Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective

A Media Monitoring Manual

UN WOMEN
United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

INTERNATIONAL IDEA
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

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Foreword

As is so often said, information is power, and the media play a variety of important roles in this equation. They report on current events around the world, they provide frameworks for interpretation, they mobilize the citizenry with respect to various matters, they reproduce the predominant culture, and, of course, they entertain. Many of these functions are reinforced during election campaigns, and the media become the principal forum where electoral competition is played out. According to data from Latinobarómetro, in 2009, Latin American citizens used the media as a major source of information on political affairs (Latinobarómetro, 2009: 68). Of those surveyed, 84 per cent get their information on political issues from television, 55 per cent from radio, and 37 per cent obtain such information from newspapers and magazines.

Freedom of expression is a human right and an essential attribute of democracy pursuant to which the media have the right to broadcast, with no prior censorship, information and opinions based on their selection criteria within the framework of respect for certain principles such as accuracy and impartiality. At the same time, one of the fundamental rights of citizens is the freedom to obtain information through the mass media. That implies that all those who play a role in social, political or economic life should be able to make their voices heard through the media.

In an electoral context, the need to preserve pluralism of information takes on fundamental importance, for citizens have the right to be able to take stock of the political options, the candidacies and their proposals. To ensure that this indeed happens, it is fundamental that all candidates have access to the media in equal conditions and with no discrimination whatsoever. Only to the extent that the citizenry are able to receive sufficient and rigorous information from all options will we be able to speak of a free and informed choice when casting one's vote, and of substantially democratic elections.

Nonetheless, some studies reveal that the structural and institutional obstacles women face in political competition are compounded by the lower levels of media coverage of women candidates and their proposals. The Beijing Declaration (signed in 1995) already expressed the need to coordinate actions from all sectors to increase women's participation and access to expression and decision-making in and through the mass media (point J.1), and the need to foster a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media (point J.2). As the declaration itself recognizes, one way to achieve

these goals is for non-governmental organizations to encourage the creation of media watch groups to monitor the mass media and coordinate with them to see to it that women's needs and concerns are appropriately reflected.

In addition, in the endeavour to eliminate any kind of inequality that might constitute discrimination for some or give others an advantage, the Declaration of Quito, signed in 2007, reiterates 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'.[1]

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), aware of the need to undertake specific actions to identify possible differences in the coverage of male and female candidates by the media during election campaigns that may affect women's ability to put their candidacies and proposals before the electorate, brought together the representatives of six Latin American institutions with experience of monitoring the media in order, on the basis of an analysis of past experience, to collectively construct a common and replicable methodological tool that makes it possible to monitor media coverage during the period from a gender perspective using objective and verifiable information.

This manual takes as its starting point the consensuses and main conclusions reached at that gathering. We hope that this publication will be a useful tool for promoting fair media coverage during election campaigns, will help strengthen the freedom of expression and information, and will generate an informational approach that includes all candidates' points of view during election campaigns.

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This publication has been made possible thanks to the contributions of a group of persons who we would like to thank here. First, the participants in the workshop organized by International IDEA and UN Women in Lima: Sandra Verduguez, of Bolivia Transparente (Bolivia); Francy Barbosa, of Corporación Humanas (Colombia); Macarena Acuña, of Corporación Humanas (Chile); Josefina Arveló, of Participación Ciudadana (Dominican Republic); and Verónica Pérez, of ICP/Cotidiano Mujer (Uruguay).

We also wish to thank Percy Medina, secretary general of the Asociación Civil Transparencia, an institution which for several years has successfully carried out actions to monitor the media in Peruvian elections, with whom the authors prepared an initial version of this methodology. That first version also pulled together the important recommendations of Xabier Meilán and Rafael Roncagliolo (International IDEA), both of whom have wide-ranging experience with such processes, and was applied by different civil society organizations in the 2009 and 2010 elections in five countries of the region (Bolivia Transparente in Bolivia; Corporación Humanas in Chile; the Fundación Justicia y Género and Radio Internacional Feminista in Costa Rica; the Misión de Observación Electoral in Colombia; and Participación Ciudadana in the Dominican Republic). This process made it possible to contrast this first design with the different realities of the political-electoral systems of each of these countries and, accordingly, refine various aspects that are now presented in this text.

We acknowledge all these institutions for the work done, as well as Mirta Rodríguez, who contributed with her comments to this final text and Ana Vílchez for her contributions during the initial phase of this process. At the same time, this publication would not have been possible without the support of Ruperto Pérez Albela, in charge of graphic design, Eve Johansson, copy-editor, and María Inés Calle, coordinator of publications for Latin America with International IDEA. Finally, we wish to express our gratitude for the support received from Kristen Sample and Begoña Lasagabaster, who, working with International IDEA and UN Women, respectively, have helped see this project through from its inception.

1. Why monitor the media in electoral campaigns from a gender perspective?

Several studies have been undertaken to analyse the media in the last few decades, looking at their communication processes and their influence in shaping the public agenda. Those analyses have approached the matter from different theories, two of which constitute the framework for constructing this methodology.

The first is *agenda-setting theory*, which makes reference to 'the capacity of the media to direct the public's attention to certain issues presented as the most important ones at that moment. As a result, the public's attention is biased to certain issues on the political and electoral scene to the detriment of others' (García Beaudoux et al., 2007: 78).

In that regard, the media constitute a window for gaining insight into a reality to which the citizenry does not have direct access. It is they who identify and prioritize those events or issues to which the public eye is directed day after day. They are also the ones who select the actors in those events or issues which the news reporting renders controversial. Several research studies, many of them on politics and elections, have shown empirically that there is a relationship between the importance the public assigns to certain issues and the level of coverage those issues have been assigned by the media. In summary, 'the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about' (Bernard Cohen, quoted in Rodríguez Díaz, n.d.).

How these processes of selection (and exclusion) of issues take place and are decided on, and what elements influence them, are questions that have been taken up by *framing theory*. According to framing theory, several factors exist that influence professionals when they produce news and present it according to a given framework or approach. These include their personal experiences, their orientation (ideological, political or religious), journalistic routines, the parameters and measures of the media organization, and even the format in which the news is presented. Accordingly, 'reality goes through the subject, who interprets, based on certain filters, sometimes consciously, other times unconsciously. This keeps the same fact from being interpreted and retold in the same way by two persons' (Giménez and Berganza, 2009: 52).

Journalists and media outlets always operate in a given social, political and economic context that affects their interpretation of reality and the filters used to select what is

'important' and how it is presented to the public. In the Latin American case, that context still presents various challenges when it comes to placing gender equality at the centre of the public debate and the behaviour, attitudes and perceptions of the citizens and all the actors. Equality is a concept that implies 'equality of rights, responsibilities, and opportunities as between men and women …, to be able to participate in political, economic, social, and cultural development and benefit from their results in equal conditions. In addition … considering the knowledge, experience, and values of men and women to be equally valid' (López, 2009: 100).

A gender perspective is therefore also applicable to processes of communication, for it makes it possible to cast light on the inequalities women face due to the roles that have been culturally assigned to them and that are then routinely reflected in the media. Including a gender 'filter' implies raising the awareness of journalists and media outlets as to their importance as agents of social change for building more equitable societies, and helping them move away from visions of reality that highlight men while failing to portray the presence and contributions of women in the different areas of social life.

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)

Done in 2010 in 108 countries, this study reveals the existence of a male vision of the world on the part of the media and speaks of worrying levels of exclusion of women in the media. According to the data it presents:

- Only 24 per cent of persons about whom one reads in the news as the subjects of information are women (in print media, radio and television).
- This percentage is lower for those issues that are accorded greater importance in the news agenda, such as 'politics and government' (19 per cent) and 'the economy' (20 per cent).
- Only 13 per cent of the articles on politics are focused specifically on women, and only 6 per cent highlight issues related to gender equality and inequality. In this latter case, the percentage is less in the case of politics and the economy than in the cases of science and health, or social-legal issues.

Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010

Specifically in the realm of politics, while there have been a series of gains in women's access to elective office in the legislative arena, their presence in such positions in Latin American countries is far from reaching the levels of parity[2] that would correspond to their share in the population and in the electorate – which in some countries is close to 50 per cent, and in others more (Llanos and Sample, 2008: 15). Accordingly, those research studies have addressed the study of those obstacles that are keeping women, after many efforts to get themselves nominated as candidates, from being able to effectively exercise their political right to accede to such positions.

Several studies indicate that the citizens support women candidates, yet the failure to promote their leadership in their own political organizations, the smaller sums of money available for their campaigns, and the cultural conditioning factors that assign them a greater responsibility in family tasks all stand in the way of their full participation. In addition, in a context in which electoral competition unfolds pre-eminently in the media, which have a notable impact setting the public agenda (selecting issues and individuals they consider newsworthy day after day), whether a candidate is present or absent, and the type of coverage they get when they are present, all condition their chances of getting elected, since the voters extract the information they need for making their political decisions from the media.

In the Latin American context, various methodologies have been used to find out whether there is less media coverage of women candidates than male candidates during election campaigns. This diminishes their opportunities for mass-scale communication with the electorate and reduces their likelihood of mobilizing voters in their favour. Also noted has been the minimal presence of gender equality issues on the news agenda during that period, which is not favourable to this issue being taken up as one of society's priorities.

Peru: the 2006 legislative elections

A study by International IDEA and Asociación Civil Transparencia revealed that:

- Even though women accounted for 39 per cent of all candidates for Congress, they obtained only 19 per cent of print media coverage, 22 per cent of television coverage, and 26 per cent of radio coverage.
- Among the programmatic issues, gender equality accounted for a very small percentage of coverage (print media 0.97 per cent, television 1.3 per cent, and radio 1.6 per cent).

