

Journalism, political sources, and gender in Chile. A disproportionate relationship

Periodismo, fuentes políticas y género en Chile. Una relación desproporcionada

Jornalismo, fontes políticas e gênero no Chile. Uma relação desproporcional

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ABSTRACT | Due to the problem of the scarce presence of women as sources in political news in the media, this study observes what type of journalistic treatment is given to political information when its voice is feminine. To do so, we analyzed the content of four newspapers distributed in the capital of Chile and two regional media during 2007, 2011, and 2015 to study the number of sources of both genders present in political information, the amount of space assigned, the type of source, and whether the press uses men and women differently when framing the news with some of the five news frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This analysis found that of the 2,569 sources analyzed, women appear as sources in 16.8%. In general, journalists does not treat men and women working in politics similarly, except in the case of the length of quotations. In light of the results, there is a need to promote a journalism that is more aware and willing to reduce these gaps through the visibility and normalization of women's participation in highly relevant political positions, spaces considered masculine until a few years ago.

KEYWORDS: gender; journalism; sources; political information; frame; stereotype.

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RESUMEN | *Ante la problemática que supone la escasa presencia de las mujeres como fuentes en noticias sobre política en los medios, este estudio observó cuál es el tipo de tratamiento periodístico que se le da a la información política cuando su voz es femenina. Para ello, se analizó el contenido de cuatro periódicos que circulan en la capital de Chile y de dos medios regionales durante 2007, 2011 y 2015, con el fin de estudiar la cantidad de fuentes de ambos sexos presentes en la información política, la cantidad de espacio asignada, el tipo de fuente de las que se trataba, y si la prensa utiliza a hombres y mujeres de manera diferenciada al enmarcar las noticias con algunos de los cinco encuadres noticiosos propuestos por Semetko y Valkenburg (2000). Mediante este análisis, se constató que de las 2569 fuentes analizadas las mujeres figuran como fuentes en el 16,8%. Se puede observar que, en general, el periodismo no trata a los hombres y a las mujeres que trabajan en política de manera similar, salvo en el caso de la extensión de las citas. A la luz de los resultados, se plantea la necesidad promover un periodismo más consciente y dispuesto a reducir estas brechas por medio de la visibilidad y la normalización de la participación de la mujer en cargos políticos de alta relevancia, considerados hasta hace pocos años como espacios masculinos.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *género; periodismo; fuentes; información política; encuadre; estereotipo.*

RESUMO | Diante do problema da escassa presença das mulheres como fontes nas notícias sobre política na mídia, este estudo observou que tipo de tratamento jornalístico é dado à informação política quando sua voz é feminina. Para este fim, foi analisado o conteúdo de quatro jornais distribuídos na capital do Chile e dois meios de comunicação regionais durante 2007, 2011 e 2015, a fim de estudar o número de fontes de ambos os sexos presentes na informação política, a quantidade de espaço alocado, o tipo de fonte que eram, e se a imprensa utiliza homens e mulheres de forma diferenciada ao enquadrar as notícias com alguns dos cinco quadros de notícias propostos por Semetko e Valkenburg (2000). Através desta análise, foi descoberto que, das 2.569 fontes analisadas, as mulheres aparecem como fontes em 16,8%. É possível observar, em geral, o jornalismo não trata homens e mulheres que trabalham na política de forma semelhante, exceto no caso da extensão das citações. Em função dos resultados, há necessidade de promover um jornalismo mais consciente e disposto a reduzir essas lacunas através da visibilidade e normalização da participação das mulheres em cargos políticos de alto nível, que até alguns anos atrás eram considerados espaços masculinos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *gênero; jornalismo; fontes; informações políticas; enquadramento; estereótipo.*

