

A METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS OF THE FEMALE UNIVERSE IN ELECTORAL SPOTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide a typology proposal for the analysis of female candidates' advertisement spots. The methodology is based on the results of a study about women candidates' electoral campaigns for Latin America countries' Government. It is clear that female candidates are placed into predetermined patterns. We can also verify that the female universe presented in the videos reflects similar stereotypes in all of the studied countries.

Keywords: Political communication, electoral communication, advertisement spots, gender studies, Latin America.

INTRODUCTION

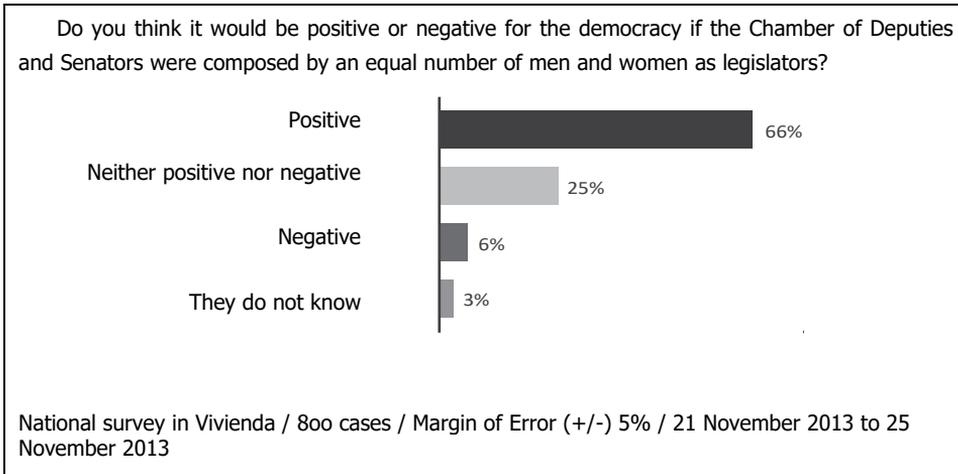
Several factors influence women's low participation in politics, among which are social ones, as the patriarchal culture, political systems, male chauvinism, and misogyny. This article presents a discussion of gender issues and TV spots from Latin American women's electoral campaigns. The aim is to verify whether the stereotypes used in the spots are similar across the region and to propose a typology for analysis based on empirical research.

In 2014, Latin America presented an unprecedented fact when four women were simultaneously Presidents in their countries: Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Michelle Bachelet (Chile) and Laura Chinchilla (Costa Rica). Coupled with the law of gender quotas that had recently come into force in many countries, it points to women's empowerment and to the development of considerations about their political participation.

Firstly, empowerment ought to be an economic issue and initiatives to increase women's participation in politics are necessary. For instance, it ought to have changes in how gender roles are taught by families and schools, to promote training for women interested to get into politics, to improve the law and public policies. Indeed, a survey carried out by the Parametría Institute during 2013 indicates that the majority of respondents consider important to have more women in the Mexican Chambers (figure 1).

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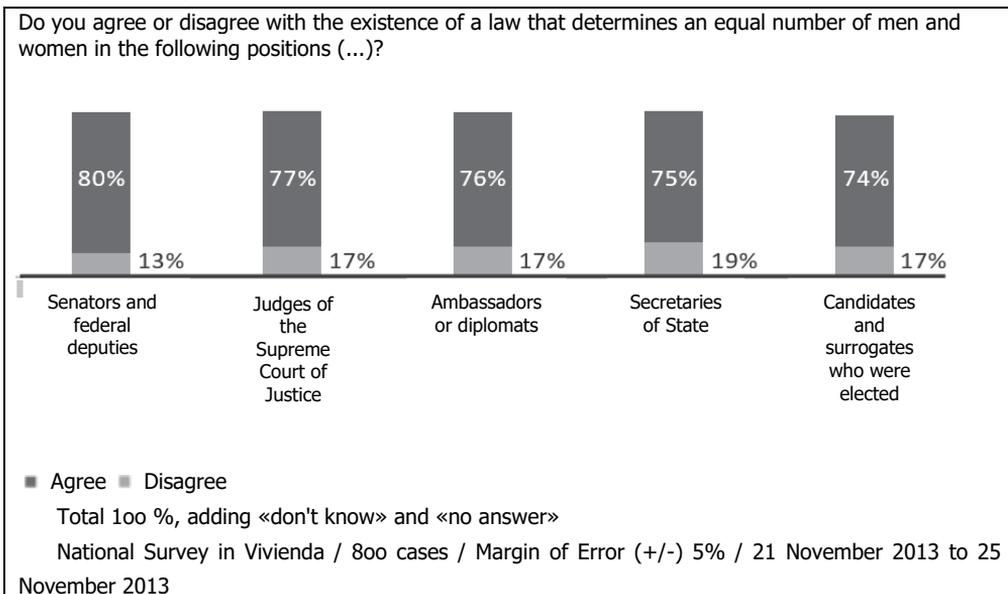
Figure 1. Parametría Institute survey: gender equity



Source: Parametría Institute 2013.