Uruguay: the 2004 and 2009 elections

A research study carried out by the Political Science Institute (Instituto de Ciencia Política) of the Universidad de la República and the National Commission on Monitoring Women for Democracy, Equity and Citizenship during the 2004 national elections revealed that:

- In general, only 3.8 per cent of political figures who featured were women, and 96.3 per cent were men. This is despite the fact that women accounted for 10.6 per cent of all the figures who were taken into account during the monitoring.[4]

A similar analysis was done for the 2009 general elections by the Policy and Gender Area of the same institute in partnership with Cotidiano Mujer, whose results indicated:

- While women accounted for 22.6 per cent of all candidates, they garnered only 13.6 per cent of appearances in the campaign news in the print and broadcast media (Johnson and Pérez, 2009).[5]
- The issues grouped under the category 'gender and women's interests' accounted for 3.5 per cent of the programmatic issues recorded.[6]

Cases such as those of Peru and Uruguay indicate the importance of determining the levels and type of coverage given to women candidates in campaigns and the issues that affect each of the countries of Latin America. Therefore, in order to determine whether men and women have equal opportunities to get their messages across through the media, as they are reflected during the election campaign and the importance attributed to gender equality in the news agenda, a series of quantitative and qualitative variables will be presented in the following chapters to make possible an objective assessment based on common criteria so that women candidates themselves and the organizations that work on the issue of women's political participation can design strategies in order to overcome their lack of coverage or the stereotypes that affect them.

In addition, these variables have been thought through to help professionals who work in the media to begin to reflect on the causes of this deficit of women in the news, so as to analyse the cultural 'filters' they use that are not favourable to gender equality, and to design actions for change geared to more plural and equitable journalism when it comes to gender issues.

2. What are the objectives and characteristics of a study such as this?

The objective of a study such as this is to quantify press coverage of election campaigns in Latin America using an analysis with a gender perspective that makes it possible to identify the differences and inequalities in such coverage or in the treatment accorded men and women candidates, as well as the importance assigned to issues of gender equality in relation to others debated in the campaign.

The study will be *quantitative*, because we will measure the space (in cm^2 or seconds) taken up by the information related to each of the persons and issues that appear in a given story. But it will also be qualitative because other aspects related to it will be analysed, such as the placement of a story in the newspaper or programme, the presence of graphic aids, and whether the treatment of the information includes any type of bias (in favour or against) in relation to the persons or issues identified. It will also be qualitative insofar as an effort will be made to identify news that reproduces gender stereotypes in the coverage of women candidates during the campaign.

Under these guidelines, the methodology will make it possible for those who apply it to obtain information on:

- the candidacies that were given more or less space in the media monitored during the campaign, differentiated by sex (men vs. women);
- the main issues around which the campaign revolved in the media being monitored, by which the importance attributed to gender equality issues will be determined;
- the issues and persons about which the candidates (men and women) spoke, distinguishing the persons who spoke by sex (men vs. women);
- the issues and persons about whom other relevant actors in the electoral contest spoke (political organizations, the church, civil society, or the media when speaking with their own voice);
- the existence of some type of bias in the information presented by the media outlet that favours or disfavours certain candidates; or issues related to gender equality;
- other characteristics of the information related to the candidates, and gender equality issues, such as the placement of the story in the media outlet, section, genre of journalism, or the use of graphic aids; and
- gender stereotypes in the news analysed.

3. Duration of the monitoring

While it would be desirable to be able to monitor the media throughout the entire electoral campaign, the variable durations of campaigns (depending on the legal provisions of each individual country) and the available resources (generally limited) make it necessary to limit the monitoring period. This methodology calls for monitoring the media for 30 days prior to the holding of general or legislative elections. This period of time makes it possible to take stock of the main incidents of a campaign at times at which it tends to be more intense and competitive.

In addition, in those countries in which presidential elections are held in two rounds, it is proposed to monitor the campaign in the second round when a woman candidate is participating in that round. As such campaigns tend to be shorter, the duration of the monitoring may be limited to the 15 days prior to election day. In both cases, being precise as to a predetermined and specific time will make it possible to have studies of similar duration for purposes of comparison among countries.

4. Preliminary steps: forming the monitoring team and guidelines for its work

In order to carry out any media monitoring, one fundamental stage on which the success or failure of such an initiative may turn is forming the team that will do the day-to-day work of collecting information, analysing it and producing results. The first step is to define how a team of this sort should be structured, who should be included, and the profile required for inclusion, as well as distributing responsibilities to each team member.

Following is a table with the number of persons and functions that could make up a basic team:

Position	Profile	Functions
Project coordinator	Communicator, media analyst, or journalist with experience monitoring media	Heads up the team and is in charge of training the team, establishing the sample, general operational supervision, and producing the report with the analysis of the results. In some cases is also in charge of designing or implementing the strategies for disseminating the results.
Person in charge	Communicator, media analyst, or journalist	Performs the logistical coordination of the monitoring effort and conducts day-to-day supervision of the work of the monitors. Controls implementation of the methodology for collecting information and the quality of the analysis. Resolves doubts that may arise in the process of working with the coordinator, and organizes the materials analysed.
Monitors	Students of political science, law, sociology, communications, and/or other related field	Select, measure, codify and analyse the news (reading the daily newspapers, watching and listening to the radio and television programmes).
Processor of the information and production of reports	Specialist in statistics and IT	Designs the data base (in Excel or another program), supervises data input with the information collected, identifies and sorts out inconsistencies, calculates results, and prepares graphic presentation of the results.

Source: the authors, taking as a reference Browne and Fitzpatrick, 2004.

The experience of various monitoring efforts in the region and the application of this methodology indicate that:

- A specific work area must be set aside in the organization that implements this methodology in which to monitor the news assigned to each monitor daily, and on site, under the supervision of the person in charge.
- The number of monitors required depends on the size of the sample of media outlets to be tracked. It is estimated that one monitor can analyse two to three daily newspapers a day (depending on the total length of each newspaper), two more monitors would be needed to analyse television programmes, and two more for radio programmes. In summary, the team of monitors should be made up of at least five persons.
- While monitors are required who have training in specific areas, this should not be grounds for discarding people from other specialties. They can contribute a less politicized look at the news, closer to citizens' perceptions. In addition, it is important to have a diversity of backgrounds so as to balance or offset possible biases in the way in which the news is analysed. Accordingly, a plural team is recommended, not only in areas of professional training, but also in relation to socio-economic status, political attitudes and sex.
- Although the coordinator and processor may work part-time some of the time, those who are going to work as monitors and coordinators in charge of the overall effort need to be told that their jobs will require a full-time commitment, and considerable responsibility and patience.

Financial planning

One step before even forming the team is conscientiously and meticulously drawing up a budget that makes it possible to determine and estimate the expenses to be incurred in carrying out this activity. Among the costs that it is recommended be taken into account are:

- ✓ the professional fees of the team;
- ✓ recording the information: the purchase of materials from an agency or equipment for recording, such as television sets, radios, video recorders, computers, etc.;
- ✓ inputs for storing information, for example compact discs, hard drives and USB memories, and equipment for digitizing written information (scanners);
- ✓ equipment for the day-to-day work of monitors, such as headphones, timekeepers, calculators, rulers, and office supplies in general;
- ✓ software for storing information and preparing reports;
- ✓ training the team prior to the monitoring effort;
- ✓ publication of the results; and
- ✓ meetings with media outlets to present the results and raise awareness.

5. Which media outlets will be monitored? Defining the sample

Once the team has been formed and its responsibilities determined, the next step is to define the daily newspapers, television programmes and radio programmes that will be analysed. Given that in most cases both financial and human resources are limited, one may not necessarily be able to monitor all the daily newspapers and programmes in a given country. A representative sample therefore has to be chosen. In doing so, one should take into account that the daily newspapers, television channels and radio stations selected should be media:

- of national scope and with an open signal (this methodology does not include cable or closed-circuit signals that are paid for);
- that have the largest audiences or readership, it should be possible to compare such figures in specialized and impartial reports;
- that represent a plurality of ideological tendencies; and
- private but also public to the extent that the latter 'are normally subject to more stringent obligations than other types of media during the election campaign, and the monitoring should be capable of determining whether or not those obligations have been met' (Meilán, 2009: 7).

Once the media outlets have been identified, the formats to be monitored will be:

Print media	Television	Radio
All informative and opinion sections (i.e. editorials, opinion columns and letters).	Main news programmes (may include hybrid formats that incorporate magazine programming, but programmes that are exclusively magazine, interviews, and/or opinion will not be included). If there are several editions of news programmes in the 24-hour cycle, one will choose those with the largest audience.	Main news programmes (may include hybrid formats that incorporate magazine programming, but programmes that are exclusively magazine, interviews, and/or opinion will not be included). If there are several editions of news programmes in the 24-hour cycle, those with the largest audience should be chosen.

Even recognizing the increasingly important role that the Internet plays in election campaigns, this monitoring effort will not include analysis of media outlets that only put out information via the Internet.

Obtaining the information to be monitored

Many media monitoring efforts have obtained the information with which they work by physically acquiring the daily papers needed, and recording television and radio programmes on traditional recording equipment obtained for that purpose that is installed in the offices of the institution carrying out the project. If this is the option chosen, it will be necessary to budget for the purchase of equipment and procure, for example, televisions, radios, and audio and video recorders. In addition, one or more persons will have to be designated to be in charge of ensuring that the programmes are recorded, so as not to lose any programme due to technical problems.

Nonetheless, gains in technology offer the possibility of acquiring software and equipment that make it possible to pick up radio and television signals directly from a computer, so as to then store them digitally, which facilitates the filing and reviewing of information. Another option is to contract the services of firms specialized in monitoring media and recording programmes, or digitizing newspapers. This possibility (if resources permit) makes it possible to have the information required available more quickly without the need to put one's own infrastructure in place. It also offers the advantage of the budgetary savings from not having to buy equipment.

6. What and how? Initial steps for understanding the methodology

As already indicated, the main task is to identify the space (in cm^2 or in seconds) that the print media, radio and television dedicate to the candidates (whether for the presidency, the vice-presidency, or the national legislature), assess the treatment of the news in which they appear, and identify the issues to which reference is made in an election campaign, with special emphasis on the importance accorded to gender equality issues.

