



UNSEEING EYES:

MEDIA COVERAGE AND GENDER
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Beatriz Llanos

With the participation of:

Bolivia Transparente, Bolivia

Corporación Humanas, Chile

Fundación Justicia y Género and Radio Internacional Feminista, Costa Rica

Misión de Observación Electoral, Colombia

Participación Ciudadana, Dominican Republic

Unseeing Eyes: Media Coverage and Gender in Latin American Elections

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United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

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Preface

Democracy has changed greatly since its debut as a political system. Once the exclusive, male-controlled dominion of elite landowners, today democracy is increasingly inclusive and faces the constant challenge of embodying full and equitable political citizenship for all men and women.

Democracy must be able to adapt to the demands for greater equality and representation that are arising today in many countries and must eliminate obstacles encountered by women; democracy should reflect their voices and establish accountability mechanisms to ensure full compliance with women's rights in all societies.

Latin America is seeing slow growth in the percentage of women in Parliaments. To promote gender equality in the makeup of legislatures, some countries are opting for reforms that result in electoral parity, acknowledging the importance of equitable representation of women on candidate lists.

Greater political participation by women requires leadership and commitments at the highest level and must involve various stakeholders in society. The demand to increase women's political participation must be a concern not only of women, but of society as a whole. This obviously includes the media, as they play an important part in informing, shaping opinion and serving as guideposts as we construct roles for women and men in our society.

In a society in which the media are the main source of political information, as well as the principal arena of electoral competition, a lack of coverage of women and women's issues during an election campaign can reduce the possibility that voters will be familiar with female candidates and limit their opportunities to communicate their proposals and appeal for votes.

This publication presents a study carried out in five countries to identify the differences and/or inequalities in media coverage experienced by female candidates in the 30 days before an election. It also demonstrates the lack of attention paid to gender equality issues during campaigns, showing that placing this issue on the public agenda is still a challenge for some Latin American societies.

The study used a common, replicable methodology for gender-sensitive media monitoring, promoted by UN Women and International IDEA and designed and

implemented with the participation of Latin American civil society organizations with extensive experience in these areas. As a result, the study was the first in the region to yield comparable data, which are presented and described in this publication.

We believe the results can serve as a starting point for discussing the role of the media in building more inclusive, egalitarian democracies. We hope it will also stimulate discussions about working with the media to recognize the needs of women for parity in the political process, equitable and balanced coverage of all candidates and coverage of the diverse forms of women's political participation and issues affecting them, as outlined in the Quito Consensus signed by various governments in 2007.



Michelle Bachelet
Executive Director
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Introduction

In recent years, the presence of women in political life has shown significant progress in certain spheres of power. Dilma Rousseff became president of Brazil in 2011, joining the six Latin American women who had been democratically elected to their countries' highest office since 1990. In many countries, the adoption of quota laws—as long as the legislation includes specific provisions to ensure efficiency and compliance—has been an important factor in increasing the number of women elected to parliaments, compared to earlier years.

Another result of such positive actions is that the number of female candidates has increased in many countries. Costa Rica, Bolivia and Ecuador have modified their legislation and constitutions to call for parity on candidate lists, with alternation between men and women. Nevertheless, there are other countries that have not yet approved such measures, or have adopted poorly designed laws, where candidate lists include a smaller percentage of women.¹

Regardless of whether a country has passed quota legislation, however, even after women decide to run for office and are nominated by their parties, they face a series of obstacles on the road from candidacy to public office that can decrease their chances of being elected. There are three obstacles most often mentioned in studies. First, a lack of access to financing for campaigns, which are now fiercely competitive and increasingly expensive. One study of the 2006 general elections in Peru, for example, found that spending by male candidates for Congress in the Lima electoral district represented 90.3 per cent of total spending on advertising—for print media, radio and television—while female candidates spent only 6.8 per cent of the total, even though they represented 39.0 per cent of candidates on the lists (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 120).

The second obstacle is that women lack the opportunities that their male colleagues have to make voters aware of their candidacy and explain their platforms, so they can be widely known and judged by the electorate. The third obstacle is that for cultural reasons, in various Latin American societies, women find it difficult to be treated as first-class political actors, with their own legitimacy in the eyes of the public and the media, which sometimes still see them as secondary players who must constantly justify their presence in politics. These latter points are the focus of this study, which measures media coverage of electoral candidacies and the issues that attract the greatest interest during campaigns, and attempts to explore quantitative or qualitative differences in the treatment of male

and female candidates, from a gender standpoint. The underlying question is: do female candidates have the same opportunities as male candidates to become known, communicate their proposals to voters during election campaigns and be treated as legitimate political players with a voice of their own?

This question is important for the ability of women to exercise their political rights, because various binding international and regional instruments recognize the right of all people to attain public office under equal conditions without discrimination of any sort. Specifically, under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, signatory states commit to adopting concrete measures to eliminate discrimination against women exercising their political rights; they must therefore guarantee equal conditions with men 'to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies' (Article 7a).

In Latin America, equality in holding and gaining access to elected office is mentioned, among other places, in the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Political Rights to Women (1948), the American Convention on Human Rights (1969) and the Inter-American Democratic Charter (2001). In the latter political instrument, signed by the Organization of American States member states, these countries commit to promoting 'full and equal participation of women in the political structures of their countries as a fundamental element in the promotion and exercise of a democratic culture' (Article 28).

The right of citizens to be fully informed is no less important and is a central issue in democratic systems. In fact, international standards for truly democratic elections emphasize the importance of voters being able to make proper and informed decisions. For that to occur, the media must guarantee pluralism and be able to give a voice to all political stakeholders, with no form of discrimination or exclusion.

In this configuration of the public agenda, by choosing the important players and events, the media tell citizens every day where they should focus their attention. If journalists do not appreciate the importance of gender equality in the exercise of political rights, they could reproduce messages and rhetoric or make choices that exclude women as leading protagonists of political processes. The media can relegate women to secondary positions by giving them less coverage or by poorly handling news items in which female candidates appear.

With these principles as a starting point, and given that presidential or parliamentary elections were held in various countries between 2009 and 2010, International IDEA

and UN Women joined forces to implement, in five countries, a methodology specially designed by the two institutions to quantify journalistic coverage, with a gender analysis to identify possible differences or inequalities in the way male and female candidates were treated by the media. The methodology also measured the importance placed on gender equality issues during the campaign. Specific details about this methodology can be found in the publication *Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective: A Media Monitoring Manual* (Llanos and Nina 2011). The main findings of each of the media monitoring teams organized in Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile and the Dominican Republic, based on the variables outlined in the methodological framework, are presented comparatively in the following chapters.

1. Background: Previous research and findings on elections in Peru and Uruguay

Media monitoring during electoral campaigns has been encouraged and implemented by international and civil society organizations in various Latin American countries in Latin America. The purpose of such initiatives is to obtain independent, impartial and objective documentation of the media's performance in this situation during elections, to determine whether all the competitors in the race have access to the media without any form of discrimination, and, therefore, enjoy equal opportunities to present their messages to voters, so allowing the electorate can to assess the differences among them (Norris and Merloe 2002: 1).

The long-range objective is to ensure 'authentic, free and fair' elections. This goal; that requires, among other things, that «every candidate for election and every political party [has] an equal opportunity of access to the media, particularly the mass communications media, in order to put forward their political views»² (Goodwin-Gil 2007: ix). Media monitoring, therefore, provides input to help identify shortcomings, correcting them, and thus strengthening democracy. Not all of these initiatives, however, have included a gender perspective in their methodologies for analysis. Differences in the media's treatment of men's and women's candidacies, therefore, as well as the presence or absence of issues related to gender equality during electoral campaigns, have not been reflected in discussions stemming from the findings of these initiatives in various countries.

At least two studies have attempted a quantitative analysis of this situation, and both have reached similar conclusions: women are at a disadvantage in their access to the media, and equal opportunity for male and female candidates to be elected is therefore still a goal to be attained. Gender equality also does not occupy a central place among the messages male and female candidates transmit via the media to voters whose opinions they are trying to influence.

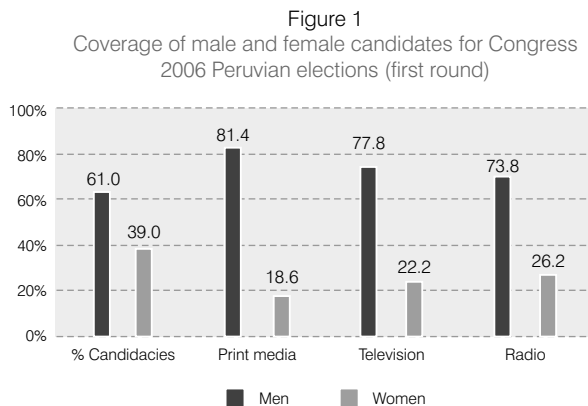
1.1 Peru: Elusive equality

Thanks to a joint initiative by International IDEA and the Asociación Civil Transparencia, during the 2006 general elections (presidential and parliamentary), through Transparencia's Regional Observatory, print media, radio and television coverage of female candidates for the presidency and Congress was monitored.³

That study, the in-depth results of which can be found in the publication *La igualdad esquiua: una mirada de género a las elecciones generales 2006* (Dador and Llanos 2007), used a methodology that served as the basis for developing the approach used in this study, which, as will be explained in the next chapter, consists of identifying the space (measured in square centimetres or seconds) that the media devoted to candidacies and campaign issues.

That study found that in the scant space devoted to programmatic proposals during the first round of the Peruvian election campaign, which was dominated by current events,⁴ gender policies represented barely 0.97 per cent of space in the print media, 1.3 per cent on television and 1.6 per cent on the radio. Because the study did not include coverage bias as a variable, however, it was impossible to determine if the treatment of the topic was positive, negative or neutral. In addition, of all the programmatic issues monitored, gender occupied fifth or sixth place; the issues mentioned most often during that period were jobs and education.

Although female parliamentary candidates from the seven political organizations analyzed⁵ represented, on average, 39 per cent of the registered candidates, media coverage was a fraction of this percentage. The monitoring results show that coverage of female candidates amounted to 18.6 per cent in print media, 22.2 per cent on television and 26.2 per cent on the radio. In contrast, all male candidates received proportionally higher coverage than their presence on the lists. These findings suggest there was a tendency in Peru for the media to consider men to be more newsworthy political subjects. Despite progress in recent years, it probably also represents a media reflection of the persistence of a model of male leadership within political organizations that place more men than women on the front lines of party decisions and electoral competition.⁶



Source: Dador and Llanos, editors (2007: 102).

Another interesting finding from that study is related to the way that congressional candidates addressed the gender issue. Although the issue was quantitatively marginal in the platforms of both male and female candidates, on the radio women devoted 10 times as much time to gender as men, at the aggregate level (12.4 per cent, compared to 1.2 per cent), while in the print media they devoted five times as much time (13.1 per cent, compared to 2.7 per cent) and on television they devoted four times as much time (6.2 per cent, compared to 1.5 per cent). The publication concludes that ‘women are still the ones who raise the issue the most during election campaigns, which takes on greater significance if we consider that in all media...they always receive less coverage than men’ (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 106).

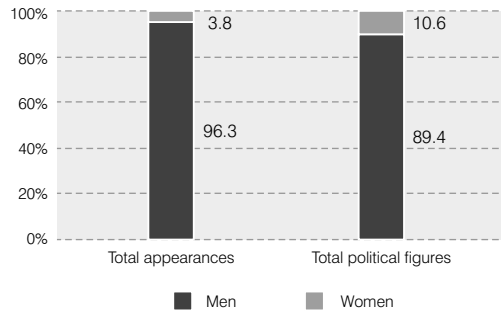
1.2 Uruguay: The politics of absence

In Uruguay, the University of the Republic’s Political Science Institute (*Instituto de Ciencia Política*) has carried out two studies on media coverage of female candidates and related issues. The first was conducted in conjunction with the Women for Democracy, Equality and Citizenship National Monitoring Commission (*Comisión Nacional de Seguimiento Mujeres por Democracia, Equidad y Ciudadanía*) during the 2004 primary and national elections and the 2005 departmental elections. Detailed results can be found in the publication *La política de la ausencia: las elecciones uruguayas 2004-2005, las mujeres y la equidad de género* (Johnson 2005).

Taking the hypothesis that ‘the media still do not recognize women politicians as normal political actors, reproducing and reinforcing the tendency of political parties not to promote their key women members as protagonists in the campaign...’ (Johnson 2005: 154) as a starting point, during the penultimate week of the national campaign the study monitored coverage of the main political figures⁷ in the most important informative media.⁸

Unlike the methodology used in Peru, this study measured the number of times the person appeared, rather than the space or time devoted to the candidate. The major finding was that, overall, only 3.8 per cent of the appearances of political figures involved women, even though females constituted 10.6 per cent of the political figures covered by the media during the monitoring period. There were also differences in the percentage of women on candidate lists; in the 2004 election, 29 per cent of the titular candidates for the Senate were women, while the figure was 27.6 per cent on lists for the Chamber of Representatives. Finally, analysis of the ‘heads’ of the winning lists found that the average number of appearances for male candidates was 31.1 per cent, compared to 11 per cent for female candidates.

Figure 2
Media appearances of political figures, by gender
2004 elections

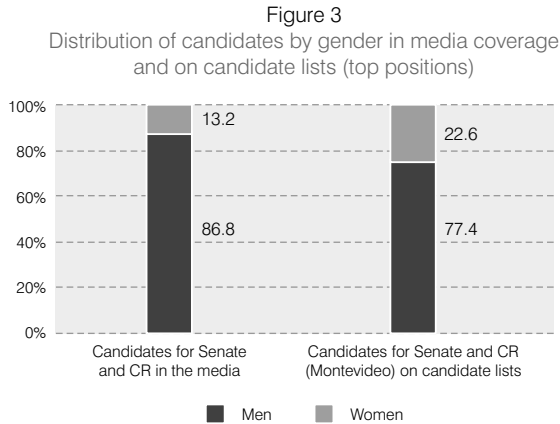


Source: Johnson (2005: 156).
Compiled by author.

The study broke the results down by type of appearance, differentiating between those in which the person was merely named or his or her image shown, and those in which the person was quoted or interviewed. The results showed that women's opinions—either quoted or in interviews—were included only 18.8 per cent of the time, while the figure for men was 51.1 per cent.

For the 2009 general elections, the Institute's Politics and Gender Area—in coordination with *Cotidiano Mujer* and with support from the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and International IDEA—monitored the media again, expanding its analysis to include the two weeks before the first round of balloting.⁹ The results can be found in *Representación (s)electiva: una mirada feminista a las elecciones uruguayas de 2009* (Johnson and Pérez, 2010).

To refine the analysis, the study compared the number of appearances of the heads of the candidate lists for the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate with the proportion of male and female candidates in the top 10 spots on the lists, in the former case, and the top six places, in the latter.¹⁰ The study found that while women represented 22.6 per cent of the candidates in those positions on the lists, they accounted for only 13.2 per cent of media appearances. Male candidates held 77.4 per cent of the places on the lists and represented 86.8 per cent of media appearances.



CR = Chamber of Representatives
Source: Johnson and Pérez (2010: 23).

Unlike the 2004 elections, the 2009 study found no significant differences between male and female candidates in a breakdown of ‘silent’ versus ‘spoken’ appearances. Women were quoted or interviewed 39.7 per cent of the time, compared to 38.4 per cent for men. According to the study’s authors, this indicated ‘an improvement in the conditions that women politicians who attain electoral coverage have to become known through the media as legitimate representatives in the eyes of the public’ (Johnson and Pérez, 2010: 117).

As in Peru, the study also monitored issues covered by the media as campaign news. In Uruguay, however, unlike Peru, platform issues represented 42.4 per cent of the coverage. Nevertheless, although they were no less important, ‘gender and women’s interests’ represented only 3.5 per cent of the platform issues covered and ranked ninth among the topics most often mentioned.

2. Criteria and framework for analysis: Use of the International IDEA and UN Women monitoring methodology

As noted above, this study used a uniform methodology for all countries, designed by International IDEA and UN Women. The methodology is described in detail in the publication *Mirando con lentes de género la cobertura electoral: manual de monitoreo de medios*; this chapter describes significant aspects of its use in the countries involved in the study: Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. Table 1 shows the dates and types of elections analyzed. In each case, the organizations involved formed *ad hoc* teams to monitor the media 30 days before the election.¹¹

In each country, the monitoring involved analysis of campaign-related news, defined as ‘information published in print media or broadcast by television and radio news programs that makes direct or indirect reference to candidates for president, vice president and national Parliament, or any issue or event related to the electoral process and platforms of the competing political groups’ (Llanos and Nina 2010: 19). For each news story, the monitors identified the figures—sources or actors—and issues that appeared and measured the space (in square centimetres) or airtime (in seconds) to analyze any relationship between those variables. Although it was primarily a quantitative study, it also included some qualitative components. It analyzed other aspects of news stories—such as their location in the newspaper or program, journalistic genre, use of illustrations or bias in the handling of the information—to assess any gender-related differences.

Based on the particular characteristics of the media in each country, a sample was defined for print media, radio and television, using general criteria established previously by the methodology developed by International IDEA and UN Women. The media selected had to be national in scope and broadcast media had to use over-the-air signals, and they had to have the largest audience or readership and represent various ideological positions. As far as possible, they had to include public as well as private media, on the grounds that financing with public funds gives public media a greater obligation to be neutral and open to all organizations and candidates during election campaigns.

The analysis of the selected newspapers included news and opinion sections. For radio and television, the main newscasts with the largest audiences were selected in each country, meaning that only certain hours were monitored. The definition of newscast

included hybrid formats, such as magazine-style programs, particularly in the case of radio. Because the study used a sample, although the results are not conclusive, they are fairly representative of the electoral information to which audiences in those countries were exposed.

Table 1 shows a breakdown of the elections monitored, the time period and the number of media in the sample. A list of the monitored media, specific programs and broadcast times can be found in Annex 1.