The same institute found out that most people in Mexico support the gender quotas’ law that came into force in 2015 determining quotas of 50% for each gender. However, the survey also explored the possibility of quotas for other positions (figure 2).

Figure 2. Quotas’ law



Source: Parametría Institute 2013.

Considering this context, we begin scrutinizing gender issues to understand why female participation is so low in politics. Then, we will discuss ad spots and electoral communication, and finally present typologies that results from an analysis of 216 spots of political campaigns in countries where women contended for the Presidential

position; Argentina (2011), Brazil (2012), Chile (2013), Colombia (2010), Costa Rica (2010), Guatemala (2011), Mexico (2012) and Panama (2009).

FEMALE GENDER IN LATIN SOCIETY

Gender is an issue related to biological, psychological, cultural, social and political aspects. As it is a symbolic construction established on biological data of sexual difference, we understand gender as an issue related to symbolism and roles that determine what is accepted or not in certain social behaviours.

According to Llombart (2007), gender involves four interrelated elements which are:

- Symbols: culturally available; evoke multiple and often contradictory representations;
- Normative conceptions: manifest interpretations of the meanings of these symbols limiting and containing metaphorical possibilities; expressed in legal, scientific, political, educational and religious doctrines.
- Institutions and social organizations: related to family issues, to the presence in job market, educational and political institutions;
- Subjective identity: involves investigating how generic identities are constructed and establishing connections with activities, cultural performances, and social institutions.

These elements are intimately connected within a given society and it brings consequences to what kinds of behaviour receive the status of normality. For instance, there are established dressage and conduct rules, the distinction of specific labour activities for each gender and the dominance of one gender over another.

Since changes in womanhood represent changes in masculinity (labour, economic, reproductive, erotic, etc.) there is a huge opposition to these changes. It involves a great amount of social and cultural energy from men and women that reproduce power relations under which women are viewed as the subaltern (Lagarde, 2006).

As a consequence of natural ambivalence, it is important to understand that the main assumption of human relationships, referring to social contracts, implies the possibility of becoming a relation of power (Araico, 1998). Within this, Lagarde (2006) argues that the female universe is built on a co-dependent relationship with another person. It means that what moves the existence and gives meaning to women's lives is the achievement of dependence.

In this sense, Lagarde (2006) proposes five roles of women in Latin society indicating aspects of submission or dedication to others. She calls these roles "captivities" and it may be related to women inclusion in society and a consequence of their lack of protagonism. The mother/wife is captive to her family; the nun to the taboo of her sexuality; the whores are trapped by their sexuality, but in the service of someone else; the prisoners are captive to evil; and the madwomen to their madness and rationality (Lagarde, 2006).

The idea of acceptable behaviours predetermined for each gender establishes roles way different from the human nature. The culture determines human beings with gender, thus gender determines the perception of everything else. The fact is that gender is a logic of power and domination (Lamas, 2013) and in Latin America, it is amalgamated with centuries of historical male domination, especially within public spaces.

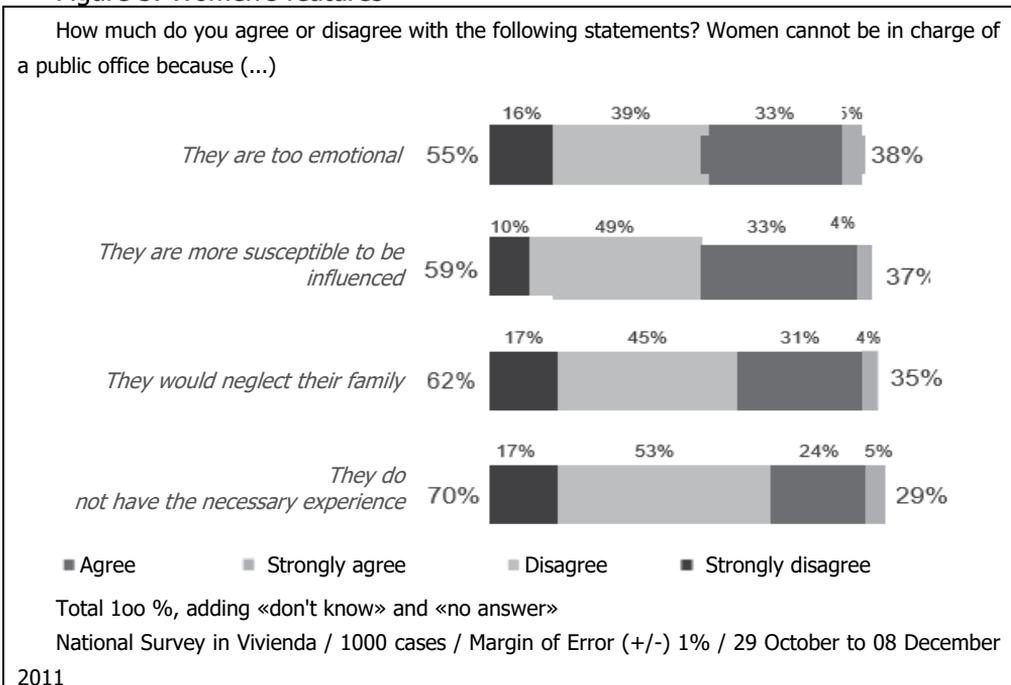
Although there have been changes in certain attitudes within Latin American countries, the patriarchal culture is still predominant; the domination of men over women not only implies that a male imposes his will over a female, but it also overvalues characteristics and skills considered “masculine” above the “feminine” (Castañeda, 2013).