This will be done by reading the daily newspapers, watching the television news programmes, and listening to the radio programmes, making it possible to identify the news stories related to the election campaign.

A news story related to the election campaign is one that is published in the printed press, or broadcast by television and radio news programmes, that makes direct or indirect reference to the candidates for president, vice-president, and the national legislature, or any issue or event related to the elections and the platforms of the contending political groupings.

This news item constitutes our unit of analysis, within which we will identify a series of relationships. It should be noted that this methodology does not include information that has been paid for related to the campaign, advertising, or paid supplements or programming as media coverage.[7]

Once an article has been published, it will be analysed in detail to identify the persons involved (sources and actors) and the issues covered, and the space taken up by the relationships between source, actor and issue will be gauged (in cm^2 or seconds) within each news story.

First steps for each monitor

1st step: Identify the news stories related to the election campaign in the newspaper or programme analysed.

2nd step: Analyse the news stories, identifying the persons involved (source-actor) and the issues mentioned in each of the stories.

3rd step: Measure the space (in cm^2 and seconds) given over to the information related to each of the persons (source or actor) and issues within the news story.

4th step: Make a note on the data sheet of the information in relation to the news story: persons, issues, length, location, bias, etc.

7. Data collection and analysis: data sheet, definitions and procedures

All the information resulting from the analysis of each of the stories should be noted on a data sheet that will be used for collecting the information. It will therefore be helpful first to visualize an example of the data sheet in order to understand, one by one, the variables that have been selected and that are relevant for this methodology. We call variables each of the characteristics to be measured in each news story (which is the unit of analysis).

As can be seen in the example presented for the print media, this data sheet can be designed and worked with simply, using Excel, but of course depending on the resources of each organization it can be adapted to other more complex programs (so long as all the variables of the methodology proposed are maintained).

Example of a data sheet for collecting the information (print media)

			Source				Actor			
Date	Newspaper/ programme	N° of story	Source	Sex of the source	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Actor	Sex of the actor	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*

Issue	Location	Section	Journalistic genre	Cm²	Photo	Bias in relation to the actor	Bias in relation to the issue	Stereotype

* Information to be entered if the source or actor is a candidate.

In addition, in order to better handle the information collected and to standardize the terms used by the monitors, it would be advisable to codify all the possible options that can be included as a response for each variable. For example, when information on the party to which each candidate belongs is to be included, some of the following codes could be used:

Party	Option 1: acronyms	Option 2: numeric code	Option 3: alphanumeric code
Partido Verde de la Integración Nacional	PVIN	0001	P1
Partido Demócrata Independiente	PDI	0002	P2
Partido de la Restauración Nacional	PRN	0003	P3

With slight variations, the data sheet presented will be used to record the information from the news stories on television and radio (see annexes 2 and 3). Subsections (a) to (l) below explain each of the variables included in the data sheets.

(a) Date. This is the day on which the newspaper in which the article being analysed was published or the date when the television or radio programme broadcast the news story being analysed.

(b) Daily newspaper or programme. This is the name or title of the daily newspaper or television or radio programme being analysed.

(c) Number of the story. It is important that each news story analysed be assigned a number. It will not necessarily be the case that each news story will correspond to just one line in the Excel data sheet. As is explained in detail below, a single news story may present several sources that speak of other actors mentioning different issues.

Therefore, each of the relationships among these variables will have a given dimension and will be filled in independently on the data sheet, maintaining the original number assigned to identify the story.

Example of a data sheet with information filled in

Date	Newspaper/ programme	N° of story	Source				Actor			
			Source	Sex of the source	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Actor	Sex of the actor	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*
3/12/10	La Razón	1	Candidate 1	M	Presidency	MNR	Candidate 1	M	Presidency	MNR
3/12/10	La Razón	1	Candidate 1	F	Congress	RPT	Party 2	M	N/A	N/A
3/12/10	La Razón	1	Party 2	M	N/A	N/A	Candidate 1	M	Presidency	MNR
3/12/10	La Razón	1	Media	N/A	N/A	N/A	Candidate 1	M	Presidency	MNR

(d) Protagonists: source and actor. In analysing all the stories related to the campaign, one of the tasks is to identify the persons involved within each one. The person or persons involved are the actors in each story. For the purposes of this methodology the persons involved can be one of two types:

- a source of information, that is, one who speaks or gives information; and
- an actor, i.e. the person about whom the source speaks.

The persons involved (source and actor) may be natural persons (individuals) or institutions. Although in an election campaign any number of persons appear who speak about some matter related to the campaign, for the purposes of this study, only the persons described in the following table will be identified and codified:

Persons involved (sources and actor)

Source/ actor	Definition (values to be codified by country)
Candidates	All candidates for the presidency, vice-presidency, and national congress registered with the electoral body of each country.
Executive branch	President of the Republic, vice-president, and ministers. When members of the executive branch are candidates and make statements as such, they should be included in the first option of this table.
Legislative branch	Sitting legislators. When the members of the legislature are candidates and make statements as such, they should be included in the first option of this table.
Political organizations	Leaders and spokespersons of the political parties and political movements. The statements of party activists who do not hold any leadership or spokesperson role will not be considered statements by their political organization and will be included in the category 'others'.
Electoral authorities	Members or spokespersons of public institutions in charge of organizing and/or overseeing elections and/or imparting electoral justice.
Churches	Representatives and spokespersons of the Catholic Church, evangelical churches, and other religious faiths.
Civil society	Representatives of NGOs, social organizations, and business organizations.
Media outlets	The media themselves can 'talk', through opinion articles by journalists and political analysts, and information provided through descriptive stories, reports, editorials, etc.
Others	All other persons who make statements or are mentioned in a news story and are not included in this listing.

The existence of many parties competing in elections, not all of them with the same chances of winning (as happens in many countries), means that the number of contending candidates (especially in the case of legislative lists) proliferates in a way that makes this type of analysis very cumbersome. If that is the situation in a given country, one option is to define a sample of parties that will help limit the analysis to the candidates from the previously defined organizations.

If this is the option chosen, it is important to be very careful when making the selection, and efforts should be made to ensure that it is as objective as possible so as to include the largest political parties and those with the greatest chances of being elected. The use of surveys that gauge voter trends may be helpful in this process.

(d.1) What do we call a 'source'? The source of information is the person who speaks, the person who provides the news. It is the person who enunciates the opinion or statement on a given issue or political actor. The source may be the media outlet itself (in the case of descriptive stories, chronicles and editorials) or the political actors (in the case of statements and opinions by the candidates themselves, spokespersons of the parties, authorities, representatives of organizations, etc.).

The source may be a person or an institution. In the event that the source is a candidate, it is essential to include, as an item of information in the data sheet, the sex – F for female, M for male. The source may be identified in the following ways.

- *Direct statements or quotes.* In the print media, the media outlet may literally transcribe the statements of a political actor. In these cases, the text is usually in quotes. On television or radio, the media outlet may broadcast the actual statement.
- *Attributed statements.* This is the case when the media outlet attributes statements to a political figure or paraphrases his or her words without quoting them directly. Normally they use verbs such as he or she 'said', 'stated', 'commented', 'informed', 'criticized', 'expressed', etc.

In the following example, drawn from the coverage of the campaign for mayor of Lima (Peru), we can identify the differences described above. A direct statement in this article would be that expressed by candidate Lourdes Flores: 'I'm not racing after anyone', while an attributed statement would be that of candidate Susana Villarán, who, according to the newspaper, *said she was willing to engage in a debate only with her contender from the PPC-UN.*

| Diario La República | **FRIDAY** 10 September 2010

Villarán dispuesta al debate

Si bien intentó no centrarse en el tema político, la candidata de Fuerza Social dijo estar dispuesta a entablar un debate sólo con su contendora del PPC-UN, Lourdes Flores. "Yo no le corro a nadie", manifesto. Consultada al respecto, Flores Nano señaló que estos temas serán evaluados por su agrupación luego del debate planeado para el próximo 16 de octubre. ■

Sources: Susana Villarán and Lourdes Flores.

Campaign for mayor of Lima.

The media outlet as source. This situation occurs when the media outlet reports on some event, or analyses or gives an opinion on some issue without attributing it to any specific person. News stories with the media outlet as the source are quite common and are normally presented as descriptive stories, chronicles, reportage, or editorials.

In the following example, for both Senate candidate Isaac Ávalos and Alejo Véliz, it is the media outlet that provides the information. In the first case, it indicates that he *will sign an alliance with professional attorneys who will join the Movimiento al Socialismo.* In the second, it states that *he arrived in La Paz to participate in several conferences and talks in which he will expound on his government plan. He will be in the city until Thursday the 12th.*

| Diario Cambio | **TUESDAY** 10 November 2009

Hoja de Ruta

El candidato a segundo senador por Santa Cruz Isaac Ávalos firmará una alianza con abogados profesionales que se sumarán al Movimiento Al Socialismo. ■

Source: Media outlet.

Alejo Véliz llegó a La Paz para participar en varias conferencias y charlas donde expondrá su plan de gobierno. Estará hasta el jueves 12. ■

Source: Media outlet.

Presidential and legislative campaign in Bolivia.

One of the pre-established rules or conventions that should be used in analysing a source is the difference between a 'summary' of a statement and an 'interpretation' of the statement:

- When a media outlet summarizes a statement, the source is the person who provided the information.
- When media interpret, analyse or offer an opinion regarding a statement, the source is the media outlet. This difference can be better appreciated by reference to the following examples.