INTRODUCTION

Literature points out that the selection and treatment of sources, including in what order to cite them and to what extent, is one of the most complex tasks in journalistic work (Armstrong, 2004; Cohen & Gans, 2004; Fontcuberta & Borrat, 2006; Lobo et al., 2017; Mensa et al., 2021; Zunino, 2019). This process decides which voices will provide, for example, the basic data and meanings about an event, which will shape the news text's stamp and give it meaning. Thus, choosing one source or another has an impact on who will achieve greater or lesser visibility. Those who do not appear will not be considered relevant social actors and, therefore, will not have their share of symbolic power or participate in the public discourse (Niemi & Pitkänen, 2017). Likewise, it is necessary to delve deeper into the treatment that sources receive, especially those groups historically marginalized –as women in the political arena–, because this inequity affects not only their visibility but also, and perhaps more importantly, their symbolic validation in the political field (Sjøvaag & Pedersen, 2018). The above, considering that progressively in Ibero-America “the definition of politics as a masculine space begins to weaken with the increase of women in prominent political positions” (Fernández García, 2012, p. 365).

The inequitable way in which journalism treats women and men working in politics was repeatedly observed while Michelle Bachelet was Chile's president in two non-consecutive terms (2006-2010 and 2014-2018). Despite being the first woman president of that country and the first head of government to form parity cabinets, this was not reflected in the visibility of women as a news source in political coverage at the time. As Leiva and Kimber (2022) point out, at that time the gender bias was also favorable to the use of male sources and, in turn, the use of sexist stereotypes in news content was maintained (Villagra, 2019) questioning, for example, the leadership capacity of the president of the Republic (Rodríguez-Pastene & Messeet, 2019). Thus, for instance, when Bachelet won the second round of the presidential elections in January 2006, with 53.5% of the votes, the media reported the fact that a woman inspected the Palace Guard every morning as if it were a rarity, and insisted on devoting space and time to the way the president dressed and her hairstyle, the attention she gave to her children, and how she reconciled work and family (Bachmann & Correa, 2013; Burotto et al., 2008; Valdés, 2010).

The latter, despite the resounding electoral result obtained at the polls and the high levels of approval (above 80%) with which Bachelet ended her term in 2010 (Navia & Cabezas, 2010). Considering the above, it is relevant to study the presence, the journalistic treatment, and the so-called news frame (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993; D'Angelo, 2002; Van Gorp, 2007) that the media apply or link to

political sources according to gender. To this end, this research aims to delve into the evolution of the visibility of women as political sources in the Chilean press during 2007, 2011, and 2015 through two specific objectives. The first is to determine the visibility and journalistic treatment received by men and women as sources of political news (considering frequency of appearances, space given, and category of sources used); the second is to analyze comparatively the role given by journalists to female and male sources in the construction of news frames.

REPRESENTATION AND STUDY OF INFORMATION SOURCES

Source selection is a process in which the cultural, professional, and business values and points of view of the news media manifest themselves, which then have an impact on the elaboration and subsequent discussion of the public discourse (Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Selecting the sources of an informative text is, therefore, a crucial issue in journalism, “since it conditions the news’ interpretation and the consequent formation of value judgments on the public agenda” (Fernández-Sande et al., 2020, p. 2).

The more visions and interests are expressed in the news, and the more diversity is achieved in the sources’ selection, the more the media contribute to greater social pluralism: “thus, resorting to a polyphony of voices will enhance the capacity to democratize journalism” (Casero Ripollés & López Rabadán, 2013, p. 77). By selecting sources, journalists “reduce social and political reality –complex, dynamic, and unfathomable– to a daily accessible and maneuverable image” (Gomis, 1991, as cited in Koziner, 2017, p. 44).

Niemi and Pitkänen (2016) define the selection of sources as a key aspect in the frame construction, understood as the set of “organizing principles to which we resort to understand social events (...)”, which function as “fixed compartments that reflect our beliefs and values and define our attitudes” (Goffman, 1974, p. 62), and are embodied in the daily construction of journalistic messages (D’Angelo, 2002; Entman, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007). 62) and are embodied in the daily construction of journalistic messages (D’Angelo, 2002; Entman, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007).