As a result both men and women often need to contradict their nature to follow certain rules in order to be socially accepted. Castañeda (2013) states that women act as if they agree with male chauvinism just to carry their daily activities on. Based on this idea women tend to use strategies which protect them from the silence and put them in a position of prominence.

Castañeda (2013) helps us to scrutinize spots of women campaigns showing candidates wearing masculine clothes and highlighting characteristics such as aggressiveness to the candidate. Therefore, women find themselves in dilemmas on how to present themselves to come into the political universe which is mainly male; either maintaining their femininity, disguising it or taking the entire roles that are destined to the “weak” gender.

To fulfil the femininity, women act double roles as subjects of oppression and witnesses of the patriarchal plan fulfilment, either male or female (Lagarde, 2006). Questions imposed by social speeches are verified in surveys like the following, which indicates that a woman could not be in charge of a public office for being too emotional (38%) or susceptible to be influenced (37%) (figure 3). The public perception of female characteristics can be similar to what happens in ballot boxes.

Figure 3. Women’s features



Source: Parametría Institute 2011.

Whilst emotion is a positive attribute, providing women more supportive and less aggressive social role, it is likely to present women as oversensitive and not capable of performing their duties with excellence in a public office. 35% of the survey respondents still believe that a woman in politics would neglect her family. It gives evidence that they should be only responsible for upbringing the children and the home care, reproducing the male chauvinist speech that portrays women as the only responsible for the house and for looking after their husbands and children. In our understanding, this conviction is merely cultural and does not reflect a biological determination.

If we glance at the multiplicity of roles that are socially associated with femininity, it is clear that they reinforce oppressive speeches when the possibility of making choices is not given to women as they are obliged to always perform each role well. Regarding political communication, up to which point a female candidacy reinforce these limitations?

ELECTORAL SPOTS IN CAMPAIGNS OF FEMALE CANDIDATES

The set of communication elements is articulated with the main actor of an electoral campaign: the candidate. Having an appropriate media plan and strategies is useless if the applicant does not have an aptitude for politics. In the same way, one is unlikely to win a campaign if the communication is misunderstood or incoherent. The inclusion of personal and political values is part of the strategic identity construction during the campaign (Barreira, 2008). As each campaign is unique and therefore each candidacy is, it is necessary to define a guiding concept to evaluate any action, plan, and tools used in the campaign (Ibinarriaga & Hasbun, 2012).

Although it is possible to enhance the best candidate's characteristics, it is impossible to communicate something different from what he really is. In this sense, the image is built on a complex combination of one's visible and audible features. In order to verify such attributes, Ibinarriaga and Hasbun (2012) propose seven analytical elements that involve both linguistic and non-verbal features of language:

- Linguistic: verbal speech, its content, and arguments;
- Kinesics: movements and physical expressions;
- Proxemics: space usage when the subject speaks;
- Visual: eye contact with the camera or the interviewer;
- Physiological: morphological characteristics;
- Fashion: clothing and personal ornaments;
- Non-verbal values in the voice: tone, volume, and texture.

Such elements were observed in candidates' ad spots in all eight analysed Latin American countries. Coming from this observation we scrutinized how the female universe is portrayed in the spots. The content of the speeches indicates how women are represented in women electoral campaigns. Thus, images, sounds and physical aspects give us relevant information to understand the whole operation of this image building.

An advertisement spot is a tool broadcasted on television or Internet during a political campaign. It can have an audio or audio-visual format which challenge is to present the best aspects of a candidacy. Additionally, it is known as aerial strategy, a unilateral communication transmitted massively to voters. Spots synthesize the positioning and reinforce the core message of the candidacy.

Alcántara (2006) asserts that political spots provide space for the candidate to present both himself and the opponents, to look to the past, to describe the present and to glance at the future, in a moment of communicative exchange prior to the vote. These proposals help the voters to decide for whom they will vote based on their personal interpretations of the information and on the political imaginary at his disposal which are visually and discursively, controlled by the candidates, their campaign or political parties.

We understand electoral spots as a short duration audio-visual medium broadcasted on television or via the Internet that summarizes candidate's positioning. It always presents name, number and the party of the candidacy through a combination of multiple languages: Visual (images, colours, scenario, edition, participants, interviewees, characters, candidate's body language); sound (tone of the speech, tone of the voice, soundtrack, jingle, sound effects); linguistic (speech content encoded by the language itself) (Panke, 2014). A spot uses codes of language intending to generate the memorization of a message that is generally focused on showing the best candidate's features, disregarding other aspects such as proposals.

Even though it is not possible to detach politics and elections from personalisation, presidential systems that receive less influence from the parties suffer the greater impact of candidates' personalisation (Marañón, 2013). Anticipating that what stands out in the spots are personal characteristics, we must consider that the concept of gender images refers to a set of representations that both men and women have about their own ideas regarding the roles and the social values related to men and women (Merlinsky, 2001).