Convention N° 1: Example

On concluding the presentation of her platform, the candidate for the Partido del Norte, Carla Pérez, made it very clear that her government would address, first and foremost, the excluded groups. These groups, historically relegated, will become one of the priorities of my government, and to that end targeted social programmes have been designed, she said, amidst the applause of her followers.
Source: Candidate of the Partido del Norte, Carla Pérez

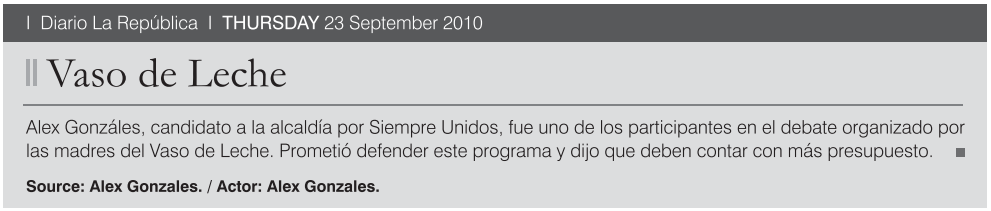
The presentation of the platform of the Partido del Norte has given rise to several questions. Its candidate for the presidency, Mrs Pérez, said that her priority will be the excluded groups, but she did not explain how she will carry out this promise. She mentioned that targeted social programmes have been designed, but she did not say anything about where the money for these programmes would come from. Could it be that we'll go back to the policy of external indebtedness through 'bonds', or will we rob Peter to pay Paul? Clearly more than a technical presentation of a platform, the speech by Mrs Pérez was full of airy promises and attacks on the government.
Source: Media outlet

Finally, it is very important to recall that when the source is a candidate, it is essential to include the sex (female or male), the political grouping to which he or she belongs, and the type of office for which he or she is running on the data sheet. On this last point, the distinction must be clearly made between candidacies for the presidency, the vice-presidency, the lower house of the legislature, and the upper house of the legislature (in those countries that do not have unicameral legislatures).

Without including this information it will be impossible later on to perform an analysis and make a comparison among candidates by specific type of candidacy (for example, the percentage of coverage of all male candidates for Congress compared to the percentage of coverage of all female candidates) or to make a similar comparison within each party.

With respect to the other persons indicated in this methodology (executive branch, legislative branch, political organizations, churches, civil society), it will suffice to include the sex of the person making the statements.

(d.2) What do we call an 'actor'? The actor is the person whom the source discusses. It is important not to confuse this category with the source of information. A news story will always have a source, but not always an actor, since often the source does not make reference to an actor, since he or she is referring not to another person but to an issue. In the event that the actor is a candidate, it is essential to include the sex as an item on the data sheet (F for female, M for male). In addition, often the media outlet draws on the statements and opinions of third persons to refer to other persons.

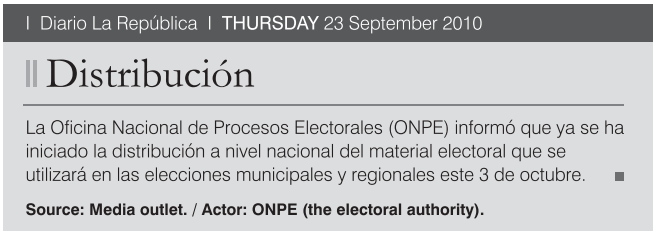

I Diario La República I THURSDAY 23 September 2010

Vaso de Leche

Alex Gonzáles, candidato a la alcaldía por Siempre Unidos, fue uno de los participantes en el debate organizado por las madres del Vaso de Leche. Prometió defender este programa y dijo que deben contar con más presupuesto. ■

Source: Alex Gonzales. / Actor: Alex Gonzales.

Campaign for mayor of Lima.

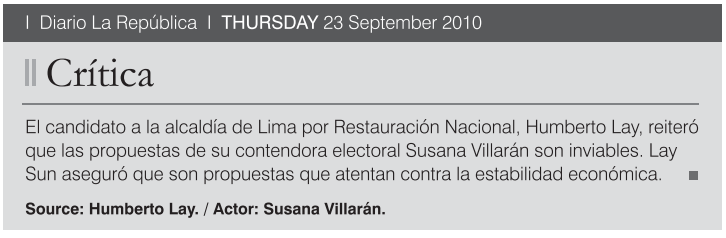

I Diario La República I THURSDAY 23 September 2010

Distribución

La Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (ONPE) informó que ya se ha iniciado la distribución a nivel nacional del material electoral que se utilizará en las elecciones municipales y regionales este 3 de octubre. ■

Source: Media outlet. / Actor: ONPE (the electoral authority).

Campaign for mayor of Lima.


I Diario La República I THURSDAY 23 September 2010

Crítica

El candidato a la alcaldía de Lima por Restauración Nacional, Humberto Lay, reiteró que las propuestas de su contendora electoral Susana Villarán son inviables. Lay Sun aseguró que son propuestas que atentan contra la estabilidad económica. ■

Source: Humberto Lay. / Actor: Susana Villarán.

Campaign for mayor of Lima.

In the examples presented above, the second article, entitled 'Crítica', reports that the candidate for mayor of Lima for Restauración Nacional, Humberto Lay (source), reiterated that the proposals of his opponent, Susana Villarán (actor), are not viable. Humberto Lay, who speaks, is the source. Susana Villarán, of whom he speaks, is the actor.

The third article, entitled 'Distribución', says that 'the National Office of Electoral Processes reported that the distribution of the election materials has already begun at the national level ....'. In this case, it is the media outlet itself that is speaking and constitutes the source, and the National Office of Electoral Processes is the actor (the one spoken about).

In the case of the first article, entitled 'Vaso de Leche' ('Glass of Milk programme') **Convention Nº 2**, referring to the actor, will be used for the analysis: in the event that the source of information does not make reference to any person, but only to a given issue, when filling out the form we will consider the source to be the actor. We assume

that when no reference is being made to another person or institution, the source is speaking about himself, herself, or itself.

Accordingly, in the article referred to above, candidate Alex Gonzales is both source and actor.

Also in the case of the actor it is very important to recall that when that actor is a candidate it is essential that the data sheet include the sex (female or male), the political grouping to which he or she belongs, and the office for which he or she is running. On this last point, as in the case of the source, candidates for the presidency, the vice-presidency, the lower house of the legislature, and the upper house of the legislature (in the case of countries that do not have a unicameral legislature) should be clearly distinguished.

Exercise for identifying the source and the actor in news stories

(Story 1)

Campaign draws to a close with surprises

After a month and a half of graffiti, sticky radio slots, heated televised debates, and hundreds of electoral promises, the candidates ended their campaigns, each in his or her own way, within the limits of their possibilities. While candidate A had the hottest musical group at his/her closing rally, candidate B preferred to call his/her followers to a mass at the main Cathedral….

(Story 2)

Campaign draws to a close with surprises

After a month and a half of graffiti, sticky radio spots, heated televised debates, and hundreds of electoral promises, the candidates ended their campaigns, each in his or her own way, and within the limits of their possibilities and personalities. According to candidate C, his/her party was unable to raise sufficient funds; therefore he/she had to be content to hold a small rally at the front door of the party headquarters. He/she also indicated that his/her grouping does not have access to large meeting halls or public plazas, as the pro-government candidate, candidate D, does. He/she also criticized candidate D for failing to respect the ethical pact that was signed at the outset of the campaign, prohibiting the use of public resources for the campaign….

Analysis.

In article 1 we see that the source is the newspaper itself, and the actors it makes reference to are candidates A and B. In article 2, the source of information is candidate C and the actor to which reference is made is candidate D.

(e) Issues. All the information related to the electoral process, the platforms, the government proposals of the candidates and the candidates themselves will be classified by issues. These issues will be divided into two major categories:

- Programmatic information. Any positioning or opinion on a public policy, whether currently being implemented or proposed for the future, should be considered

programmatic information, although it is not necessarily formulated as a government proposal.

For example, if a government candidate says 'my party proposes to defend women's reproductive rights, and so we will continue guaranteeing free distribution of the morning-after pill', and the opposition candidate notes 'we are against continuing the government's birth control policy', both statements should be considered as addressing a programmatic issue. In addition, any criticism of a government policy will be considered programmatic information, even if no direct or specific alternative proposal is made.

- Non-programmatic information. In contrast with the foregoing, non-programmatic issues are those that do not refer directly or indirectly to a public policy, but rather have to do more with the juncture, campaign incidents, or the electoral process itself.

  For example, the discussion on polling results, how the electoral process is unfolding, the polemics between leaders or institutions, campaign rallies and so on will be considered non-programmatic.

The following table lists by way of example issues that may be considered as non-programmatic information for this monitoring. And it sets forth a minimum of programmatic issues that should be included in the monitoring effort, among which gender equality is a priority.

Non-programmatic and programmatic issues

Non-programmatic. The following issues are presented by way of example. For this monitoring, all these issues are in the non-programmatic category.	Programmatic. Essential issues for monitoring, among which gender equality must be included.
• General accusations • Denunciations • Opinions about candidates • Opinions about the current government • Opinions about political parties • Election surveys • Analyses of surveys • Civil society • Attacks in the campaign • Neutrality of the state • Electoral regulations • Electoral organization and training	1. Gender equality • Sexual and reproductive rights • Ending violence against women • Economic, social and cultural rights • Women's political participation • Other 2. The economy, employment, investment and infrastructure 3. Education 4. Health 5. Security (defence and internal order) 6. Multiculturalism 7. Development and environment 8. Social policies and fighting poverty 9. Other

In identifying the issue, close attention is required, for often a news story may mention more than one. Accordingly, those issues should be identified that best describe the gist or intent of the news item. The objective is to find a central issue in the story and fit it into one of the programmatic issues that we have predefined (gender, education, health, etc.). To be able to do this, there has to be a sufficiently delimited definition of what we understand by each of the programmatic issues to be monitored. Those which, after being analysed, cannot be fitted into one or another should be included in the category 'other'.

In addition, it must be borne in mind that the idea is not to identify the space that the newspapers and television and radio programmes give the issues generally, but only the space they use when they are addressed by a candidate, or when these issues are mentioned by other persons making reference to the proposals or platforms being put forward by the candidates. In addition, **Convention Nº 3** will be used to identify the issue. According to this convention, when a news item addresses a central issue (for example, health) but also makes general reference to another issue (for example, the economy), when filling in the data sheet the issue of the news item analysed will be health. It will merely be noted that the economy was mentioned, and it will be assigned 1 cm^2 or 1 second, as the case may be.

