk. We also manually changed some of the coding assignments due to the specific nature of the tweets. For example, "conservative" was coded as negative by the lexicon, but in reality we would assume Republican's use "conservative" in a positive sense. We also omitted the word "vice" even though it appeared as a frequent negative word because we think it likely candidates from both parties were referring to the vice president and not in the context of how it was coded by this schema. For other words, such as "supreme" or "virus" (which in these tweets were specifically referencing the Supreme Court and Covid) we changed the coding to neutral as opposed to accepting the lexicon's positive (supreme) or negative (virus) assignment.

Table 1. Sentiment Analysis of Frequently Used Words in Tweets Sent by Democrat/Republican Candidates that Reference Biden/Trump.

Democrats -> Biden		Republicans -> Biden	
word	**n**	**word**	**n**
support	567	support	297*
proud	474	radical	266
win	393	corrupt	182*
honor	331*	lying	135*
ready	292	racist	104
endorse	287*	win	98
excited	212	supreme	90
crisis	177	opponent	85
lead	173	breaking	82
protect	165	destroy	80
love	152	bad	74
hard	147	hard	73
strong	137	crime	68
happy	94	stupid	67
decency	93	wrong	66
congratulations	91	endorsed	63
issues	91	dangerous	59
clean	86	fake	56
promise	81	protect	56
unity	81	condemn	55
affordable	78	wins	55
powerful	77	free	51
virus	75	failed	50
amazing	74	lost	50
compassion	71	illegal	49
safe	70	bastards	48
victory	70	kill	47
supporting	69	lead	45

faith	65	assault	43
grateful	65	silent	43
incredible	65	scandal	42
lost	64	afford	41
critical	62	refuses	41
stronger	61	violent	41
winning	57	criminal	40
empathy	56	disaster	40
pain	56		

Democrats -> Trump		Republicans -> Trump	
word	**n**	**word**	**n**
lies	1042*	support	1873*
failed	786*	win	863*
opponent	768	proud	601
support	764	conservative	573
defeat	699	endorsement	560*
protect	683	ready	486
win	632	honored	469*
crisis	587	love	464
virus	587	strong	440
racist	574*	hard	394
top	403	protect	385
worst	402*	peace	364
supreme	375	freedom	358
relief	365	radical	343
lost	349	happy	329
dead	340	amazing	258
safe	327	supreme	258
dangerous	325	victory	253
died	319	defeat	251
affordable	309	incredible	210

risk	301	opponent	210
silent	300	bless	207
proud	283	fake	207
threat	267	hate	202
attacks	246	recovery	198
lose	245	safe	194
hate	244	excited	187
wrong	235	virus	167
attack	221	lead	158
condemn	221	breaking	156
hard	214	free	156
bad	208	congratulations	155
breaking	208	awesome	153
corruption	200	bad	151
benefits	196	illegal	147
		beautiful	145
		glad	143

We report the total number of tweets coded based on each criterion in Table 2. As a reference, we display the total number of tweets for the full dataset (beginning Jan.1) and for our analytic sample (beginning Apr. 9, for candidates in contested races).

Table 2. Summary of 2020 Congressional Candidate Twitter Data.

	House, All Races, Jan. 1 – Nov. 3		House, Contested Races, Apr. 9 – Nov. 3	
	Total N	% of All Tweets	Total N	% of All Tweets
All tweets (total)	626,007	100.00	432,411	100.00
Trump Tweets (total)	76,350	12.19	53,931	12.47
Biden Tweets (total)	26,127	4.17	21,870	5.05
@realDonaldTrump	29,043	4.63	19,643	4.54
@JoeBiden	10,956	1.75	8,943	2.06
Quote Tweets - Trump	3,244	0.51	2,367	0.54
Quote Tweets - Biden	988	0.15	818	0.18

Note. A Biden reference and a Trump reference and are not mutually exclusive. For example, a single tweet may contain a reference to both Biden and Trump and would be counted as such.

Contextual Variables

After coding each tweet for references to either Joe Biden or Donald Trump we collapsed the data to the candidate-level and calculated the frequency of Trump or Biden-

related tweets. We merged this data with several contextual variables. Data for each candidates' name, party identification, and whether they ran in a contested general election were taken from "U.S. House Elections Results," as compiled by the New York Times (2020). Party ID and contested-election status was verified with the Daily Kos elections database (Nir, 2020) and the official statistics of the 2020 election compiled by the U.S. House Office of the Clerk. Uncontested races were defined as a race in which only one major party candidate officially appeared on the general election ballot.[8]

We noted whether each candidate was an incumbent or challenger. In open-seat races, where no incumbent was running, all candidates were labeled as challengers. We classified a race as competitive if the Cook Political Report ever identified that race as 'lean' or 'toss-up' between April 9, 2020 (when our coding began) and the final report on October 21, 2020.[9] Finally, we use the Daily Kos elections database to gather 2020 *presidential* two-party vote share *at the congressional district level* as a proxy for presidential candidate popularity in a given district (Nir, 2020). For descriptive purposes we categorize congressional districts as favoring either Trump or Biden, or being a 'swing' district. We classified districts favoring a presidential nominee if Biden or Trump received greater than 55% of the vote, and as a 'swing' district if neither received 55% of the vote. Table 3 presents a summary of the candidates in our analytic sample.

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[8] This decision rule has the effect of excluding one Senate candidate and 19 House candidates for whom we otherwise have tweet data. The Senate candidate, Tom Cotton (R-AR), ran against a Libertarian candidate but no Democrat appeared on the ballot. House races where the two candidates on the general election ballot are of the same party due to top-two primary systems (CA and WA) remain included in the analytic sample and are coded as contested.

[9] This method follows a similar measure for competitiveness as employed by Evans, Cordova, and Sipole (2014).

Table 3. 2020 Congressional Twitter Data: Summary of Candidates (Analytic Sample).

	House	
	Democrat (N=389)	Republican (N=351)
Incumbent		
Challenger	190 (48.8%)	213 (60.7%)
Incumbent	199 (51.2%)	138 (39.3%)
Cook Rating		
Non-Competitive	319 (82.0%)	281 (80.1%)
Competitive	70 (18.0%)	70 (19.9%)
Presidential Result		
Swing	116 (29.8%)	107 (30.5%)
Biden	157 (40.4%)	124 (35.3%)
Trump	116 (29.8%)	120 (34.2%)