GENDER STEREOTYPES IN LATIN AMERICAN CAMPAIGNS

The proposed typology is based on the study of a sample of 216 ad spots from eight female electoral campaigns for the Presidency of Latin American countries as follows: Cristina Kirchner (Argentina); Dilma Rousseff (Brazil); Michelle Bachelet (Chile); Noemí Sanín (Colombia); Laura Chinchilla (Costa Rica); Rigoberta Menchú (Guatemala); Josefina Vázquez Mota (Mexico); Balbina Herrera (Panama). In order to verify if women image in these spots is stereotyped, we only considered how the female universe was represented.

Stereotypes can be understood as mental images or cognitive structures that contain expectations about groups or categories. In that sense femininity and masculinity are different and each one has its own features. Men and women are different, but the differences have been always seen as a deficit for women. However, the idea of the difference does not mean better, nor worse, it focuses on the heterogeneity and the possibility that each individual has to bring his talents and styles into different areas (Heller, 2002).

To understand the female image in Latin campaigns, we observed image, sounds and linguistic speech and also the codes of language proposed by Ibinarriaga and Hasbun (2012); the candidate itself, the women and the female universe presented in the spots (speeches on the agenda of gender or other topics related to women). Thus, it was possible to identify the following seven stereotypes.

The housewife role suggests that women have to be in charge of the house organization. The strategies of identification in the videos are candidates' speeches, the voice-over, and images of women taking care of their houses. It is one of the elements that add multiple responsibilities to women when they already have a regular

job, children or husband. It is worth mentioning that the common-sense speeches present men only as an auxiliary of women in domestic tasks, appearing in a secondary role. Whilst men stand out in the public space, women keep their homes as their own private space.

The warriors are leaders who fight and usually break social conventions. This role is observed in the background actresses' body posture. When women are the main character their facial expressions and empowerment speeches also show this role. On the one hand, female leaders act as spokeswomen for groups or ideas, saying what others cannot or do not want to say. On the other hand, it is possible to find aspects of this leadership regarding aggressiveness; a characteristic that is usually associated with men. Being a warrior involves harsh speeches and a critical tone of voice. They frequently seem to be fighting.

The mother is generally associated with the sacred role of life generation. It is also related to the aspect of being a caretaker. The videos show mothers and sons, mothers and candidates talking about children or as if they were the people's mothers. According to Zaremberg (2008), this super-mothers role is powered by a cultural substrate in Latin America which is founded on the Catholic Christianity. Super-mothers are overprotective and have a voice within the house, being also family counselors.

The caretaker considers everyone as belonging to her own family. She appears serving people and looking after someone. The professions related to this characteristic are teachers, doctor, police officer and any occupation that presuppose people's welfare. Despite the possibility of these jobs being performed in public space, they are seen as female jobs for being culturally considered an extension of motherhood (Lagarde, 2006). This aspect is reflected in politics when the candidate positions herself as the one who is going to take care of the people.

The submissive obeys and considers the man as being superior to her. It is common to find women simulating submission or pretending to be in accordance with male domination in societies where gender equity is not real or still is under discussion. She appears in the background of the videos when a man is speaking or needs a man to speak for her. Her image can be also connected to the image of a political godfather and despite being a leader she presents herself as a male dependent. The studies of gender have presented that the behaviour of excessive care can be interpreted as a submissive behaviour (Llombart, 2007).

The worker is often presented in shops, fairs, schools, etc. The economic situation in Latin American countries provides women a contradiction; while they are demanded to be at home, the economy hardly allows a man to be the sole provider. Women usually have a lower income than men in the job market and it is harder for them to get promoted to managerial positions. It seems that women leadership represents a threat to the prevailing models in most institutions (Heller, 2002).

The sensitive can be understood as a way of understanding the world and reacting to certain situations. It involves the abilities to look after and to listen to someone, to deal with emotions, to handle different situations and to be empathetic. It can be expressed through images of beautiful spots, smiles, hugs and the closeness between the candidate and the electors. Whilst being a man is related to action, objectivity, and aggressiveness, being a woman means to be tender, subjective and attentive. Although questionable, these social roles are reported as "normal" and can be explored as a positive attribute or a default.

Thus, in order to verify the proportion that each role appears and how they are presented we carried both quantitative and qualitative types of researches out. The quantitative analysis was carried out through video snippets from the YouTube¹. Firstly, we transcribed the audio and the visual material into text. When more than one category was presented, we considered how many times and for how long each was shown. Regarding the qualitative analysis, we propose the description of images and discursive parts to exemplify female characteristics. Later on, we presented the results over the stereotypes regarding the female universe in Latin America.

THE STEREOTYPES

Having presented the categories of analysis, the empirical research results allow us to observe that certain women’s features are most used than others (table 1).

