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Los quiero a todos…

1. INTRODUCTION

On the 15th of March 2009, the party Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN in Spanish initials) won the presidential election after 17 years in the opposition. The FMLN´s candidate, Mauricio Funes – a former CNN correspondent and popular anchorman – conquered the 51% of the voters, while his lone contender, Rodrigo Avila – nominated by the right-wing Republican Nationalist Alliance (ARENA in Spanish) – reached 48%.

The triumph of Funes and FMLN is historical for three reasons. Firstly, Funes and the left-wing party finally broke 20 years of ARENA's control on the executive branch. Four of Arena's presidents ruled El Salvador consecutively between 1999 and 2009. The second reason is the historical and revolutionary roots of FMLN, and its transformation. The FMLN is a former guerrilla movement, which successfully changed itself from a Marxist–Leninist insurgent group to an effective "electoral machine". The third reason is the unique characteristics of the presidential election of 2009. At the beginning of year - after a series of political arrangements - Funes and Avila were left as the only two contenders in the first round of the election. For the first time since the end of the civil war, the political centre was forced, in the first round, to decide whether to endorse FMLN or ARENA.

Previous literature demonstrates (Strömback & Kaid 2008, Schudson 1995, Rahat & Sheafer 2007) that political elements impact journalistic coverage. In El Salvador, connections between politics and journalism go beyond a simply indirect or "environmental" influence. The scholarship on Salvadorian journalism reveals the historical linkages between press, parties and candidates (Rockwell & Janus 2003, Janus 1999, Rockwell 2002, Darling 2007, Wolf 2007, López 1961). During the Civil War (1980-1992), two major examples depict this historical trend. Rockwell and Janus (2003) describe how the Salvadorian media was a mouthpiece of the 1970´s military dictatorship and right-wing governments of the 1980´s. On the other

hand, Darling (2007) explains how Radio Venceremos[1], an insurgent radio-station, became the official voice of the FMLN and was legitimized by the international press as valuable source of information.

In 1992, ARENA's government and FMLN accorded to put an end to twelve years of Civil War. The agreement triggered important reforms in the political system, such as the dismantling of the militarized police and the construction of impartial electoral institutions. The political changes directly affected the performance of Salvadoran journalists. Mainstream media started a reconstruction of their newsroom to open their pages and airwaves to new political actors, while the former guerrilla and left-oriented outlets were legalized and integrated into the media market (Rockwell & Janus 2003).

In March 2009, political actors presented a new 'heyday' in the democratic history of El Salvador. For the first time since 1994, when FMLN debuted in an election, FMLN and AREMA monopolized the voting. The other four parties resigned to postulate presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Two weeks before the elections, surveys suggested that the gap between Avila and Funes was closing. A tight election was forecast (El Diario de Hoy 2009a). Other polls revealed that FMLN was most popular and threatened the possibility of ARENA's fifth governmental period (LPG Datos 2009a)[1].

The close competition between candidates, the unique nature of an "only two"-party vote, the historical background of a democracy based on 12 years of War, the possibility that a former insurgent group might achieve the Executive Branch by legal means, and the increasing importance of the media in the political debate portrayed the 2009 Salvadorian Presidential Election as an interesting subject of study. To understand the role of the media in Salvadorian politics and how their political lines influence the journalistic content, I analyze two newspapers which represent the political extremes in the Salvadorian media landscape: El Diario de

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[1] Radio Venceremos was one of the two guerrilla radio stations which broadcast in El Salvador during the Civil War. It was created by the Revolutionary Peoples' Army (ERP in Spanish), one of the five guerrilla factions of the FMLN:

Hoy (EDH) and Diario Co Latino (Co Latino). The term "extremists" refers to the political position of the outlets in an imaginary line which joints far-right and far-left (Hagen 1993). EDH is a far-right newspaper openly in favour of Avila and ARENA. Co Latino represents the only left-wing daily newspaper in a local market controlled by newspapers with conservative editorial lines (Rockwell & Janus 2003). The examination of both newspapers can reveal two different patterns of coverage, but also, enhance similarities. In my research, the major research question is: how did EDH and Co Latino report the 2009 election?

'Partisan favoritism' is the systematic influence in the news of the political orientation of a medium (Partisan Bias), in combination with an explicitly supportive and/or negative campaign toward a specific party or candidate (Editorial Endorsement).