Results and Discussion

The distribution of tweet frequency by party and incumbency status is illustrated in Figure 5. Overall, House candidates tweeted an average of 565 times. Consistent with prior research (Evans, Cordova, and Sipole, 2014), challengers (mean=759) tweeted more frequently than incumbents (mean=340). In addition, Democrats (mean=656) were more prolific tweeters than Republicans (mean=467).
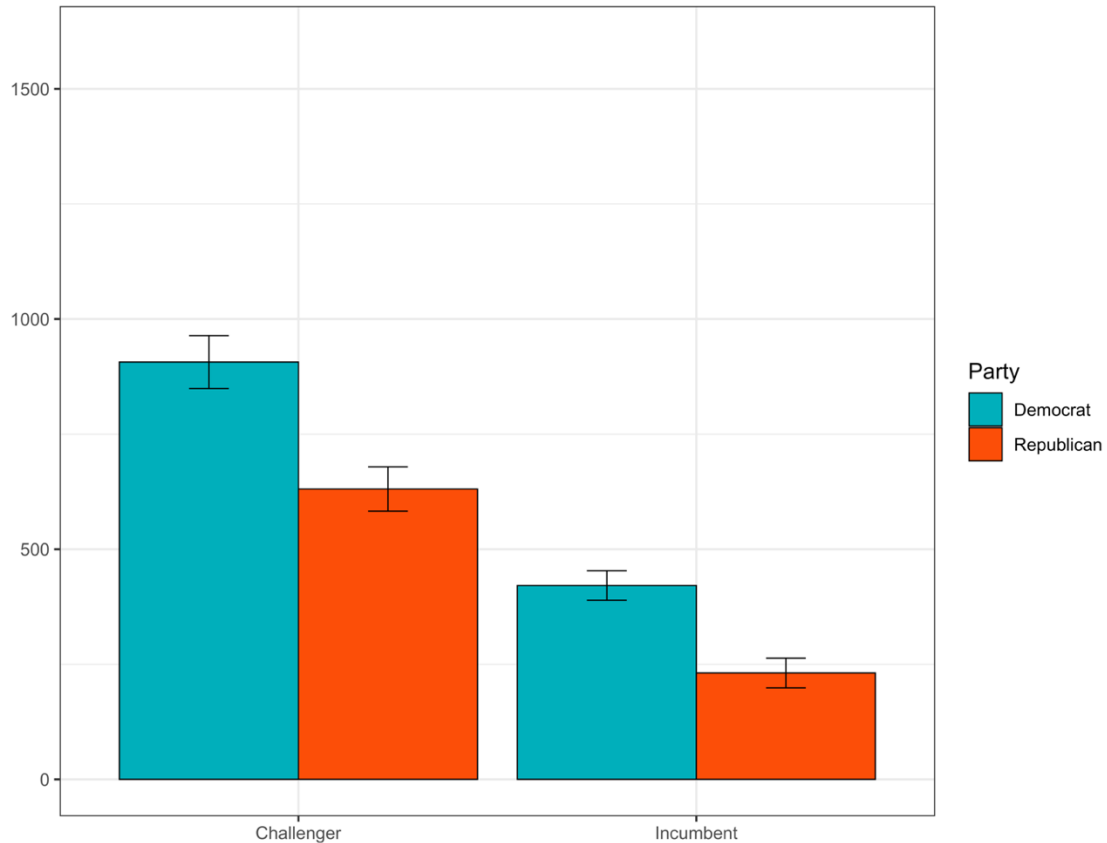
Figure 5. Average # of House candidate tweets (Apr. 9 – Nov. 3, 2020).

Looking strictly at presidential candidate mentions, the incumbent presidential candidate was mentioned more frequently by both Republicans and Democrats, than the presidential challenger. Just as Obama was mentioned more than Romney in 2012, so too was Trump more so than Biden, albeit to a greater degree, with candidates mentioning Trump (mean=12.7%) twice as frequently as Biden (mean=6.2%). To get a sense of the variation in coattail tweeting, we plot the percentage of House candidate tweets that mention the presidential nominees, along with the mean for each party in Figure 6.
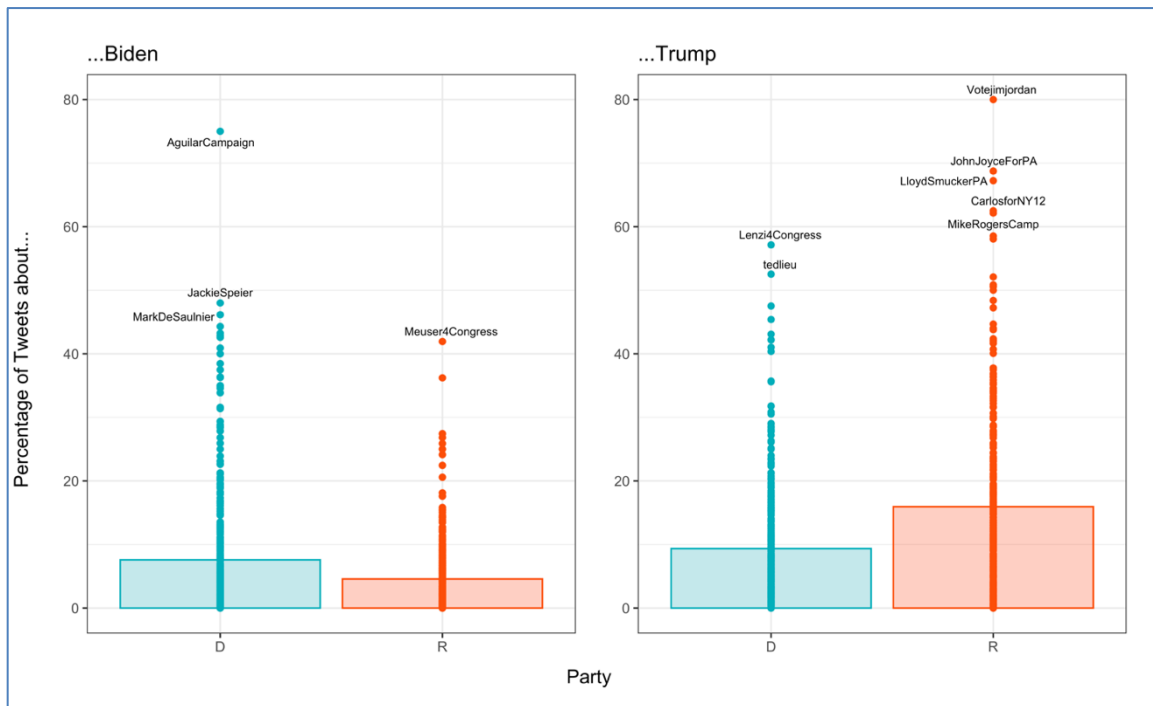
Figure 6. House candidate coattail tweets by party.

Note. For reference, Twitter handles are labeled for the most-frequent coattail tweeters by party and presidential nominee.

House Republican candidates tweeted about Trump (mean=16.3%) significantly more than did House Democratic candidates (mean=9.36%, *p<.001*). Recall that Evans, Cordova, and Sipole (2014) found in 2012 that it was Republicans who tweeted more about the Democratic (and incumbent) nominee. In 2020, Republicans continued to tweet more about the incumbent president than did Democrats, but this time that incumbent was from their own Party. Our findings here differ from a similar analysis conducted by Pew (2021), showing that Democrats mentioned Trump twice as much as Republicans on social media, though that finding was restricted to the final two months of the campaign, only included sitting lawmakers (not challengers), and pooled Twitter and Facebook posts, possibly suggesting differences in how lawmakers craft campaign messages conditional on whether that message is sent via Twitter or Facebook.