Table 1
Summary of elections by country, monitoring periods and media sample

Country	Election date	Type of election monitored	Monitoring period	Media sample (print media, radio, television)
Bolivia	6 December 2009	Presidential & legislative	9 November to 6 December 2009	Three daily papers, three radio stations & four television stations
Chile	13 December 2009	Legislative	13 November to 12 December 2009	Five daily papers, two radio stations & four television stations
Costa Rica	7 February 2010	Presidential & legislative	5 January to 7 February 2010	Two daily papers, two radio stations & four television stations
Colombia	14 March 2010	Legislative	14 February to 14 March 2010	Two daily papers, two radio stations & three television stations
Dominican Republic	16 May 2010	Legislative	14 April to 14 May 2010	Three daily papers, two radio stations & four television stations

Source: Monitoring reports from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

According to these criteria, during the fieldwork in the five countries, a total of 9,890 news reports were analyzed; Table 2 shows a breakdown by country and type of media.

Table 2
Volume of news reports analyzed, by type of media

Country	Print media (%)	Radio (%)	Television (%)	Total
Bolivia	64.2	14.5	21.2	2519
Costa Rica	67.3	11.4	21.3	1267
Dominican Republic	53.5	31.8	15.6	3106
Chile	73.4	13.7	13.0	1509
Colombia	39.6	25.9	34.5	1489

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

In Bolivia, Colombia, Chile and the Dominican Republic, all political organizations that participated in the election were analyzed. In Costa Rica, the sample included the nine most important political organizations of the 18 that participated in the election.

3. Campaign issues: Primacy of ‘current events’ and absence of ‘gender equality’

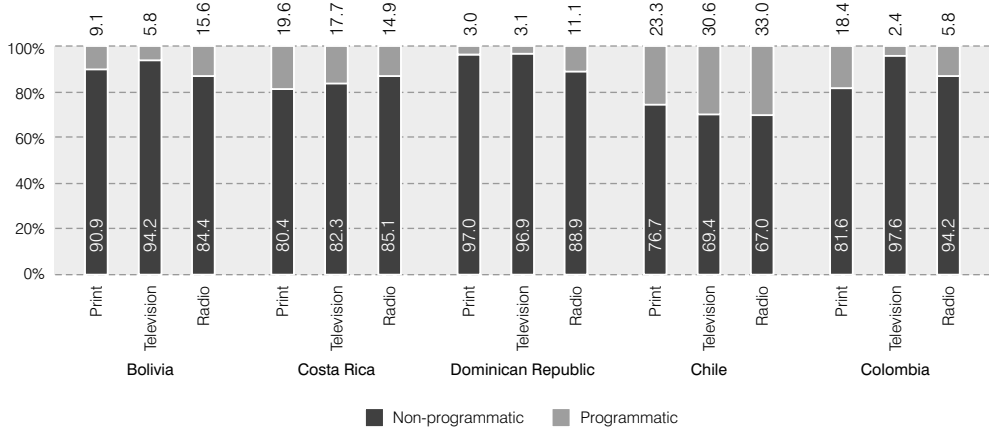
Although information is a complex process, and every person probably discusses and shares information received from the media with other groups to which he or she belongs, studies in the region show that the conventional media are the main source of political information for Latin Americans, ranking ahead of family, friends, co-workers and even the Internet. Reports by Latinobarómetro Corporation show that between 1999 and 2009, the proportion of people who said they received their information from television increased from 81 per cent to 84 per cent; those who received information from radio rose from 46 per cent to 55 per cent; and those who received information from newspapers or magazines decreased from 50 per cent to 37 per cent (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2009: 68).

Meanwhile, in information presented by the media, ‘conflict’ has become an increasingly important criterion for judging newsworthiness. As a result, in election campaigns the dominant informative model presents news in terms of extreme competition and confrontation,¹² to the detriment of coverage of deeper political issues or campaign platforms.¹³ Although this model tends to grab attention and have a greater chance of being remembered by voters, it decreases their chances of casting informed votes, due to the lack of relevant political information on which to base their decisions (Canel, Benavides and Echart, 2004: 226).

Data gathered in this study extensively confirm this trend. The methodology also distinguished between ‘programmatically’ and ‘non-programmatic’ issues addressed during the monitoring periods. The former are defined as any position or opinion about a public policy, even if it is not necessarily formulated as part of a campaign platform.¹⁴ The latter are issues more closely related to current events, campaign events or the electoral process itself.¹⁵

As Figure 4 shows, non-programmatic issues represented the overwhelming majority of all media coverage in the countries included in the study. In four countries—Bolivia, Costa Rica, Colombia and the Dominican Republic—the figures are very similar, generally ranging from 80 to 90 per cent of all issues recorded. The Dominican Republic, with 97 per cent for print media and television, and Colombia, with 98 per cent in television, have the highest, and almost absolute, levels of non-programmatic issues. Chile had the highest proportion of programmatic coverage: 33 per cent for radio, 30.6 per cent for television and 23.3 per cent for print media.

Figure 4
Distribution of non-programmatic vs. programmatic issues



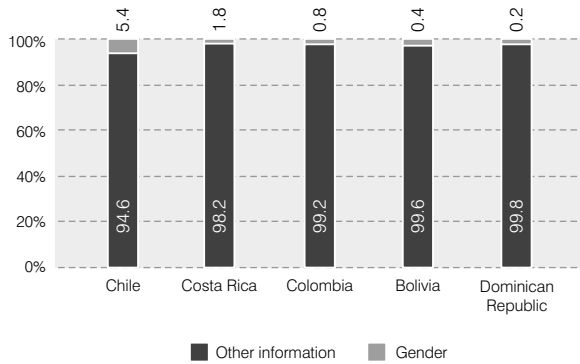
Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 2.
Compiled by author.

3.1 Gender equality: A pending issue on the campaign agenda

All the media outlets included in the study sample were analyzed to determine whether gender-equality issues were mentioned by the various campaign figures and, therefore, if they occupied significant space in the public electoral debate. These issues were defined as ‘public policy or legislative proposals that tend toward equality between the sexes and expansion of women’s economic, social, political and cultural rights, promoting women’s self-determination and the development of capabilities and knowledge to change their situation and improve their quality of life’. In various spheres of personal and social life, these proposals should also strive for ‘the redistribution of gender roles, in an effort to change cultural norms that give priority to men’ (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 12).

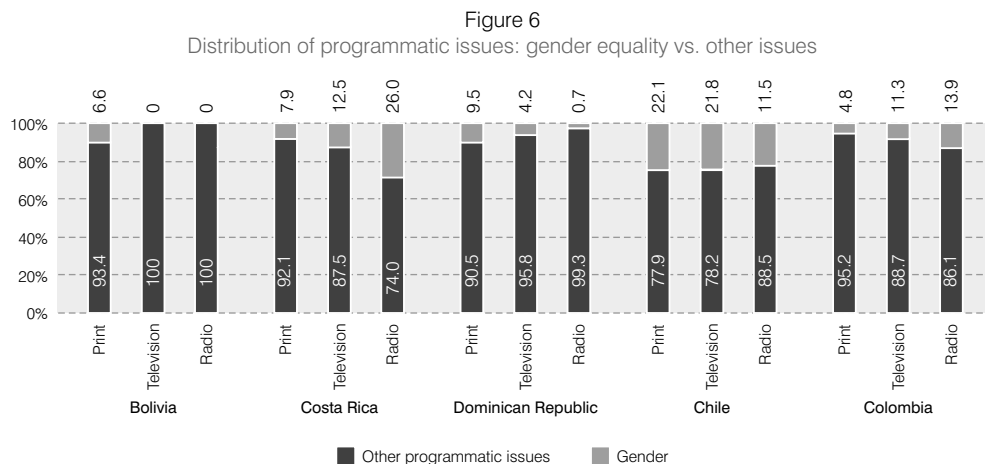
When both programmatic and non-programmatic issues are grouped together as the total amount of information generated, gender equality was only addressed to any significant degree in Chile, where it represented 5.4 per cent of the space and time (in all media) dedicated to all campaign issues in the country. Costa Rica ranked second (1.8 per cent), followed by Colombia (0.8 per cent), Bolivia (0.4 per cent), and the Dominican Republic (0.2 per cent).

Figure 5
Coverage of gender vs. programmatic and non-programmatic issues



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

In Chile, gender equality represented 22.1 of total space dedicated to programmatic issues in print media, 21.8 per cent for television, and 11.5 per cent for radio. Gender equality ranked first in print media coverage and second for television—after the economy—although it ranked only fifth for radio. This occurred because during the Chilean electoral campaign, ‘value’ issues—related, for example, to sexual and reproductive rights—were raised in the public debate. A television ad for Alianza por Chile candidate Sebastián Piñera featuring a homosexual couple sparked controversy and a debate about legalizing same-sex civil unions. Once the proposal was made, sectors such as the Catholic Church became key newsmakers on the issue, joining the other candidates and politicians of various stripes. Issues such as decriminalization of therapeutic abortion, the morning-after pill and violence against women were also addressed, although more tangentially. These issues may have appeared because the government of outgoing President Michelle Bachelet left Chilean society more aware of gender issues, forcing candidates to discuss them. Another issue raised in Chile was that of ‘property and the family’.¹⁶



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 3.
Compiled by author.

In Bolivia, the issue was covered only in the print media and represented barely 6.6 per cent of all programmatic issues, placing it in sixth place of the issues covered. In the Dominican Republic, the issue represented 0.7 per cent for radio (ranking seventh), 4.2 per cent for television (also in seventh place) and 9.5 per cent for print media (fifth place). In Colombia, the gender issue represented 11.3 per cent of television coverage (fourth place), 13.9 per cent for radio (third place) and 4.8 per cent in print media (sixth place). Finally, in Costa Rica, the issue represented 26.0 per cent of radio coverage—although in absolute terms, only 374 seconds were devoted to the topic, and the coverage did not have a positive bias; ‘gender equality’ and ‘social policy and combating poverty’ were the issues most often mentioned in radio coverage. Costa Rican television stations devoted 12.5 per cent of their coverage to the issue (third place), while it represented 7.9 per cent of print media coverage (second place).¹⁷

All coverage is not equal, however. It is therefore insufficient to simply quantify the coverage of gender equality; it is also necessary to examine the tone or bias used in covering the issue to distinguish between coverage that is positive (in favour), negative (against) and neutral (neither for nor against). To objectively assess this variable, the methodology developed by International IDEA and UN Women established that ‘the value of the item (information or opinion) in itself and the media’s assessment of it must be taken into consideration. The tone of a coded item must always be the result of the two measured dimensions: its value in itself and the assessment’ (Meilán, 2009: 13).

Using this methodology, the study found that in Chile, 41.6 per cent of references to the issue on television had an unfavourable bias, 38.2 per cent were neutral and only 20.2 per cent were favourable. In the print media, 14.3 per cent had an unfavourable bias, 30.1 per cent were favourable and 55.6 per cent were neutral. On the radio, 22.9 per cent were favourable, 12.1 per cent were unfavourable and 65.1 per cent were neutral. Unfavourable biases in Chile could be attributed to the debate over issues such as same-sex civil unions, which were controversial because of the strong ideological positions and values involved.

Costa Rica, where there was little coverage of the issue, also showed a high degree of negative bias: 32.6 per cent for sexual and reproductive rights on television (with 11 news reports containing interviews with party representatives or candidates) and radio, which featured a single news report on women's political participation. The situation was similar in Colombia, where 27.8 per cent of radio reports were unfavourable—equivalent to two news reports, one about women's political participation and the other about sexual and reproductive rights. The figure for print media in Colombia was 11.1 per cent: one report containing an interview with a female candidate for Senate about sexual and reproductive rights. On television 100 per cent of the references—equivalent to one news report—were favourable.

The case of the Dominican Republic merits special mention. Although there was less coverage than in other countries—0.3 per cent of total information in print media and 0.1 per cent on radio and television—the slant was positive in all media. It is important to note that in this case, there were just 10 news reports in the print media and on radio and television; the sources of the information were the media themselves, three parliamentary candidates and the elections board. In Bolivia, where the issue was covered only in the print media, although the results showed the highest percentage of neutral coverage (77.6 per cent), the study also found that 14.9 per cent of coverage was unfavourable—two reports about non-violence against women—and 7.5 per cent was favourable, equivalent to one news report.

Table 3
Bias in coverage of gender equality issues, in percentages

Country	Print media			Television			Radio		
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
Bolivia	7.5	14.9	77.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Costa Rica	96.4	3.6	0	64.6	32.6	2.8	67.4	32.6	0
Dominican Republic	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0
Chile	30.1	14.3	55.6	20.2	41.6	38.2	22.9	12	65.1
Colombia	45.4	11.1	43.5	100	0	0	60.2	27.8	12

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Besides the scant time and space devoted to the topic, another variable that provides information about the lack of importance placed on the issue of gender equality during campaigns is placement in the newspaper or newscast. The topics considered most important or seen as ‘hooks’ that can grab the greatest audience attention are located on the front page, in the case of print media, and in the headlines of television and radio newscasts. Data from this study show that in Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, no reports related to gender equality appeared in those positions. Only in Chile were they considered front-page or headline news. Even there, however, they did not have a significant presence, representing barely 1.1 per cent of coverage in print media—equivalent to 195 square centimetres, or one report¹⁸—on the front page of one daily paper, and 1.2 per cent on television—equivalent to 17 seconds, or two reports¹⁹—in the headlines of the monitored newscasts.

3.2 What specific issues are addressed in the coverage of gender equality—and how?

For more precise information about the specific matters discussed, the issue of gender equality was subdivided into five categories: sexual and reproductive rights; non-violence against women; economic, social and cultural rights; women’s political participation; and other. A breakdown of results shows a greater focus on some sub-topics than others in certain countries. In Bolivia and Chile, for example, aggregate data for the three types of media monitored show that coverage of the gender issue mainly focused on sexual and reproductive rights. This issue represented 78.0 per cent of the coverage in Bolivia and 75.1 per cent in Chile. When bias is analyzed, however, all coverage of this sub-topic was neutral in Bolivia; the same is true of the other sub-topics covered in that country (Table 4). The measured space corresponds to two news reports²⁰—which

are descriptive, rather than value-based—about an event at which female candidates from different political organizations presented their proposals related to these rights. In Chile, 18.9 per cent of coverage of this sub-topic was negative. As noted above, in that country, values-related issues dominated the sexual and reproductive rights agenda, creating significant controversy that was reflected in the fact that 27.0 per cent of the negative coverage in the print media, as well as 20.0 per cent on radio and 0.4 per cent on television, was related to the Catholic Church.

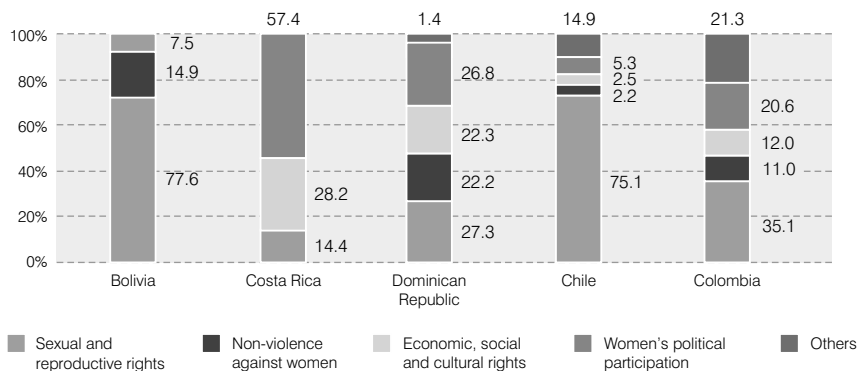
In Colombia, this sub-topic also garnered the greatest coverage, although to a lesser degree, representing 35.1 per cent of coverage; in this case, 9.8 per cent of the total had a negative bias, equivalent to one news report. This sub-theme was followed, in rank, by ‘others’, with 21.6 per cent, and ‘women’s political participation’, with 20.3 per cent. Of the total coverage of the latter sub-topic, 59.6 per cent had a negative bias.

In Costa Rica, the top-ranking sub-theme was ‘women’s political participation’, with 57.4 per cent of coverage, only 5.8 per cent of which had a negative bias. The second-ranking sub-topic was ‘economic, social and cultural rights’, with 28.2 per cent, all of which had a positive bias. In the Dominican Republic, coverage was distributed almost proportionally among all the sub-topics, although ‘sexual and reproductive rights’ had a slight edge, with 27.3 per cent—equivalent to two news reports—followed by ‘women’s political participation’, with 26.8 per cent—equivalent to three news reports. In all these cases, the coverage had a positive bias.

Issues related to ‘non-violence against women’ were virtually absent from campaigns, although the problem is serious in some of the countries. In Costa Rica, for example, the sub-topic was not addressed, even though a 2001 study found that ‘femicide represents an increasing proportion of murders of women: 56 per cent in the first half of the decade and 61 per cent in the second, with partners or ex-partners responsible for 61 per cent of the femicides’ (Carcedo and Sagot 2001, cited in ECLAC 2007: 68). In Chile, meanwhile, this sub-topic represented only 2.2 per cent of coverage, although some civil society organizations note that there have been some 500 femicides in that country since 2001.

Figure 7

Distribution of gender equality sub-topics by country (aggregate for three types of media)



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 4. Compiled by author.