Table 1. Percentage of each typology by Electoral Campaign

Typology	Balbina Herrera (Panama, 2009) 08 spots	Cristina Kirchner (Argentina, 2011), 32 spots	Dilma Rouseff (Brasil, 2010), 60 spots	Josefina Vázquez Mota (Mexico, 2012), 31 spots	Laura Chinchilla (Costa Rica, 2010), 15 spots	Michelle Bachelet (Chile, 2013), 58 spots	Noemí Sanín (Colombia, 2010), 06 spots	Rigoberta Menchú (Guatemala, 2011) 06 spots
Housewife	0%	15%	25%	0%	0%	6%	0%	25%
Warrior	40%	25%	12%	20%	25%	23%	35%	65%
Mother	10%	17%	18%	35%	5%	15%	9%	10%
Caretaker	20%	8%	5%	15%	30%	21%	25%	0%
Sensitive	5%	6%	5%	8%	5%	12%	1%	0%
Submissive	0%	8%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Worker	25%	20%	45%	15%	35%	23%	30%	0%

Source: The Author 2017.

It is worth mentioning that this result presents the female universe portrayed in the campaigns’ spots. Only two roles were present in all the countries: the mother and the warrior.

The warrior represents women’s struggles for more visibility and equal space in society. In the analysed sample, some countries presented a higher percentage related to the candidates’ profile and their social background. For example, Rigoberta Menchú,

¹ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/ocanalpanke>

inspired by her position as a social leader and by her Nobel Prize received in 1992, presented this stereotype in 65% of her spots. Conversely, the candidate devoted only 10% of her ads to the mother's role.

Balbina Herrera devoted 35% of her time to the warrior role. It can be partly explained by her ideological position as a member of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, which integrates the Socialist International. In general terms, both the left and extreme left parties tend to look at women in an egalitarian way, and usually, these women tend to be more confrontational.

The candidate who devoted less time to the warrior role was Dilma Rousseff. One of the main challenges of her campaign was to present her as a milder candidate. Before the candidacy, she was known by her technical capacity and her speech was also extremely technical, hampering her approach with the population. She had also been involved with extreme left groups during her political history, what was not well seen by the most conservative stratum of society.

The second category verified in all the analysed campaigns is the mother's role. Josefina Vázquez Mota devoted 35% of her time to this role. The reason why it happened goes along with the Mexican psyche which contains an excess of mother, an absence of the father and an abundance of siblings (Ramirez, 2012). References to women power as the embodiment of democracy, express ideal versions regarding a performance considered potentially positive and capable of changes. Consequently, there is a transfer from the common sense of woman nature to social and political spaces. Hence, it is not rare to see women candidates' arguments referring to female characteristics as if they were necessary for a political renewal (Barreira, 2008).

The references to the mother in the Mexican campaign are equivalent to the sum of the second and the third positions; 18% of Rousseff's spots and 17% of Cristina Kirchner's. Even though Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina are Latin America's major economies, the female reproductive role is still valued over the others.

Following we explore the each category from the most towards the less mentioned in the analysed campaigns.

The Warrior

A female candidacy is still treated as a novelty in most Latin American countries. As result, it is capable of adding value to women candidacies. Notwithstanding, women always need to reaffirm their persistence in order to value their candidacies. It is not surprising that all female campaigns in Latin America presented the warrior role at some point. The courage to face prejudices against women in politics is related to this stereotype.

When the female universe activates the warrior stereotype there is an abundance of speeches related to overcoming adversities and historical images. Noemi Sanín, for instance, devoted 35% of her time to this category. As the following voice-over in one of her ads illustrates, her competence is seen as the result of her history:

*"With effort and hard work, she paid her own career and was graduated with honours. With effort and hard work, she created and directed companies which today are still leading in their field. With effort and hard work, she gave Colombia a starring role in the world."*²

The video shows photos of the candidate illustrating the facts narrated in the voice-over by a man with a formal tone. It is a spot in which proxemics language stands out when the most important visual information is where and with whom the candidate is gathered. It reinforces what the verbal language depicts the scene.

The video that presents the mothers' action in the Plaza of Mayo, in Argentina³, can be classified in the border between the warrior and the mother roles. Kirchner narrates her hope for justice. The nonverbal values in her voice denote strength and solidarity even though her speech does not mention them explicitly. What tells us the intention of this spots is the images of the march. The strength of any mother's love turns them into warriors. Vázquez Mota uses the same voice tone in the following spot message:

*"The harder it looks, the more we grow in front of adversity. No one will dare to touch any of our children because one will know what women are capable of doing."*⁴

The candidate appears speaking in a meeting for women, looking at the audience and to directly questioning them. Her body language highlights her hands which emphasises the content and the power of her words.

Similarly, Herrera appears in one of her spots speaking at a rally about the challenge that contending for the presidency represents. Her body language indicates a fighter with a determined gaze, her fingers point to the people, expressing authority. The need that female candidates have to reaffirm their capability of governing may force them to forget that, socially speaking, each gender has its own characteristics. When one decides to explore the warrior aspect, she runs the risk of creating an image of aggressiveness by approaching to certain social prejudice.