Figure 6 also helps to identify some outliers with respect to coattail frequency. The most extreme outliers (Jim Jordan, Pete Aguilar) were both low-N tweeters (a total of only 10 tweets for each) but the vast majority of which did reference their presidential candidates. The content of these tweets does not present as anything materially different than "typical" tweets that are supportive of presidential candidates (the text of the tweets from these two MC's are posted in the supplemental material as Appendix 6).

Tweeting on Coattails

We next describe how frequently congressional candidates tweet about presidential nominees, conditional on district and race-specific factors. Although strongly correlated with presidential vote-shares, there may be specific House races that are more or less competitive relative to the presidential race in that same district, which could be related to differential incentives for coattail tweeting. For example, a candidate who is in a competitive race but perceives their co-partisan presidential nominee to be popular in their district may be *more* incentivized to tweet on coattails than they would be if they perceived their co-partisan nominee to be less popular. At the same time, a candidate who believes their position to be relatively safe may feel less of a need to tweet on coattails, regardless of how popular they perceive their co-partisan nominee to be.

While we cannot directly measure the candidate's perception of presidential nominee popularity, we can use the eventual presidential vote-share in each candidate's House district as a proxy. For a measure of competitiveness for a congressional candidate's own race we follow the method and rationale employed by Evans, Cordova, and Sipole (2014), and use the Cook Political Report's ratings of House races to control for whether a candidate ran in a race that was ever labeled as competitive.

For descriptive purposes, we show differences in the percentage of tweets mentioning either nominee by incumbent status and party in Figure 7. Recall that overall, challengers sent significantly more tweets than incumbents between Apr. 9 and Nov. 3 (see

Figure 5). However, Figure 7 shows that relative to all tweets sent, it was incumbents who were more likely to mention presidential nominees. In particular, Democratic challengers sent the *most total tweets* but tweeted about the presidential nominees the *least*. In contrast, Republican incumbents sent the *fewest total tweets*, but were the *most likely*, along with Democratic incumbents, to tweet about the presidential nominees.
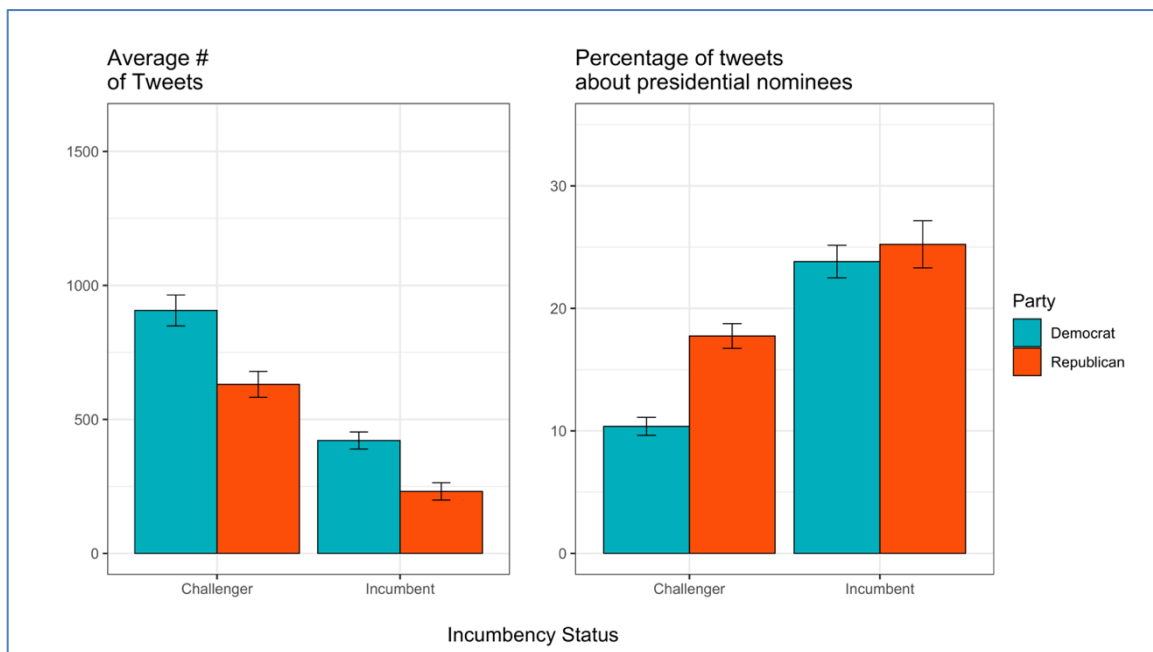

Figure 7. House candidate tweets, Apr. 9-Nov. 3.
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the mean.

While it may be true that incumbents tweet differently than challengers in a host of ways (and our data will certainly allow for that exploration by other researchers), our interest in this paper focuses on differences in Twitter behavior as they relate to mentions of the two presidential nominees, especially conditional on popularity of the nominees in specific congressional districts and/or states. We also note that while controlling for the effect of incumbency seems appropriate on its face (after all, incumbents may feel freer to critique the out-party presidential nominee or feel less incentivized to ride the coattails of

a perceived popular co-partisan presidential nominee), the nature of selection effects makes this difficult. For example, in our data, only two incumbent House Democrats ran in districts that Trump eventually won with greater than 55% of the two-party vote (Jackie Walorski (IN-02) and Jack Bergman (MI-01)). It would be difficult to draw inferences based on a comparison of these two incumbent Democrats and their Twitter behavior relative to the 116 Democrats running as challengers in districts where Trump also won greater than 55% of the vote.

In Table 4 we present ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates for the percentage of tweets about each nominee, controlling for party, district-level presidential competitiveness, and race-specific competitiveness. We set the reference level to candidates running in competitive races (Cook) but also districts that are "Swing" at the presidential-level. Theoretically, candidates running in these types of districts may be least likely to tweet about either presidential nominee, for fear of alienating swing voters. Setting the reference level here allows for an intuitive interpretation of the coefficients.

For example, the estimated percentage of tweets about Trump from Democrats in competitive races that are running in presidential swing districts is 4.55% while the estimated percentage of Biden tweets from those same candidates is 2.52%. Democratic candidates running in uncompetitive House races tweeted significantly more about *both* Trump (+3.35%, *p<.05*)) and Biden (+5.69%, *p<.001*)) compared to Democrats in competitive races, reaffirming a result found by prior research on the 2012 elections (Evans, Cordova, & Sipole, 2014). This same result did not hold for Republicans, however. Republicans running in competitive House races did not tweet any more or less about either nominee than Republicans running in uncompetitive races.