In this case, we have decided to apply the analysis proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who recognize the presence of five frames in news content: (1) attribution of responsibility, which refers to the role that a government, individual, or group has in some event or issue; (2) conflict, which alludes to the controversies that may exist between individuals, groups, or institutions; (3) human interest, which includes the human or emotional face when presenting issues or problems;

(4) economic consequences, which focus on the economic cost of the actions reported, and (5) morality, which puts the focus on events or issues considered religious or that pose a moral prescription.

Our objective is to determine whether there is any specialization in the use of male or female sources in the construction of each of these alternative frames (for example, women are more prominent in the human-interest frame, and men are more present in the conflict frame), or women and men contribute in equal proportion, regardless of the type of frame used to frame a news item.

At the same time, it has been observed that the media have the capacity to limit and condition meanings, one of them being the gender specific character (Castillo Durán & Torres Gómez, 2019). This conditioning, which has occurred especially in political areas (Álvarez-Monsiváis, 2020), has evidenced how the media reinforce and naturalize existing inequities between males and females in today's patriarchal society (Batres, 2020).

Regarding the gender gap, Vandenberghe and colleagues (2020) argue that the fact that fewer women than men are still cited in political coverage confirms the belief that women are less relevant to public discourse, an aspect already observed by Ross and Carter (2011). The truth is that women are still less visible than their male peers in news content (Armstrong, 2004; Baitinger, 2015; Sjøvaag & Pedersen, 2019). They are often quoted indirectly and paraphrased (Aday & Devitt, 2001), and references to their physical appearance are still included when they are interviewed for their activity in public management (Devitt, 2002). Even when dealing with issues that affect them directly, such as femicide, the media demonstrate a significant degree of discrimination against women as sources of information (Tiscareño-García et al., 2021).

MEDIA PORTRAYAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDIA

The analysis of women's representation in the media dates back to the 1970s, when social science studies in the United States and the United Kingdom incorporated the systematic observation of gender discrimination in news content. Until then, research on the presence and representation of women in the media had responded to the work of a few visionaries working on their own (Friedan, 1963), and not to the recognition of the area as a relevant topic of study in its own. *Feminist Studies* was the first academic journal on feminism and was published in 1972, under the impulse of a group of women scholars at Columbia University.

In 1975 *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* was published, also in New York, founded by Catharine R. Stimpson, then an academic at Barnard

College, a women-only teaching center that was part of Columbia University. In 1977 the *National Women's Studies Association* was created, an association that to this day is the nucleus of the production and dissemination of women's and gender studies in the United States. The first British publication on this subject, *Half the Sky: An Introduction to Women's Studies* (1979), was published by the Bristol Women's Studies' Group and edited by Virago. From then on, feminist and gender studies advanced exponentially in the field of sociology (Busby, 1975; Friedman & Friedman, 1977; Tuchman et al., 1978; Bird, 2003), both in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

In 1979, in the United States, the National Organization for Women promoted a study on the presence and image of women in the media, which found that media content not only distorted women's image (Ceulemans & Facuconnier, 1979), but also encouraged their presentation as sexual objects or whose spheres of fulfillment were in the home, as wives, and mothers. That same year, Gaye Tuchman, professor of Sociology at the University of Connecticut, published in *Signs* an iconic article on the representation of women in the media, where she pointed out that the way in which news and fiction content represented women accentuated the current stereotypes, which understood that the natural place for women was home and housework. Tuchman (1979) defined this concept as the symbolic annihilation of women, and used three categories of analysis –omission, trivialization, and condemnation– to analyze the media. According to the author, this representation was not accidental, but was replicated over and over again in the U.S. media of the 1970s, rendering women invisible, to the point of making them irrelevant to public life.