The Mother

According to Lagarde (2006), the understanding of motherhood as a synonym for the responsibility of upbringing the children is a result of the naturalization of this role as a female one. The mother figure is somehow enshrined during the 18th and 19th centuries when the woman role as wife, mother, and educator was put on a pedestal

² Original: "Con esfuerzo y trabajo se pagó su carrera y se graduó con honores. Con esfuerzo y trabajo, creó y dirigió empresas que aún hoy son líderes en su sector. Con esfuerzo y trabajo, le aseguró a Colombia un lugar protagónico en el mundo". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2m7W7cL>

³ Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2l3p9tb>

⁴ Original: "Entre más difícil parezca, más nos crecemos frente a la adversidad. Hay de aquel que se atreve a tocar a uno de nuestros hijos porque sabrá de qué somos capaces las mujeres." Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2kHGZfJ>

(Heller, 2002). That is why it is difficult to alter in short-term a behaviour that was strengthened for centuries.

Vázques Mota was the one who gave more importance to this role, arguing in the name of families, of child protection and tries to assert herself as a worthy woman. This was all portrayed with her deeds and performance in public office. In several of her speeches, she tries to develop empathy with women: "I do everything to protect the health of my children exactly like you do"⁵ and "as Economist and mother; I know the problems of the families"⁶.

Her speeches were the most used language strategy, even though many women were shown in mother's role. They also sought to reinforce a stereotype that presents women as the one who knows how to take care of children, diminishing the importance of the father.

The following extract was used as a metaphor for women to take the same care in the Election Day acting as prosecutors in the polling places.

*"No one else in the world knows how to take care of their children better than us. If our children represent the future, then no one else is capable of looking after the future as ourselves."*⁷

Rousseff's motherhood arose in other ways beyond the mere biological maternity. One of her videos presented a song with a declaration of the former President Lula da Silva transferring his reputation to a figure which is worthy of trust in the social imaginary; the mother. The following extract reinforces the female version of paternalism:

*"Now female hands are going to guide us. [...] my people have a mother who has a heart that goes from Oiapoque to Chui. I leave my people in your hands."*⁸

Although Rousseff's personal life was seldom presented along her campaign, the media promoted her mother role. Her campaign presented lots of women representing the Brazilian middle-class women that work outside the house, take care of the children and use the public transport.

The traditional mother, who lives for her family, can be seen in a spot of the Kirchner's Argentine campaign. It is a storytelling of a lady, mother of 13 children, who received the public digital television in her countryside house. The musical

⁵ Original: "yo a igual que tú, hago lo que sea para proteger la salud de mis hijos". Retrieved from <https://youtu.be/VM8QkJiDYSs>

⁶ Original: "como economista y madre, conozco los problemas de las familias". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2ICgO2L>

⁷ Original: "Nadie en el mundo sabe cuidar de sus hijos mejor que nosotras. Si nuestros hijos representan el futuro, entonces nadie es capaz de cuidar el futuro que nosotras". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2m3X20Z>

⁸ Original: "Agora as mãos de uma mulher vão nos conduzir [...] o meu povo ganhou uma mãe/ Que tem um coração/ Que vai do Oiapoque ao Chui/ Deixo em tuas mãos o meu povo". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2m7WMef>

language is valued to enhance the excitement. Whilst the candidate does not appear in the video, the lady describes the Government accomplishment.

The Worker

The third role that appears most is the worker. This can be especially explained by candidates profile as professionally successful women. It would be almost impossible to launch a female candidacy without emphasising managerial capabilities of the pretender. This role is also present in the candidates' Government proposals whose speech deals with job generation, programs related to gender issues and the valorisation of women in the job market. It was more significant in Brazil taking 45% of the time, followed by Costa Rica, 35% and then by Colombia, 30%.

Biographical spots are usually those with more mentions to the candidates' profiles and professional successes; hence, this is the best moment for positioning them and to value their technical knowledge. Rousseff presents her career achievements through black-and-white photographs. Her images become colourful when glancing at the present and while she is introduced by Lula da Silva; while the musical language aims at producing sensibility, the technical capabilities of the candidate are being presented.

Regarding country management, Rousseff appears as an innovative woman, being introduced as the first woman in the position of Minister of Mines and Energy, and Chief of Staff. Using these arguments the speech states her biography enables her to be the first woman to held Brazilian presidency.⁹

There are no concrete proposals to create jobs or to develop equality between men and women, although women appear performing professional activities in Laura Chinchilla's videos. However, Costa Rica is one of the three countries that most positioned women as a worker, representing them in an urbanized daily life. Finally, Bachelet's videos presented the highest number of women working in a variety of professions, especially those that require a better educational background.

The Caretaker

The three countries that presented this role the most were Costa Rica (30%), Colombia (25%) and Chile (21%). It is worth mentioning that there was not a single spot in Guatemalan campaign dealing with this aspect. The candidate's speeches reflect this role while promising to take care of all her people or to be aware of their needs. In this sense, the speeches refer to solidarity and to the mother's role. The female speech in politics is signatory to a place yet to be built, emphasising typical female and male characteristics that sometimes are placed as being more developed at women. It is as if the characteristics should be shown not only through facts but also through their body, heart, and expressions of affection (Barreira, 2008).

⁹ Original: "quem tem uma biografia assim, tem tudo para ser a primeira presidenta do Brasil". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2lqDZup>

For example, in the spot that shows the suppositional return of Bachelet to the Chilean Government the narrator says:

"You will stop sleeping so that others can dream. And everyone's problems will now be yours. This challenge is bigger than those that you have overcome before. Can you explain me, Michelle? What moves you to do that?"¹⁰

It appears with Bachelet images at an office walking towards a window, symbolizing her meeting with the people. The fashion language presents a stylish woman who inspires cordiality. The narrator explores the carefulness for others above herself, a typical characteristic of the female universe.