Table 4

Distribution of gender equality sub-topics by country and bias (aggregate for three types of media)

	Bolivia				Costa Rica				Dominican Republic			
	Total	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Sexual & reproductive rights	1081	0	0	1081 (100%)	713	169 (23.7%)	507 (71.1%)	37 (5.2%)	209	209 (100%)	0	0
Non-violence against women	208	0	208 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	170	170 (100%)	0	0
Economic, social &, cultural rights	0	0	0	0	1392	1392 (100%)	0	0	171	171 (100%)	0	0
Women's political participation	104	104 (100%)	0	0	2838	2674 (94.2%)	164 (5.8%)	0	205	205 (100%)	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	11 (100%)	0	0
Total	1393	104	208	1081	4943	4236	597	37	766	766	0	0

CONTINUES →

CONTINUATION →

Table 4
Distribution of gender equality sub-topics by country and bias (aggregate for three types of media)

	Chile				Colombia			
	Total	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Sexual & reproductive rights	14.703	4568 (31.1%)	2775 (18.9%)	7360 (50.1%)	265	239 (90.2%)	26 (9.8%)	0
Non-violence against women	430	42 (9.8%)	0	388 (90.2%)	83	43 (51.8%)	0	40 (48.2%)
Economic, social & cultural rights	499	63 (12.6%)	0	436 (87.4%)	91	91 (100%)	0	0
Women's political participation	1038	708 (68.2%)	36 (3.5%)	294 (28.3%)	156	63 (40.4%)	93 (59.6%)	0
Other	2912	287 (9.9%)	351 (12.1%)	2274 (78.1%)	161	38 (23.6%)	16 (9.9%)	107 (66.5%)
Total	19.582	5668	3550	10.364	756	474	135	147

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

3.3 Who spoke about gender equality during the monitored campaigns?

It is also interesting to determine which people included gender equality in the public debate through their statements, even though the presence of the topic on the public agenda in most countries—except Chile—was scant. Table 5 shows the people who addressed the issue, by type of media. For parliamentary candidates, almost all of the candidates who included the issue in their campaign platform were women. Among candidates for the Lower House, male candidates did not address gender equality, which many male politicians in Latin America perceive as ‘women’s issues’, except in Chile—where male candidates appear with a scant 1.3 per cent of space dedicated to the issue in the print media, 10.1 per cent of which had a negative bias. The same was true for the Senate, except in Colombia, where the issue garnered 11.3 per cent of print media space and 54.2 per cent of radio time. Although coverage in the print media—an interview in which a male candidate addressed the issue of ‘non-violence against women’—was entirely positive, the only radio interview with a male candidate that addressed the issue of ‘sexual and reproductive rights’ had a completely negative bias.

Table 5
Treatment of the issue of gender equality by source
(type of medium and percentage)*

	Print Media					Television					Radio				
	Bolivia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic	Chile	Colombia	Bolivia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic	Chile	Colombia	Bolivia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic	Chile	Colombia
Male candidates for president	0	1.8	n. a.	16.9	n. a.	0	21.9	n. a.	69.5	n. a.	0	0	n. a.	49.3	n. a.
Female candidates for president	0	0	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	0	9	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	0	0	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.
Male candidates for Lower House	0	0	0	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female candidates for Lower House	14.7	0	0	1.6	24	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	36.7	0	0
Male candidates for Upper House	0	0	0	0	11.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54.2
Female candidates for Upper House	0	0	47.7	0	61	0	0	0	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium	77.8	21.5	52.3	16.9	3.7	0	2.8	0	6.3	0	0	100	0	0.8	39.8
Political groups	0	57	0	4.4	0	0	66.3	0	7	0	0	0	0	8.8	0
Church	0	0	0	6.3	0	0	0	0	9.1	0	0	0	0	15	0
Executive Branch	7.5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Legislative Branch	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil Society	0	0	0	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.9	0
Other figures	0	19.7	0	40.2	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	0	0	63.3	25.2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	0	100	100	100	100	0	100	100	100	100

* Presidential elections were not monitored in the Dominican Republic and Colombia. Yes in the case of Chile, although there were no female presidential candidates.

n. a.: not applicable.

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.

Compiled by author.

In the three countries where presidential elections were covered (Bolivia, Costa Rica and Chile), only the first two had female candidates. In Bolivia, the only female candidate never spoke about gender equality, but neither did the male candidates. In Costa Rica, the two female candidates only did so on television—more details are provided in the next section—and male candidates mentioned the issue in print media and on television. It is interesting to note that it was in Chile—where all presidential candidates were male, and where the gender issue received the most coverage—that the presidential candidates dedicated the greatest proportion of space and time to this issue. They made more references to the issue on both radio (49.3 per cent) and television (69.5 per cent) than any other figure analyzed. In the print media, both the presidential candidates and the newspapers themselves had the highest proportion of coverage of the issue, with 16.9 per cent each.

It is important to note that while news media outlets base their content on direct or attributed quotes from figures they consider important, they may also speak with their own ‘voices’. This occurs when journalists provide information about events or offer analysis or opinions without attribution to anyone outside their team; this may occur in descriptive reports, features, news reports, etc. Differentiated monitoring of these types of reports, therefore, is also important. In this case, the results show that although gender equality issues received scant coverage compared to other issues, some media—especially print media—did address them, while other public figures make no reference to the issue, or at least did not mention it during the monitoring period or in the media outlets chosen for the sample.

In Bolivia, for example, daily newspapers provided the greatest coverage of the issue, with 77.8 per cent of the total; of this amount, 83.1 per cent was neutral and 16.9 per cent was negative. In the Dominican Republic, newspapers also took first place, with 52.3 per cent, all positive. In Costa Rica, newspapers ranked second in references to the issue, with 21.5 per cent, all with a positive slant. As noted above, the total in Chile was 16.9 per cent, 7.8 per cent of which had a negative bias. In Colombia, dailies provided minimal coverage, at only 3.7 per cent of the total.

In Colombia, radio stations ranked second in addressing the issue, with 39.8 per cent, all of it neutral. In Costa Rica, radio was the only medium to address the issue, although 32.6 per cent of the coverage had a negative bias. In Chile, the issue received little coverage on the radio (0.8 per cent), and there was no reference on the radio to it at all in Bolivia or the Dominican Republic. The issue was not mentioned on television, the medium with the greatest reach and largest audience, in Colombia, the Dominican Republic or Bolivia. It was mentioned only in Chile (6.3 per cent, of which 80.9 per cent had a negative bias) and Costa Rica (2.8 per cent, all with a positive slant).

To summarize:

- o In the countries analyzed, non-programmatic issues constitute the majority of journalistic coverage. In Bolivia, Costa Rica, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, these issues represent 80 to 90 per cent. Only in Chile was there greater coverage of programmatic proposals: 33.0 per cent on radio, 30.6 per cent on television and 23.3 per cent in print media.
- o As for the total quantity of information generated about both programmatic and non-programmatic issues, four countries had very low levels of coverage of gender equality in aggregate figures for print media, radio and television. In Costa Rica, coverage amounted to 1.8 per cent of all campaign issues; the figure was 0.8 per cent in Colombia, 0.4 per cent in

Bolivia and 0.2 per cent in the Dominican Republic. The exception, once again, was Chile, with 5.4 per cent.

- When analyzing only programmatic issues, in Chile gender equality was the issue that received the most coverage; in the print media, gender equality represented 22.1 per cent of total space dedicated to these issues—14.3 per cent of it with a negative bias. For television, the figure was 21.8 per cent, 41.6 per cent of it with a negative bias, and it ranked second among issues addressed. For radio, the figure was 11.5 per cent, 12.1 per cent of it with a negative slant, which ranked fifth among issues addressed.
- Reports related to gender equality were not considered front-page news in dailies or headline news on television or radio in Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. In Chile, they constituted 1.1 per cent of coverage in print media and 1.2 per cent on television.
- In Bolivia (78.0 per cent), Chile (75.1 per cent) and Colombia (35.1 per cent), the gender equality agenda focused mainly on issues related to sexual and reproductive rights. While all coverage of this sub-topic in Bolivia was neutral, in Chile, 18.9 per cent was unfavourable, and in Colombia, 9.8 per cent had a negative slant. In Costa Rica, coverage mainly centred on women's political participation (57.4 per cent, of which 5.8 per cent had a negative bias). In the Dominican Republic, the sub-topics were covered in virtually equal proportions, all with a positive bias.
- Gender equality issues were placed on the public agenda by female parliamentary candidates, but not by men, except in Chile and Colombia. In Chile, male candidates for the Lower House had a scant 1.3 per cent of total space dedicated to the issue in the print media. In Colombia, male candidates to the Upper House registered 11.3 per cent in the print media, all with a positive slant, and 54.0 per cent on the radio, all with a negative bias.

4. Are there inequities in the handling of information during the campaign? Comparison of coverage of male and female candidates

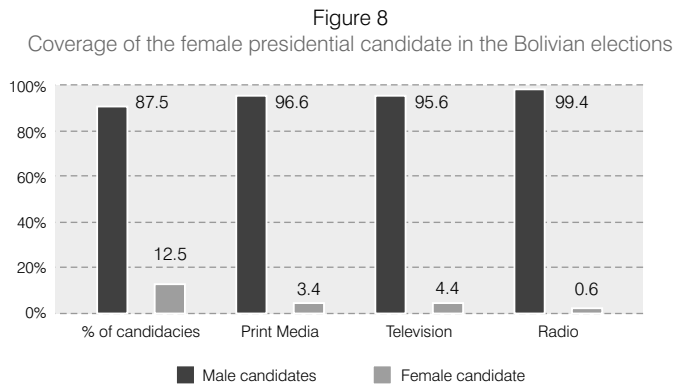
Male and female candidates try to stay in the news in rhetorical frameworks that cast them in a positive light. This is because ‘when they come across as objective, informative visibility has a greater influence on voters than publicity, since the latter is assumed to have a persuasive purpose’ (Sampedro, García Luengo and Sánchez Duarte, 2007: 108). To achieve this goal and attract media attention, politicians must turn their actions and messages into information that is ‘newsworthy’ for the media during a campaign. Journalists then select information, using a series of filters to choose important events and people, which operates in a certain social context. In Latin America, that context still does not reflect gender equality, and it is therefore not always assumed that men and women should have equal opportunity for political participation or that women could be legitimate, relevant political actors with a voice of their own.

One of the main questions that this study sought to answer, therefore, was whether (as in the cases of Peru and Uruguay, discussed above) women candidates in the elections analyzed had equitable access to media coverage, or if they had less opportunity than male candidates to transmit their campaign messages. The methodology designed by International IDEA and UN Women established a variable called ‘source’, understood as ‘the one who speaks or provides information’ in a news report. A series of persons and/or institutions that should be taken into account in measuring this variable was categorized, including male and female candidates for the presidency and for Congress. Because the parameters for determining what constitutes ‘equitable access’ could be subjective, the percentage of men and women in relation to all candidacies—for presidential elections—or on candidate lists—for parliamentary elections—was established as an objective reference.²²

It is important to keep in mind that in Bolivia, Costa Rica and Chile, monitoring included presidential elections, while in Colombia and the Dominican Republic, only legislative elections were observed, because the election schedules in those two countries call for presidential elections to be held on a different date. Because only Bolivia and Costa Rica had female presidential candidates, however,²³ this type of analysis could only be done in those countries. This chapter discusses those results, and the analysis of parliamentary elections in all the countries.

4.1 Coverage of female candidates in presidential elections: Bolivia and Costa Rica

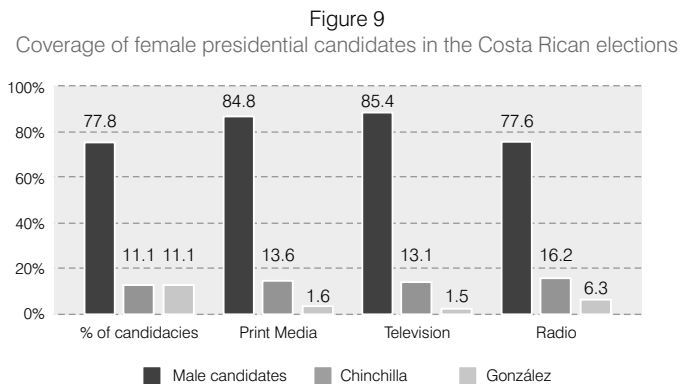
In the presidential and legislative elections held in Bolivia on 6 December 2009, there were eight presidential candidates, only one of whom—Ana María Flores, representative of the *Movimiento de Unidad Social Patriótica*)—was a woman. As Figure 8 shows, although hers represented 12.5 per cent of the candidacies, she received 3.4 per cent of the coverage in the print media, 4.4 per cent on television and 0.6 per cent on the radio. These low levels of coverage, however, could be partly due to the fact that she represented a small group with little chance of success, and because in that election, the candidates with a better chance of winning, who polarized the race and therefore attracted media attention, were President Evo Morales, who was seeking re-election, and Manfred Reyes Villa, the main opposition candidate, who represented *Plan Progreso para Bolivia-Convergencia Nacional*.²⁴ Candidate Flores never mentioned gender equality issues.



Source: Monitoring report from Bolivia. For absolute data, see Annex 5.
Compiled by author.

In Costa Rica's presidential elections on 7 February 2010, two of the nine participating parties had female presidential candidates: the governing *Partido Liberación Nacional*, whose candidate was Laura Chinchilla, and the *Partido Renovación Costarricense*, with candidate Mayra González. Each woman represented 11.1 per cent of the candidacies. Candidate Chinchilla garnered more than her proportional share of media coverage: 13.6 per cent in print media, 13.1 per cent on television and 16.2 per cent on the radio. The figures for Mayra González were just 1.6 per cent in print media, 1.5 per cent on television and 6.3 per cent on the radio.

In this case, the differences between levels of coverage could also be due to the chance of success and the weight of each candidacy. While Laura Chinchilla, the candidate of the governing party, held a steady lead in the pre-election polls, González represented a small party with little electoral success, headed by evangelical pastors and aimed at winning votes from that constituency. In this case, the election was also polarized between two candidates with a better chance of winning: Chinchilla and Ottón Solís, candidate for the Partido Acción Ciudadana. Ultimately, Chinchilla won the race.²⁵ During the monitoring period, however, Laura Chinchilla spoke about the issue of gender equality for only 88 seconds, addressing the sub-topic of ‘sexual and reproductive rights’ in a way that was positive to neutral. Mayra González addressed the issue for 31 seconds, with a negative bias.



Source: Monitoring report from Costa Rica. For absolute data, see Annex 6.
Compiled by author.

4.2 Coverage of female candidates in parliamentary elections

In recent years, various Latin American countries have implemented constitutional and/or legal reforms to promote women’s access to elected office and, as a result, to give voters a more pluralistic and gender-balanced supply of candidates. At the parliamentary level, this process began in 1991 in Argentina, with the adoption of a quota law that required parties to ensure that at least 30 per cent of places on lists with possibilities of winning election were held by women. Twelve countries in the region currently have such mechanisms, and some have opted for parity on their lists, on the grounds that if women make up half of the population, it is necessary to achieve ‘equality of participation by women and men in public and political decision-making’ (Athens Declaration of 1992).

This is true of Bolivia; its new Constitution, approved in a referendum in January 2009, states that ‘equal participation of men and women will be guaranteed in the election of assembly members’ (Article 147). The constitutional provision was implemented with the Transitory Electoral Regime Law, which governed the December 2009 elections. This law states that:

The lists of titular and substitute candidates for Senators and Deputies...must respect equal opportunity between women and men, so there is a male titular candidate followed by a female titular candidate, a female substitute candidate followed by a male substitute candidate, or vice versa. In the case of uninominal districts, alternation is reflected in titular and substitute candidates in each jurisdiction (Article 9).

In the elections held in Bolivia on 9 December 2009, the proportion of female candidates was 47.2 per cent, counting both titular and substitute candidates. That figure, which has been taken as a reference, includes candidacies for the Plurinational Assembly (Lower House) as well as the Chamber of Senators. As a result, the coverage data presented refer to male and female candidates for both chambers. It should be noted that Bolivia was the first country in which this methodology was pilot tested. At that time, the monitoring did not distinguish between the candidacies for each chamber, which would have allowed for more precise analysis. This was subsequently corrected in the monitoring of all other countries with bicameral legislatures. In this study, and for reasons of comparison, the data from Bolivia are presented in tables and graphs along with those of other countries that have lower/single houses, even though Bolivia has a bicameral Congress.

In Costa Rica, although a reform to the Electoral Code was introduced in late 2009 to include parity—50 per cent men and 50 per cent women—in the formation of electoral lists, it will not take effect until the next legislative elections. The February 2010 elections, therefore, were governed by the existing provisions of the Electoral Code. Thanks to earlier reforms, in 1996 the code required parties to include in their statutes the mechanisms necessary to ensure that women made up at least 40 per cent of electoral lists. In the February 2010 elections, 50.4 per cent of the candidates for Congress (unicameral) from the nine parties included in the monitoring were women. That figure included both titular candidates and substitutes.

In the Dominican Republic, in 1997, Law 275-97 established an initial quota provision that required political organizations to include ‘a proportion of no less than 25 per cent women’ in nominations for congressional seats and municipal offices. In 2000, Law 12-2000 increased that quota to 33.0 per cent, but limited it to deputies and council members. As a result, the country has no similar provision for the Senate. In the elections

held on 16 May 2010, the percentage of female candidates for Congress from all parties was 36.2 per cent²⁶, while the figure for the Senate was just 12.1 per cent.

Chile and Colombia have not yet approved positive actions for including women on candidate lists for elected offices;²⁷ as a result, there tend to be few female candidates. In Colombia, a new Statutory Political Reform Law approved in December 2010 included five measures to promote women's political representation. One sets a maximum percentage of 70 per cent for either sex on candidate lists for jurisdictions with more than five seats; this would apply for the Senate, and, in some departments, for election to the Chamber of Representatives. This law must still be approved by the Constitutional Court and the president. In Colombia, the percentage of female candidates on lists for all parties was just 20 per cent for the Chamber of Representatives and 19 per cent for the Senate.

Chile presented a paradox, because even though a woman, Michelle Bachelet, had been elected president in the period before the elections that were studied, during her term the draft legislation on quotas that the executive branch submitted to Congress was not approved. For the elections held on 13 December 2009, the proportion of women on lists was just 16.3 per cent for the Chamber of Deputies and 14.8 per cent for the Senate.

Finally, another interesting point that sheds light on media coverage of female candidates is the proportion of women in each country's Parliament before the monitored elections, which gives an idea of the progress in gender equality in political representation in each of these countries.