I analyze the newspapers with a quantitative content analysis. My sampling period is fifteen days before and one day after the Election of March 15th (From March 1th to March 16th). This period is important for two reasons:

1) Previous research suggests that as an election approaches, the ability of the media to influence voters increases (Gulati et al 2004,Strömback & Kaid 2008)
2) Within that period, Salvadorian law prohibits the publication of surveys and propaganda (Código Electoral, 1993). The ban stresses the possibilities that journalistic content can be transformed in a struggle for political persuasion.
3) I chose to analyze March 16th because on this day both newspapers published the highest number of stories related to the election during the sampling period.

The field of interest of this thesis is the journalistic coverage of political issues. The research attempts to contribute to the debate on political communication, but taking journalism as point of departure. To examine journalistic coverage, I study the placement and the tone of each story, but also, I decided to explore further, to an

examination of sources of information. As results, I study 328 articles and more than 900 sources.

This work contributes to the study of journalism in Central America. In El Salvador, the amount of previous quantitative content analyses related to journalistic and politics is limited. Two of the few quantitative studies   toward political journalism were the examination of coverage of the1999 Presidential Election of Janus et al. (1999) and the European Union's (2009) analysis of the 2009 Legislative, Local and Presidential Elections. From both studies emerge interesting findings on Salvadorian political reporting, but they do not provide any indicator to measure the reliability of their methods. This research attempts to solve the deficit of reliability examination with two different reliability tests (Cohen's Kappa and Level of Agreement). Consequently, this thesis seems to be the only quantitative content analysis focus on Salvadorian reporting which presents the results of reliability tests.

The work has been divided into five parts. In the Theoretical and Analytical Framework (chapter 2), I provide the working definitions of the concepts expressed in the title of this thesis. I present also the theories and research on which I have based my methodology. Chapter 3 (Background) describes, first, key facts of the Salvadorian political and media history to help readers understand the election's context. Later in Chapter 3, there is a brief introduction to the theories about journalism and politics in Latin America. In Chapter 4 (Empirical investigation), I provide the the rationale behind my content analysis. I have attempted to be specific and open about the way I measured the content. I linked the general theories about political reporting mentioned in Chapter 2 with their application in this thesis. In Chapter 5 (Results), I present the results of my research, attempting to highlight the commonalities and divergences between EDH and Co Latino. In Chapter 6 (Conclusion), I propose a way to understand the patterns of coverage of the newspaper and what can be behind this rationale. In chapter 6, I attempt to find how the theories explained in Chapter 2 support or contradict the evidence of this research.

2. Theoretical and Analytical Framework

First of all, this chapter defines two fundamental concepts for my research: Partisan Favouritism and Extremist Newspapers. Both terms - stated in the title of the research - need to be properly determined and explained in their theoretical and practical scopes. Later in this chapter, I acknowledge that favouritism and ideological bias can be studied from very different perspectives than the ones proposed here. Several authors examine bias from the Agenda Setting perspective and the research of Framing.

As a third point in this chapter, I explain the three key dimensions I have utilized to analyze the election reporting of El Diario de Hoy (EDH) and Diario Co Latino (Co Latino): placement, tone and sourcing. This is the most important part of this chapter, because I describe and analyze how these three facets, which represent the methodological core of this thesis, have been studied in previous content analysis.

Finally, there is a description of previous literature about media, journalism and politics in El Salvador, with special emphasis in quantitative research. I recognize the importance of previous research, but, at the same time, I have some critiques with regards to their methodological and theoretical limitations.

2.1 Theoretical definitions:

In this work, Partisan Favouritism is defined as the combination of two concepts: Partisan Bias and Editorial Endorsement. In a preliminary approach, Partisan Favouritism can be seen when the systematic intervention of the political orientation of a medium in the information (Partisan Bias) is combined with the explicit support of a party or candidate (Editorial Endorsement), when this party or candidate represents the political values of the medium.

To understand the concept of Partisan Favouritism applied to EDH and Co Latino, it is important first to describe two important concepts in which partisan favouritism is rooted: Partisan Bias and Partisan Endorsement. After reviewing the theoretical framework, I will present a more refined and accurate working definition of Partisan Favouritism. Before I start with the theoretical framework, I stress that in this thesis, article is a synonym of story.

2.1.2 Partisan Bias

In communications research, the finding of bias in favour or against political parties or candidates has been an enduring effort. The reason is simple: the possibility that biased news can influence election results (Gulati et al 2004**,** Kaid & Strömback 2008, Shoemaker & Reese 1996). In this tradition, Ideological or Partisan Bias has been assumed as synonymous concepts (Gulati et al 2004). Schiffer (2008, p. 24) defines Partisan Bias as "the systematic favouring of one party or ideology resulting from the intentional or unconscious biases of reporters, editor, or organizations". In a similar way, Zeldes et al (2008, p. 563) stresses that the partisan slant of the media can be detected when an outlet "systematically" favours one of two conflicting sides in an election.