The idea of tweeting on coattails posits that Democrats (Republicans) should be more likely to tweet about Biden (Trump) where he is perceived to be popular. Table 4 shows that relative to presidential swing districts, Democrats running in Biden districts mentioned Biden in 4.45% more of their tweets (*p<.001*) while Republicans running in

Trump districts mentioned Trump in 12.22% more of their tweets (*p<.001*). Not only do candidates running in districts where their presidential nominee is popular appear to tweet on coattails with greater frequency than their co-partisan candidates running in less favorable conditions, they also appear to tweet more about the *other* presidential nominee as well. Democrats in Biden districts tweeted more about Trump (+4.09%, *p<.01*) and Republicans in Trump districts tweeted more about Biden (+3.49%, *p<.001*) than did their co-partisan candidates running in presidential swing-districts.

Table 4. OLS Estimates of Percentage of Tweets about Presidential Candidates.

	Democrats		**Republicans**	
	% Tweets ~ Biden	% Tweets ~ Trump	% Tweets ~ Biden	% Tweets ~ Trump
Intercept	2.52* (0.34 – 4.69)	4.55*** (2.43 – 6.67)	1.96** (0.65 – 3.28)	8.99*** (5.87 – 12.10)
District: Biden > 55%	4.45** (1.53 – 7.36)	4.09** (1.26 – 6.92)	1.14 (-0.77 – 3.06)	3.63 (-0.91 – 8.16)
District: Trump > 55%	-4.67** (-7.66 – -1.68)	1.37 (-1.53 – 4.28)	3.49*** (1.61 – 5.37)	12.22*** (7.77 – 16.68)
Cook: Uncompetitive House Race	5.69*** (-8.94 – -2.43)	3.35* (-6.51 – -0.18)	1.27 (-3.30 – 0.77)	1.87 (-6.68 – 2.94)
Observations	389	389	351	351
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.193 / 0.187	0.082 / 0.075	0.090 / 0.082	0.148 / 0.141

* p<0.05   ** p<0.01   *** p<0.001

Note. 95% confidence intervals in parentheses. Reference-level (Intercept) is the estimated percentage of tweets sent by candidates running in Presidential swing districts that are also competitive House Race (according to Cook Political Report).

Figure 8 plots the estimated percentage of coattail tweets about each nominee, based on OLS estimates displayed in Table 4. When looking at the patterns among House candidates grouped by district type (swing, Biden, or Trump), both Democratic and Republicans running in districts where their party's presidential nominee was popular mentioned their co-partisan nominee more frequently than those candidates running in swing districts or districts where their nominee was less popular.
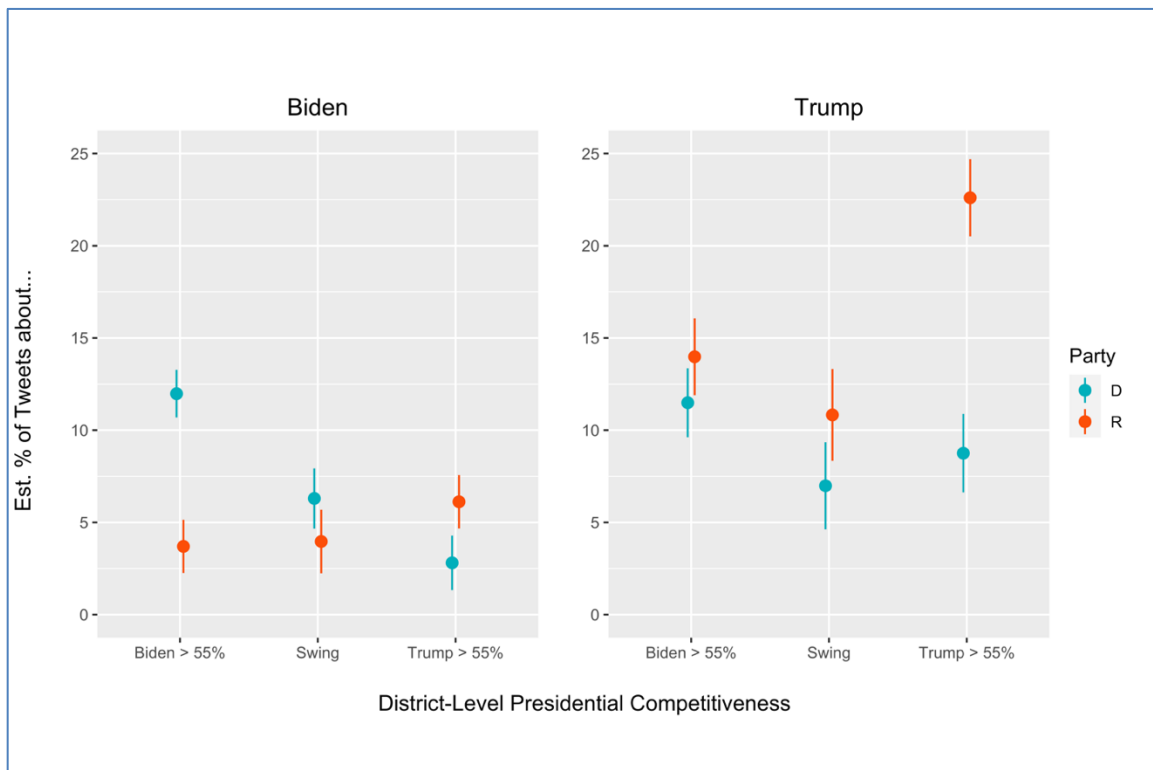

Figure 8. House candidates: Differences in 'tweeting on coattails' by district partisanship.

Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the mean.

Democrats running in Biden districts mentioned Biden in 12.5% of their tweets, compared to just 6.5% and 2.5% of the time for Democrats running in swing or Trump districts. Republican House candidates running in Trump districts were the most likely to

send coattail tweets (22.5%). While Republican House candidates in swing and Biden districts tweeted about Trump significantly less than that (11% and 14%, respectively), this was still greater than how frequent similarly-situated Democrats tweeted about Biden.

We mentioned briefly the conceptual difference between tweeting *about* and tweeting *at* a presidential nominee. On Twitter, including someone's handle in a tweet text will ensure the tagged account is notified of the tweet. This means that when a House candidate tweets on a presidential nominee's coattails by tagging them, they are not only communicating to voters, but they are also communicating directly to the presidential nominee. In 2020, candidates overall tagged twice as many tweets '@realDonaldTrump' (mean=5.14%) as they did '@JoeBiden' (mean=2.5%). In Figure 5 we treat the dependent variable as the percentage of *all* tweets sent by House candidates that include a tag of either Biden or Trump. The result is a pattern similar to that displayed in Figure 4 (when the DV was the percentage of *all* tweets that were coded as coattail tweets, regardless of *how* the tweet referred to the presidential nominees)—candidates running in districts favorable to their presidential nominee were more likely to tag that nominee compared to co-partisan candidates running in less favorable districts. Also similar to what is shown in Figure 4, Republicans were twice as likely to tag @realDonaldTrump (mean=9.27%) than Democrats were to tag @JoeBiden (mean=4.34%).