Table 6
Percentage of women in the Upper and Lower House
in the term before the monitored election

Country	Upper House	Lower House
Bolivia	3.7	16.9
Colombia	11.8	8.4
Chile	5.3	15.0
Costa Rica	n. a.	36.8
Dominican Republic	3.1	19.7

n. a.: not applicable

Source: Llanos and Sample (2008: 23-24).

Compiled by author.

4.2.1 Space and time devoted to male and female candidates

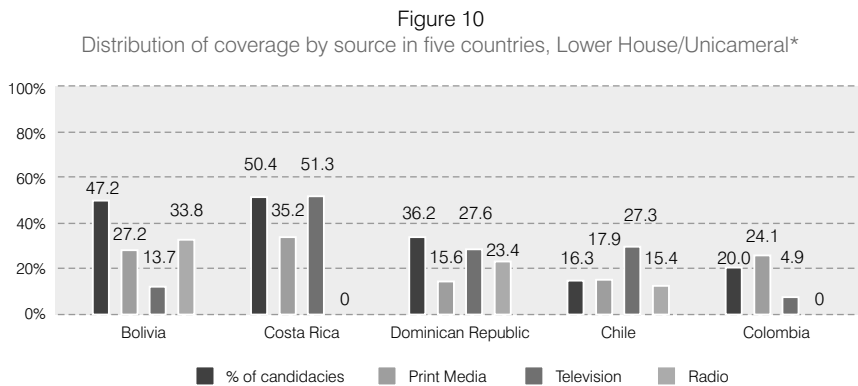
With a few exceptions, data for female candidates for the Lower/Single House show media coverage that is lower than the proportion of women on the lists, and, conversely, greater coverage for male candidates. In Bolivia, for example, although 47.2 per cent of all registered male and female candidates (including titular and substitute candidates) were women,²⁸ they received only 27.2 per cent of the coverage in print media, 13.7 per cent on television and 33.8 per cent on the radio. The greatest difference was for radio, where the coverage for women was 34 per cent lower than for men. In contrast, 52.8 per cent of the candidates on the lists were men, and they received coverage totalling 72.8 per cent in print media, 86.3 per cent on television and 66.2 per cent on the radio. It is important to note that according to data from *Latinobarómetro* (2008) for Bolivia, television is the medium that informs most people about political issues,²⁹ and it is in precisely that medium that female candidates have the least coverage. In contrast, radio, the other medium that is extremely important in Bolivia, according to *Latinobarómetro*, provides greater coverage of female candidates.

In the Dominican Republic, there were also inequalities in coverage by the three types of media. Although 36.2 per cent of candidates on the electoral lists were women, their coverage rate was 15.6 per cent in print media, 23.4 per cent on the radio and 27.6 per cent on television. Male candidates, who represented 63.8 per cent of the lists, received coverage totalling 84.4 per cent in print media, 72.4 per cent on television and 76.6 per cent on the radio. In the Dominican Republic, television is an even more important source of political information than it is in Bolivia;³⁰ in this case, it was the medium that dedicated the most time to female candidates. The print media gave women the least space, although it should be noted that the percentage of Dominicans who get their information from newspapers (43.3 per cent) is half the percentage of those who get their information from television (85.5 per cent), according to *Latinobarómetro*.

In Colombia, although women represented 20.0 per cent of all candidacies, their presence was non-existent on the radio, where 100 per cent of the coverage was dedicated to male candidates. Female candidates were also at a serious disadvantage with regards to television (which has the greatest mass reach and is the main source of information for Colombians), receiving barely 4.9 per cent of the coverage; radio is the next most influential, and the print media is several percentage points behind.³¹ It is in the latter that women register greater coverage, at 24.1 per cent. Men represented 80 per cent of the candidacies and received coverage of 75.9 per cent in print media, 94.1 per cent on television.

In Costa Rica, there was less coverage of women in the print media, with only 35.2 per cent of the space, even though slightly more than half of the candidates on the lists (50.4 per cent) were women. On television, they received 51.3 per cent of the coverage, a proportion similar to that of their presence on the lists. In Costa Rica, television has absolute predominance as a source of political information for citizens, while newspapers and radio as political resources account for less than half the percentage represented by television.³² In the case of radio, the national study found no coverage of either men or women on the programs that were monitored. Men, who held 49.6 per cent of the places on candidate lists, received 64.8 per cent of the coverage in the print media and 48.7 per cent on television.

Amid these inequities in the different types of media, Chile was the exception. Women, who constituted 16.3 per cent of the lists, received 17.9 per cent of the coverage in the print media, 27.3 per cent on television and 15.4 per cent on the radio. Male candidates, who held 83.7 per cent of the spots on lists, registered coverage of 82.1 per cent in print media, 72.7 per cent on television and 84.6 per cent on the radio. In Chile, women had the greatest coverage on television, which ranks far ahead of radio and print media³³ as the main source of political information in that country.



*In the case of radio in Costa Rica, coverage for female candidates is listed as 0%, but it should be noted that no coverage of male candidates was recorded, either.

The case of radio in Colombia is different, because 100% of the coverage was devoted to male candidates.

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from the indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 7.

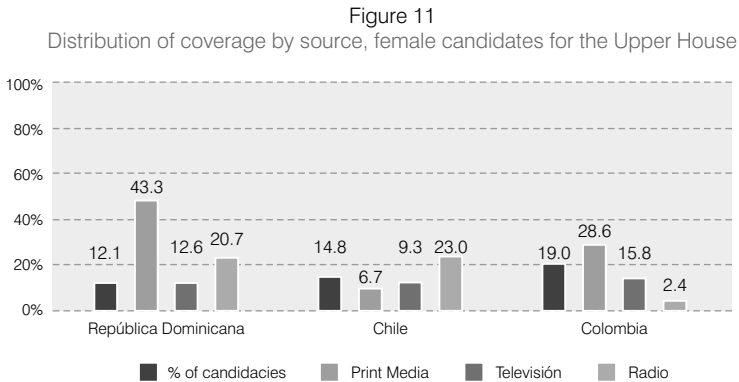
Compiled by author.

In the case of countries with upper houses (Senates), media coverage was somewhat more balanced, and even favoured women in some cases. That was true in the Dominican Republic, where although 12.1 per cent of the candidates were women, they received 43.3 per cent of the coverage in the print media; on television—the medium most consulted for political information—coverage was 12.6 per cent, and

on the radio it was 20.7 per cent. Men represented 87.9 per cent of the candidacies and received 56.7 per cent of the coverage in the print media, 87.4 per cent on television and 79.3 per cent on the radio.

In Chile, female candidates represented 14.8 per cent of the lists and obtained 23.0 per cent of the radio coverage. But in the print media and on television—the medium overwhelmingly used by Chileans for political information—they had less of a presence: 6.7 per cent in the print media and 9.3 per cent on television. Male candidates, meanwhile, represented 85.2 per cent of the lists, and their coverage was 93.3 per cent in the print media, 90.7 per cent on television and 77.0 per cent on the radio.

Dualities were also seen in Colombia: although 19.0 per cent of the candidates were women, they received barely 2.4 per cent of radio coverage. Although radio is not the main source of information, a significant number of people get their information from it; they also received 28.6 per cent in print media and 25.8 per cent on television, the main source of political information. Male candidates represented 81 per cent of candidacies and registered coverage of 71.4 per cent in print media, 84.2 per cent on television and 97.6 per cent on the radio.



Source: Monitoring reports and databases of indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 8.
Compiled by author.

A study by Corporación Humanas on the Chilean case—which shows, in general, a greater balance between women’s presence on candidate lists and their presence in the media, especially in races for the Lower House—found that coverage of women as a source of information focused on only 18 of the 81 female candidates for both houses, who belonged to the two major coalitions in Chile, the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia and the Coalición por el Cambio. As a result, the study found that the

female candidates from the largest parties, who had higher media profiles, garnered the most space in journalistic reports. Regarding the type of coverage, the study notes that:

The media generally cover women candidates more because of the issues in which they are involved (which in this case are associated with conflicts and electoral propaganda) than because they are public or political figures. In many of the reports, stereotypes can be seen...in which their private life is the centre of attention (Corporación Humanas 2010: report annex n/p).

In the case of the Senate in the Dominican Republic, a closer look at how many candidates appear in print media, which registered the highest levels (43.3 per cent) compared to the proportion of candidacies (12.1 per cent), shows that only five of the 16 women candidates in the race were mentioned. Of those five, one woman with a long political career and a high media profile—having formerly served as the country's vice president, secretary of state and as a senator—accounted for 50.0 per cent of all coverage of women in the print media, while another—a former deputy—accounted for 23.0 per cent. Those two women significantly raised the levels of print media coverage of Senate races.

The shortfall in media coverage found in various countries and types of media becomes even more important in systems where voters are able to change the order of the lists presented by political parties—that is, where the lists are 'open' or 'closed and unblocked'. In this type of election, the candidates' personalities and individual platforms are key 'hooks' for attracting voters, leading to fierce intra-party competition in which candidates with a higher media profile have a better chance of winning. One example is that of the Dominican Republic, where 'closed and unblocked' lists are used for both houses of Congress. This is the framework for interpreting the data showing less coverage of women—in the print media as well as radio and television, for the Lower House—because a lack of media coverage could pose one more obstacle to women's access to public office.

The same can be said of Chilean candidates for the Upper House, who received unequal coverage both in the print media and on the radio, because the country uses open lists for both chambers of Congress. In Colombia, the disadvantage could be aggravated because, for each election, parties can choose between 'closed and blocked' lists and 'closed and unblocked' lists (called a preferential vote) for both the Upper and Lower houses. If the party chooses the preferential vote and female candidates for the Lower House receive no radio coverage and scant television

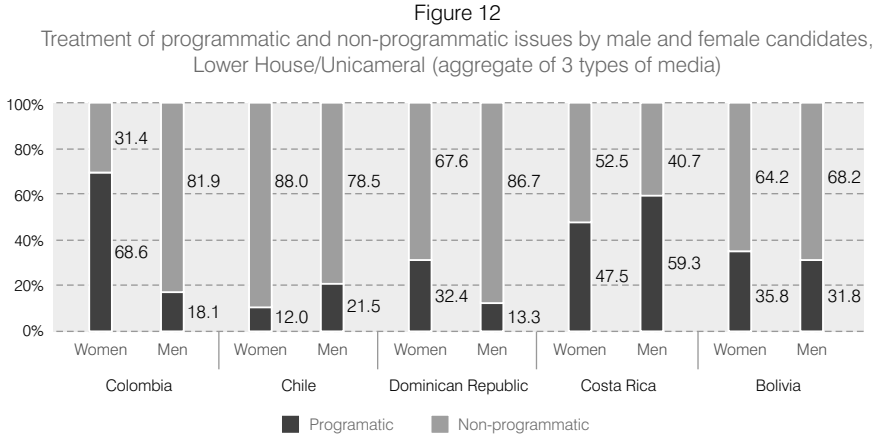
coverage, this significantly reduces their chances of competing on an equal footing with men. The same is true of radio coverage for female candidates for the Upper House, who barely appear in that medium.

These findings are also important for countries using closed and blocked lists, such as Bolivia and Costa Rica. Although voters vote for party lists as they have been defined by the parties, it is important to ask to what degree the media consider female politicians to be significant actors in public debate or sources of opinions and proposals.

4.2.2 Issues addressed by male and female candidates: the tendency of women to be 'more programmatic'

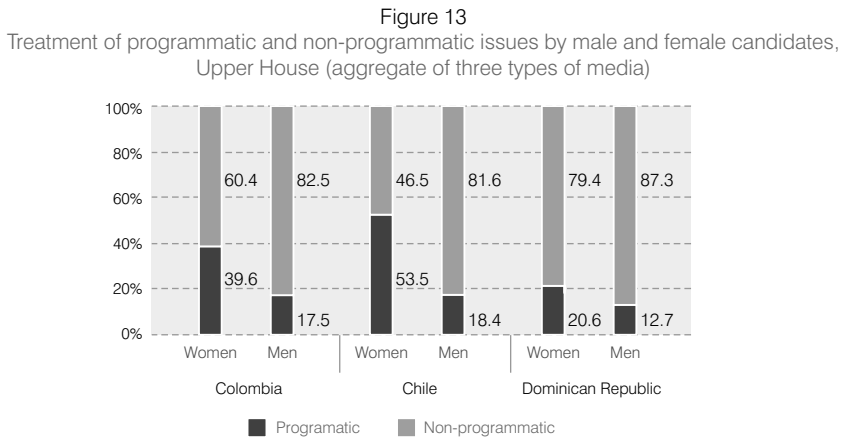
As noted in point 3, non-programmatic issues dominated the media coverage in all countries except Chile, ranging from 80 to 90 per cent of the issues covered and leaving little space for public policy proposals (programmatic issues). The study therefore sought to determine if male and female candidates for Parliament have different approaches to transmitting their messages to voters through the media, and whether men or women give greater weight to deeper issues as opposed to current events. The data show that in the case of candidacies for the Lower House, female candidates in Bolivia (35.8 per cent, compared to 31.8 per cent), the Dominican Republic (32.4 per cent, compared to 13.3 per cent) and Colombia (68.6 per cent, compared to 18.1 per cent) are more likely than men to address programmatic issues, at the aggregate level in the three types of media.

The opposite is true in Costa Rica and Chile. In the former, 59.3 per cent of space/time devoted to issues raised by male candidates was dedicated to programmatic issues, compared to 47.5 per cent for women. In Chile, the proportions were 21.5 per cent (male candidates) and 12 per cent (female candidates).



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 9. Compiled by author.

In the case of candidacies for the Upper House, Figure 13 shows that in all the countries studied, female candidates dedicated a higher percentage of space/time to programmatic issues. Chile (53.5 per cent, compared to 18.4 per cent) and Colombia (39.6 per cent, compared to 17.5 per cent) are the countries with the greatest differences.



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from the indicated countries. For absolute data, see Annex 10. Compiled by author.

It is also helpful to specify the other programmatic issues, besides gender equality, that men and women include in campaign messages covered by the media. This shows whether women focus on ‘traditional’ issues—such as health and education—or if they have progressed to ‘hard’ issues of national policy, such as the economy or internal/external security. In Bolivia, although male candidates addressed ‘economy and

employment’ and ‘social policies and combating poverty’ to a greater degree, with 26.1 per cent in both cases, female candidates also addressed those issues, registering 17 per cent and 22.3 per cent, respectively. Men appear to maintain thematic dominance in the issue of ‘security and internal order,’ with male candidates registering 21.8 per cent, compared to 4.7 per cent for women. In this case, female candidates did not address the issues of health and education, which were mentioned minimally by male candidates, at 1.3 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively.

In the Dominican Republic, thematic trends differed depending on the type of candidacy. In the Lower House, both men and women addressed the issue of social policies and combating poverty, although more female than male candidates did so (61.8 per cent, compared to 50.3 per cent). In addressing the economy, however, male candidates exceeded women by nearly 10 percentage points (12.1 per cent, compared to 2.9 per cent), and there was a similar difference for ‘development and environment’ (19.6 per cent, compared to 9.6 per cent). Although education and health were not the issues most often addressed by male or female candidates, women had slightly higher percentages in addressing both. In races for the upper house, female candidates focused especially on education, which accounted for 33 per cent of all issues addressed by women, but only 1.3 per cent for men. Similarly, while ‘the economy and employment’ (24.1 per cent, compared to 21.3 per cent for men) and ‘development and environment’ (6.8 per cent, compared to 4.8 per cent) were a concern of nearly equal proportions of male and female candidates, matters of ‘security and internal order’ were addressed only by male candidates (15.1 per cent). Finally, issues related to health (10.4 per cent, compared to 5.9 per cent) and especially ‘social policies and combating poverty’ (29.7 per cent, compared to 15.5 per cent) were addressed more by male candidates.

In the campaign for the Lower House in Chile, there was a clear predominance of male candidates addressing ‘hard’ issues, with women talking only about health and gender equality. Female candidates did not make statements about economic affairs, social policies or security, as male candidates did. On the other hand, in Senate races, the economy attracted widespread attention from women, 15 percentage points above the proportions registered for male candidates (51.9 per cent, compared to 36.9 per cent). Women also spoke more than men about education (11.6 per cent, compared to 6.9 per cent); at the other end of the spectrum, they spent less time on ‘social policies and combating poverty’ (34.4 per cent, compared to 7.7 per cent).

In Lower House races, Colombia was similar to Chile, as female candidates did not address economic issues—which were addressed in relatively high percentages by male

candidates, with 39.5 per cent and 34.4 per cent, respectively. Female candidates concentrated on health (22.2 per cent) and education (19.9 per cent), although it should also be noted that this was the only case in which female candidates addressed issues of ‘security and internal order’ in proportions similar to those of men (8.6 per cent, compared to 8.4 per cent). Once again, the situation was different for Senate candidacies, where women addressed economic issues even more than men did (35.6 per cent, compared to 25.6 per cent). There was also a concentration on educational issues (19.6 per cent, compared to 10.9 per cent), while issues such as health, ‘social policies’ and ‘security and internal order’ were addressed by a higher percentage of male candidates, especially the latter topic, for which the proportion was 20.7 per cent, compared to 7.7 per cent.