In Mexico, Rodelo (2016) observed that women's candidacies achieved less coverage than those of their male counterparts, especially when the female candidates were incumbent for the political party they represented. Álvarez-Monsiváis (2020) analyzed the information published when Cristina Fernández won the 2007 elections in Argentina, the presidential campaign of Mexican Margarita Zavala in 2010, and the case of Hillary Clinton in the 2016 U.S. elections. She found that female media representation depends on their role. The coverage of the first ladies will be focused on a personality and role as a companion; on the other hand, if it is that of a candidate, the frame will focus on how much her actions are in line with a masculinized political stance.

In the same vein, after comparing the coverage received by Chilean (Michelle Bachelet, 2002-2004), Argentinean (Nilda Garré, 2010-2013), and Spanish (Carme Chacón, 2008-2011) female Defense Ministers, Teruel Rodríguez and Sánchez

García (2012) observed that it is more difficult for women to obtain the same recognition as men in positions traditionally held by the latter.

Even in areas such as high-level competitive sport, biases remain. Muñoz-Muñoz and Salido-Fernández (2022) find an “underrepresentation in the visual coverage of women’s sport and its trivialization through ambivalent news framing” (p. 49) in the Spanish digital sports press during the 2016 Rio Olympics.

THE CHILEAN CASE

Differences in the coverage of female and male candidates were observed in the case of the 2005 presidential elections in Chile (Valenzuela & Correa, 2009). Candidate Michelle Bachelet, unlike her contenders, was portrayed under an image of warmth and empathy (López-Hermida, 2009). In this regard, Bachmann and Correa (2013) state:

While the other candidates were identified by their profession, she was identified by her status as a mother and daughter (...) She also received more coverage for her appearance (...) The media described her as the most certain winner of the election, and portrayed her as a charismatic and honest character, but also incompetent, especially in contrast to the other candidates (2013, pp. 128-129).

The low media visibility of female participation in the public sphere, and the insistence on employing sexist stereotypes when elaborating journalistic narratives, remain a pending account in Chile, as shown in literature (Cárdenas, 2020; Gallagher, 2005; Harp et al., 2014; Matud et al., 2011; Montenegro, 2020; Valenzuela, 2017; Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2010; Valenzuela & Correa, 2009). Leiva and Kimber (2020) researched the gender variable in the sources’ selection in the four Chilean media with the highest readership and circulation (*El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, *La Cuarta*, and *Las Últimas Noticias*), and found 66.7% of male sources. Women appear 34.3%, although they occupy 40% of the national political management positions (Serval, 2018). This study also identified that the gap increases when the analysis focuses on print media (female presence drops to 27%) (Leiva & Kimber, 2020). A year later, Mensa and colleagues (2021) found that the proportion of men and women in newsrooms has a corresponding impact on the gender of sources.

In 2006, the average female participation in parliament was 13.9%, and the novelty of parity in the executive branch under president Bachelet normalized the fact that women exercised leadership positions in public management (Programa

de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2010). Bachelet returned to the gender agenda after becoming in 2014 the first Chilean woman to be elected president twice.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) recognized it as the beginning of a cultural change “whose most notorious characteristic (was) the feeling of empowerment of Chilean women” (2010, p. 281). However, the media continued to reproduce sexist schemes when selecting or referring to female sources, evidencing the “marginalization and trivialization” of women in the public sphere (Bachmann & Correa, 2013, p. 134), both concepts already identified by Tuchman (1979).

Based on the data obtained by Leiva and Kimber (2020), and previous studies that note that the selection of female sources in print media is almost a perfect mimesis regarding the participation of women in political activity (Van del Pas & Aaldering, 2020; Hudson, 2016), we consider it relevant to study the journalistic treatment and news frames applied to sources, both female and male, in political information.

Thus, considering the dichotomy between the sources’ selection in the written media and the social and cultural advances achieved in equity issues (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2010), the general objective of this research is to study in depth the evolution of women’ visibility as a political source in the Chilean media during 2007, 2011, and 2015, representative years of three recent periods of government outside electoral time and corresponding to the first presidency of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), the first of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014), and the second of Bachelet (2014-2018).