Kaid and Strömback assure that only systematic tendency in favour or disfavour of certain politics and parties can be considered as Partisan Bias. To draw the limits of the concept of Partisan Bias, both theorists distinguish Partisan Bias from Structural Bias. Thus, Partisan Bias is produced by the political orientation of the medium, while Structural Bias is constructed by the journalistic norms and the circumstances of news production (Gulati et al 2004, Kaid & Strömback 2008, Boykoff & Boykoff 2004**,** Schiffer 2008).

Zeldes et al (2008) operationalize the concept of Partisan Bias in the network coverage of 2000 and 2004 U.S. Presidential Elections. They measure the ideological or partisan bias as the extent to which the partisan opponents receive equal prominence and scope. In this thesis, the process of defining a concept in measured variables is known as operationalization They use the space of the story

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as the indicator to measure "equal treatment in individual stories and across all stories" (p 565). The findings of Zeldes et al. do not support the pattern of Democratic Bias, but individual networks show widely different patterns in their balance between Democratic and Republican.

In El Salvador, how can a systematic Partisan Bias in the coverage of EDH and Co Latino be demonstrated? I acknowledge the difficulties of answering this question due the scarcity of empirical, systematic, comparable and longitudinal quantitative content analysis. However, we utilize the few empirical attempts to measure the bias in combination with previous theoretical assumptions about the Salvadorian media landscape. First, two quantitative studies suggest a long-term existence of Co Latino endorsing FMLN, and EDH endorsing ARENA. Janus et al. (1999) reveals that, in the 1999 Salvadorian Presidential Election, EDH and Co Latino clearly showed their Partisan Bias in the political reporting. ARENA received more positive coverage than FMLN in EDH´s pages[2]. Co Latino gives to FMLN more space, coverage and pictures than ARENA. A quantitative analysis by the European Union (2009) presents a similar panorama of Janus et al. The European Union report reveals that in EDH, ARENA and FMLN have the same amount of space; but EDH gave more positive coverage to the right-wing party and more negative to the left-wing institution. Co Latino depicted the news in a reversed method: FMLN got more space and positive coverage than ARENA.

Despite the methodological and theoretical differences between my study and the content analysis of Janus and EU, these two researches provide important data, which demonstrate the existence of a more or less systematic partisan bias of Co Latino in relation with FMLN, and EDH with ARENA, as Zeldes et al (2008) proposed.

2.1.3. Editorial Endorsement

The editorial endorsements of the US media for specific candidates or parties are well documented, and are a controversial topic in American Media Studies. The

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[2] In Janus et al (1999), ARENA received more negative coverage than FMLN in EDH. But ARENA had more space for text and pictures.

American press has been historically devoted to the idea of the construction of a "wall separation" between the editorial opinion and the information (Kahn & Kenney 2002). This ethical imperative has produced an abundance of literature which analyzes the influence of the endorsement of the newspapers in the tailoring of the news, and, therefore, in the voters behaviour. Erikson (1976) finds evidence that newspapers´ endorsements in the 1964 Election do influence presidential voting in local communities in the United States. In a similar direction, Kahn and Keney (2002) conclude, after examining the coverage of 1960 senate races between 1988 and 1992, that incumbent Senators are affected by the newspaper's endorsement decision. "Voters evaluate endorsed candidates more favourably than candidates who fail to secure an editorial endorsement", they assure.

Though the rich theoretical terrain of the effects of Editorial Endorsements, the definition of what exactly Editorial Endorsement means seems often to be forgotten. Kallahan (1999) finds a clear explanation of what we should understand as Editorial Endorsement (p 332):

> To *endorse* a product, person, or cause is "to express approval of publicly and definitely." Endorsement is different from a recommendation. To *recommend* means "to present as worthy of acceptance or trial". Although the terms are often used interchangeably, endorsement involves an indication of approval, not necessarily a call to action.

While Kallahan conceptualizes the endorsement as a simple approval, Ansolabehere (2004) coins the Editorial Endorsement as a "conscious political act", which comes in strategic and critical times of the political campaign. He concludes that the Editorial Endorsement reveals "the political orientation of the press" (p.2).

In this thesis, Editorial Endorsement simply encompasses two senses: 1) the open and explicit support of a newspaper in favour of a party, and/or 2) the explicit campaign against a party or candidate in the editorial pages of newspapers. To illustrate how the working definition of editorial endorsement is used in this thesis, I use excerpts from the editorial positions of both newspapers.