Table 7
Programmatic issues addressed by male and female candidates, by country (in percentages)

	Bolivia		Costa Rica		Dominican Republic				Chile				Colombia			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Lower House		Upper House		Lower House		Upper House		Lower House		Upper House	
					Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Gender	0	14.6	0	0	0	2.1	0	16.7	6.5	87.2	0	5.3	0	9.6	14.7	22.8
Economy, employment, investment & infrastructure	26.1	17.0	0	0	12.1	2.9	24.1	21.3	20	0	36.9	51.9	39.5	0	25.6	35.6
Education	1.3	0	0	0	3.4	4.2	1.1	33.3	0	0	6.9	11.6	19.5	19.9	10.9	19.6
Health	1.0	0	0	0	1.5	3.0	10.4	5.9	3.4	12.8	0	0	13.1	22.2	15.1	3.2
Development & environment	2.9	0	0	0	19.6	9.6	6.8	4.8	0	0	0	0.6	4.6	0.1	1.1	3.3
Social policies & combating poverty	26.1	22.3	0	0	50.3	61.8	29.7	15.5	37.9	0	34.4	7.7	5.9	0	7.1	3.9
Security & internal order	21.8	4.7	0	0	0	0	15.8	0	12.4	0	0	0	8.4	8.6	20.7	7.7
Other	20.9	41.4	100	100	13.1	16.3	12.2	2.5	19.8	0	21.8	23.0	9.0	39.7	4.7	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Monitoring reports and databases of indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

4.2.3 Other characteristics of news coverage of female candidates: Location, journalistic genre and graphic aids

Other variables, including the location of the reports in journalistic formats, can also provide frameworks for interpreting the importance that the media places on information generated by female candidates. As with the monitoring of issues, the methodology distinguished between information that appeared on the front page and inside pages of print media. For television and radio, it differentiated between headlines and inside blocks. As noted above, the premise underlying this distinction is that the media put the news they consider most striking or important on the front page or in the headlines.

An initial reading of data for the Lower House in countries where it was possible to make this distinction shows that, in some countries, even at the peak of the electoral campaign, the media did not consider information generated by either male or female candidates to be front-page news. That was true of television in Costa Rica and print media and television in the Dominican Republic. It should also be noted that in some countries, the media tend to have special inside sections or blocks for electoral news. In the print media in all countries, when there was space on the front page for electoral news, in no cases were women the protagonists; this role always went to men (see Bolivia, Costa Rica and Chile in Table 8). For television, only in Bolivia did women garner more headlines, with 6.0 per cent, compared to 2.1 per cent for male candidates. The opposite was true in Chile: 10.8 per cent of space dedicated to male candidates was in the headlines, while no headline space was devoted to female candidates. Finally, in the case of radio in the Dominican Republic, female (10.9 per cent) and male (10 per cent) candidates occupied headlines in practically the same proportions.

In Upper House races, once again in some countries neither male nor female candidates appeared in the headlines (see the cases of television in the Dominican Republic and Chile in Table 9). In the case of print media in the Dominican Republic, however, male candidates appeared on the front pages of newspapers (6.6 per cent), while women did not. The opposite was true in Chile, where female candidates had space on front pages (4.8 per cent), while men did not.

Table 8
Location of news about male and female candidates by type
of media (percentages, Lower House/Unicameral)

	Male candidates for Lower House						Female candidates for Lower House					
	Print Media		Television		Radio		Print Media		Television		Radio	
	Front page	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Front page	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Head-lines	Inside
Bolivia	2.0	98.0	2.1	97.9	n. d.	n. d.	0	100	6.0	94.0	n. d.	n. d.
Costa Rica	1.5	95.5	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0
Dominican Republic	0	100	0	100	10.0	90.0	0	100	0	100	10.9	89.1
Chile	0.4	99.6	10.8	89.2	n. d.	n. d.	0	100	0	100	n. d.	n. d.
Colombia	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.

n. d.: No data. Data unavailable for radio in Chile and Bolivia and all types of media in Colombia.
Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries
Compiled by author.

Table 9
Location of news about male and female candidates
by type of media (percentages, Upper House)

	Male Senate candidates						Female Senate candidates					
	Print Media		Television		Radio		Print Media		Television		Radio	
	Front page	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Front page	Inside	Head-lines	Inside	Head-lines	Inside
Dominican Republic	6.6	93.4	0	100	14.1	85.9	0	100	0	100	14.4	85.6
Chile	0	100	0.0	100	n. d.	n. d.	4.8	95.2	0	100	n. d.	n. d.
Colombia	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.

n. d.: No data. Data unavailable for radio in Chile and all types of media in Colombia.
Source: Monitoring reports and databases in indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Analysis of journalistic genres used by the media to present information about male and female candidates shows that news reports were used most frequently for male and female candidates. While this format provides concise, descriptive information about an event or opinion, its brevity—which is its key characteristic—is often an obstacle to more in-depth treatment of the subject. In contrast, interviews—which are the second most frequent—allow greater understanding of the candidates' messages and platforms. The study found that the media tend to reserve those formats for people they consider to be more important or have higher political profiles, which legitimizes them as voices to be heard in the public debate. The data indicate that in

some countries, the interview format was used only for male candidates. That occurred with candidacies for the Lower/Single House in print media in both Costa Rica and Chile. With the Upper House, this occurred in the case of print media in Chile and television in the Dominican Republic.

Table 10
Coverage of male and female candidates by journalistic genre in Costa Rica, Chile and the Dominican Republic (%)

Lower House	Coverage in news report		Coverage in interview		Coverage in 'other'		Upper House		Coverage in news report		Coverage in interview		Coverage in 'other'	
	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates	Male candidates	Female candidates
Costa Rica (print media)	63.0	100	37	0	0	0	Chile (print)	45.7	100	34.1	0	20.3	0	0
Chile (print media)	49.8	91.2	34.2	0	16	8.8	Dominican Republic (television)	95.3	91.2	4.7	0	0	0	0

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from the indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

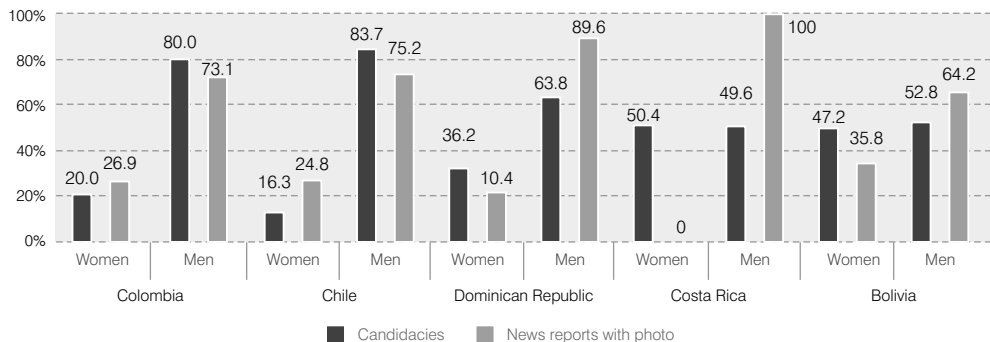
In certain countries, longer-form news reports, which allow for more exhaustive coverage and documentation, were the third most common form of campaign coverage, far behind the first two. That was true in Chile, the Dominican Republic and, to a much

lesser extent, in Colombia. In some cases, there were also gender differences in that genre. For example, for candidates for the Lower House, the most notable case is that of radio in the Dominican Republic, where male candidates received 12.2 per cent of coverage with that format, while female candidates received only 3.1 per cent. In Colombia, the figure was 3.7 per cent for male candidates, women did not appear in longer news reports.

In Chilean Senate races, while 15.4 per cent of space allocated to male candidates in the print media was used for longer-format reports, female candidates received no such coverage. The same was true of television, where 4.9 per cent of the time dedicated to male candidates was in longer-format reports, while no such coverage went to female candidates. On the radio in the Dominican Republic, 3.3 per cent of the information about male candidates was in longer-format reports, but that genre was not used for female candidates.

For print media, an analysis was done of graphic aids (photographs) accompanying news reports, to determine if there were differences between male and female candidates. It is important to remember that photos not only help the audience identify the protagonists visually, but they also tend to accompany the reports the medium considers most important or newsworthy. While the smaller number of female candidates was expected to result in fewer photos of women, analysis of the types of media that included graphic aids of male and female candidates found that in countries such as Costa Rica (0 per cent), the Dominican Republic (10.4 per cent in the Lower House) and Chile (4.7 per cent in the Senate), there were few or no photographs of female candidates.

Figure 14
Comparison of percentage of male and female candidates on lists and percentage of news reports with related photographs, Lower/Single House



Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
For absolute data and data for Upper House, see Annex 11.
Compiled by author.

To summarize:

- o Overall, in candidacies for the Lower/Single House, except in the case of Chile, there were inequalities in the media coverage of female candidates. In countries such as Bolivia and the Dominican Republic, data show that coverage rates in all three types of media were lower than the proportion of women on candidate lists. In Bolivia, although women represented 47.2 per cent of the candidates, they received only 27.2 per cent of the coverage in print media, 13.7 per cent on television and 33.8 per cent on the radio. In the Dominican Republic, although 36.2 per cent of candidates on lists were women, they received 15.6 per cent of the coverage in print media, 23.4 per cent on the radio and 27.6 per cent on television. In Colombia, although women represented 20.0 per cent of all candidacies, they had no coverage on the radio and barely 4.9 per cent on television. The same was true of print media in Costa Rica, where women represented 50.4 per cent of the lists and received 35.2 per cent of the coverage.
- o In candidacies for the Upper House, coverage of women fell short in Chile, where although they represented 14.8 per cent of the lists, they had coverage of 6.7 per cent in print media and 9.3 per cent on television. In Colombia, women received just 2.4 per cent of the radio coverage, although they made up 19.0 per cent of candidate lists.
- o In Chile—which could be an exception to the quantitative inequality, because it shows a greater balance between the proportion of women candidates on lists and their media presence—coverage of women as a source of information centred only on 18 of the 81 candidates for both chambers, and those candidates belonged to the country's two major competing coalitions. In other words, the female candidates with the highest media profiles from the two largest parties were the ones who received the most news coverage. This concentration also occurred in the case of the Upper House in the Dominican Republic, where one female candidate accounted for 50 per cent of the coverage of women in print media. This concentration of media attention on certain figures and the characteristics a female candidate 'should' have to attract cameras and microphones is a topic that should be analyzed in future monitoring in other countries, to determine if the situation is similar elsewhere.
- o Aggregate data for the three types of media show that in the case of candidacies for the Lower House, programmatic issues are addressed by a higher percentage of female than male candidates in Bolivia (35.8 per cent, compared to 31.8 per cent), the Dominican Republic (32.4 per cent, compared to 13.3 per cent) and Colombia (68.6 per cent, compared to 18.1 per cent). The opposite is true in Costa Rica and Chile. In the case of candidacies for the Upper House, female candidates in all countries show higher percentages of space/time dedicated to programmatic issues, with Chile (53.5 per cent, compared to 18.4 per cent) and Colombia (39.6 per cent, compared to 17.5 per cent) showing the largest differences.

- o In some countries, news generated by male and female candidates was not considered front-page material. For candidacies for the Lower/Single House, when there was front-page coverage in the print media, the protagonists were always male candidates; that was a constant in all of the countries. In Chile, 10.8 per cent of television time dedicated to male candidates was in the headlines, while female candidates received no mention in the headlines. In the case of the Upper House in the Dominican Republic, while male candidates received 6.6 per cent of front-page coverage in print media, women received none.
- o Although the news report was the genre most often used to provide information about candidacies, in some countries the interview format—the second most common—was used only for male candidates. That occurred in the print media coverage of Lower/Single House races in both Costa Rica and Chile. In the case of candidacies for the Upper House, it occurred in print media in Chile and television in the Dominican Republic.
- o Analysis of all the information in print media accompanied by photographs of male and female candidates found that in Costa Rica (0 per cent), the Dominican Republic (10.4 per cent in the Lower House) and Chile (4.7 per cent in the Senate), graphic aids were non-existent or minimal compared to the proportion of women on the lists.

5. Comparison of coverage of male and female parliamentary candidates when the media speaks ‘in their own voices’

As noted above, for the methodology used, the source of the information is the agent (or ‘speaker’) that provides the news. The source may be a person or an institution³⁴—male or female candidates, party spokespersons, election officials, public officials, representatives of civil society, etc.—but as noted in point 3.3, it could also be the medium itself. This occurs when ‘the medium informs about an event, analyses or gives an opinion about an issue without attributing statements to a specific person’ (Llanos and Nina, 2011: 24). News reports in which a medium speaks ‘in its own voice’ are common; this occurs in descriptive reports, features, long-form reports or editorials in which no one is quoted and the only voice is that of the journalist.

It is interesting to examine whether the media, when they generate information by themselves, mention male and female candidates in equal proportions and with the same bias. It is important to remember that when they choose the figures they will discuss, and, in general, in all processes related to informing or shaping opinion, the media ‘to a great extent model the dominant perceptions or opinions about politics and its most representative institution; perceptions and opinions that, like it or not, are ultimately reflected in the dominant electoral attitudes and behaviours’ (Navarro Fierro, 2007: 799).

The first finding based on the data is that in Costa Rica, television channels mentioned only male candidates in their information (100 per cent of the cases, always with a neutral bias), and made no reference to female candidates. In the print media, coverage of female candidates was barely 9.5 per cent (always with a positive bias), compared to 90.5 per cent (with 11.4 per cent negative, 72.6 per cent positive and 16.1 per cent neutral) for men. That was true even though, as noted above, women represented 50.4 per cent of the candidate lists.

In Bolivia—except in the case of radio, where the proportion was 56.3 per cent—there were also inequalities in references to female candidates. Although 47.2 per cent of candidates on the lists were women, coverage amounted to only 22.5 per cent in the print media (3.1 per cent with a negative bias, 74.9 per cent positive and 22 per cent neutral), while for male candidates the figure was 77.5 per cent (16.1 per cent with a negative bias, 63 per cent positive and 20.9 per cent neutral). On television, coverage of

female candidates was 17.3 per cent (64.5 per cent with a negative bias, 23.3 per cent positive and 12.2 per cent neutral), compared to 82.7 per cent for male candidates (59.2 per cent negative, 23 per cent positive and 17.8 per cent neutral). On the radio, meanwhile, women had a presence of 56.3 per cent, compared to 43.7 per cent for men. Of that total, however, coverage of women candidates was 94 per cent negative and 6 per cent positive, while coverage of male candidates had a 42.8 per cent negative and 57.2 per cent positive bias.

Results from the two countries could suggest that journalists working in the media—who manage, process and prepare this information—still have a mindset that favours male political actors over women, who are still not considered to carry sufficient weight in politics. Although this would require more in-depth analysis, it is also true that other research on women’s access to the media has shown that women represent only 19 per cent of spokespersons and constitute only 20 per cent of experts who appear in the news. Only 13 per cent of news about ‘politics and government’ focuses on women (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010: IX and X). These figures suggest a need to raise awareness among journalists about achieving a better gender balance in their reporting.

In Lower House races in the Dominican Republic, where women candidates represented 36.2 per cent of the candidate lists, coverage rates were close to proportional in both the print media (39.1 per cent, of which 99.5 per cent had a positive bias and 0.5 per cent was neutral) and television (28.3 per cent, all neutral). Male candidates received 60.9 per cent of the coverage in the print media (of which 6.9 per cent had a negative slant, 92.9 per cent was positive and 0.2 per cent was neutral) and 71.7 per cent on television (of which 5.6 per cent had a negative bias, 41.7 per cent was positive and 52.7 per cent was neutral). Radio was a notable case; 100 per cent of the coverage referred to female candidates in a positive tone—although in absolute numbers, only 31 seconds were dedicated to them—and there were no reference to male candidates. In the Upper House, coverage of female candidates exceeded their representation on the lists (12.1 per cent). They registered 16.8 per cent of coverage on television, all neutral, while male candidates registered 83.2 per cent (of which 8.5 per cent had a negative slant, 12.1 per cent was positive and 79.4 per cent was neutral). In the print media, female candidates registered 39.3 per cent of coverage (of which 5.1 per cent had a negative slant, 93.3 per cent was positive and 1.5 per cent was neutral), compared to 60.7 per cent for men (of which 7.7 per cent was negative, 89.5 per cent was positive and 2.7 per cent was neutral). Female candidates had the strongest presence on the radio—51.9 per cent, all of it positive—while male candidates had 48.1 per cent, also entirely positive.

In Chile, for the Lower House, coverage in all media exceeded the proportion of candidacies (16.3 per cent), and all had a positive or neutral tone. In the print media, female candidates registered 21.7 per cent (all with a neutral tone), while male candidates registered 78.2 per cent (of which 9.8 per cent had a negative slant, 1.8 per cent was positive and 88.4 per cent was neutral). Television coverage was split evenly, with 50 per cent for female candidates and 50 per cent for male candidates, with an entirely neutral tone in both cases. On the radio, women garnered 26.6 per cent of coverage (100 per cent positive), while male candidates registered 73.4 per cent (of which 11.3 per cent was positive and 88.8 per cent was neutral). For the Upper House, where women represented 14.8 per cent of the candidates, coverage in the print media was nearly proportional to their presence on the lists, with female candidates registering 13.7 per cent (of which 1.6 per cent was negative, 1.6 per cent was positive and 96.9 per cent was neutral), while male candidates garnered 86.3 per cent (of which 5.2 per cent was negative, 0.7 per cent was positive and 94.1 per cent was neutral). On television, female candidates obtained 13.5 per cent of the coverage (all neutral), while male candidates registered 86.5 per cent, also entirely neutral. Female candidates were not mentioned on the radio.

In Colombia, where 20 per cent of the Lower House candidates were women, the print media referred to them in 22.6 per cent of their coverage (of which 21.5 per cent had a positive slant and 78.5 per cent was neutral), while they mentioned male candidates in 77.4 per cent (of which 12.7 per cent had a negative bias, 11.8 per cent was positive and 75.5 per cent was neutral). On television, female candidates were mentioned in 60.7 per cent of the coverage (of which 50.5 per cent had a negative slant, 6.9 per cent was positive and 42.6 per cent was neutral) and male candidates were included in 39.3 per cent of the coverage (of which 29.8 per cent was negative and 70.2 per cent was neutral). On the radio, women registered only 7.6 per cent of the attention (of which 36.8 per cent was negative and 63.2 per cent was neutral), while male candidates received an overwhelming 92.4 per cent (of which 21.0 per cent had a negative slant, 45.1 per cent was positive and 33.9 per cent was neutral). In candidacies for the Upper House, also on radio, women had a smaller presence: only 12.2 per cent (of which 7.4 per cent had a negative bias, 75.3 per cent was positive and 17.3 per cent was neutral), although women made up 19 per cent of the candidate lists. Male candidates registered 87.8 per cent (of which 15.5 per cent was negative, 38.9 per cent was positive and 45.7 per cent was neutral). Print media coverage of female candidates was higher, at 24.9 per cent (of which 10.3 per cent had a positive bias and 89.7 per cent was neutral), while male candidates obtained 75.1 per cent (of which 1.1 per cent was negative, 29.6 per cent was positive and 69.3 per cent was neutral). Female

candidates registered television coverage that was proportional to their presence on the candidate lists: 17.4 per cent (of which 59.4 per cent was positive and 40.6 per cent was neutral). Male candidates registered 82.6 per cent (of which 36.1 per cent had a negative bias, 5.8 per cent was positive and 58.1 per cent was neutral).