As specific objectives, the first one is to describe the treatment of female sources in the political news in terms of the positions, categories, or attributes with which they are cited for their participation in public activity. Secondly, we seek to compare the role given by journalists to female and male sources in the news frames.

METHODOLOGY

To achieve these purposes, we conducted a secondary analysis of the data collected in the framework of the project *Tendencias en la cobertura periodística de política y gobierno: análisis de la homogeneidad/diversidad en los encuadres de la información aportada por las fuentes de noticias en la prensa chilena* (Trends in journalistic coverage of politics and government: analysis of homogeneity/diversity in the framing of information provided by news sources in the Chilean press), led by María Elena Gronemeyer (2015-2019 - FONDECYT Project No. 1150217), in which a mixed content analysis was carried out, and the prevalence of the five

frames or generic frames described by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in the Chilean press was visualized (Gronemeyer et al., 2018).

The political news sample was obtained from newspaper articles published in two weeks constructed in 2007, in 2011 and in 2015, and focuses on the period between the end of March and the beginning of May, and between October and November of each year. This means a representative sample of the content published in print for all three years (Riffe et al., 1993; Hester & Dougall, 2007). The political coverage of three years corresponding to the second year of each president's term was included, excluding electoral periods and the first year of government, which could alter the participation and visibility of actors and sources in political activity. The treatment of sources identified as female and male mentioned in the corpus was analyzed.

The newspapers included in the sample were the two national reference newspapers (*El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*), a popular one (*La Cuarta*), and a free newspaper with a high readership on weekdays (*Publimetro*), all based in the capital, Santiago. Two regional newspapers were also considered: *El Sur*, published in the city of Concepción, in the southern region of Biobío, and *El Día de La Serena*, in the northern region of Coquimbo, two of the three most important conurbations in the country outside the capital city. The selected news items correspond to political events and government actions covered at the same time by both reference media (*El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*). By extension, the equivalents published in *La Cuarta* and *Publimetro* were selected. For media from other regions, all texts published in the chronicle, political, and national sections or equivalents were selected (Gronemeyer et al., 2018; Gronemeyer & Porath, 2017).

The treatment analysis of female political sources in terms of positions, categories, or attributes and their contribution in the construction of news frames in comparison with their male peers considered the following variables present in the cited works of Gronemeyer and colleagues (2017-2018).

1. Identification variables: we analyzed the number of women mentioned as sources by the media studied and their treatment regarding the importance assigned at the time of editing the text. To this end, the space assigned to each source in each news item, one of the key criteria of importance, was considered. To determine this, we counted the number of words included in the quotations of each source, direct or indirect.
2. The source's category, which included six options:
 - 2.1. Testimonial: groups ordinary people, who give their personal opinion, and who are often consulted as witnesses or because they represent the

popular feeling, whose function is to deliver a testimony based on their personal experience.

- 2.2. Governmental: any person who speaks by virtue of an office held in government or any appointed position in the executive branch.
- 2.3. Official – public: a person who informs or gives an opinion by virtue of the public office he/she holds, and who is not a member of the executive branch but, for example, members of parliament, mayors, directors of autonomous state services, judges, etc.
- 2.4. Official – private: a source that reports on a subject or issues an opinion due to a position held in the private sector, or in civil society, such as business, community or non-governmental organization leaders.
- 2.5. Expert: the person who reports/opinions by virtue of his or her knowledge of the subject matter. He/she does not speak from a formal stand, but is assumed to know the subject matter due to his/her training, occupation or trade.
- 2.6. Political parties: spokespersons of political organizations (includes political parties and their leaders, parliament, and parliamentarians acting separately from the government, local authorities elected by the parties and individual political leaders who are not part of the government).