Chinchilla offers a generic proposal for her Government in which appears the role of the caretaker:

"My Government's proposal is summed up as follows: to the children, carefulness. To the youth; education. To the adults; well-paid work. To the older adults, a better life."¹¹

Although the linguistic discourse presents abstract promises, the image creates someone who takes care of everybody and does not forget anyone. Notwithstanding, both the care for all periods of one's life and the diligence appear in the videos.

There is a spot in Mexico that aims to amalgamate the candidate with her potential electorate through the argument of identification and empathy. The femicide numbers in the country reach 6.4 deaths every day, according to the *Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional contra el Femicidio*.¹² In this context, Vásquez Mota states the following:

"...that you may not miss your value, that no one may lack the respect for you. This pact is from woman to woman. I make a covenant with you so no one abuses you, that you may have equal income and opportunities..."¹³

While she speeches images of women facing the camera appear with the following words: justice, equality, opportunity, freedom, health, and work. The tone of voice is soft and indicates complicity. Not only does the candidate come up as caretaker, but she also comes up as women advocate. Surrounded by women she ends the video

¹⁰ Original: "Dejarás de dormir para que sean otros los que puedan soñar. Y los problemas de todos ahora serán tuyos. Ese desafío es más grande de los que has superado antes. Me puedes explicar, Michelle: ¿Que te mueve a hacer eso?". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2lijz8K>

¹¹ Original: "Mi propuesta de gobierno se resume así: para la niñez, cuidado. Para la juventud, educación. Para las personas adultas, trabajo bien remunerado. Para los adultos mayores, una vida digna". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2linJgM>

¹² Retrieved from <http://observatoriofemicidio.blogspot.mx>

¹³ Original: "...Que no te falte valor, que nadie te falte al respecto. Este pacto es de mujer a mujer. Yo pacto contigo para que nadie te maltrate, que tengas igualdad de ingresos y oportunidades...". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2I3tah5>

facing the camera and firmly stating: "When I become the President, to be a woman in Mexico is going to be very different"¹⁴ .

Being diligent is also related to the act of listening to people, one of the features that composes the female universe. Chinchilla was portrayed in her spots as someone accessible, listening to and talking with people of various ages, paying attention to them. The narrator follows these images with saying: "Laura Chinchilla has been listening to the hopes and wishes of our people".¹⁵

The Housewife

The housewife role does not appear in the linguistic discourse, being portrayed only through images. It was only present on half of the campaigns and was not mentioned in Panama, Mexico, Costa Rica and Colombia. Conversely, there is a relative emphasis on this role in Brazil and Guatemala where the issue takes 25% of the time.

Menchú's video, for example, shows a woman taking care of the house while talks that her people would vote for the candidate.¹⁶ In the case of Rousseff, this role was presented in the spots which images show women at the supermarket, opening the refrigerator, serving food for their family, etc.

The Sensitive

The campaigns in Chile, Mexico, and Argentina presented this role in a higher percentage, but there are no big differences among the proportions. The videos portray the feminism of difference which according to Lombart (2007) aims to enhance the values associated with women, such as affection, tenderness, the care for the others, for life and for nature. The music is constant in the spots of electoral communication and images of nature and children, using soft lighting and other resources to manifest sensitivity.

Sensitivity can appear in a subtle manner. For instance, Rousseff was portrayed closer to the people while taking part in popular events and being introduced by other leaders' testimonies. In her first program, she appears taking a stroll with her dog and talking about the values taught by her parents during the childhood (Amado & Panke, 2012). The argumentative strategies designed to bring her closer to the public portrayed her as a mother, grandmother or wife, and emphasised the continuity of the present Government.

Bachelet explicitly shows her sensitivity saying goodbye to her companions at United Nations Women, where she was the first President. In this spot, the candidate

¹⁴ Original: "Desde el primer momento que yo sea presidenta, ser mujer en México va a ser muy diferente".

¹⁵ Original: "Laura Chinchilla ha estado escuchando las esperanzas y los deseos de nuestra gente. Para Costa Rica el camino es uno y es hacia adelante". Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2IC41Ny>

¹⁶ Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2kUQmxh>

speaks with a testimonial tone when she returned to Chile.¹⁷ The complicity seen in other women is also a sign of tenderness, especially the tears in their eyes and applauds. Moreover, Vázquez Mota emphasised this characteristic as a positive aspect: “I want to be President because I have the woman sensitivity to listen to you”.¹⁸

Kirchner’s spots were thematic, related to general values and based on testimonies. Among those values, there were love, equality, justice, inclusion, truth, life, dignity, joy, union. All the spots included the slogan “The strength of...” to create empathy and identification with the electorate. Thus, the television campaign received tenderness and transformed the candidate in a sensitive person.