This could be attributed to the fact that Trump was a more popular topic among all House candidates, regardless of party, or the fact that Trump had a more active account and would, from time to time, retweet supportive tweets from Republicans who tagged him. The national notoriety from being retweeted (whether positively or negatively) by the President, especially a president with such a presence on the platform, could be a sought-after publicity boost for House candidates.
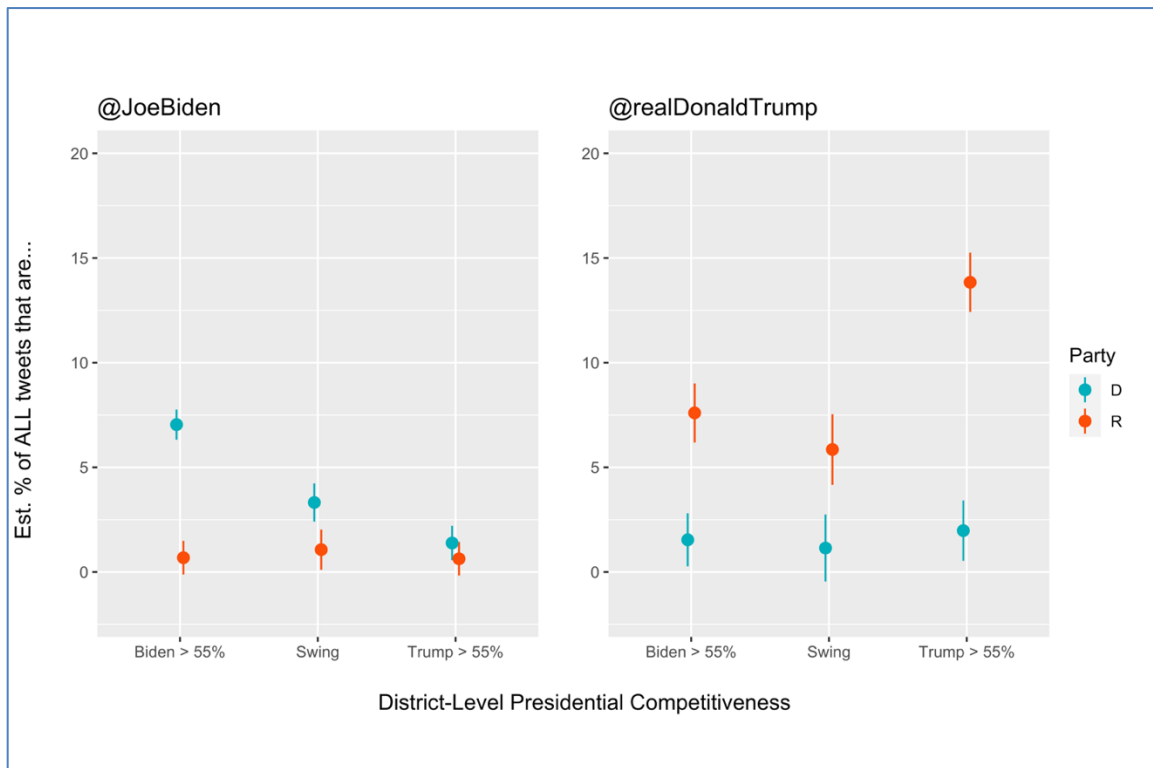
Figure 9. Frequency of "tweeting at" a nominee by House candidates (as % of ALL tweets)

Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the mean.

While it was more common for candidates to tweet '@realDonaldTrump' than '@JoeBiden', was tagging a nominee the preferred coattail strategy for Republicans more so than for Democrats? A closer look at the data shows remarkably similar behavior across parties and district partisanship. In Figure 10 we re-calculate the dependent variable to be the percentage of tweets that tag a presidential nominee, conditional on that tweet already being coded as a 'coattail' tweet. In other words, if we only examine tweets that refer to a presidential nominee (no matter how that reference was made), are Republicans more likely to tag Donald Trump as a way to tweet on coattails than Democrats are to tag Joe Biden?
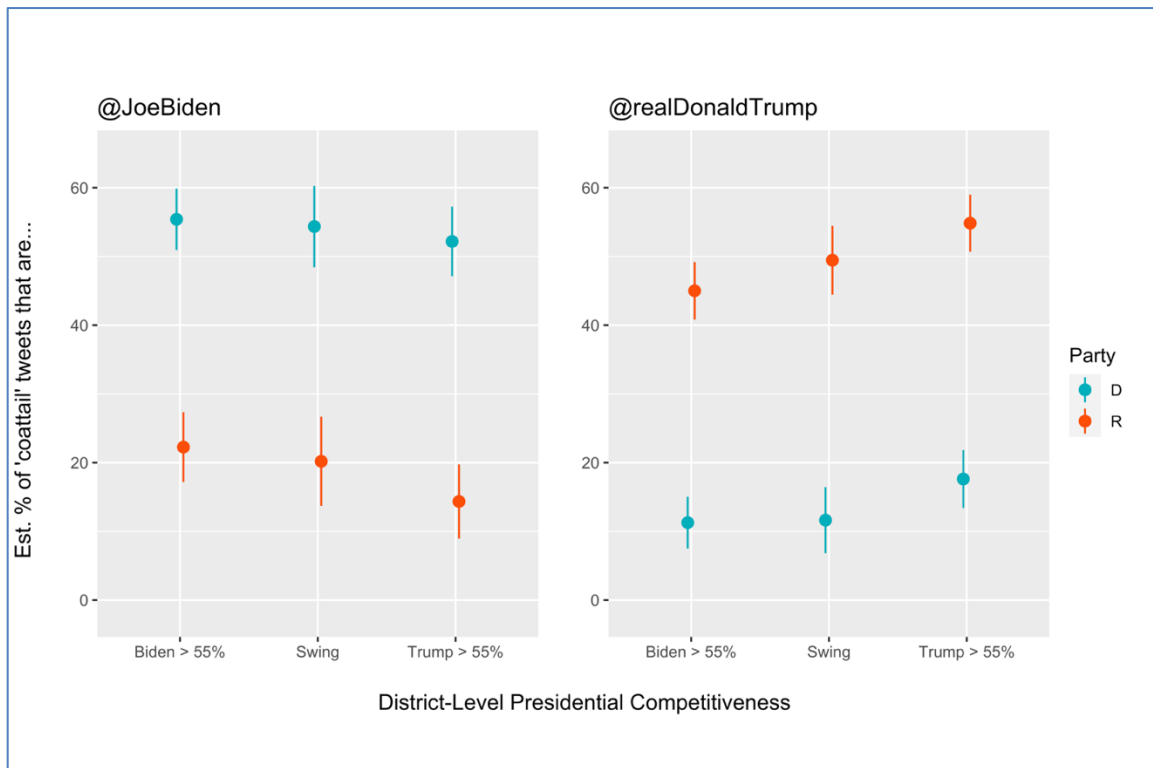
Figure 10. Frequency of "tweeting at" a nominee by House candidates (as % of "coattail" tweets).

Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the mean.