What do we understand by 'gender equality'?

This category includes those 'public policy or legislative proposals aimed at achieving equality between the sexes and the expansion of women's economic, social, political, and cultural rights, promoting autonomy and the development of capacities and knowledge so as to change their reality and improve their quality of life' (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 12). These proposals should also seek, in the various spheres of personal and social life, 'the redistribution of gender roles, attempting to change cultural value judgments that accord priority to that which is male' (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 12).

For this monitoring effort the issues of gender equality can be subdivided, in turn, into five categories, which will make possible a more detailed analysis of such proposals.

Sexual rights and reproductive rights	Refers to state policies on contraception, sexual diversity, HIV/AIDS, maternal mortality and abortion, as well as strategies for sex education and sexual rights in vulnerable populations (adolescents, children, and rural women).
Ending violence against women	Refers to policies of prevention and care aimed at eradicating violence against and sexual abuse of women.
Economic, social and cultural rights	Refers to public policies aimed at guaranteeing basic services for women in areas such as health, education, housing, work and employment, and the environment, among others. Their objective is to give women a dignified and adequate standard of living.

Women's political participation	Refers to policies for the inclusion of women in political participation and decision-making, both in elective office and in the public administration, and in the internal processes of the political parties. In addition, public policies can be developed that promote women's participation in forums for citizen social participation.
Others	All those that do not fit in to the categories described above.

Example of an article with a non-programmatic issue: electoral regulations and the organization and conclusion of the campaign

I Diario El Deber I **THURSDAY** 3 December 2009

LA CAMPAÑA TERMINA Y EL TIEMPO APURA A LA CORTE*

COMICIOS. Esta medianoche cesa la propaganda electoral y comienza la vigencia de la ley seca. Ayer, Evo Morales cerró la campaña del MAS en Santa Cruz. Hoy lo hacen Manfred Reyes Villa y Doria Medina.

Hay siete zonas de riesgo

San Julían, Cuatro Cañadas, Yapacaní, El Torno y Charagua, la provincia Ichilo y el Plan Tres Mil son las zonas identificadas como "calientes" por la CDE.

Envían material electoral

Por la lluvias caídas en el departamento se temen dificultades en el despacho del material de votación. Ayer comenzó el envío a áreas más alejadas.

Hay una huelga en la CNE

Un grupo de mujeres empezó ayer un ayuno en instalaciones de la CNE en protesta por la habilitación de más de 400.000 observadores.

* "Campaign Ends and Time Runs Out for the Court" from Presidential and legislative campaign in Bolivia.

Example of a story that contains a non-programmatic issue: polls

I Jornal Hoje I **SATURDAY** 21 August 2010 13h02 - Updated on 21 August 2010 13h30

Dilma Rousseff venceria no primeiro turno, diz pesquisa Datafolha*

Pesquisa realizada pelo Instituto Datafolha para o jornal ´Folha de Sao Paulo´ e publicada neste sábado dá vantagem de 17 pontos para a candidata do PT, Dilma Rousseff, sobré o candidato do PSDB José Serra.

* "Dilma Rouseff to Win in First Round, according to Datafolha poll" from Presidential campaign in Brazil.

Example of an interview that contains a programmatic issue: social policy and the anti-poverty effort (television)

Journalist: 'There are some proposals that give the impression of being populist, to win votes, for example the idea of replacing the Glass of Milk programme with a food stamp worth 100 sols. First, one would have to see how much this would cost, because there are many people in the Glass of Milk programme. But the problem is not the Glass of Milk programme versus the 100-sol food stamp, but the programme's total lack of focus. A very large percentage would no longer qualify for the Glass of Milk, because they are no longer poor. It's a programme that is never evaluated, a politicized programme, a clientelistic programme, of the left originally. So one would have to propose something else, because otherwise it's demagoguery – "I'm going to give you 100 sols". That seems like populism.'

Candidate: 'Jaime, look, we're going to take it in parts, and teaspoons. We have said not replace but supplement the programme in El Cercado. The Glass of Milk programme is implemented in the districts. I did the Glass of Milk programme with Alfonso, it wasn't clientelistic. It's the most widespread programme at the national level, and with which one can do many things. It reaches the block and even the lot of the person. Why not build on this programme, which was always universal?'

Journalist: 'But it has the highest degree of leakage, it reaches people who don't need it; that has to be changed.'

Candidate: 'The mothers themselves tell you that: why isn't it reaching people? And there are very specific reasons; that has to be changed. If you are in Las Lomas de Carabayllo, in Las Palmeras, for example, which is an area affected by extreme poverty, they ask you, for example, for 2.50 sols to register…. '

Transcript of La Hora N. interview with Susana Villarán, 1 September 2010 (campaign for mayor of Lima).

Example of a story that includes a programmatic issue: gender equality and ending violence against women

I Diario La Razón PODER CIUDADANO I **FRIDAY** 13 November 2009

Siete de ocho fuerzas políticas olvidaron los derechos de las mujeres maltratadas*

La violencia por razones de género acosa a miles de mujeres bolivianas. A pesar de ello, sólo el MAS propuso redactar leyes más duras para los agresores y el resto de los partidos ni siquiera hizo referencia a estas personas. ■

"En Bolivia, 7 de 10 mujeres son agredidas de manera psicológica y sexualmente", aseguró la diputada y candidata Elizabeth Salguero.

El año pasado, 180,000 mujeres fueron víctimas de violencia (golpizas, insultos, violaciones, amenazas de muerte e incluso asesinatos). A pesar de ello, la mayoría de los partidos políticos en carrera electoral para el 6 de diciembre ni siquiera incluyeron la temática en las propuestas presentadas ante la Corte Nacional Electoral.

LAS PROPUESTAS EN LA LUCHA CONTRA LA CORRUPCIÓN

(MAS) Leyes específicas

El programa del MAS incluye la siguiente definición: "Del mismo modo, se deberá aprobar un cuerpo de leyes que protejan a las mujeres contra la violencia física, con igualdad de participación en el ejercicio y control del poder político en igualdad de condiciones con los hombres". Este partido también propone, aunque de manera general, trabajar en el ámbito educativo. "Se aplicarán programas para la lucha contra la violencia infantil y de género en las escuelas", se lee en el proyecto oficialista.

(UN) General

Unidad Nacional no profundiza la temática de género, aunque propone un plan de seguridad ciudadana. "En las ciudades capitales de departamento, las familias sufren de asaltos, robos y atracos a personas; robos en domicilios, violaciones a niñas y mujeres; robos en oficinas y en establecimientos económicos, y también un aumento en la venta de drogas en las plazas y los alrededores de los colegios. La inseguridad afecta a la vida, a la propiedad y a las actividades económicas de las familias bolivianas. Entre las tareas para solucionar estas adversidades, UN propone aumentar el número de policías y la participación de la población.

(AS) Sin propuesta

Esta tienda política no incluye ninguna propuesta exclusiva para trabajar por la reducción de los casos de violencia contra las mujeres. El texto sólo incluye este compromiso: "Sociedad con justicia social e igualdad de oportunidades para el desarrollo de hombres y mujeres".

* "Seven of eight parties forget rights of abused women" from Presidential and legislative campaign in Bolivia.

(f) Placement. Based on this variable one can identify whether a story is among those most highlighted by the media either on the front page of the daily paper (in the case of the print media) or among the headlines (in the case of television and radio). If it does not appear in those spaces, in the case of the printed press the page number should be identified, and for radio and television the number of the segment in which the information is situated. The segments will be recorded based on their order of appearance – first segment, second segment, third segment and so on.

(g) Section or segment. In order to provide a thematic order for the information they present, the media generally group the news in sections or segments that have their own names. It is necessary to indicate the specific thematic group in which the news story being analysed has been classified. In the case of the print media (albeit with some variations from country to country), these segments are generally politics, the election campaign, the economy, national, local, home-women-beauty, entertainment, special supplement, and others. Television and radio programmes often take these sections as a reference, though they call them 'blocks'. If no reference is made to a specific title, one should record the number of the segment in which the information being analysed appears.

It is important for the information set out with respect to the section or segment to be consistent with a prior classification based on the categories mentioned a few lines up and that one does not identify these sections with the particular names that each media outlet or country may assign them (for example, 'Election Watch', 'Politics Today', etc.).

(h) Journalistic genre. News stories may take several forms to recount the facts in the light of the objectives pursued by the journalist and the level of subjectivity used in drafting the text. The following table presents some genres that are commonly found in the media, and which will be considered in using this methodology.

Print media	Television	Radio
News	News	News
Interview	Reportage	Reportage
Reportage	Interview	Interview
Chronicle	Other	Other
Opinion column		
Editorial		
Other		

To distinguish them from one another, we briefly define each of them.

News. News is informational text par excellence and the material most widely used by daily newspapers and news programmes. Its main objective is to report in a concise and descriptive fashion on a given event or situation offering the most important data (what, who, how, when, where, why).

Interview. An interview is a dialogue involving two or more persons in which one asks questions and the other responds (or the others respond).

Reportage. This is an expanded, exhaustive and documented narrative of an event. In it, resources from other journalistic genres, such as the interview, chronicle, and the news, may all be used at the same time. It makes use of supporting devices such as images, infographs, statistical tables, etc.

Chronicle. A chronicle narrates a past event subjectively on the basis of real facts and data. It is the most literary of journalistic genres.

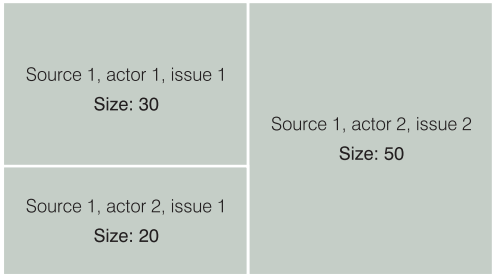
Opinion article. Opinion articles represent the position and opinion of a person (who may or may not be a journalist) on an issue of social interest.

Editorial. An editorial represents the position and opinion of the media outlet itself on a matter of social interest.