On March 9th, 2009, when there were only two parties in the race (ARENA and FMLN), El Diario de Hoy (2009a) stated its position against Funes and FMLN:

> The key element to creating jobs in any sector or country is the trust and the existence of clear rules; both of these elements are in danger with the only possibility that El Salvador will be reigned by communism. A red victory is the more efficient way to frighten the investors.

On the other side, Co Latino (2009) openly endorsed FMLN and Funes in its issue of February 11th, 2009:

> There are no doubts that the unity of the left is needed in this historical time and it should be made with the endorsement of FMLN, in the same way some militants and authorities of the FDR[3] (centre-left party) did it.

2.1.4 A more complete approach of Partisan Favouritism

The empirical finding about bias in the coverage of Co Latino and EDH (Janus et. al 1991, EU 2009) together with the editorial endorsements of EDH and Co Latino toward ARENA and FMLN construct a working definition of Partisan Favouritism.

> ***Partisan Favouritism is the systematic influence in the news of the political orientation of a medium (Partisan Bias) in combination with an explicitly supportive and/or negative campaign in relation to the supported party and/or against a specific party or candidate (Editorial Endorsement). In other words, Partisan Favouritism connects the political alignment of a medium with a candidate or party, which seems to represent the medium's political values and aspirations.***

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[3] Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR in Spanish) was a party created by dissidents of FMLN. An accurate translation of FDR in English should be Revolutionary and Democratic Front.

2.1.5 Why Extremist Newspapers?

Why do I call EDH and Co Latino Extremist Newspapers? Firstly, the term "extremist" should not be understood in a pejorative fashion or as a suggestion of a lack of quality in the reporting. In this thesis, the word extremist has only a positional application in relation to the left-right dimension of the El Salvador political system. Alcántara and Rivas (2006) attribute to El Salvador one of the most polarized political systems in Latin America. According to their appreciation, FMLN is placed in one of the extremes, and, on other side is ARENA as the biggest conservative political actor. As I demonstrated in the past subsections, the Partisan Favouritism of the newspapers with one of the political poles eases our comparison in the left-right dimension. Therefore, I locate Co Latino on the extreme left, and EDH on the right.

Within an historical examination method, Rockwell and Janus (2003) support the perspective of the "the polarized nature of the Salvadoran society" (p. 33). They assert that during the war (1980-1992) the EDH was a "poorly designed propaganda sheet for ARENA´s far right elements" (ibid.). The newspaper connected the opinion of El Salvador's army, and all conservative politicians and radical rightists. Rockwell and Janus acknowledge that the ideological tone of EDH was smoothed after the end of the Civil War in 1992, but fell back to a more far-right stance in 2001. These reasons lead the theorists to locate EDH in a more extreme position in comparison with the other two Salvadorian conservative newspapers: LA PRENSA GRÁFICA and DIARIO EL MUNDO. Rockwell and Janus reveal certain criticism of LA PRENSA GRAFICA´s against ARENA and confirm the "centrist, moderate tack" of DIARIO EL MUNDO. They distinguish the moderate content of DIARIO EL MUNDO from other "larger morning publications" (p. 39). A European Union (2009) content analysis of the 2009 election coverage demonstrates a more moderate position of LA PRENSA GRÁFICA and DIARIO EL MUNDO, in comparison with EDH's content. The EU study showed that the

political coverage of LA PRENSA GRAFICA and DIARIO EL MUNDO in the 2009 Presidential campaign was less negative toward FMLN than the reporting of EDH.

In a context in which three conservative newspapers have an overwhelming majority of the daily circulation (World Association of Newspapers 2006), Co Latino breaks the newspaper tradition to align with the conservative oligarchy (Rockwell and Janus 2003). Co Latino is the only left-oriented outlet within the four national daily newspapers (World Association of Newspapers 2006), making it. Co Latino is the only left-oriented actor in the newspaper market.

To what extent is the coverage of extremist newspapers relevant? Extremist newspapers show the political range of the newspapers spectrum: from far-left to far-right. The analysis of two antagonist newspapers could reveal obviously divergent patterns of coverage, but also describe important commonalities. If I had selected outlets with similar Partisan Favouritism, it would be impossible to detect the gap which separates the poles, and the bridges which connect the extremes. However, the results cannot generalize the whole media system or be taken as a conclusion of the contents of the entire newspaper industry. The analysis of extremist newspapers does not substitute a larger sampling of outlets. On the contrary, this thesis might be the first step toward the understanding of nuances in Salvadorian media.