        The answer, in short, is no. If anything, if a candidate was going to send a coattail tweet, those from Democrats (54.1%) were slightly more likely than those from Republicans (49.7%), to tag their presidential nominee *(p<.05)*. We also show that while district-level popularity of presidential nominees was related to the frequency of tweeting at a nominee in general (Figure 6), it was not correlated with the probability that Democrats tweet @JoeBiden and only weakly correlated with Republicans tweeting @readDonaldTrump, conditional on those candidates tweeting on coattails in the first place.

Conclusion

Our data revealed some patterns whose explanation lay beyond the scope of our descriptive goals. The expectation of a relationship between being the out-party and tweeting about presidential nominees was based on supplementary findings by Evans, Cordova, and Sipole (2014), who showed that out-party candidates (Republicans at the time) were more likely to mention the incumbent President (Obama) in their tweets than in-party (Democratic) candidates. In our study, it was the *in-party* (Republicans) who were more likely to mention the incumbent President (Trump). This inconsistency suggests that there may not be an in-/out-party relationship when it comes to mentioning the incumbent president on Twitter, Republican candidates may just be more likely to tweet about presidential nominees during their campaigns than Democrats. Of course, it is also short-sighted to draw any conclusions based on analysis of just two congressional campaigns, especially given the exponential rise in Twitter-use and other social media platforms among politicians. If anything, these results offer more justification for continuing to gather candidate social media messages during campaigns to come.

We showed that challengers tweeted more frequently than incumbents, which affirms prior findings on challengers being more active campaigners through a variety of mediums (Trent & Friedenber, 2008; Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin 2009, 2013). At the same time, challengers tweeted far *less* frequently about the presidential nominees than incumbents. Whether this is a function of the challenger/incumbent dynamic or a product of challengers being more likely to be running in less favorable districts remains an open question, and one that deserves more scrutiny and needs more data over several election cycles to properly assess.

Although there appears to be evidence that candidates tweet on coattails of their co-partisan nominees, our data indicated the presence of another potential strategy. We show that Democratic House candidates running in districts where Biden was popular tweeted about Biden as frequently as they did about Trump. This speaks to the potential of a 'negative' coattail effect, where Democrats may have been trying to ride the unpopularity

of Trump among their base. This is a different, though not mutually exclusive, behavior associated with the traditional coattail theory, which posits a positive connection between co-partisans. Even more interesting is that this same dynamic was not present among Republican candidates. In Trump districts, House Republican candidates were far more likely to tweet about Trump (mean=21.2%) than they were Biden (mean=5.45%). It could be that Republicans did not perceive that tweeting "against" Joe Biden would yield benefits to the same extent Democrats believed tweeting "against" Donald Trump would.

Another way to think about differences in partisan Twitter behavior is to compare the least- and most-favorable coattail-tweeting conditions (at least theoretically). In Biden districts, Democrats tweeted about Biden 12.5% of the time, which is approximately the same rate that Republican candidates tweeted about Trump (14%) *in those same districts.* In contrast, in Trump districts, Republicans tweeted about Trump 22.5% of the time, approximately 9 times more frequently than Democrats tweeted about Biden (~2.5%) in those same districts. In other words, Republican and Democratic candidates in Biden-favored districts were *as likely* to tweet about their co-partisan nominees'. This is in stark contrast to Trump-favored districts, where a significant gap existed between Republicans and Democrats tweeting on the coattails of their respective candidates.

Whether these results could, or should, be thought of more as Democrats' tepid motivations to tweet on Biden's coattails or Republicans' consistent support for Trump regardless of district-specific conditions is another possible line of inquiry for which our data may be useful and similar examinations of Twitter data from future election cycles will help to elucidate.

The scholarship on how candidates use Twitter to campaign is in its nascent stages. There have only been a few election cycles where Twitter has been a widely adopted messaging tool, making it difficult to know what variables matter to explain patterns of campaign messaging behavior, including incumbency, partisanship, out-party status, and district competitiveness. Trump's unique relationship with Twitter makes it more difficult to know how much of the relationships described here are attributable to Trump himself.

If the behavior described in this paper were to continue in election cycles to come, even without Trump on the ballot or on Twitter, there would be less evidence to suggest a Trump effect. On the other hand, if Democrats and Republicans begin to tweet about their co-partisans with the same frequency in future elections, then there would be more reason to ascribe the asymmetric nature of the differences between Democrats and Republicans "tweeting on coattails" as a Trump anomaly.

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Replication data: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/HNNPPD

Appendix 1 (includes Senate)

Table A1: Summary of 2020 Congressional Candidate Twitter Data

	House and Senate, All Races, Jan. 1 – Nov. 3		House, Contested Races, Apr. 9 – Nov. 3		Senate, Contested Races, Apr. 9 – Nov. 3	
	Total N	% of All Tweets	Total N	% of All Tweets	Total N	% of All Tweets
All tweets (total)	626,007	100.00	432,411	100.00	63,737	100.00
Trump Tweets (total)	76,350	12.19	53,931	12.47	6,355	9.97
Biden Tweets (total)	26,127	4.17	21,870	5.05	1,879	2.94
@realDonaldTrump	29,043	4.63	19,643	4.54	2,772	4.34
@JoeBiden	10,956	1.75	8,943	2.06	853	1.33
Quote Tweets - Trump	3,244	0.51	2,367	0.54	201	0.31
Quote Tweets - Biden	988	0.15	818	0.18	78	0.12

Tweets are coded for instances of a specific reference and are not mutually exclusive. For example, a single tweet may contain a reference to both Biden and Trump and would be counted as such.

Appendix 2 (includes Senate)

Table A2: 2020 Congressional Twitter Data: Summary of Candidates (analytic sample)

	House		Senate	
	Democrat (N=389)	Republican (N=351)	Democrat (N=35)	Republican (N=33)
Incumbent				
Challenger	190 (48.8%)	213 (60.7%)	24 (68.6%)	14 (42.4%)
Incumbent	199 (51.2%)	138 (39.3%)	11 (31.4%)	19 (57.6%)
Cook Rating				
Non-Competitive	319 (82.0%)	281 (80.1%)	23 (65.7%)	20 (60.6%)
Competitive	70 (18.0%)	70 (19.9%)	12 (34.3%)	13 (39.4%)
Presidential Result				
Swing	116 (29.8%)	107 (30.5%)	10 (28.6%)	10 (30.3%)
Biden	157 (40.4%)	124 (35.3%)	10 (28.6%)	9 (27.3%)
Trump	116 (29.8%)	120 (34.2%)	15 (42.9%)	14 (42.4%)

Appendix 3 (Senate)

Table A3: Senate - OLS Estimates of Percentage of Tweets about Presidential Candidates

	Democrats		Republicans	
	% Tweets ~ Biden	% Tweets ~ Trump	% Tweets ~ Biden	% Tweets ~ Trump
Intercept	0.65 (-3.75 – 5.05)	6.33[***] (3.02 – 9.65)	2.47[*] (0.19 – 4.75)	12.12[**] (4.14 – 20.10)
State: Biden > 55%	5.52 (-0.41 – 11.45)	2.98 (-1.49 – 7.44)	-0.14 (-3.50 – 3.21)	-7.57 (-19.31 – 4.17)
State: Trump > 55%	-1.47 (-6.83 – 3.90)	-6.00[**] (-10.04 – -1.96)	-0.88 (-3.87 – 2.11)	-0.34 (-10.80 – 10.12)
Cook: Uncompetitive Senate Race	2.46 (-7.23 – 2.30)	1.86 (-5.44 – 1.73)	1.68 (-4.32 – 0.95)	3.94 (-13.16 – 5.29)
Observations	35	35	34	34
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.247 / 0.174	0.449 / 0.395	0.064 / -0.030	0.089 / -0.002

*p<0.05　**p<0.01　***p<0.001

Note. 95% confidence intervals in parentheses. Reference-level (Intercept) is the estimated percentage of tweets for candidates running in Presidential swing states, but an uncompetitive Senate Race (Cook).