Likewise, 19 specific indicators were analyzed to determine the presence of the five frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): five for the attribution of responsibility; four for the human interest and conflict frames, and three indicators for the morality and economic consequences frame. The coding categories were dichotomous (absence-presence). Coders were instructed to determine whether or not the source provided any of the elements identified by each indicator. The total number of sources identified was 3,532. A total of 2,569 cases were analyzed in this study in which there was no doubt as to their gender.

Once the content analysis was performed, an intercoder reliability test was conducted on a subsample of 491 cases (more details in the cited bibliography), the results of which are reported in the results of the respective variables or tables.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

As expected, the participation of women as a source of political news is relatively low, reaching 16.8% in the sample analyzed (table 1). When analyzing

by year, slight increases are observed in 2007 (16.4%) and 2015 (18.6%), years that correspond to the governments of Bachelet who, as already explained, appointed a cabinet with gender parity, which had an impact on a higher number of female government sources. However, this trend was not maintained during the second year of Sebastián Piñera's first government. In 2011, the presence of female sources in the analyzed media dropped (13.1%). These results can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, they confirm the positive impact that a woman president can have on the visibility of her gender in political activity. On the other hand, the increases in the participation of women as sources are not substantially important, although they are statistically significant: it is, at best, an increase of 5.5 percentage points for the female presence, in a context in which male sources account for more than 80%.

As for the space allocated to male and female sources respectively, although the frequency of appearance of women is lower than that of men, female sources receive similar treatment to that of men, at least in terms of length (table 2). In the three years, no statistically significant differences are observed in the number of words collected and reproduced in the published news items. Both genders receive on average, in each year, a similar amount of words attributed in direct or indirect quotation.

Finally, we compared the profile of women and men sources according to the positions they hold, and with which they are cited, according to the six categories mentioned in the methodology. Unidentified sources were discarded, as there were too few cases to support a statistical analysis (31). The results show that the profile of female sources is different from that of male sources (table 3).

Table 3 shows that the presence of women increases in relation to that of men when they hold government positions and are cited because they are spokespersons for the executive branch (37.4%, versus 25.2% of men).

		2007	2011	2015	Total
Woman	n	101	75	256	432
	% col.	16.4%	13.1%	18.6%	16.8%
Man	n	516	497	1124	2,137
	% col.	83.6%	86.9%	81.4%	83.2%
N Total		617	572	1380	2,569

$$\chi^2 = 8,67; p = 0,013$$

Table 1. Women's participation as a political source by sample year

Source: Own elaboration.

Year	Gender	n	Media	Standard dev.	t	Bilateral significance
2007	Woman	101	100.9	82.1	0.65	0.52
	Man	516	95.9	68.9		
2011	Woman	75	79.8	65.2	-0.72	0.47
	Man	497	87.5	89.5		
2015	Woman	256	115.9	157	-0.45	0.65
	Man	1124	121.4	182.4		

Note: Equal variances are assumed.

Note 2: The reliability test for this variable was performed using Pearson's r, which yielded a value of 0.988 for three coders.

Table 2. Citation length in words by gender by sample year

Source: Own elaboration.

		Woman	Man	Total
Official – private	n	85	349	434
	% col.	20.1%	16.5%	17.1%
Expert	n	13	98	111
	% col.	3.1%	4.6%	4.4%
Testimonial	n	52	78	130
	% col.	12.3%	3.7%	5.1%
Governmental	n	158	534	692
	% col.	37.4%	25.2%	27.3%
Official – public	n	82	750	832
	% col.	19.4%	35.5%	32.8%
Political parties	n	33	306	339
		7.8%	14.5%	13.4%
N Total		423	2,115	2,538

$\chi^2 = 114,04; p < 0,000$

Note: The reliability test for this variable yielded an average Holsti index of 0.954.

Table 3. Source types by gender

Source: Own elaboration.