(i) Size. This means the space in square centimeters (height x width) or seconds taken up by the statement, opinion, or information of a source on a given actor or issue within a news story. Although our unit of analysis is the news story, it will be unpacked in various parts, such as the relationships among source, actor and issue.

The relationship between source, actor and issue is very important if we are to be able to obtain the dimensions within a news story. This should be understood as the relationship that exists when a given person (source) talks about another person (actor) in relation to an issue. Each time a component of this relationship between source, actor and issue changes, the relationship itself will change. For example, if the news item begins with a source talking about an actor in relation to a given issue, but in the course of the story the source also talks about another actor, or speaks of the same actor but concerning a different issue, a second relationship is created within the news story.

Each of these relationships should have its size, and the sum of these sizes should result in the total space taken up by the story. For example, if we have a story in the print media that measures 100 cm^2 and three different relationships appear between source, actor and issue, then each relationship will have a space, and the sum of these spaces should add up to the total length of the article, 100 cm^2.



No matter the number of parts into which we break down the story, the sum of these parts should *always* add up to the total size of the entire story. Also, when the source does not refer to another person, but to an issue, in filling in the data sheet we consider the source itself as the actor. In this case, the relationship will continue being source-actor-issue; the only difference is that the source and actor would be the same person. This relationship will change if the source mentions a person or changes issue.

To determine the size one must follow **conventions Nº 4** to **Nº 10**:

- The total size of the story is obtained by considering the headline, byline, introduction, complete text, photographs, infographs, tables, and any other graphic aid accompanying the story in question.

- The size of the photo should be added to the size of the text. If several persons appear in the photo, one divides the size of the photo by the number of persons who appear in it, and the resulting figure is attributed to each of them.

- In the cases in which we find several relationships between source, actor and issue in a single story, yet in the introduction no reference is made to any of them in particular, the space taken up by the introduction will be divided by the number of relationships, and this figure will be added to the size of each of these relationships.

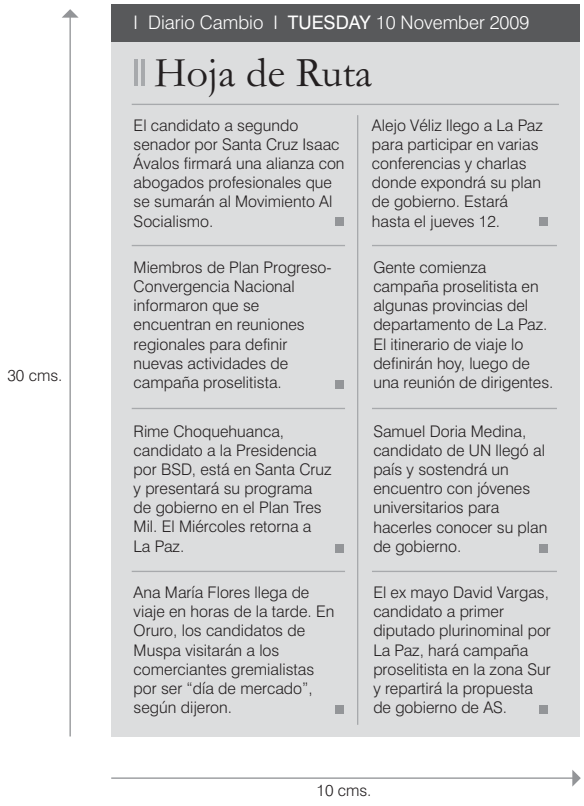
- If the source only mentions a political actor (or political actors) and does not develop any ideas or opinions about him, her, or them, it is considered a 'mention' and 1 cm^2 or 1 second is attributed to this actor.

- The final figure obtained after multiplying the width by the height of the space occupied by the relationship among source, actor and issue is rounded. The size should be a whole number: decimals are not used. To this end, a simple method for rounding is used: when the fraction is less than one-half, one rounds down, and when it is greater than or equal to one-half, it is rounded up.

- Comic strips and cartoons that are generally presented in the media, independent of their frequency, are considered as news stories and should be analysed like any other.

Below we present some exercises that will help to give a clearer grasp of how to use all the rules defined for obtaining the size.

Example 1: Daily newspaper (presidential and legislative campaign in Bolivia)



This story, entitled 'Road Map', has a single source (the media outlet itself), which makes reference to eight political actors, and in which brief mention is made of the electoral agenda of each one (non-programmatic issue). When measured, it occupies a total of 300 cm^2 (30 cm high x 10 cm wide). As the amounts of space given to the information on each of the candidates occupies are similar, the total size is divided by the number of candidates: 300/8=37.5. Finally, since the resulting figure is not a whole number, it must be rounded, resulting in 38 cm^2 of space for each one.

This information should be filled in on the data sheet for collecting the information as follows:

Source	Actor	Issue	Cm^2
Media outlet	Candidate 1	Non-programmatic	38
Media outlet	Candidate 2	Non-programmatic	38
Media outlet	Candidate 3	Non-programmatic	38
Media outlet	Candidate 4	Non-programmatic	38

Example 2: Noticiero Central-Bolivia TV (presidential and legislative campaign in Bolivia)

Image: journalist
Voice (lead-in to the story): It's a pleasure to greet you … the minister of the presidency made an appearance in San Borja, where the candidates were introduced, both uninominal and plurinominal. (10 seconds)

Image: Exterior shots and public at the rally
Voice off camera: The candidates for the Senate and the lower house for the Movimiento al Socialismo were officially introduced in the district of San Borja; they were accompanied by the minister of the presidency, Juan Ramón Quintana. (15 seconds)

Image: Freddy Versati, first candidate for Senate for MAS BENI
Voice: My commitment as a senator will be to implement the political jurisdiction of the state…. (10 seconds)

Image: Tania Melgar, alternate candidate
Voice: For years we have had to put up with the pillaging of our natural resources, the enrichment and cynicism of just a few people. (10 seconds)

Image: Juan Ramón Quintana, minister of the presidency
Voice: Our difference with the opposition candidates is that they are friends of terrorism, advocates of separatism…. (20 seconds)

Date: 13 November 2009

Example 2 presents a television news story that is somewhat more complex. It identifies three sources of information (candidate Versati, candidate Melgar and Minister Quintana) who speak, in two cases, of non-programmatic issues (accusations of other candidates), and in one case of a programmatic issue, reform of the state (candidate Versati). None of the three makes explicit reference to any other person, therefore they are the actors.

Given that in the introduction by the media outlet reference is made both to the minister and to the MAS candidates, the space should be divided by the number of source-actor-issue relationships in the story:

- Source candidate Versati, actor candidate Versati: 10 seconds
- Source candidate Melgar, actor candidate Melgar: 10 seconds
- Source Minister Quintana, actor Minister Quintana: 20 seconds
- Introduction: 25 seconds. As there are three relationships, we divide this total by three, which is to say 8.33 seconds for each relationship (which will be rounded to 8 seconds each).

This information should be recorded in the data sheet for collecting information as follows:

Source	Actor	Issue	Seconds
Candidate Versati	Candidate Versati	Non-programmatic	18
Candidate Melgar	Candidate Melgar	Non-programmatic	18
Minister Quintana	Minister Quintana	Reform of the state	28

(j) Bias. Bias is the tone used by the source in referring to a given person or issue in the news item. Therefore it is the variable that enables us to evaluate how the information related to both appears, so as to be able to distinguish between positive coverage, negative coverage and neutral coverage. As Meilán notes:

> Without bias, one would quantify similarly a defamation campaign undertaken against a candidate in an adverse media outlet and a support campaign in a favourable media outlet, and it would be impossible to detect any possible bias. As regards gender proposals, the logic is the same: it is not enough to have a lofty presentation of gender proposals in the media. It is useful and necessary to discern whether the media give space and time to gender proposals to criticize them, support them, or simply to report aseptically on them (Meilán, 2009: 13).

As the author himself recommends, to establish bias (also called tone) of a mention, one must take into account two dimensions: the value of the occurrence (information or opinion) itself, and the evaluation rendered by the media outlet in question. Each of these dimensions can have a positive, negative, or neutral value. The tone of a codified item should always be the result of crossing the two dimensions mentioned, intrinsic value and evaluation.

A cross-reference of both dimensions is summarized in the table below, designed and used by the Osservatorio di Pavia,[8] which makes it possible to reduce the margins of

subjectivity that may be entailed in this type of more qualitative analysis. To apply this table in each analysis one should assume that ' –1' indicates 'negative', '0' indicates 'neutral', and '1' indicates 'positive', and that:

- When evaluation and intrinsic value coincide, the bias is the shared one.
- If one of the two dimensions (evaluation or intrinsic value) is neutral and the other is positive or negative, the bias takes on the positive or negative value.
- The evaluation always prevails over the value, unless it is neutral (0).

Osservatorio di Pavia: method for obtaining the bias of a news story

		Evaluation of the event by the media outlet		
		-1	0	1
Intrinsic value of the event	-1	-1	-1	1
	0	-1	0	1
	1	-1	1	1

Source: Osservatorio di Pavia, cited in Meilán, 2009: 14.

Example of the analysis of bias: Actor

First case	Second case	Third case
Intrinsic value: positive (1) Evaluation by the media outlet: neutral (0) Type of coverage: positive (1)	Intrinsic value: positive (1) Evaluation by the media outlet: positive (1) Type of coverage: positive (1)	Intrinsic value: positive (1) Evaluation by the media outlet: negative (–1) Type of coverage: negative (–1)
Last Sunday, legislative candidate Estefanía Pérez received the medal of merit of her home town. In the ceremony the mayor of the city expressed his wish that Pérez be elected in order for them to be able to work together for the benefit of the people, as they had already done in the past in the municipal transport company.	A well-deserved award for steadfastness and hard work was granted to Estefanía Pérez, candidate for legislator, in her home town. In this ceremony, the mayor of the city did not hold back in praising this effective manager and dignified representative of her people, with whom he said he hopes to continue working.	It is very surprising that despite the reports published by this newspaper, last Sunday legislative candidate Estefanía Pérez received the medal of merit of her home town from the mayor. As she is still remembered for her poor job in the municipal transport company, many residents are asking why she has been given this award and why the mayor wishes to continue working with her.