2.2. Alternative approaches to bias

This thesis is based on three methodological and theoretical dimensions: placement, tone and sourcing. However, previous literature suggests that Partisan Favouritism or Partisan Bias in political reporting can be researched from other approaches, besides the ones we have used here. In this subsection, I briefly explain two of the most popular alternative perspectives in order to acknowledge the theoretical limitations of my framework. In both alternative approaches, quantitative content analysis can be an important element in the research.

2.2.1 Framing

Framing is nowadays one of the most popular approaches in media research. Hetherington (1996) affirms that framing is one of the "main channels of media influences" for voters (p 375). Reese (2007) proclaims that framing represents a useful tool for understanding the role of media in politics. Entman (2004) alleges that framing has become "more of a unifying thread in political communication research" (p 5).The term can be traced to studies in sociology, anthropology and psychology in the 1970s. Entman (2004) defines frames (p 5) as the process of "selecting and highlights some facets of events or issues, and making connection among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution."

Reese (2007) conceives framing as a combination of the different interests, communicators, sources and cultures: "Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p5).

The differences between Reese and Entman's definitions illustrate the persistent debates about the nature of the phenomenon. Entman (1993) recognizes that framing is a "scattered" concept (p. 51), vulnerable to "criticism as an imprecise catchall" (Entman 2002 p 5) and "vagueness" (Scheufele 1999 p 103). Another discussion is whether the research of framing should be qualitative or quantitative (Reese 2007). Despite the theoretical and methodological contestations, the framing research in political reporting is rich and vast. Several theorists focus their studies on how framing represents images of hegemony and power structure (Entman 2004, Entman 1993, Entman 1996). Another collection of works attempts to find if the election coverage concentrates on "issues frames" - the political debate of the economy, ideology and candidates position - or in "strategic frames" - polls and the horse race between the candidates (de Vreese & Semetko 2004, Han 2007, Gulati et al 2004). Furthermore, frames can reveal how gender plays a considerable role in electoral campaigns (Semetko & Boomgarden 2007).

2.2.2 Agenda setting

Partisan Bias and Partisan Favouritism in campaigning can also be detected through the analysis of the agenda-setting function of media. McCombs and Shaw (1972) explain that "mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues" (p 176). Weaver et al (2004) reveal that the scores of a good amount of studies on agenda-setting tend to support a positive correlation between media agenda and public agendas at the aggregate level.

Weaver et al affirm that the research of agenda-setting has amplified from a concern with the salience or prominence of issues to the attribute of issues and candidates images. Indeed, the analysis of the agenda-setting function has gotten closer to the analysis of framing and priming, creating a second level of the agenda-setting. Nowadays, a good amount of the research tries not only to find what issues are set by the media, but also the attributes or characteristics of these issues.

The agenda-setting function and framing stress the necessity to understand Bias and Favouritism as multifaceted phenomena. The many perspectives in which political reporting can be analyzed represents a reality I took account of in this thesis. Because of it, I have limited the theoretical framework to the three key dimensions: placement, tone and sourcing. In my opinion, these three reveal how mechanisms of the partisan favouritism function in El Salvador. Nevertheless, placement, tone and sourcing can be combined with researches of agenda-setting and framing. Studies on Agenda-setting and framing complement my findings, and unveil the complex journalistic landscape of Salvadorian media.

2.3 Analytical Framework

This part of the theoretical framework encompasses all the available literature in which I have based my research method. I have structured my literature review in a way similar to how I constructed the research instrument and the methodological chapter. Nevertheless, in this subsection, I do not provide details about methodological operationalizations and technical explanations. I only offer preliminary and concise concepts to preserve the clarity and logic of this subsection.

2.3.1 Placement

Here, placement is a two-tiered dimension: 1) the amount of space that the newspapers give to the political stories, and 2) the prominence that the printed media give the political stories. Previous examinations considered the amount of space and prominence as complementary facets in which partisan bias can be presented (Harrington 2001, Peter & de Vreese 2004).

Amount of Space

A good amount of the academic literature uses amount of space as an efficient indicator of partisan bias or, at least, as a sign of direct intervention of the editorial policies in the news. This type of bias is called "Coverage Bias" (D´alessio & Allen 2000 p 133) or "Selection Bias" (Oliver & Maney 2000 p 464). D´alessio and Allen (2000) define the Coverage Bias as "the relative amount of coverage toward one party or the other". In a two-party electoral system, they argue, a biased coverage is the one which does not provide a similar amount of space to both actors and presents a consistent deviation in favour of one of the parties.