		Unknown	Women	Men	Mixtos	Total
Woman	n	182	105	115	30	432
	% col.	16.9%	17.7%	17.2%	13.0%	16.8%
Man	n	894	488	555	200	2137
	% col.	83.1%	82.3%	82.8%	87.0%	83.2%
N Total		1,076	593	670	230	2,569

$$\chi^2 = 7,64; p = 0,433$$

Table 4. Source gender according to the gender of the journalists who sign texts

Source: Own elaboration.

These are the president, ministers, undersecretaries, and directors of services that report directly to the Executive, as well as their representatives at the regional level. As we have said, the influence of the Bachelet presidency is noticeable here. However, at the other extreme, there is also a higher proportion of women than men in the testimonial sources. The voice of women appears in this case as that of a rather passive actor –observer, but not protagonist– in the political arena. In this case, 12.3% of the female sources fall into the category of testimonial sources, while men only reach 3.7%. In other words, the probability that a woman is only a testimonial source in Chilean politics is at least three times higher than that of a male source. This situation may be linked to an androcentric perception that downgrades the role of women in politics.

Men have a notorious predominance as sources in two subworlds of political activity: official public sources, in which journalists make greater use of men (35% versus 19% among women), and political parties, positions in which the dominance or presence of men was in the majority in the years included in the analysis sample. The probability that a man interviewed was a party leader was almost double that of a woman in the same position (14.5% versus 7.8% among women).

To conclude this section, we were interested in analyzing the incidence of the journalist's gender in the selection of female sources (table 4). The fact that the text was written by a man or a woman is not relevant in the inclusion of a female political source. Interestingly, the presence of female sources in the sample of pieces written only by female journalists (593, 23% of the total) is relatively similar to those written only by men (26%). This proportion does not reflect a greater visibility for this type of sources, but rather that beyond their gender, male and female journalists in this case conducted a similar treatment and selection of sources.

Frames and their indicators: The source...	Woman	Man	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Holsti's index
Responsibility assignment					
Suggests that the government or a related party is responsible for success or failure	31.7%	26.1%	5.82	0.016	0.80
Suggests that someone in the government could resolve or mitigate the issue	28.5%	19.3%	18.21	0.000	0.84
Suggests a solution to the issue	32.2%	30.8%	0.32	0.57	0.79
Suggests that someone outside the government is responsible for a success or failure	29.4%	42.7%	26.48	0.000	0.55
Suggests that the matter requires urgent intervention	5.8%	4.3%	1.95	0.163	0.95
Human-interest					
Exemplifies putting a human face on the issue	10.9%	2.8%	59.66	0.000	0.95
Describes personal traits that generate a certain type of feeling	4.2%	3.1%	1.32	0.250	0.96
Emphasizes how the issue affects	31.7%	22.9%	15.2	0.000	0.81
Delves into the private lives of those involved in the matter	8.1%	2.7%	29.90	0.000	0.95
Conflict frame					
Refers to a dispute between different parties	48.6%	53.4%	3.30	0.069	0.76
Criticizes someone else	29.6%	33.1%	1.95	0.162	0.89
Describe or relate the two or more positions on the issue	10.2%	12.6%	2.01	0.156	0.79
Speaks of winners and losers	1.4%	0.8%	1.16	0.281	1.00
Morality or moral judgment					
Sends out a moral or ethical message	9.3%	13.0%	4.56	0.033	0.87
Speaks of God, religious principles, or morality	0.7%	0.8%	0.1	0.756	0.88
Speaks of desirable or undesirable ways of behaving	15.5%	16.8%	0.43	0.511	0.87
Economic consequences					
Discusses financial gains or losses	2.5%	2.7%	0.02	0.886	0.95
Mentions economic costs related to the subject matter	6.3%	5.8%	0.13	0.718	0.96
Discusses economic consequences for acting in one way or another	4.2%	7.4%	6.00	0.014	0.92

Table 5. Occurrence of indicator elements for five generic frames by gender*Source: Own elaboration.*

Finally, we analyzed which elements or indicators of the five frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) are present in the sources according to gender. Of the 19 indicators identified by these authors, eight contain statistically significant differences (values highlighted in bold in table 5) between the fraction of women who contributed the element studied, in relation to the fraction of men who also did so (guided by χ^2 , see table 5). This is observed, above all, in the human-interest frame.