Table 11
Coverage by source, medium and actor: male and female candidates
(Lower House and Upper House)

	% of candidacies		% coverage male candidates			% coverage female candidates		
	Men	Women	Print	TV	Radio	Print	TV	Radio
Bolivia	52.8	47.2	77.5	82.7	43.7	22.5	17.3	56.3
Costa Rica	49.6	50.4	90.5	100	0	9.5	0	0
Dominican Republic (Lower House)	63.8	36.2	60.9	71.7	0	39.1	28.3	100
Dominican Republic (Upper House)	87.9	12.1	60.7	83.2	48.1	39.3	16.8	51.9
Chile (Lower House)	83.7	16.3	78.2	50	73.4	21.8	50	26.6
Chile (Upper House)	85.2	14.8	86.3	86.5	100	13.7	13.5	0
Colombia (Lower House)	80	20	77.4	39.3	92.4	22.6	60.7	7.6
Colombia (Upper House)	81	19	75.1	82.6	87.8	24.9	17.4	12.2

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Table 12
Coverage by source, medium and actor: male and female candidates, with bias (% Lower House and Upper House)

	Print Media						Television						Radio					
	Male candidates			Female candidates			Male candidates			Female candidates			Male candidates			Female candidates		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Bolivia	63.0	16.1	20.9	74.9	3.1	22.0	23.0	59.2	17.8	23.3	64.5	12.2	57.2	42.8	0	6.0	94.0	0
Costa Rica	72.6	11.4	16.1	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dominican Republic (Chamber of Deputies)	92.9	6.9	0.2	99.5	0	0.5	41.7	5.6	52.7	0	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	0
Dominican Republic (Senate)	89.5	7.7	2.7	93.3	5.1	1.5	12.1	8.5	79.4	0	0	100	100	0	0	100	0	0
Chile (Chamber of Deputies)	1.8	9.8	88.4	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	11.3	0	88.8	100	0	0
Chile (Senate)	0.7	5.2	94.1	1.6	1.6	96.9	0	0	100	0	0	100	17.7	62.0	20.3	0	0	0
Colombia (Chamber of Deputies)	11.8	12.7	75.5	21.5	0	78.5	0	29.8	70.2	6.9	50.5	42.6	45.1	21.0	33.9	0	36.8	63.2
Colombia (Senate)	29.6	1.1	69.3	10.3	0	89.7	5.8	36.1	58.1	59.4	0	40.6	38.9	15.5	45.7	75.3	7.4	17.3

Source: Monitoring reports and databases of indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

To summarize:

- In several cases, it was found that when the media speak 'in their own voice,' they do not provide equitable coverage of women:
 - Costa Rican television mentioned only male candidates. In the print media, references to female candidates represented just 9.5 per cent of total coverage. In Bolivia, women received only 22.5 per cent of coverage in the print media and 17.3 per cent on television. This was true even though, in both countries, women constituted approximately 50 per cent of the lists.
 - Chilean radio also made no mention of female candidates for the Upper House, although they represented 14.8 per cent of the lists; all references were to male candidates. In Colombia, female candidates for the Lower House were mentioned on the radio in only 7.6 per cent of the total coverage of candidates, even though 20.0 per cent of the candidates were women.
- Besides this quantitative difference in coverage of female candidates in certain countries, the tone used in the coverage was particularly unfavourable in two countries, Bolivia and Colombia:
 - On television in Bolivia, where women registered coverage far below parity with their presence on the candidate lists, there was a high negative bias in coverage both of men (of the 82.7 of total references to male and female candidates, 59.2 per cent had a negative slant) and women (of 17.3 per cent of total references to male and female candidates, 64.5 per cent had a negative slant). On the radio, where women accounted for 56.3 per cent of the coverage, higher even than their proportion on the candidate lists, 94.0 per cent was negative. Male candidates registered 43.7 per cent of all coverage of candidates, of which 42.8 per cent was negative.
 - Colombia also registered strong negative bias in coverage of male and female candidates for the Lower House when the media spoke 'in their own voice;' in those cases, women registered the highest levels of negative coverage. That was true of television, where women represented 60.7 per cent of the total coverage and 50.5 per cent had a negative slant, while male candidates garnered 39.3 per cent of the coverage, but only 29.8 per cent was negative. It was also true of radio, where of the 7.7 per cent of references to women, 36.8 per cent had a negative slant, while of the 92.4 per cent of coverage of male candidates, 21.0 per cent had a negative bias.

6. Public or state media: Greater responsibility, more coverage?

Several of the countries involved in the monitoring have public or state media. This category includes both those that ‘use public money to broadcast in the interests of the public as a whole’ and those that ‘are owned by the state...and directly controlled by it’ (ACE n/p).³⁵ Because these media are financed with government funds, one of their principal obligations is to disseminate content of general interest and guarantee pluralism in their information. Although in some cases governments have distorted that purpose by turning them into mouthpieces for the official party, they should be required to maintain neutrality and openness, because they are financed with public resources. Therefore, ‘state-owned media have a responsibility to report on all aspects of national life and to provide access to a diversity of viewpoints’ (Hussein 1999, cited in ACE n/p).³⁶

Of the countries included in this study, Bolivia and Chile have newspapers that are completely or partly state owned.³⁷ All of the countries in this sample have a ‘state-run’ television channel.³⁸ Colombia is a special case, because although it has a state channel, news production is in the hands of private producers; it is therefore not included in the results in this section.³⁹ As for radio, Costa Rica⁴⁰ and the Dominican Republic⁴¹ have state-run stations. Unfortunately, in the case of the Dominican Republic, problems with the quality of the audio recordings of the program content forced the monitoring team to exclude this medium from the sample. For countries that have public media and where it was possible to gather material, this section explores whether those media, which have a greater obligation than private media to maintain fair and balanced access, comply with that requirement in their coverage of gender equality issues and female candidates’ access.

Analysis of the type of coverage, based on campaign issues, showed that for print media in both Bolivia (9.8 per cent, compared to 8.6 per cent) and Chile (26.2 per cent, compared to 22.4 per cent), public newspapers had more programmatic content than the average for private print media, although in the second case, the difference was nearly 4 per cent greater. Specific analysis of coverage of gender equality issues, however, shows that in Bolivia, there was no coverage, and in Chile, in the daily newspaper with the largest state-owned share, the space dedicated to the issue was 6 per cent less than the average for private media.

For television, in three of the four countries, state media showed a higher percentage of coverage of programmatic issues. In Bolivia, there was a slight difference of 0.7 per cent in favour of state-run television (6.5 per cent, compared to 5.8 per cent); the same was true in the Dominican Republic, where the difference was 0.9 per cent (3.6 per cent, compared to 2.7 per cent). Chile registered the greatest difference: state media covered 11 per cent higher than the average coverage of those topics on private television channels. In contrast, in Costa Rica, private channels registered more time, by 1.1 per cent (17.8 per cent, compared to 16.9 per cent). Only in the Dominican Republic was the time dedicated to the issue (8.2 per cent) greater than the average for news programs on private stations, which had no coverage. In Bolivia, neither private media nor the state-run channel covered gender issues. In both Costa Rica and Chile, the average for coverage by private media was higher than that of the state-run channels (14.4 per cent, compared to only 2.2 per cent for the former, and 23.5 per cent, compared to 18.7 per cent, for the latter).

For radio, in Costa Rica, the average time devoted to both programmatic issues and those specifically related to gender equality was greater on private stations than the public station.

Table 13
Comparison of coverage of programmatic and gender issues
in public and private media (average in percentages)

	Print Media				Television				Radio			
	Public		Private		Public		Private		Public		Private	
	Programmatic	Gender	Programmatic	Gender	Programmatic	Gender	Programmatic	Gender	Programmatic	Gender	Programmatic	Gender
Bolivia	9.8	0	8.6	5.9	6.5	0	5.8	0	n. a.	n. a.	15.6	0
Costa Rica	n. a.	n. a.	19.6	7.9	16.9	2.2	17.8	14.4	12.2	22.9	20.5	29.9
Dominican Republic	n. a.	n. a.	3.0	9.5	3.6	8.2	2.7	0	n. d.	n. d.	11.1	0.7
Chile	26.2	17.7	22.4	23.6	38.9	18.7	27.6	23.5	n. a.	n. a.	33.0	11.5
Colombia	n. a.	n. a.	18.0	4.8	n. a.	n. a.	2.0	11.3	n. a.	n. a.	6.0	13.9

n. a.: not applicable

n. d.: no data

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.

Compiled by author.

When covering male and female parliamentary candidates, Bolivia's public media—print and television—gave more space/time to women than the average for private media. The difference was particularly high in the case of television (60.8 per cent, compared

to 9.3 per cent), but it was also significant for print media (37.5 per cent, compared to 21.7 per cent). In the Dominican Republic, in races for the Lower House, public television coverage was more in line with the percentage of women's candidacies (36.2 per cent) than the average space/time allotted on private channels. While public television coverage amounted to 32.0 per cent, the figure for private channels was 25.2 per cent. For Upper House candidacies, however, the opposite was true; the average for private media (18.5 per cent) was triple the time allocated by public television, at 5.4 per cent, well below the percentage of women's candidacies (12.1 per cent).

There were cases in which public media in Chile and Costa Rica did not comply with their obligation to respect pluralism and promote the coverage of issues, such as the elections and proposals of public interest put forward by male and female candidates. The Costa Rican case is especially noteworthy, because neither the news program nor the television channel that was monitored registered coverage of female candidates, which indicates that those media do not provide their audiences with information that will enable them to make informed decisions about parliamentary candidates.

The same was true in Chile in the case of candidacies for the Lower House, where the public television news program that was monitored did not air this type of coverage. There was public television coverage of candidacies for the Upper House—12.1 per cent, very similar to the percentage of female candidates—but there was no coverage on private television channels. In the print media, the space devoted to women's candidacies for both the Lower House (9.4 per cent, compared to 23.4 per cent) and the Upper House (2.7 per cent, compared to 7.6 per cent) was substantially less than the average registered for private newspapers, and was also lower than the proportion of women's candidacies.

Table 14
Comparison of coverage of male and female candidates in public and private media (percentages, Lower/Single House)

	Men							Women						
	% candidacies	Print Media		Television		Radio		% candidacies	Print Media		Television		Radio	
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Bolivia	52.8	62.5	78.3	39.2	90.7	n. a.	66.2	47.2	37.5	21.7	60.8	9.3	n. a.	33.8
Costa Rica	49.6	n. a.	64.8	0	48.7	0	0	50.4	n. a.	35.2	0	51.3	0	0
Dominican Republic	64.8	n. a.	84.4	68.0	74.7	n. d.	76.6	35.2	n. a.	15.6	32	25.3	n. d.	23.4
Chile	83.7	90.6	76.6	0	72.7	n. a.	84.6	16.3	9.4	23.4	0	27.3	n. a.	15.4
Colombia	80	n. a.	75.9	n. a.	94.1	n. a.	100	20	n. a.	24.1	n. a.	4.9	n. a.	0

n.a.: not applicable

n.d: no data.

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.

Compiled by author.

Table 15
Comparison of coverage of male and female candidates in public and private media (percentages, Upper House)

	Men							Women						
	% candidacies	Print Media		Television		Radio		% candidacies	Print Media		Television		Radio	
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Dominican Republic	87.9	n. a.	56.7	94.6	81.5	n. d.	79.3	12.1	n. a.	43.3	5.4	18.5	n. d.	20.7
Chile	85.2	97.3	92.4	87.9	100	n. a.	77.0	14.8	2.7	7.6	12.1	0	n. a.	23
Colombia	81	n. a.	71.4	n. a.	84.2	n. a.	97.6	19.0	n. a.	28.6	n. a.	15.8	n. a.	2,4

n.a.: not applicable

n.d: no data.

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.

Compiled by author.

To summarize:

- o In Bolivia, the issue of gender equality received no space/time in the print media or on state-run television. In Chile, in the newspaper in which the state is the largest shareholder, the space dedicated to the topic was nearly six percentage points below the average for private media. For television, in both Costa Rica and Chile, the average coverage by private media was greater than that of state-run media (14.4 per cent, compared to 2.2 per cent in the former, and 23.5 per cent, compared to 18.7 per cent, in the latter). In Costa Rica, these issues also received more coverage on private channels than on the state-run channel (29.9 per cent, compared to 22.9 per cent).

- In Costa Rica, no coverage of male or female candidates was registered on the state-run radio or television stations. The same was true of public television in Chile in the case of candidacies for the Lower House, where there was no coverage of either male or female candidates. In the state-run print media in Chile, the space dedicated to female candidates for the Lower House (9.4 per cent, compared to 23.4 per cent) and Upper House (2.7 per cent, compared to 7.6 per cent) was substantially lower than the average registered for private newspapers and the proportion of women's candidacies. In the Dominican Republic, the average for private television coverage of female candidates for the Upper House (18.5 per cent) was triple the amount of time registered for the public station (5.4 per cent), a figure that was still below the percentage of women's candidacies (12.1 per cent).

7. Stereotypes: Parameters for their identification

When gender equality is not established as a value and a right that citizens can demand, the media may reproduce—through their information—ideas or images that could seem normal in everyday discourse or relationships, but which reinforce the unequal treatment of men and women in society. These prejudices can be identified in ‘the viewpoint of the report, the questions in the interview, the use of language, the selection of images...’, because ‘all are factors that carry weight in the messages that emerge in the news, and which result in specific representations of women and men in the news’.⁴²

Methodologies such as the one developed by the 2009-2010 Global Media Monitoring Project have classified stories as ‘blatantly stereotyped’ when they ‘use language or visual images that denigrate women...trivialise women’s achievements...glorify or justify male violence [or] ridicule men in ‘non-traditional’ roles’. They are ‘more subtly stereotyped’ when they ‘contain unstated assumptions about the roles of women and men...convey stereotyped beliefs, such as that women are emotionally fragile’ (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010: 3). Along these lines, the manual developed by International IDEA and UN Women notes that examples of stereotyped coverage include presenting female candidates in roles of victim or sex object; reinforcing an image of female candidates linked to domestic roles, such as mother, wife or homemaker; disproportionately emphasizing their private life; and emphasizing a candidate’s clothing or physical traits, downplaying her actions or campaign platform (Llanos and Nina, 2011: 39-40).

While this study did not include quantified monitoring of stereotyped news in the countries where it was carried out and cannot provide statistics in this regard, we would like to mention, as examples, some reports that contained this sort of prejudice, especially as an exercise for sharpening analysis and detection of rhetoric or messages that discriminate against women, and which tend to go unnoticed.

The first was an article published in the format of ‘opinion’ in May 2010 in the newspaper *Hoy*, during the congressional election campaign in the Dominican Republic. Beginning with the headline, the article trivialized women’s political participation, focusing on ‘feminine glamour’. Although the tone was friendly, the main message of the article was that women’s contribution to electoral competition lies mainly in their ‘loveliness’ and ‘beauty’, adjectives that were constantly used. These characteristics serve as entertainment ‘for the Dominican’ dedicated to ‘the contemplation of the

candidates' beauty', which implies that the women are objects. Although the article acknowledges that many women 'demonstrate capability' and speaks of their honesty, it never refers to their message or addresses their campaign platforms or ideological positions, as if they were not stakeholders in a political race. In fact, there is mention of the concept that women are traditional and outside the public sphere, as the author speaks of their courage in leaving 'the tranquillity of their homes'.

5 May 2010, 10:36 PM.

Feminine glamour in the elections

The only lasting things are the images of beautiful women candidates

Written by: Fabio R. Herrera-Miniño

One of the few positive things offered by this dull election campaign is the astonishing beauty of the women candidates for municipal and legislative offices, whose youth and freshness contrast with the poor image of men, especially with the retouched images on posters, which are true works of art.

Ignoring for the moment the crass spectacle of politicians' party-switching, as they seek advantage by constantly moving around among the major parties, which was stemmed by the final rulings of the JCE Judicial Review Chamber, and forgetting the internal squabbles in the JCE, in its eagerness to trump the Administrative side, which has gone so far as to appear on television announcing the type of pen that will be used on election day, the only thing left for the Dominican is to entertain himself with contemplation of the beauty of the female candidates.

There are just ten days to go before the elections. The only lasting things are the images of the beautiful female candidates, many of whom demonstrate capability, who could well be a catalyst for determining whether [male] politicians are slowed in their ferocious assault on the resources within their grasp, especially by approving juicy projects and contracts in which there is much 'fat' to be distributed.

The fact that so many beautiful women have decided to join parties and run for public office is an encouraging sign that opens a sliver of hope in the firmament of creole politics, in which a new crop of politicians will replace those who, in the past 50 years, have turned politics into a pig sty and a market for buying and selling consciences, with shameless illicit gain and no fear that they may someday face the legal consequences of their thievery.

The loveliness of the Dominican woman has been reinforced by the way in which a beauty queen, abandoning her sceptre, decided to seek a municipal elected office with no certainty of victory, while other lovely women, caught in the march of age, are no less beautiful and are helping to breathe renewal into creole politics, which have been dominated by men whom no one wants to see any more as legislators or mayors, much less councilmen.