Oliver and Maney (2000) illustrate the bias in the amount of coverage in relation with street protests in the United States. In their concept of "Selection Bias", they find first which protests receive space in the media, but also what were the "factors

that determine whether an event receives news coverage in a particular city" (p. 464). With different methodologies and issues, Oliver and Maney, and D´alessio and Allen, agree on a central point: the amount of space provides important information about the partisan favouritism and political loyalties of the medium. The conceptualization of Coverage Bias of D´alessio and Allen seems to be more precise and accurate than the notion of Oliver and Maney for the purposes of this thesis, and can be easily related to the context that surrounds my investigation.

Space has been commonly considered a trustworthy indicator of bias (Riffe, et al. 2005). In a study of the coverage of newspaper in Senate Elections, Schiffer (2006 p. 25) uses the method of "the Democratic percentage", which measures the total number of paragraphs received by each candidate. Thus, there will be bias, according to Schiffer, if there is a significant advantage of a candidate or party. The bias in terms of space is also used in the electronic media. Airtime in television and radio are equivalent to inches and headlines in the printed media (D´alessio & Allen 2000). Hughes and Lawson (2004) use the quantity of television coverage dedicated to each of the major parties in Mexico's 2000 Election as an instrument to detect if the Mexican TV stations are still influenced by political power. Porto (2008) analyzes the bias in terms of division of airtime between the main presidential candidates in Brazil. In a combination of different units of analysis in the 2005 German Elections, Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007) compare the coverage of the printed media, represented in square centimetres, with the reporting of television content, represented in seconds

Prominence

Partisan favouritism can not only be detected by analyzing the amount of space of news coverage, it can also be found by investigating how prominent or relevant a story in the medium is. For example, 15 square centimetres on the front page of a newspaper can have a different meaning than 15 square centimetres in the back pages.

Reese and Shoemaker stress that the amount of space by itself is insufficient to unveil the bias (p. 5):

> Two newspapers may run precisely the same number of inches of news about Israel but still provide very different views of what is happening in that country. Knowing how many times a sportscaster refers to black athletes doesn't tell us whether the coverage reflects fairness or prejudice. Measuring the qualitative attributes of media content is difficult, but it is often far more revealing than looking at quantitative data alone.

Within the quantitative tradition, prominence indicators provide new "attributes" related to the placement. Hartcher (2008) defines prominence as "how much importance a new item is given, based on its placement in a newspaper" (p.8). Peter and de Vreese (2004) measure prominence with a formula in which the length of a new story (coded in seconds) is combined with the appearance of an anchor and visuals (p. 10). Though he does not use the word prominence, Harrington (2001) examines the importance of a story in the newscast taking as an indicator if the news was a lead story or not.

Hurwitz et al. (1976) investigates prominence within one of the five display categories of their attention score. With the method, they investigate the coverage of the Watergate Scandal in four elite international newspapers. The scholars assign to each article a value ranging from zero to four on two categories, and a value ranging from one to four on the other three. In the category Placement, Hurwitz et al rate every article according to four values: "Front Page Prominence", "Other Front Page", "Inside Page" and "Other inside page". The theorists assert that "newspaper articles differed in length, placement, page location, graphics, and source and, since our unit of analysis was the entire printed article; all articles could not be treated equally" (p. 109).

In a content analysis of the press coverage of Four US ex-presidents, Asante (2002) defines prominence as "emphasis placed on the stories". He has a simplifier

indicator of prominence, in comparison with other complex applications such as Hurwitz et al and De Vreese et al (2006). Asante operationalizes the prominence of the story with two simple options: front page or inside page (p. 5).

I conclude in this subsection with three points:

1. An extensive theoretical framework suggests the close relationship between amount of space (coverage) and the prominence of the news. In some research, both measurements provide complementary information of the Partisan Bias or Partisan Favouritism. In my thesis, I maintain this complementary perspective.

2. With regards to the amount of space, my concept of biased coverage should be understood as one which does not provide a similar amount of space to both actors and presents a consistent deviation in favour of one of the parties and candidates. My perspective has been influenced by D´alessio and Allen (2000).

3. Asantes and Harrington's dichotomies in the measurement of prominence have been highly influence in my indicator of prominence. More details will be given in the methodology.

2.3.2 Tone

There is a long tradition in the measurement of tone in quantitative content analyses. Many of these studies do not share a common definition of tone. Rideout and Franz (2008) confirm this lack of agreement when they expose the problematic construction of a concept of negativity in the news (p. 159):

> Many authors define a campaign message as negative if it *mentions* an opponent (e.g., Lau& Pomper, 2004). This offers a relatively easy and elegant way of placing a message into one of two categories (positive or negative), but it also treats as the same messages that may be quite different on a qualitative level. As Jamieson and her colleagues write, ´academics, pundits and reporters tend to conflate ads that feature one-

sided attacks, contrast ads that contain attacks, ad hominem attack ads, and ads featuring attacks that deceive` (...).Yes, a message stating that an opponent ´voted against Medicare funding increases` and a message stating that an opponent is ´dishonest and immoral are both negative`, but to the average citizen, there may be a big difference between the two.