The submissive

Only Argentina and Mexico explicitly presented this stereotype. The excessive tenderness can create a submissive perception, and the oddest spot in that category was exhibited by Cristina Kirchner who was previously highlighted for having presented spots related to female sensitivity.¹⁹

Kirchner also tried to value her husband, the former President of Argentina, who had recently passed away, through two spots called “The strength of him”. Reference to Néstor Kirchner’s presence in the country was made by giving the impression that he remained governing the country even after his death, or rather that Cristina Kirchner still needs his endorsement to do so. Once we understand that the image of the deceased man was an electoral strategy, we can deduce that it was not only a tribute paid to him but also a form of submission.

There is a common speech against gender violence, misogyny and femicides in Mexico that enables us to see that being under submission is a problem there; women are not able to release themselves from dependence. The Mothers’ day spot showed images of women along with the words: protection, love, and peace.²⁰ The video explores values that supposedly belong to mothers, like affection, work, wisdom, love, commitment, sacrifice, understanding, protection, hope, strength, peace, effort, trust, unconditional friendship; qualities that portray a submissive woman.

Though only spots in Argentina and Mexico highlighted the female submission, we emphasise that some of Herrera’s spots can be also put into this category as men spoke for her in half of her videos. It is clear that there is an identification strategy which tries to link her image to young audiences and to the marginal culture, as the characters in the videos are well-known singers. The images show rallies, and when times she stated a speech it was about the warrior role. The narrative voice-over in her videos was made by a man as if he was her spokesman.

¹⁷ Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2IHKKLb>

¹⁸ Original: “yo quiero ser presidenta porque tengo la sensibilidad de la mujer para escucharlos”. Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2IHAoLp>

¹⁹ Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2m7J3nw>

²⁰ Retrieved from <http://bit.ly/2l3t2y4>

CONCLUSIONS

This paper offered a proposal of seven stereotypes' categories of the female universe which were present in the electoral spots of candidates for the Presidency of Latin American countries: housewife, warrior, mother, caretaker, sensitive, submissive and worker. A sample of 216 electoral spots from Argentina (2011), Brazil (2012), Chile (2013), Costa Rica (2010), Colombia (2010), Mexico (2012), Guatemala (2011) and Panama (2009) was analysed to develop this classification.

The following aspects of the audio-visual language were observed to determine prevailing characteristics: linguistic, kinesics, proxemics, visual, physiological, fashion and non-verbal values in the voice. The spots were analysed under a perspective of gender, exploring the positions of the candidates and their language codes, and how did women appear in the videos, what they did, if they spoke, of what spoke, where they were in the scenes.

We developed the idea that the conceptualization of gender involves biological, psychological, cultural and social issues. According to Lamas (2013), gender provides a way to decode the meaning that each culture gives to the difference between both sexes and to understand the complex connections among various forms of human interaction. Hence, the categories of gender are related to symbolic roles and to stereotypes that determine social relationships. The gender order is a system of social relations between men and women whose formation involves structural, cultural and symbolic aspects (Todaro, 2002).

Male and female are different and contain characteristics of behaviour presented in different proportions both in men and women. The point is that these differences have always been seen as deficits for women; the idea of the difference does not mean better nor worse, it focuses on heterogeneity and the possibility of each individual to contribute with his talents and styles within a variety of areas where his activities are developed (Heller, 2002).

Some roles from the typology were used as discourse strategies and others, apparently, to portray a reality creating empathy with the electorate. There are many campaign situations where gender is emphasised: the discursive interpellations addressed to women, the convocations of specific rituals to the women category or the affirmation of values typically considered feminine.

The most prevalent stereotypes in all the campaigns were the warrior and mother's roles. The warrior indicates the struggle of those women that participate in the candidacies at the national level. Thus, the candidates show their value when they are exposed among the parties, electoral processes, and when they stimulate other women's independence. We understand that being candidate is something that requires competence and courage, irrespective of the gender.

Society values the motherhood and the caretaker roles, both devoted to the family and to the children. The mother's role is so strong in Latin countries that we verified the presence of super-mothers and public mothers. The first masters the private space and cooperates somehow with the perpetuation of a process of centralization of the home duties on their hands as if it was a kind of power. The later involves professional

activities related to looking after people, like teachers, doctors, nurses and police officers.

The less recurrent role was the submissive woman. The only countries that showed it in a small percentage were Argentina and Mexico. In the case of Kirchner's campaign, it was verified the strategic presence of the deceased former President Néstor Kirchner. In Mexico, the candidate Vázquez Mota as well as worries about the violence against women and the lack of conditions women find to release themselves from it admits the tolerance with what we call auto submissive women.

Does the fact that the submissive role is not overexposed in the analysed campaigns indicate that Latin America is experiencing a change? Or is the population closer to gender equality regarding political parties? These stereotypes reinforce that women need to be strong and warriors to enter into politics, to be listened and to become victorious. The point is that the spots which emphasised the mother's role may be also limiting the fully political development of women as a consequence of the interpretation that women are the solely responsible for raising children and that they would never have enough time to come into politics.

This research opens up perspectives to develop new reflections about stereotypes and roles of gender in Latin American politics. Through complementary studies which inquire whether the proposed typology can be applied into other countries and into campaigns for other positions, we may have a wider view of women situation in electoral campaigns and politics.

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