On the other hand, we also observe a greater impact of women in two indicators of the five proposed for the frame responsibility assignment. Women sources suggested, in greater proportion than men, that the government or its adherents were “responsible for a success or failure” (31.7% versus 26.1% of men), or that the government “could solve or mitigate the issue” (28.5% versus 19.3%). In addition, when the assignment of responsibility falls on someone outside the government (e.g., opposition parties, or parliament) the discussion becomes—in greater proportion—a male affair: 42.7% of the men cited were present in this dimension, while in the case of women it was 29.4%. We believe that this situation replicates the data shown in table 4, which shows that women tend to be more often government sources, while quotations referring to the activity of public bodies and political parties correspond to male sources.

However, in another frame in which a heteronormative distinction would also have been expected, the conflict one, a characteristic that in politics tends to be linked to the masculine, it is surprising that there were no major differences. Of the four indicators proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) to analyze this dimension, only one shows a higher frequency of male contributions in relation to female sources (“refers to a dispute between different parties”), but it is not significant at the 0.05 level. There is also a higher frequency of male sources cited in the “economic consequences of acting in one way or another” indicator of the economic consequences framework (7.4% among men versus 4.2% among women). However, as this is found in only one of the three indicators that make up this framework, it is probably not sufficient to define a trend. Something similar occurs in the morality framework.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Regarding the main objective, we have found that the journalistic coverage of politics published by the Chilean press in 2005, 2011, and 2017 not only reflects an androcentric reality, but also contributes to its perpetuation by maintaining in force the symbolic annihilation referred to by Tuchman (1979). In this perpetuation, the selection of sources plays a fundamental role in the construction of frames that

reduce the visibility of women's political participation. An example of this is that, when political party leaders are quoted, more men than women are used and almost routinely journalism replicates the more or less common gender stereotypes of politics and contributes to normalize and reproduce in the journalistic discourse how complex it is for women to hold first-line political positions.

During the years studied, journalism treats men and women in politics differently. Likewise, it was observed that the participation of women as a source of political news is relatively low, not exceeding 20%, a percentage lower than that observed by Leiva and Kimber (2020), who identified that the presence of women as a source corresponded to 34.3%. It is important to emphasize that this situation is not new, but has been observed since the 1980s, as discussed in the theoretical section.

However, this research found that, despite the low percentage with which women who participate in politics are cited, the frequency increases when there is an intention to generate greater inclusion of women in the public sphere, as occurred in both Michelle Bachelet's governments (2006-2010, and 2014-2018).

In turn, we can conclude that the analyzed media have also maintained the bias that portrays female sources in a manner congruent with gender stereotypes. In Chile, the above statement is materialized in the inclusion of more women as passive witnesses of news events, so that they contribute the so-called human factor, but they are removed from the front line at the time of framing the news.

Despite the above, no heteronormative distinction was observed in this study regarding the framing of conflict, typically linked to the masculine. Along the same lines, it should be noted that, although the frequency with which female sources are used is lower than that of male sources, men and women receive similar treatment, at least in terms of quotations' length. Thus, this study confirms that in the journalistic contents published in the three periods of government analyzed, distinctions are made between men and women who act in political life. This fact allows us to conclude that, although the policies to reduce the gender gap in this activity were effective at the time, they were not sufficient to achieve equity in relation to the selection and treatment of sources.

Considering the political and social crises in Chile and other countries at the beginning of the twenties of the 21st century, it is relevant to note the risk of perpetuating gender inequity in the selection and journalistic framing that derive from this routine, which is considered fundamental in journalism. The need for a journalism that is more aware and willing to reduce this gap by making visible—and therefore contributing to normalize—the news information on women's participation in different political positions should be considered.

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