It is necessary to acknowledge the courage of those women, who, leaving the tranquillity of their homes or the pleasant course of their lives with their intimate family and social circles, have decided to plunge into an activity that should be exemplary, with the highest aspiration of helping their fellow citizens and rescuing them from their limitations and their precarious lives in marginalised neighbourhoods.

So many women are breathing the fresh air of honesty into creole politics. Let's hope that voters recognise those efforts and repay their sacrifices, exalting their triumphs and their decision to reach out a hand of solidarity and support to their fellow citizens. Although some major party leaders sought to keep the feminine presence under wraps, it could allow new blood, which is more honest and more committed to the community, to emerge in the next elections, which, unfortunately, are six years away.

Dominican Republic. Daily newspaper Hoy (digital version). Edition dated 5 May 2010.

Available at: <<http://www.hoy.com.do/opiniones/2010/5/5/324494/print>>.

The second example is the following article, which appeared in a Chilean newspaper in October 2009, and which refers to a female Senate candidate with the headline, 'Lily Pérez's first love wants her to be president'. In this case, the writer emphasizes the candidate's private life, basing the article on the fact that a former boyfriend of the candidate published his support for her possible candidacy for the presidency on Facebook. The reporter's questions to the former boyfriend focus on recreating the candidate's past love history—'Doesn't your wife get jealous?'—with no mention of the experience, abilities or programmatic proposals of Ms. Pérez, former secretary general of the Renovación Nacional party, and a former councilwoman and deputy.

Chile. Daily newspaper, *Las Últimas Noticias*, 12 October 2009

Lily Pérez's first love wants her to be President

Alejandro Guelfand dreams of her being in La Moneda in 2014

Written by: Jorge Núñez

Everyone says the first love is never forgotten, but few prove it. Lily Pérez is one of the lucky ones; yesterday she discovered that Alejandro Guelfand, her first love, has decided to come back into her life. Rather than try to conquer her again, however, this time he came back because he wants to put her in the presidential seat in 2014.

That is clear upon first glance at "Lily Pérez FOR PRESIDENT," the Facebook page that Guelfand created from the tiny town of Pescosolido, in the mountains of Italy, where he now lives with his wife, Egle Crignola, and their three children.

While Lily modestly limits herself to saying, "For any woman, it is flattering that her first love remembers her with affection and respect," Alejandro enjoys remembering how they met.

"I met Lily in 1977, when we were both 16. We went on a school study trip together and worked together on a kibbutz, where we slept under the Sinai's starry desert sky. In that paradise was born a great love, which was intense, like all adolescent love, especially because it was our first love.

So what happened afterward?

The affection we have always felt endures to this day. Since I have been in Italy, I have followed Lily's career in the press and on the Internet. That's why I can say that I know of no one better qualified than she to be president. So it not only occurred to me to set up this group on Facebook, but I am already thinking of starting another group for her re-election in 2022.

Doesn't your wife, Egle, get jealous?

No, not at all. My wife is a great admirer of Lily and her political career, because she shares her vision of the world, just as I do.

Another article in the same paper, in October 2009, refers to a negative telephone campaign against candidate Marcela Sabat. In that campaign, the candidate is described as 'the typical woman deputy who is always smiling in photos, with an outfit that perfectly matches the Chilean flag and [her] posters'. This message places clearly disproportionate emphasis on the candidate's physical traits to raise questions about her capabilities. Nevertheless, when she interviews the candidate and asks about the matter—"They make fun of everyone...and of you, because they think you're an airhead. What is your opinion?"—the reporter speaks positively of the campaign, calling it 'creative'—"But the campaign is creative, nonetheless...".

Chile. Daily newspaper, *Las Últimas Noticias*, 7 December 2009.

Marcela Sabat: "Because I'm tall and blond, they think I'm an airhead"

Calls to neighbours ask them not to vote for "the smiling woman who matches her clothes with her poster."

Written by: Paulina Toro

A typical campaign call to households, where you pick up the phone and, without saying a word, begin hearing a recording.

In Ñuñoa, there is a particularly odd one. A jovial, enthusiastic voice with a slightly offensive edge is heard on the other end of the line with the following message: "Don't vote for me! I'm the typical woman deputy who always smiles in photos, with an outfit that perfectly matches the Chilean flag and the colour of my posters. I propose a higher-class neighbourhood, a united family, and, of course, continuing the economic growth of your neighbourhood ... my neighbourhood!"

Don't be fooled, it is not Marcela Sabat, the daughter of the mayor of Ñuñoa, who is speaking. It is a parody or, more accurately, a satire by Álvaro Cabrera, candidate for deputy from Juntos Podemos, who is running in the same district. Although he tries not to admit that he is taking aim especially at the blonde daughter of the RN mayor, he explains, "Our telephone and radio campaign ridicules and criticises everything we don't like about politicians."

The news took Marcela by surprise, because she says that Cabrera, particularly, has been friendly toward her: "He has called to ask that we meet to give him the results of the survey, so he can see how he is doing. He has been super friendly! I think he has perfected his acting..."

They make fun of everyone: of Álvarez, saying he won his seat by force, and of Burgos, for education. And of you, because they consider you an airhead. What do you think?

Before I decided to run, the first thing I did was analyse the criticism I was going to get. Two were clear: one, that I was a spoiled little daughter, and the other, that because I am tall and blond, I'm an airhead.

But the campaign is creative, nonetheless...

Focusing a campaign on your opponents shows that you lack reasons of your own or the qualifications to say, Elect me. It was predictable that they were going to attack me for my appearance, which I consider to be in poor taste.

8. Some conclusions and final recommendations

At the beginning of this study, we mentioned international instruments that recognize the right of women to exercise their political rights equally and with no discrimination. Because it is considered to be the basic charter of women's rights, we referred specifically to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which commits signatory states to adopt concrete measures to eliminate discrimination in the exercise of women's political rights, guaranteeing equal conditions with men 'to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies' (Article 7a). But as noted in Recommendation N° 23 issued in 1997 by the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which oversees compliance with these provisions, it is not sufficient to eliminate legal barriers, because failure to achieve equal participation for women may be due to practices that inadvertently promote men (point 15).

Men have historically predominated in the public sphere. For decades, most leaders, candidates and elected officials have been men—not only in politics, but also in other areas—and their decisions have not necessarily taken the specific interests of women into account. The situation is changing, and women are playing a greater role in political life. In some cases, however, the media still seem anchored in a masculine mindset in which men are the protagonists and set the agenda. To gain a deeper understanding of the causes of this media approach to women's candidacies and gender equality issues, future studies should explore the extent to which the media in Latin America simply reflect discrimination that already exists in each country's socio-political context, and to what extent they are actors that autonomously expand or reduce the scope of gender discrimination in the electoral sphere.

This study has provided, for the first time, a series of comparative findings from several countries, which merit consideration:

First, the results show that non-programmatic issues, or those more related to electoral events, overwhelmingly dominated the electoral news in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, and programmatic issues related to gender equality are virtually absent from the campaign agenda in those countries, receiving minimal coverage. When these issues do appear, they are not considered front-page or headline news, except for a small percentage in Chile. If proposals related to women's rights are not addressed during the campaign, it is difficult to get them onto the agenda once a

government is elected, because they are not considered ‘urgent’ or ‘important’. Another cause for concern is that gender equality issues still seem to be considered merely ‘women’s issues’; in three countries—Bolivia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic—and were addressed only by female candidates. This situation threatens to relegate these issues to a ‘feminine ghetto’, when they should be key concerns of the entire political class, because they affect half of the population and half of the voters, and because a broader vision is needed to mainstream gender concerns in all government decision making.

Second, analysis of the amount of coverage given to men’s and women’s candidacies in various countries and types of media found that the proportion of space and/or time devoted to women was smaller than the proportion of female candidates on electoral lists. That was true in Bolivia in all three types of media; in the Dominican Republic for candidates to the Lower House, also in all three types of media; and in Colombia for candidates to the Lower House on the radio and television, and on the radio for candidates to the Upper House. The same was true in the print media in Costa Rica and in print media and television in Chile for female candidates to the Upper House.

Third, analysis of the importance of news generated by male and female candidates—their presence in the strongest places and media genres. In some cases, neither male nor female candidates appeared on the front page, but in others, when space was devoted to candidates, the protagonists were never the women running for office. In addition, the interview format, which helps candidates communicate their views and platform and, to some extent, indicates a person’s importance, was used only for male candidates in the print media in Chile (Lower House and Upper House) and on television in the Dominican Republic (Upper House). Finally, news reports about women were not always accompanied by photographs. In Costa Rica, for example, none of the reports about female candidates was accompanied by a photo of the candidate.

Fourth, except in Costa Rica and Chile (Lower House), in the countries analyzed, female candidates registered more space/time devoted to programmatic issues than did male candidates.

Fifth, when analyzing the news in which the medium itself is the source of information about candidates—without quoting other people—the findings show that in Bolivia (in the print media and television); Costa Rica (in the print media) and Colombia (on the radio for female candidates for the Lower House), the amount of space devoted to women was far less than their proportion on electoral lists. In addition, Costa Rican television and Chilean radio mentioned only male candidates.

Sixth, analysis of the tone (bias) used when media spoke in their own voices found that on Bolivian television, there was a high rate of negative coverage of both men and women, but it was higher for women. On the radio, nearly all coverage of female candidates had a negative bias, while negative coverage of male candidates was substantially lower. Colombia also registered a high negative bias in its coverage of male and female candidates for the Lower House, but again, in those cases, women had negative higher levels on both television and the radio.

Seventh, the issue of gender equality was absent from the monitored coverage in some state-run newspapers and broadcast media, such as the state-run print media and television in Bolivia. In other countries, the average amount of space/time dedicated by public media to this issue was less than that provided by private media, as in the case of state-run print media and television in Chile and state-run television and radio in Costa Rica. A tendency toward less state-run coverage than private media was also found for women's candidacies in state-run print media in Chile and public television in the Dominican Republic (Upper House). It was also noteworthy that in Costa Rica, neither state-run radio nor television covered male or female candidates; the same was true of public television in Chile.

Basing their arguments on the fundamental rights enshrined in inter-American treaties, some regional organizations note that for an election to be democratic, candidates must compete on equal footing (Secretary General of the OAS 2006: 8). According to these data, can we say that women compete equally with men when, in various cases, they have less access to and are treated differently from men in the media, which are a massive tool for reaching voters? The answer is no. As noted above, the situation is aggravated in countries with closed and unblocked lists or open lists for candidates, because in those systems, male and female candidates compete among themselves for preferential votes. Without equal opportunity, therefore, access to public office will always be more difficult for women than for men; in addition, female candidates face other structural and cultural obstacles just because they are women.

As also emphasized above, the right of voters to be fully informed is a central issue in democratic systems and elections. To achieve that, the media must guarantee pluralism and be able to give a voice to all political actors, without discrimination. The Quito Consensus signed in 2007 summarizes what the media's role should be, stating that it is necessary to 'encourage and secure the commitment of the media to recognize the importance of parity in women's participation in political processes, to offer fair and balanced coverage of all candidates and to cover the various forms taken by women's political participation and the issues that affect them'.⁴³

Public and/or state-run media are called on to play an active role in this change of media mindset. However, as this study shows, in some cases, they have covered neither the issue of gender equality nor candidacies of either men or women. In other cases, the coverage of female candidates has been less than the average registered in private media. These media must constantly be required to respect the framework of the general and public interest within which they were conceived, particularly since they use public resources; they must not evade their responsibility to encourage a more democratic and inclusive society in which women are key political stakeholders with their interests on the agenda for public debate, especially during election campaigns. Through various international treaties, these countries have also committed to ‘take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life and to ensure that they enjoy equality with men in political and public life’ (CEDAW Committee, Recommendation 23, Point 5. Background).

From these brief conclusions, it is clear that one of the pending tasks for anyone interested in promoting gender equality in political participation in Latin America is to work with the media—first, to raise their awareness about the shortcomings in their election coverage, from a gender standpoint; second, to help them appreciate the meaning of gender equality in the exercise of men’s and women’s political rights, as well as in other areas of life; and third, to root out biased and sometimes discriminatory attitudes toward women, in order to generate information that helps communicate more egalitarian approaches and build more democratic societies. In that vein, we would like to end this report with some specific recommendations for future work in light of this study’s findings:

- a. Strengthen media monitoring by civil society organizations, providing them with the tools and technical assistance to mainstream gender in their activities.
- b. Disseminate the findings in countries where inequalities and thematic gaps in coverage are identified, to stimulate public discussion of the media’s role in building a more inclusive and egalitarian democracy, in which men and women can exercise their political rights on equal terms and have equal opportunities for access to public office in elections.
- c. Encourage dialogue with the media and build partnerships with them to hold workshops for journalists in countries with upcoming elections—before the election campaign begins—to raise media awareness about gender equality issues and offer information about international best practices for ensuring more balanced coverage without gender stereotypes or biases.

- d. Continue supporting training to give male and female candidates tools to help them develop gender proposals to disseminate to voters. Also, promote the strengthening of women's political communication skills, which enable them to better transmit their campaign messages and attract media attention to their candidacies and platforms.
- e. Encourage the media to adopt voluntary codes of gender-sensitive coverage in their work, not only for political and electoral coverage, but in all areas of reporting.
- f. In countries where elections are scheduled, carry out gender-sensitive media monitoring that includes both quantitative and qualitative variables, to gather more national and regional information.
- g. Encourage and deepen research on gender stereotypes reproduced by the media in the images and rhetoric they use to refer to female politicians.

Notes

- ¹ A recent study by International IDEA and the Inter-American Development Bank concluded that, in those countries, the percentage of women on lists averaged 19 per cent, while in countries with quotas, the average was 25 per cent (Roza, Llanos and Garzón de la Roza, 2010: 48).
- ² Point 3.4 of the Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections, adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union on 26 March 1994.
- ³ The monitoring included the first round of voting, in which the president and members of Parliament were elected, covering the period from 10 January to 9 April 2006. As none of the presidential candidates won an absolute majority, in accordance with Peruvian legislation, a runoff was held between the two candidates with the most votes. During the second phase, the monitoring was carried out between 6 May and 4 June.
- ⁴ According to the data, ‘campaign events’ accounted for 87.1 per cent of coverage in print media, 75.9 per cent on television and 70.3 per cent on radio.
- ⁵ Those organizations were Unión por el Perú-Partido Nacionalista Peruano, whose presidential candidate was Ollanta Humala Tasso; APRA, whose presidential candidate was Alan García Pérez; Unidad Nacional, whose presidential candidate was Lourdes Flores Nano; the Frente de Centro, whose presidential candidate was Valentín Paniagua; Perú Posible, which had lists for Parliament but no presidential candidate; Restauración Nacional, whose presidential candidate was Humberto Lay; and Concertación Descentralista, whose presidential candidate was Susana Villarán.
- ⁶ In Peru, the same study shows that although women’s membership in the parties analyzed ranged from a minimum of 42 per cent to a maximum of 51 per cent, only 26 per cent of their executive committees were women. In addition, just 20 per cent of the electoral lists presented by those parties were headed by women.
- ⁷ These political figures belong to the three political organizations with the greatest political influence in Uruguay: Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio-Nueva Mayoría, the Partido Colorado and the Partido Nacional.
- ⁸ The sample of monitored media included the main newscasts of the four broadcast television channels, the three most important ‘political’ radio stations, the three highest-circulation daily newspapers and the two highest-circulation weekly publications.
- ⁹ Alternate weeks were monitored. They included the first week of the campaign (25 September to 1 October) and the second-to-last week (9 to 15 October).
- ¹⁰ The analysis included the Frente Amplio, Partido Nacional and Partido Colorado political organizations.
- ¹¹ The Bolivia Transparente team consisted of 24 volunteer observers, two assistants and a coordinator. In Chile, Corporación Humanas formed a group of three monitors, with a project coordinator who was assisted by a data processor and an information analyst. The Misión de Observación Electoral in Colombia formed a basic team of three monitors, a monitoring coordinator, an operations coordinator and a gender expert. In Costa Rica, the joint team formed by Radio Internacional Feminista and Fundación Justicia y Género consisted of five monitors and a coordinator. The Participación Ciudadana team in the Dominican Republic consisted of six monitors under the supervision of a coordinator and an operations coordinator.
- ¹² Known as *horse-race coverage* or ‘boxing matches’.
- ¹³ Known as *issue coverage*.

- ¹⁴ For this study, these categories were ‘gender equality’, ‘economy, employment, investment and infrastructure’, ‘education’, ‘health’, ‘security’ (defence and internal order), ‘multi-cultural affairs’, ‘development and environment’ and ‘social policies and combating poverty’. See Llanos and Nina (2011: 28).
- ¹⁵ For example, accusations, complaints and opinions about other candidates or parties, surveys, aggression, etc. (Llanos and Nina, 2011: 27).
- ¹⁶ Although this was not a previously established sub-topic within the five categories into which ‘gender equality’ was divided, because of the importance of this issue in Chile, a particular measurement was done to allow comparison among countries; it was included under ‘others’. This category ‘refers to property in marriage, specifically to joint property, ways of establishing a family (particularly common law) and non-regulated rights and duties between spouses, such as shared responsibility’ (Corporación Humanas 2010: n/p).
- ¹⁷ Nevertheless, in the case of Costa Rica, both in the print media and on television, the number of issues included under ‘others’ is high.
- ¹⁸ This was published by the daily *La Nación* and focused specifically on the issues ‘sexual and reproductive rights’ and ‘property and family’. The source of this information—which had a ‘negative’ bias—was the church.
- ¹⁹ One of the reports appeared on the Chilevisión channel and the other on Mega (Channel 9). In both cases, the issue was ‘sexual and reproductive rights’ and the source was the medium itself. Both reports had a ‘neutral’ slant.
- ²⁰ In Bolivia, coverage of gender-equality issues was only registered in the print media. The space measured came from five news stories, two of which were about sexual and reproductive rights.
- ²¹ Information provided by the Chilean Network against Domestic and Sexual Violence (*Red Chilena contra la Violencia Doméstica y Sexual*), available at <<http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/femicidios/2010>>, accessed 27 January 2011.
- ²² This choice is not meant to ignore other factors that could influence male and female candidates’ access to the media, including the candidate’s status, the party’s weight, the type of election, the horse race nature of the election, and the medium’s judgment of the ‘newsworthiness’ of a story about a political subject. In this study, however, as an initial step, the decision was made to use the quantitative datum of the makeup of the lists as the reference criterion.
- ²³ Results for Chile are not included, because there were no female presidential candidates in that country.
- ²⁴ According to official results from the National Electoral Court (*Corte Nacional Electoral*) in December 2009, Evo Morales won 64.2 per cent of the vote; Manfred Reyes, 26.5 per cent; and Ana María Flores, just 0.5 per cent. Available at <<http://www.cne.org.bo/PadronBiometrico/COMUNICACION/ACTADECOMPUTONACIONALGENERALES2009.pdf>>.
- ²⁵ According to election results announced by the Supreme Election Tribunal (*Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones*) of Costa Rica, Laura Chinchilla won 47.0 per cent of the vote; Ottón Solís, 25 per cent (during the campaign, he received the support of the Alianza Patriótica and Integración Nacional parties, which withdrew their presidential candidates in his favour); and Mayra González, 1 per cent. Data retrieved from <<http://www.tse.go.cr/elecciones.htm>>, accessed 2 February 2011.
- ²⁶ This figure was calculated by adding the candidacies for national deputy—in which five seats are filled for the entire country—and the candidacies for the 32 provincial jurisdictions, in which 178 seats are filled.
- ²⁷ Since 2000, Colombia has had a quota law requiring 30 per cent of decision-making positions in public administration to be filled by women. As of 2007, however, compliance with the law was incomplete (Llanos and Sample, 2008: 21).