Appendix 4

Words auto-coded as positive that researcher switched to neutral

Democrats -> Biden

Republicans -> Biden

silent	43
supreme	90

Democrats -> Trump

silent	300
supreme	375

Republicans -> Trump

supreme	258

Words auto-coded as negative that researcher switched to neutral

Democrats -> Biden

issues	91
virus	75

Republicans -> Biden

Democrats -> Trump

virus	587

Republicans -> Trump

virus	167

Appendix 5

Word lemmatization

Democrats -> Biden	
honor	176
honored	155
endorsement	113
endorsed	99
endorse	75

Republicans -> Biden

support	201
supports	96
corruption	95
corrupt	87
lying	51
lie	44
lies	40

Democrats -> Trump

failed	513
failure	273
lies	380
lying	246
lie	216
lied	200
racist	373
racism	201
worst	205
worse	197

Republicans -> Trump

support	1595
supporting	278
endorsement	294
endorsed	266
honored	244
honor	225
win	701
winning	162

Appendix 6 (all tweets of identified outliers described in Figure 2)

Votejimjordan	Thank you! https://twitter.com/ACUConservative/status/1319745414875197444
Votejimjordan	RT @hughhewitt: If you don't think that Jim Jordan video about @realDonaldTrump talking with Todd Jordan was anything other than powerful,…
Votejimjordan	RT @GOP: Congressman @Jim_Jordan has been one of Pres. Trump's most outspoken allies. He is a founding member of the House Freedom Caucus…
Votejimjordan	RT @TeamTrump: Ohio Congressman @Jim_Jordan is a strong conservative leader and a champion for President Trump's #AmericaFirst agenda. #RN…
Votejimjordan	President @realdonaldtrump has taken on the swamp, and he's fighting every day in Washington for our families. With @realdonaldtrump in the White House, the best is still in front of us. We must do everything we can to re-elect him in November. #RNC2020
Votejimjordan	President @realdonaldtrump has done what he said he would do in his first term: -Cut taxes -Reduced regulations -Grow the economy -Lowest unemployment in 50 years -Canceled the Iran deal -Embassy in Jerusalem -Hostages home from North Korea -USMCA -Built the wall #RNC2020
Votejimjordan	Democrats: ❌Church ✅ Protest ❌ Work ✅Riot ❌ School ✅ Loot @realdonaldtrump wants to re-open America while standing up to the far-left's looting and rioting. #RNC2020
Votejimjordan	Democrats response to chaos and crime in our cities is to defund the police, defund border patrol, and defund our great military. All while trying to take away our 2nd Amendment rights. #RNC2020

Votejimjordan	The @GOP is the pro-America Party and @realdonaldtrump is the pro-America candidate. The election is about our values, principles, and institutions as Americans. #RNC2020
Votejimjordan	Proud to speak tonight @GOPConvention in support of @realdonaldtrump. #RNC2020 https://secure.anedot.com/jim-jordan-for-congress/c1894fc22fe4db07a3bdc
AguilarCampaign	I'm not going to serenade voters like @DarrenSoto, but I agree that we need to show up in record numbers to elect @JoeBiden! https://twitter.com/DarrenSoto/status/1323262204465078272
AguilarCampaign	Made the trip next door to Arizona this weekend to help get out the vote for @hiral4congress, @KateWGallego, @CaptMarkKelly and of course @JoeBiden! Eight more days! https://t.co/3C3Xw4KKBx
AguilarCampaign	.@JoeBiden and @KamalaHarris get it. They see the strain being placed on working families, and they have a plan to get through this crisis and build back better. That's why we have to keep working to get left the Biden-Harris ticket on November 3. https://www.parents.com/news/in-her-own-words-kamala-harris-shares-how-a-biden-presidency-will-be-a-game-changer-for-parents/
AguilarCampaign	Join us this Friday to hear from our elected leaders and friends on what we can do to get out the vote! #BidenHarris2020 https://t.co/Ewa9YQda9r
AguilarCampaign	It's a great day to check your voter registration and make a plan to vote! Visit http://iwillvote.com for more information. #NationalVoterRegistrationDay
AguilarCampaign	Proud to stand alongside our frontline workers to call upon @realDonaldTrump and Postmaster General DeJoy to put politics aside and finally fund the #PostOffice. Our safety and the fairness of our elections depends on it. https://bit.ly/2QekXrI @RedlandsNews @sbsun

AguilarCampaign	So proud of my friend @KamalaHarris, and excited to have a California on the ticket. Can't wait to get to work for #BidenHarris2020! https://t.co/Wcm4d4piiJ
AguilarCampaign	We need a leader who will unite us. We need a leader who will fight for systemic change. We need a leader who cares about our country more than himself. @JoeBiden is that leader. https://twitter.com/JoeBiden/status/1267914382786224128
AguilarCampaign	Speaker @TeamPelosi came to Congress to chew bubble gum and kick ass, and she's been out of bubble gum for a while. Happy birthday, Madam Speaker. https://t.co/6aFfHQulH2
AguilarCampaign	Standing up against some of the biggest threats facing our community – like gun violence and climate change – is not about party politics. It's about working together. We need a president who has a record of getting big things done. That's why I'm endorsing @MikeBloomberg. https://t.co/8YRFFheYmb
JohnJoyceForPA	President @realDonaldTrump and VP @Mike_Pence have delivered on their promises to Pennsylvanians. Tomorrow, Pennsylvanians will deliver on our promise to them and keep them in the White House for FOUR MORE YEARS! #PromisesMadePromisesKept https://t.co/wAUJ5PoZ39
JohnJoyceForPA	Joe Biden's promise to create a government-run, socialist health care system would sabotage Americans' progress on lifesaving cures. Especially as we wage war against a pandemic, our nation can't afford to give up on the promise of America. https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/campaign/522693-in-2020-the-future-of-health-care-is-on-your-ballot
JohnJoyceForPA	It's an awesome day to welcome @realDonaldTrump back to Blair County!!