The scholars compare the difference in several pieces of research on political campaign reporting. They reveal important divergences in the units of analysis and in the operationalization of tone. I illustrate the difference with two excerpts from their work. First, Rideout and Franzs explain how the study of Lau and Pomper (2004), in examining U.S. Senate elections from 1992-2002, utilizes the statement of unit of analysis and conceptualizes positive statements as the one that "not mentions an opponent" and negative statements the ones that "mentioned an opponent" (p. 60). They also exemplify the divergences of approach with a work of Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, and Valentino (1994), which studies the relationship between tone and turnout in U.S. Senate Races in in-state publications and political news magazines. Rideout and Franzs reveals that the coders, in Ansolabehere et al (1994), read all of the articles about each campaign before classifying each negative (if a majority of the tone references in the newspaper coverage were negative)that the coders read all of the articles about each campaign before classifying each negative (if a majority of the tone references in the newspaper coverage were negative), mixed (if at least three articles mentioned that one candidate was not responding to an opponent's attack), or positive (if no mention was made of the negative tone of the campaign).

In the tradition of Rideout and Franz's comparative research, I attempt to make a brief and systematic review of five theoretical approaches to tone. Later, I evaluate which of them seems to be closer to the perspective I used in the preparation of my methodology. In any case, I do not suggest the existence of good or bad conceptualizations of tone. All of them attempt to grasp different attributes of the journalistic coverage.

Asante (2002), in his examination of the coverage of four American ex-presidents, takes the paragraph as the unit of analysis. Each paragraph in a story was measured as favourable, neutral and unfavourable. A piece of information was classified as favourable if the majority of the paragraphs were positive with regards to their reference to the ex-president in question. On the contrary, if the majority of the paragraphs were negative toward the ex-president, the story was coded as unfavourable. News that vacillated between favourable and unfavourable or that did not have a strong direction were coded neutral.

Benoit et al (2005) study the tone in the New York Times coverage of the Democratic general presidential campaign between 1952 and 2000. Their unit of analysis was the statement. They encompass the tone in three functions of the candidate discourse: "…(acclaims/positive statements, attacks/negative statements, and defenses / refutations of attacks) can describe the tone of both candidate and news statements" (p 361). The statements can be unattributed essentially from the reporter, from the candidate, from a supporter, or from another source. Donsbach (1997) also had the statement as a unit of analysis in his examinations of the media content of the 1994 German Election.

Donsbach's approach of what tone means seems very close to the perspective of Benoit et al:

> A statement was coded as favourable when, for example, politicians or their actions were described in positive terms, the activities related to success or the story attributed positive traits to the politicians. A statement was coded as negative when the politicians or their actions were described in negative terms, their activities were related to failure or blunders or they were criticized or negative traits were attributed to them. Such statements also could be neutral or ambivalent. References were coded on a 5-point scale but, for reasons of simplification, the two positive and two negative categories were later collapsed (p 156).

In his comparative study of the front pages of 100 American newspapers during the presidency of George W. Bush, Peake (2007) took the headline and the lead paragraph as the unit of analysis. He argues that headlines and the lead paragraph of front pages can reflect the trends in news coverage of a medium, because they are products of local editorial decisions. He operationalizes the tone coding as positive when the headline or lead paragraph reflects positively on the president or adopts the White House framing of an event (scored 2). A Negative tone was considered when the headline or paragraph was framed in a way that could be considered detrimental to the White House (Scored 0). The neutral tone was scored (1) when the headlines or leads reported facts or opinions "in such a way is neither negative nor positive toward the White House" (p 59).

De Vreese et al (2006) examine the tone giving a central role to "explicit evaluation" (p. 486). They use the story as a unit of analysis for their study of the news coverage of the 2004 Parliamentary Election in 25 countries. De Vreese et al search explicit evaluations of the European Union, its institutions and/or policies. Then they code each story in five types of tone: neutral (no evaluation present), negative or positive, predominantly negative or positive, or mixed.

The examination of De Vreese et al resembles the search for "statement bias" in D´alessio and Allen (2000). "Statement bias" is when members of the media interject "their own opinions into the text of the coverage of an issue" (p. 130). Statement bias can be embodied in multiple forms and expressed in the favourable/positive or unfavourable/negative coverage. Explicit statements made by the journalists give "tone" to a story. Berkel (2006) argues that the systematic appearances of one type of journalistic statement in the news also reveal the editorial lines of a newspaper toward an issue. In other words, the tone in the statements might not only show the explicit intervention of the journalist as a speaker, but may also uncover the editorial line of medium in relation to a contest or controversy.