- ²⁸ According to information from the Women's Coordination Committee (*Coordinadora de la Mujer*), counting only women who were titular candidates on the lists (not substitutes), the proportion of women's participation would be 33 per cent. This figure was calculated based on the final lists accepted by the National Electoral Court (*Corte Nacional Electoral*) after the review process and modifications allowed by law. As noted above, Bolivia was the first country in which the methodology was tested, so this figure also includes total candidacies for the Upper and Lower houses. It should be noted that during the media monitoring, when information was collected on 'data-gathering forms' for male and female candidates appearing in the news, no distinction was made between titular and substitute candidates. As a result, the universe of reference is the total percentage of candidacies, which is 47.2 per cent.
- ²⁹ According to these figures, 85.8 per cent of Bolivian citizens obtain their political information from television, 74.7 per cent from radio and 38.2 per cent from newspapers. Information from Latinobarómetro Corporation, available at <<http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyzeQuestion.jsp>>, accessed 17 May 2011.
- ³⁰ According to data from Latinobarómetro, as of 2008, 85.5 per cent of Dominican citizens received their political information from television; 69.6 per cent from radio; and 43.3 per cent from newspapers. Information from Latinobarómetro Corporation, available at <<http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyzeQuestion.jsp>>, accessed 17 May 2011.
- ³¹ Data from Latinobarómetro indicates that as of 2008, 88.9 per cent of Colombian citizens got their political information from television, 68.3 per cent from radio, and 50.6 per cent from newspapers. Information from Latinobarómetro Corporation, available at <<http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyzeQuestion.jsp>>, accessed 17 May 2011.
- ³² According to data from Latinobarómetro for 2008, 84 per cent of Costa Rican citizens got their information about politics from television, 32.9 per cent from newspapers and only 29.7 per cent from radio. Information from Latinobarómetro Corporation available at <<http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyzeQuestion.jsp>>, accessed 17 May 2011.
- ³³ For Chile, data from Latinobarómetro 2008 indicates that 84.9 per cent of citizens received their information from television, 41.6 per cent from radio, and 39.1 per cent from newspapers. Information from Latinobarómetro Corporation, available at <<http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyzeQuestion.jsp>>, accessed 17 May 2011.
- ³⁴ The methodology designed by International IDEA and UN Women included nine categories of possible sources. For detailed information, see Llanos and Nina (2011: 22).
- ³⁵ Definition from 'Medios públicos o estatales', on the website of the Electoral Knowledge Network, available at <<http://aceproject.org/main/espanol/me/meb03a01.htm>>, accessed 27 January 2011.
- ³⁶ Cited in 'La obligación del pluralismo', on the website of the Electoral Knowledge Network, available at <<http://aceproject.org/main/espanol/me/meb03a01.htm>>, accessed 27 January 2011.
- ³⁷ In Chile, this is the daily *La Nación*. Although it is a corporation, the state holds 69.3 per cent of the shares; a private partner, Inversiones Colliguay, has 29.5 per cent, and the remaining 1.2 per cent is divided among other private shareholders. In Bolivia, the daily *Cambio* is a state-run newspaper with a national circulation.
- ³⁸ Bolivia has Channel 7, the state-run television channel. In Chile, Television Nacional de Chile (Channel 7) is an autonomous state-run enterprise that is managed like a private company, which must perform a public service without state subsidies (Corporación Humanas 2010: n/p). In the Dominican Republic, the State Radio and Television Council (*Consejo Estatal de Radio y Televisión*, CERTV) broadcasts on Channel 4. In Costa Rica, the state-run channel is RTN-Channel 13.
- ³⁹ Specifically, the Noticiero CM & news programme, which was monitored as part of this sample, is private.

- ⁴⁰ In Costa Rica, Radio Nacional is part of the National Radio and Television System (*Sistema Nacional de Radio y Televisión*), which also includes Channel 13-RTN.
- ⁴¹ In this country, the state-run station is part of CERTV.
- ⁴² Portal América Latina Genera. 'Género y comunicación' ('Gender and Communication') handout, p. 3, available at http://www.americalatinagenera.org/main/documentos/genera_encuentros_final_200809.pdf.
- ⁴³ Agreement 1.XI of the statement issued as part of the 10th Regional Conference on Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Quito in August 2007.

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Annex 1
Sample of selected media and news programmes, by country

Country	Print media	Radio	Television
Bolivia	- <i>El Deber</i> - <i>La Razón</i> - <i>Cambio</i> (state-run medium)	- Red de Educación Radiofónica de Bolivia (ERBOL) Morning newscast (7 a. m.-8 a. m.) Morning newscast (12 a. m.-1 p. m.) - FIDES Morning newscast (7 a. m.-9 a. m.) - Radio Panamericana El Panamericano (1 p. m.-1.30 p. m.)	- Bolivisión Main newscast (9 p. m.-10 p. m.) - Channel 7 Bolivia TV (state-run) BTV News programme (7.30 p. m.-9 p. m.) - Red Uno El Mañanero programme (6.30 a. m.-9 a. m.) Notivisión programme (8 p. m.-9 p. m.) - UNTEL Universal de Televisión La Revista programme (6.30 a. m.-9 a. m.) Evening newscast
Costa Rica	- <i>La Nación</i> - <i>Extra</i>	- Radio Monumental Radio Monumental newscast (6 a. m.) - Radio Nacional (state-run) RTN Noticias (11 a. m.-12 a. m.)	- Channel 6 Repretel Newscasts (6 a. m., 2.30 p. m. & 11 p. m.) - Canal 11 Repretel Newscasts (6 p. m. & 10 p. m.) - Channel 7: Teletica Channel 7 newscast (9 p. m. - 10 p. m.) - Channel 13 RTN Television News (state-run)
Dominican Republic	- <i>Listín Diario</i> - <i>Hoy</i> - <i>Diario Libre</i>	- Radio Popular Noticiero Popular (5.30 a. m.-6.30 a. m. & 12 m.-1 p. m.) - Radio Cadena Comercial News programmes (5.30 a. m.-6.30 a. m. & 12 m-1 p. m.)	- Channel 7 Antena Latina Newscasts (2 p. m.-2.30 p. m. & 11 p. m.-12 p. m.) - Channel 11 Telesistemas Newscasts (2 p. m.-2.30 p. m. & 11 p. m.-12 p. m.) - Channel 5 Telemicro Newscasts (2 p. m. - 2.30 p. m. y 11 p. m. - 12 p. m.) - Channel 4 Consejo Estatal de Radio & TV (CERTV) (State-run) Newscasts (1 p. m.-1.30 p. m. & 10 p. m.- 11 p. m.)
Chile	- <i>El Mercurio</i> - <i>La Cuarta</i> - <i>La Tercera</i> - <i>Las Últimas Noticias</i> - <i>La Nación</i> (mixed; State is majority shareholder)	- Bio Bio Morning newscast (6 a. m.-8 a. m.) - Cooperativa Morning newscast (6 a. m.-8 a. m.)	- Channel 13 Catholic University Main news programme (9 p. m.-10 p. m.) - Chilevisión (CHV) Main news programme (9 p. m.-10 p. m.) - Channel 9 Mega Main news programme (9 p. m.-10 p. m.) - Televisión Nacional de Chile (State-run) Main news programme (9 p. m.-10 p. m.)

CONTINUES →

CONTINUATION →

Annex 1
Sample of selected media and news programmes, by country

Country	Print Media	Radio	Television
Colombia	- <i>El Tiempo</i> - <i>El Espectador</i>	- RCN Radio Morning radio programme (6 a. m.- 9 a. m.) - Caracol Radio Hoy por hoy programme (6 a. m.)	- RCN Televisión RCN News (7 p. m.) - Canal Channel Caracol News (7 p. m.) - Channel One newscast (9 p. m. - 9.30 p. m.)

Annex 2
Distribution of non-programmatic vs. programmatic issues
(percentages and absolute numbers)

	Print media					Television				
	Total	Programmatic		Non-programmatic		Total	Programmatic		Non-programmatic	
		cm ²	%	cm ²	%		seconds	%	seconds	%
Bolivia	233 438	21 184	9.1	212 254	90.9	92 684	5410	5.8	87 274	94.2
Costa Rica	210 677	41 218	19.6	169 459	80.4	59 987	10 600	17.7	49 387	82.3
Dominican Republic	252 505	7543	3	244 962	97	17 632	546	3.1	17 086	96.9
Chile	330 850	77 060	23.3	253 790	76.7	21 011	6433	30.6	14 578	69.4
Colombia	42 484	7823	18	34 661	82	16 252	381	2	15 871	98

CONTINUES →

	Radio				
	Total	Programmatic		Non-programmatic	
		seconds	%	seconds	%
Bolivia	46 037	7172	15.6	38 865	84.4
Costa Rica	9675	1439	14.9	8236	85.1
Dominican Republic	39 029	4319	11.1	34 710	88.9
Chile	29 487	9816	33	19 671	67
Colombia	41 307	2405	5.8	38 902	94.2

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 3

Distribution of programmatic issues: gender equality compared with other issues
(percentages and absolute numbers)

	Print media					Television				
	Total	Other programmatic		Gender		Total	Other programmatic		Gender	
		cm ²	%	cm ²	%		seconds	%	seconds	%
Bolivia	21 184	19 791	93.4	1393	6.6	541	541	100	0	0.0
Costa Rica	41 218	37 974	92.1	3244	7.9	10 600	9275	87,5	1325	12.5
Dominican Republic	7543	6830	90.5	713	9.5	546	523	95,8	23	4.2
Chile	77 060	60 009	77.9	17 051	22.1	6433	5029	78,2	1404	21.8
Colombia	8036	7823	95.2	379	4.8	381	338	88,7	43	11.3

CONTINUES →

	Radio					
	Total	Other programmatic		Gender		
		seconds	%	seconds	%	
Bolivia	7172	7172	100	0	0	
Costa Rica	1439	1365	74	374	26	
Dominican Republic	4319	4289	99.3	30	0.7	
Chile	9816	8689	88.5	1127	11.5	
Colombia	2405	2071	86.1	334	13.9	

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 4

Distribution of gender equality sub-topics by country, aggregated for three types of media
(percentages and absolute numbers)

	Bolivia		Costa Rica		Dominican Republic		Chile		Colombia	
	cm ² /seconds	%	cm ² /seconds	%	cm ² /seconds	%	cm ² /seconds	%	cm ² /seconds	%
Sexual rights & reproductive rights	1081	77.6	714	14.4	209	27.3	14703	75.1	265	35.1
Non-violence against women	208	14.9	0	0	170	22.2	430	2.2	83	11.0
Economic, social & cultural rights	0	0	1392	28.2	171	22.3	499	2.5	91	12.0
Women's political participation	104	7.5	2838	57.4	205	26.8	1038	5.3	156	20.6
Other	0	0	0	0	11	1.4	2912	14.9	161	21.3
Total	1393	100	4944	100	766	100	19582	100	756	100

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 5
Coverage of presidential candidacies in Bolivian elections
(percentages and absolute numbers)

% candidacies	Men						% candidacies	Women					
	Print media		Television		Radio			Print media		Television		Radio	
	cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%		cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
87.5%	9041	96.6	6721	95.6	6318	99.4	12.5%	318	3.4	307	4.4	36	0.6

Source: Bolivia monitoring report.
Compiled by author.

Annex 6
Coverage of female presidential candidate in Costa Rican elections
(percentages and absolute numbers)

% candidacies	Print media		Television		Radio	
	cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
77.8	48 214	84.8	15 171	85.4	1 167	77.6
11.1	7 711	13.6	2 325	13.1	243	16.2
11.1	920	1.6	266	1.5	94	6.3
100	56 845	100.0	17 762	100.0	1 504	100.0

Source: Costa Rica monitoring report.
Compiled by author.

Annex 7
Distribution of coverage by source, for female candidates in five countries, Lower/Single House
(percentages and absolute numbers)

	% candidacies	Men						% candidacies	Women					
		Print media		Television		Radio			Print media		Television		Radio	
		cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%		cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
Bolivia	52.8	5768	72.8	8532	86.3	795	66.2	47.2	2157	27.2	1357	13.7	406	33.8
Costa Rica	49.6	3154	64.8	565	48.7	0	0	50.4	1713	35.2	594	51.3	0	0
Dominican Republic	63.8	9912	84.4	564	72.4	9399	76.6	36.2	1834	15.6	215	27.6	2877	23.4
Chile	83.7	10 341	82.1	397	72.7	2179	84.6	16.3	2254	17.9	149	27.3	397	15.4
Colombia	80.0	4309	75.9	428	94.1	1452	100	20	1365	24.1	22	4.9	0	0

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 8

Distribution of coverage by source, male vs female candidates in Upper House
(percentages and absolute numbers)

	% candidates	Men						% candidates	Women					
		Print media		Television		Radio			Print media		Television		Radio	
		cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%		cm ²	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
Dominican Republic	87.9	11 046	56.7	829	87.4	5071	79.3	12.1	8450	43.3	120	12.6	1323	20.7
Chile	85.2	6982	93.3	1273	90.7	2111	77.0	14.8	501	6.7	130	9.3	631	23.0
Colombia	81.0	5882	71.4	1075	84.2	1724	97.6	19.0	2356	28.6	202	15.8	42	2.4

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 9

Addressing of programmatic/non-programmatic issues by male and female candidates, Lower House,
aggregated for three types of media (percentages and absolute numbers)

	Programmatic				Non-programmatic			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / segundos	%
Bolivia	4806	31.8	1402	35.8	10 289	68.2	2518	64.2
Costa Rica	2204	59.3	1096	47.5	1515	40.7	1211	52.5
Dominican Republic	2651	13.3	1598	32.4	17 224	86.7	3328	67.6
Chile	2770	21.5	337	12.0	10 123	78.5	2463	88.0
Colombia	1118	18.1	952	68.6	5071	81.9	435	31.4

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 10

Addressing of programmatic/non-programmatic issues by male and female candidates, Upper House,
aggregated for three types of media (percentages and absolute numbers)

	Programmatic				Non-programmatic			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / seconds	%	cm ² / seconds	%
Dominican Republic	2146	12.7	2039	20.6	14 800	87.3	7854	79.4
Chile	1906	18.4	675	53.5	8460	81.6	587	46.5
Colombia	1520	17.5	1030	39.6	7161	82.5	1570	60.4

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

Annex 11

Comparative percentages of list and use of graphic aids in print media, male and female candidates, Lower/Single House and Upper House (in percentages and absolute numbers)

	Total with photo	Print media			
		Men		Women	
		cm ²	%	cm ²	%
Bolivia	3574	2295	64.2	1279	35.8
Costa Rica	1157	1157	100	0	0
Dominican Republic (Chamber of Deputies)	9364	8388	89.6	976	10.4
Dominican Republic (Senate)	15 926	9273	58.2	6653	41.8
Chile (Chamber of Deputies)	3669	2759	75.2	910	24.8
Chile (Senate)	2827	2695	95.3	132	4.7
Colombia (Lower House)	5058	3695	73.1	1363	26.9
Colombia (Upper House)	6654	4685	70.4	1969	29.6

Source: Monitoring reports and databases from indicated countries.
Compiled by author.

In a society in which the mass media are the main venue for political information and electoral competition, limited visibility during a campaign can make it less likely that a candidate can be familiar to voters, convey his or her proposals, and, in short, appeal for votes. This five-country study identified quantitative and qualitative differences and/or inequalities that women candidates face in media coverage in the thirty days before elections. It also provided an opportunity to contrast the lack of importance placed on gender equality issues in campaigns, which shows that some Latin American societies still face the challenge of making this issue a public concern.

The results presented in this study were garnered through application of the methodology designed by UN Women and International IDEA with the participation of Latin American civil society organizations and outlined in detail in our recent publication: Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective: A Media Monitoring Manual.

International IDEA

International IDEA is an intergovernmental organization with 27 member countries. The Institute supports democratic institutions and processes worldwide by providing resources to strengthen capacities, developing policy proposals and supporting democratic reforms. International IDEA's main areas of expertise are electoral processes, political party systems, constitutional processes, gender and democracy.

UN Women

UN Women, which officially began its work on 1 January 2011, is the UN agency that works for gender equality and the empowerment of women. UN Women is the main defender of women and girls; it was established to accelerate progress in meeting their needs worldwide.

AA

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