In terms of the issues, bias should be evaluated by making a determination as to whether the coverage by the media outlet has been favourable (positive bias), unfavourable (negative bias), or neither favourable nor unfavourable (neutral bias). In the case of this methodology, the issues will be limited exclusively to those that belong to gender equality. One must specify that what is being evaluated is the type of coverage of the issue; therefore we will start from the premise that the issues, in and of themselves, will always be neutral.

Example of the analysis of bias: issue

First case	Second case	Third case
The issue in itself: neutral (0) Evaluation by the media outlet: neutral (0) Type of coverage: neutral (0)	Issue in itself: neutral (0) Evaluation by the media outlet: positive (1) Type of coverage: positive (1)	Issue in itself: neutral (0) Evaluation by the media outlet: negative (–1) Type of coverage: negative (–1)
The candidate for the Partido Nueva Juventud promised in the closing speech of his campaign that he would continue the current government's policy of distributing the 'morning-after pill' free of charge to prevent unwanted pregnancies among the poorest adolescent females.	Finally, a promise that defends women's rights. Yesterday, the candidate for president for the Partido Nueva Juventud noted in the closing speech of his campaign that he will continue the effective policy of the current government by distributing the 'morning-after pill' In the midst of doubts as to the continuity of this policy, it is to be applauded that a candidate takes a position to diminish one of the highest rates of undesired teenage pregnancies in Latin America.	As feared, yesterday the candidate for the Partido Nueva Juventud promised to continue the mistaken policy of the current government of distributing the 'morning-after pill' free of charge. Yet he failed to mention the many studies that indicate that the said pill is abortive. It is worrisome that supposedly to promote women's rights one would endanger the right to life of those who are conceived in this country.

With respect to bias, one must apply **Convention Nº 11**: in order to identify bias in the news, for both the actor and for the issue, one must start from the premise that all news stories are neutral (0). Only if they are evidently favourable or unfavourable, using the table from the Osservatorio de Pavia, will we assign a positive or negative bias. This is usually evidenced by the use of qualifiers in favour or against the actor or issue on narrating the news item.

(k) Photo or image. This is the graphic or pictorial aid that accompanies the news item: a photograph, in the case of the print media, and an image of the source or actor in the case of television. The photo or image may be presented in the following ways.

- There is a photo/image but neither the source nor the actor appears in it.
- There is a photo/image and the actor and source appear in it.

- There is a photo/image and only the actor appears in it.
- There is a photo/image and only the source appears in it.

(l) Gender stereotypes. As the result of a society in which men have been culturally considered to be the centre and the point of reference of all things, whereas women have been seen as dependent on and subordinated to men, the media may produce, through their reports, ideas or images that are taken as normal models for treating both men and women, but which nonetheless reinforce the unequal treatment in the social mindset. Accordingly, 'the point of view of the news story, the questions asked in an interview, the use of language, the selection of images … are all factors that have their weight in the messages that emerge in the news, and that result in specific representations of women and men in the news' (Portal América Latina Genera, n.d.: 3).

According to the methodology established by the Global Media Monitoring Project 2009–2010 (GMMP), cited above in this manual, news stories are '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' (Global Media Monitoring Project 2009–2010, n.d.: 3). And they will be 'subtly stereotyped' when they 'contain unstated assumptions about the roles of women and men … [o]r stories that convey stereotyped beliefs, such as that women are emotionally fragile'.

Based on these concepts, stereotyped assumptions in news stories can be said to be present in the following circumstances:

- When women candidates are presented as victims or sexual objects.

  Example: After the death of her husband, the beautiful mayor Adriana Valladares is plucking the petals of daisies to decide whether to run for re-election. Her husband (an excellent negotiator) was her leading advisor and political operative. Now, even though various sectors of her party are courting her, there are many doubts as to whether she will be able to decide which allies best suit her.

- When an image of women candidates associated with their domestic roles is reinforced (mother, wife, or housewife), or when there is disproportionate emphasis on their private lives.

  Example: Josefina Núñez, a well-known activist with the Partido Renovador, has announced her candidacy for the presidency of the republic. In launching her

campaign, Núñez, who is single and has no children, promises to implement policies to ensure that children aged 0 to 5 years of age have adequate nutrition.

- When the story gives more weight to the dress or physical features of a woman candidate, downplaying the importance of her actions or positions taken in the campaign.

  Example: The chairwoman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, a candidate for re-election, displayed a suggestive cleavage at the dinner she gave for the minister of defence of France to celebrate the Cooperation and Security Treaty signed by the two countries. Her new haircut and her pink make-up are striking. All in attendance fix their gaze on both as they listen to her speech, in which she highlights the current excellent relations between the two countries.

The rule of inversion

A simple method that may help identify whether we are in the presence of a gender stereotype is to replace the female actor by a male actor in any text to see what happens: 'if something unusual or shocking results, the red light is triggered and one should analyze the situation anew in this new light' (Portal América Latina Genera, n.d.: 3).

In order to visualize each situation in the examples presented above, one should ask, in applying this rule:

- If a male mayor were to become a widower, would there be doubts as to his political decisions?
- If a male candidate for the presidency were single and had no children, would his civil and family status be mentioned in the context of a discussion of his political positions?
- If the chairman of a legislative committee made a speech or held an activity, would his attire and physical features be described?

In those cases in which the monitor identifies a story with any of these features, he or she should mark 'yes' in the box corresponding to 'stereotype' in the data sheet for collecting information. In addition, he or she should attach a copy of the news item and forward it to the coordinator and person in charge, so that both can undertake an in-depth analysis and determine definitively whether it would be appropriate to include it in the study.

Important: Analysing each story and the variables that should be measured is a fundamental part of any monitoring process. Without a patient and rigorous effort it will be very difficult to obtain reliable and comparable data. For this reason it is recommended that one adequately schedule the day's work, meet the goals established, and not let them build up for subsequent days. In every measurement of this sort, which implies a valuation on the part of the researcher, there is a subjective component that may grow if the work is 'left for tomorrow'.

8. The final report: cross-referencing the variables and presenting the results

Once all the information has been noted on the data sheets, it is time to proceed to analyse and cross-reference the variables in the program that has been chosen. For this manual, Excel has been chosen, as it is simple and easily accessible. Among the essential results to be presented at the minimum (which will be an input not only for a national assessment, but also for a regional comparison) are the following.

Indicators by issue (percentage on television, radio and print media)

- Distribution of programmatic issues versus non-programmatic issues.
- Distribution of gender issues versus other programmatic issues.
- Distribution by gender sub-issues (sexual and reproductive rights; ending violence against women; economic, social and cultural rights; women's political participation, and others) and bias.
- Distribution by gender sub-issues and section.

Indicators by source (percentage on television, radio and print media)*

- Distribution of coverage by source (male candidates versus female candidates).
- Distribution of coverage by source (male candidates versus female candidates) and issues (programmatic versus non-programmatic).
- Distribution of coverage by source (male candidates versus female candidates) and programmatic issues (differentiating each issue monitored).
- Distribution of the coverage of gender sub-issues (sexual and reproductive rights; ending violence against women; economic, social and cultural rights; women's political participation; and others) by source (male candidates versus female candidates).
- Distribution of the coverage of gender sub-issues (sexual and reproductive rights; ending violence against women; economic, social and cultural rights; women's political participation; and others) by source (male candidates versus female candidates) and bias in respect of the issue.
- Distribution of coverage by source (male versus female candidates) and photo (print media).
- Distribution of coverage by source (male versus female candidates) and image (television).

* When relevant a distinction will be made between candidates for president and candidates for the legislature.

Indicators by actor (percentage on television, radio and print media)*

- Distribution by actor (male versus female candidates).
- Distribution by actor (male versus female candidates) and bias.

Gender stereotypes

- Table of news stories that contain stereotypes with information from media in which they have been reproduced (name of the media outlet, date and placement of the news story).
- Presentation of copies of the news story with analysis of the content of the stereotypes encountered.

To help to make the results more readily understandable, and to achieve a greater impact, it is recommended that the figures obtained be accompanied by the use of graphs, whether pie charts or bar graphs. One example of how to present data can be seen at <http://www.idea.int/americas/peru/upload/observatorio_regional_006.pdf>, where the results of media monitoring with a gender perspective done by the Asociación Civil Transparencia and International IDEA in Peru's general and legislative elections of 2006 are presented for Internet users.

It is also important that the report be accompanied by and therefore read with certain contextual information. It should include at the least:

- an explanation of the applicable legislation on media and elections;
- an explanation of the sample of media outlets and a justification of the selection criteria based on what is stipulated in the methodology;
- if appropriate, an explanation of the example of parties and political organizations selected, and a justification as to why they were selected;
- the universe of stories analysed (total and by type of media: television, radio, and print media);
- the percentage of men and women candidates for the presidency of the parties monitored; and
- the percentage of men and women candidates included in the lists of candidates for election to the legislature of the parties monitored.

Important: The percentage of men and women candidates running for president or who make up the lists of candidates for election to the legislature is an essential piece of information if monitors are to be able to assess whether there has been equitable coverage by the media. The coverage disaggregated by sex obtained on the basis of this methodology should be compared with the percentage of participation of men and women in the candidacies, since this is an objective way to identify possible imbalances in coverage.

Example of presentation of results: media monitoring of Peru's legislative elections (2006). In general, women candidates for Congress had less coverage than male candidates: the shares were 18.59 per cent in the print media, 22.22 per cent on television, and 26.19 per cent on radio. True, there were fewer women candidates than male candidates. Yet, as women accounted for 39 per cent of all candidates, the coverage should reflect at least that level. Therefore, even though radio coverage came to 26.19 per cent, which was the highest of any form of media, it is 12.81 per cent less than the minimum that would have been expected (Dador and Llanos, 2007: 101).