JohnJoyceForPA	The people of Pennsylvania are listening, @JoeBiden. Whether you call us "deplorables" or "chumps," we're still going to deliver a victory for @realdonaldtrump. https://twitter.com/TrumpWarRoom/status/1320035466159206402
JohnJoyceForPA	Under President @realDonaldTrump's leadership, America is energy independent for the first time in my lifetime. Pennsylvania simply can't afford a repeat of the failed Obama-Biden energy agenda.
JohnJoyceForPA	As @Mike_Pence said, Joe Biden would be a cheerleader for China. President @realDonaldTrump and Republicans are standing up to the #CCP and bringing jobs home. We want jobs in Somerset, not Shanghai. We want jobs in Bedford, not Beijing. We want jobs in Waynesboro, not Wuhan.
JohnJoyceForPA	We want @realdonaldtrump in the White House for FOUR MORE YEARS! https://t.co/pEtLrhoAM9
JohnJoyceForPA	Looking forward to welcoming President @realDonaldTrump BACK to Johnstown tomorrow!! Western Pennsylvania is Trump Country. He's fighting for us - and we're fighting for him! https://events.donaldjtrump.com/events/president-donald-j-trump-delivers-remarks-at-a-make-america-great-again-rally-johnstown-pa-october-13
JohnJoyceForPA	Excellent presentation by VP @Mike_Pence. Under President @realDonaldTrump, America is stronger, safer, and more secure. 🇺🇸 #VPDebate
JohnJoyceForPA	If Pennsylvanians don't trust Joe Biden's approach to energy, it's because we've seen it all before. We can't afford the radical Biden- Harris agenda that would kill our jobs and repeat Obama's failed energy record. https://www.pennlive.com/opinion/2020/09/under-president-trump-america-is-energy-independent-opinion.html

JohnJoyceForPA	Under @realDonaldTrump's leadership, America is energy independent for the first time in my life. Rather than staying reliant on foreign nations, today we are a net exporter of American-made energy. Pennsylvania can't afford Joe Biden's energy agenda. https://www.pennlive.com/opinion/2020/09/under-president-trump-america-is-energy-independent-opinion.html
JohnJoyceForPA	The Senate must confirm Judge Amy Coney Barrett. #ConfirmACB
JohnJoyceForPA	Awesome to welcome President @realDonaldTrump back to Pennsylvania tonight! 🇺🇸 https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1310024605554282496
JohnJoyceForPA	Welcome back to western Pennsylvania, President @realDonaldTrump. We are behind your pro-life, pro-jobs, pro-growth agenda! #PromisesMadePromisesKept https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1308540604972851200
JohnJoyceForPA	What an amazing night in PA-13! From protecting our energy jobs to cutting taxes for families and creating American jobs for American workers, Pennsylvanians recognize #PromisesMadePromisesKept. We WILL re-elect @realDonaldTrump for four more years!! https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1301694412326494208
JohnJoyceForPA	Welcome back to #PA13, Mr. President! We all know it - Western Pennsylvania is Trump Country!! https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1301631770975232003
JohnJoyceForPA	Our Pennsylvania energy industry - and the hardworking Pennsylvanians who power America - can't afford Joe Biden's job-killing agenda. https://www.post-gazette.com/opinion/editorials/2020/09/01/Biden-s-confusing-stand-on-fracking/stories/202008260066

JohnJoyceForPA	Hardworking Pennsylvanians power America. Joe Biden's radical energy agenda would kill high-paying, family-sustaining jobs here in our community. Clearly, the Biden-Harris platform won't work for us.
JohnJoyceForPA	Looking forward to joining @RadioSaltzman at 6:30 for an update on the #RNCConvention. In Pennsylvania, we know that President @realDonaldTrump will protect our energy industry & jobs, rebuild America's economy, and lead our nation on the path to recovery.
JohnJoyceForPA	President @realDonaldTrump has made significant progress to improve Americans' access to quality & affordable health care, as well as to invest in lifesaving innovation. These are #PromisesMadePromisesKept for Pennsylvania families, veterans, and seniors. https://www.dailyamerican.com/news/opinion/columns/dr-joyce-president-trump-s-health-care-agenda-gives-patients-hope/article_b62db96a-e3b9-11ea-b8f9-0b9718d7d85c.html
JohnJoyceForPA	Great to be with @realDonaldTrump in PA yesterday! He is the right person to rebuild our economy and lead us on the road to recovery, and Pennsylvanians are looking forward to delivering a strong victory for him this fall. https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1296579488998928386
JohnJoyceForPA	Congratulations to my friend and fellow doctor @RogerMarshallMD on a great primary victory in Kansas! He'll be a strong conservative voice in the Senate.
JohnJoyceForPA	Welcome back to Pennsylvania, Mr. Vice President! 🇺🇸 Thank you for supporting our brave police officers. https://twitter.com/Mike_Pence/status/1281238808407638016
JohnJoyceForPA	Happy birthday, Mr. President! Thank you for your service and dedication to our nation, @realDonaldTrump. 🇺🇸 https://t.co/BoOeFAfN3W
JohnJoyceForPA	Welcome back to Pennsylvania, Mr. Vice President! https://twitter.com/Mike_Pence/status/1271449007898804225

JohnJoyceForPA	Thanks to all who voted and volunteered in the #PAprimary. I was proud to receive @realDonaldTrump's endorsement and to be part of his 64- 0 winning record. Together, we're going to keep protecting our conservative values and delivering on our promises to Americans in PA & beyond.
JohnJoyceForPA	Thank you to everyone who voted and to our wonderful volunteers - I'm so grateful for your support. It's my privilege to serve and fight for you. https://t.co/GZixzs2FQU
JohnJoyceForPA	The stakes are high. All of us are facing a choice between freedom and socialism. Today I encourage you to make your voice heard, and vote in the Pennsylvania Primary Election. #PAPrimary https://t.co/jpOvnH9U5Q
JohnJoyceForPA	The Primary Election is on Tuesday, June 2, and it's up to all of us to support President @realDonaldTrump and Pennsylvania Republicans. 🇺🇸 Find your polling place and additional information at http://VotesPA.com.
JohnJoyceForPA	Thank you, Mr. President! It's my privilege to serve. https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1263980367075213312
JohnJoyceForPA	Congratulations, Congressman- elect Garcia! Looking forward to working with you in the House. https://twitter.com/MikeGarcia2020/status/1260604068956786688
JohnJoyceForPA	The PA primary election on June 2 is fast approaching and I am humbly asking for your vote. In Congress, I will continue fighting for you and for our commonsense, conservative values. It's up to all of us to deliver a strong victory for @realDonaldTrump & PA Republicans. https://t.co/57feOgTFX8

JohnJoyceForPA	Grateful for the #ProLife Americans who stand up for life. We know the truth - 47 years of Roe v. Wade is 47 years too long. #MarchForLife2020 #WhyWeMarch https://t.co/RCDZZTpgHb
JohnJoyceForPA	Proud to join President @realDonaldTrump at the #MarchForLife 2020 as we continue our fight to protect ALL human life. As we heard from President Trump, "Every person is worth protecting." #WhyWeMarch https://t.co/2bTWpDuKUp