9. Conclusion: some considerations for disseminating the results

As indicated at the beginning of this manual, the main objective of a study of this type is to identify the existence of differences (quantitative and qualitative) in media coverage of male and female candidates in electoral contexts that may constitute an obstacle and/or a disadvantage for women, thus limiting their right to be elected to public office. This task will remain unfinished if the large amount of information obtained is not made available to the citizenry in general, and specifically to those actors who are directly involved, such as the media, political parties, and politicians.

Designing strategies for disseminating the results obtained (and the process itself) is therefore also an essential part of organizing and implementing such a monitoring effort. Experience shows that dissemination actions should be carried out 'before, during and after' conducting the study, and that it is highly advisable 'good practice' from the outset, in order to achieve synergies, is to inform the media, by written means or in meetings, of the scope and objectives of the monitoring effort (Browne and Fitz Patrick, 2004: 106 and 107).

There are various actions that can be designed to make an initiative known. By way of example, we can cite the drafting of newspaper articles, organizing open press conferences or smaller-scale informational working meetings with journalists from specific sections (such as politics or election coverage), designing newsletters (electronic or physical), building a website or including a link at an institutional page that describes the project and the results obtained, and even organizing seminars that bring together specialists, media representatives and political actors, as well as civil society organizations, to debate the issue and draw conclusions and/or take on commitments to be implemented in the longer term. Bilateral contacts with the media and with journalists who are sensitive to the issue can also be organized; these may help obtain coverage through comments, reportage, or interviews with the persons in charge of the project.

In addition, following the principle of 'before, during, and after', it is necessary to specifically plan the time frames within which all the actions mentioned are to be set in motion, using each one according to what will achieve that greatest impact, and making every effort to achieve the goals set out. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the moment when the monitoring may seem most attractive to the media, and may

have greater weight in the electoral campaign, will be when the first systematized data are available.

It is therefore important to provide for a cut-off point during the period monitored (for example, after the first 10 or 15 days of fieldwork) to publicize the preliminary results, which should distinguish the coverage of each media company (in both the print and the broadcast media) so as to give a more complete and detailed picture of the findings and to offer the opportunity for a given media outlet to be able to identify and correct the shortcomings observed for the remainder of the campaign.

The second moment for dissemination actions will come once the 30-day period has ended, and there are data on the whole process. The analysis and dissemination of the information should not happen too far from election day, otherwise the elections and the electoral results may no longer be news, which reduces the possibility of coverage. In those countries where the legislation provides for a second round in presidential elections, it will be necessary to evaluate whether the time periods allowed for holding the second round (generally shorter than the duration of the election campaign) make it possible to provide for some cut-off point at which to present the interim results.

In any event, the information obtained should not be seen as useful and important only in electoral contexts. 'After' may have a meaning that goes beyond the very short term. This methodology as well as the results obtained should have as the ultimate goal not only to obtain comparative data within a given country and between elections, but also to produce similar inputs for comparative analyses throughout Latin America that will make it possible to evaluate the gains achieved and the challenges still pending in the region. Their use is also an opportunity to begin sustained, more long-term processes to overcome the disadvantages that stand in the way of equal opportunity as between men and women in electoral competition and greater access to elective office for women.

Accordingly, this initiative should also be considered a starting point for an effort to raise awareness in the media and among journalists as to the importance of gender equality in political participation and on the public agenda, as well as among women politicians, in order to give them tools to help them overcome the obstacles that may arise in relation to media coverage. That effort should also encompass the political organizations, which should play a more active role in positioning their candidates and in drawing up programmatic proposals aimed at attaining equality between men and women in all spheres, so as to build a more inclusive and substantial democracy.

Notes

[1] Agreement 1.XI of the declaration issued in the context of the Tenth Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Quito in August 2007.

[2] Based on the Declaration of the 'Women in Power' Summit, held in Athens in 1992 and signed by a group of European women ministers and former ministers, parity is understood to mean the balanced participation by women and men in decision-making and in the running of countries at levels consistent with their share in the population (half the population). In that regard, parity participation implies a presence of both sexes ranging from 40 to 60 per cent.

[3] The study revealed that there is a preference in the media for covering the events of the moment over programmatic issues. The first accounted for 87.1 per cent of the issues featuring in the print media, 75.9 per cent of those featuring on television, and 70.3 per cent of those featuring on radio (Dador and Llanos, 2007).

[4] Johnson, 2005. This study included media coverage (print media, radio, television, and weekly publications) during the next-to-last week of the campaign.

[5] To calculate this figure, a comparison was made between the appearances of the heads of lists and candidates for the Chamber of Senators (CS) and the Chamber of Representatives (CR), and the proportion of men and women candidates in the first 10 spots on the lists for Montevideo for the CR and the first six spots on the lists for the CS. This time the analysis was extended to two weeks of the campaign.

[6] This study grouped the issues into three main categories: programmatic, electoral issues, and entertainment topics. Programmatic issues accounted for less than half of the issues addressed (42.4 per cent), while electoral issues accounted for 15.6 per cent and entertainment news for 42 per cent.

[7] The subject of the research in this monitoring effort is the coverage provided by the media insofar as it constructs the news agenda. This implies a process of intermediation and selection of the relevant facts, done by journalists, which is not present in the case of paid advertising. In the case of paid advertising, the message is constructed by the interested persons who, based on the payment made, have absolute control over the information presented, which is persuasive in nature and geared to getting out the vote.

[8] A highly regarded Italian institution which since 1994 has been engaged in analysing and monitoring communication and the media. Relevant information on this institution and its research can be found at its website, <http://www.osservatorio.it/

[9] It should be recalled that this methodology provides for the possibility of monitoring media coverage in a possible second round if women candidates participate in that round.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Data sheet for collecting information: print media

			Source				Actor												
Date	Daily paper	Article	Source	Sex of the source	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Actor	Sex of the actor	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Issue	Placement	Section	Genre of journalism	Cm^2	Photo	Bias of the actor	Bias of the issue	Stereotype
	Daily paper 1	1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Non-prog-rammatic	Front page	Politics	News		No	Positive	Favourable	Yes
	Daily paper 2	2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Gender – Sexual and reproductive rights	Page no.	Election campaign	Interview		Yes, photo of actor	Negative	Unfavourable	No
	Daily paper 3	3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Gender – Ending violence against women		Economy	Reportage		Yes, photo of source	Neutral	Neither favourable nor unfavourable	
			Ministers				Ministers				Gender – Social		National	Chronicle		No			
			Party leaders and spokespersons				Party leaders and spokespersons				Gender – Women's political participation		Local	Opinion column		Yes, photo, and neither the actor or source			
			President				President				Gender – Other		Home/ women/beauty	Editorial		Yes, photo of both			
			Vice-president				Vice-president				Economy, employment, investment and infrastructure		Entertainment	Other					
			Social organizations				Social organizations				Education		Special supplement						
			Legislators				Legislators				Health		Other						
			Catholic Church				Catholic Church				Security								
			Evangelical Church				Evangelical Church				Development and environment								
			Business associations				Business associations				Social policy and poverty								
			Electoral authorities				Electoral authorities				Multiculturalism								
			Media outlet				Media outlet				Other								
			NGOs				NGOs												
			Other				Other												

Annex 2. Data sheet for collection of information: television

			Source				Actor											
Date	Channel	Programme	Source	Sex of the source	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Actor	Sex of the actor	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Issue	Section	Genre of journalism	Time	Image	Bias of the actor	Bias of the issue	Stereotype
	Channel 1	Programme 1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Non-programmatic	Headlines	News	Sec.	No	Positive	Favourable	Yes
	Channel 2	Programme 2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Gender – Sexual and reproductive rights	Segment 1	Interview		Yes, without source or actor	Negative	Unfavourable	No
	Channel 3	Programme 3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Gender – Ending violence against women	Segment 2	Reportage		Yes, source	Neutral	Neither favourable nor unfavourable	
			Ministers				Ministers				Gender – Social	Segment 3	Other		Yes, actor			
			Party leaders and spokespersons				Party leaders and spokespersons				Gender – Women's political participation	Segment 4			Yes, both			
			President				President				Gender – Other							
			Vice-president				Vice-president				Economy, employment, investment and infrastructure							
			Social organizations				Social organizations				Education							
			Legislators				Legislators				Health							
			Catholic Church				Catholic Church				Security							
			Evangelical Church				Evangelical Church				Development and environment							
			Business associations				Business associations				Social policy and poverty							
			Electoral authorities				Electoral authorities				Multiculturalism							
			Media outlet				Media outlet				Other							
			NGOs				NGOs											
			Other				Other											

Annex 3. Data sheet for collection of information: radio

Date	Station	Programme	Source				Actor										
			Source	Sex of the source	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Actor	Sex of the actor	Type of candidacy*	Political grouping*	Issue	Section	Genre of journalism	Time	Bias of the actor	Bias of the issue	Stereotype
	Station 1	Programme 1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Candidate 1	M	Presidential	Party 1	Non-prog-rammatic	Headlines	News	Seconds	Positive	Favourable	Yes
	Station 2	Programme 2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Candidate 2	F	Senate	Party 2	Gender – Sexual and reproductive rights	Segment 1	Interview		Negative	Unfavourable	No
		Programme 3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Candidate 3	N/A	Lower house of legislature	Party 3	Gender – Ending violence against women	Segment 2	Reportage		Neutral	Neither favourable nor unfavourable	
			Ministers				Ministers				Gender – Social	Segment 3	Other				
			Party leaders and spokespersons				Party leaders and spokespersons				Gender – Women's political participation	Segment 4					
			President				President				Gender – Other						
			Vice-president				Vice-president				Economy, employment, investment and infrastructure						
			Social organizations				Social organizations				Education						
			Legislators				Legislators				Health						
			Catholic Church				Catholic Church				Security						
			Evangelical Church				Evangelical Church				Development and environment						
			Business associations				Business associations				Social policy and poverty						
			Electoral authorities				Electoral authorities				Multiculturalism						
			Media outlet				Media outlet				Other						
			NGOs				NGOs										
			Other				Other										