After reviewing different measurement of tone, this thesis combines the perspective of using the story as a unit of analysis (De Vreese et al. 2006) and the intention to find the "statement bias" in order to detect tone. Later, I show how I find the tone through the detection of explicit statements in the stories published by EDH and Co Latino. Nevertheless, my method adapted the five possibilities of scoring tone of de Vreese et al into four types toward the two Salvadorian political contenders (FMLN and ARENA): only friendly tone, only hostile tone, mixed tone and non-explicit tone.

2.3.3 Sources

One of the most influential pieces of research about sourcing is the Herbert J. Gans´ (1979) study of the journalistic routines in the CBS Evening News and NBC Nightly News broadcasts, and Newsweek, and Time magazines. He examines the unwritten rules journalists apply in the choice of news, a process he termed as news selection. The sociologist assures that choice of sources is "among all considerations" the one with the prime significance (Gans 1979 p. 280). His argument is simple: journalists obtain the information from sources they observe or interview. Sigal (1973 p. 69) affirms - quoted by Rupar (2007 p. 64) - that "news is not what has happened, but what someone says has happened". Hagen (1993) defends a similar point: journalists obtain most of their news from other observers; "journalists can only witness uninmediated events by accident or anticipation" (p. 317)

In Gans´ view, news consists of information transmitted from sources to audiences, with journalists "summarizing, refining, and altering what becomes available to them from sources in order to make the information suitable for their audiences" (p .80). By sources, Gans means: "the actors whom journalists observe or interview, including interviewees who appear on the air or who are quoted in magazines articles, and those who only supply background information or story suggestions".

Gans understands source selection in two processes: availability and suitability. Availability is how sources and journalists get access to each other, and suitability is the consideration in which the journalists determine the newsworthiness of available sources. The scholar studies, in availability, the negotiation between reporter and sources in order to give and get information. In the second process, he examines why journalists select some sources over others. "Sources can only make themselves available, it is the journalists who will decide if they are suitable", he stresses. Gans resembles the availability and suitability as a "dance" in which sources seek access to journalists and journalists seek access to sources (p. 116)|. In this dance, the sociologist argues that not all the sources have the same influence in the journalist, and there are some organizational sources with more access.

Strömback and Nord (2006) use the metaphor of the dance to examine who control the relationships (between sources and journalists) in the Swedish National Election in 2002 (p 147). The theorists, in order to find "who" controls "who", utilize three methods: a quantitative content analysis, an interview study, and a survey

In their content analysis, Strömback and Nord assume that the more politicians figure as sources, the more likely it is that politicians are leading the tango. They measure, first, how often politicians figure as sources and, later, what is the extent to which politicians were quoted in the Swedish Media. They conclude that politicians usually figure predominantly as sources in Sweden but the "median number of sentences quoted from politician has decreased to 7-8 in 2002, from 8-9 in 1998" (p. 154). This means that politicians are still prominent providers of information, but journalists maintain a strong control in the quotes they take from politicians. Nevertheless, Strömback and Nord don't sufficiently explain the meaning of 'source'. They make an equivalent between sources and political sources, specifically, in politicians. Because this thesis goes beyond the analysis of political sources, it is necessary to review other definitions of sources in order to be suitable to a wide range of actors. This effort strengthens the construction of a

coherence concept of source, which in the methodological chapter will be operationalized.

Rupar (2007) defines source, in her investigation of the influence of the objectivity in the public debate on Genetic Engineering in New Zealand, as "the provider of information": an identified group, individual, or institution that originates a message (p 101). Hatcher (2008) conceptualizes a source "as any person or document to which information is attributed." In his research of unnamed sources in the New York Times, Hatcher includes the possibility of "anonymous source is any person or organization to which information is attributed but who is not specifically identified by name" (p. 8). Hallin et al (1994) synthesize the concepts of Rupar and Hatcher in a sentence in their examination of Sourcing Patterns of U.S. Security Reporters: "A source was defined as any person, institution, or document to which the reporter explicitly attribute information" (p. 755).

The three concepts are complementary and provide a general perspective of what should be understood as a source. In my opinion, the concept of source should encompass documents, people and organizations to which the reporter attributes information, included unnamed sources. The definition of sourcing should not limit its scope to officials, politicians and partisan sources (Riffe et al 2005, Gans 1979). Elections, and especially presidential elections, are national events, which mobilize the population and different interests. Consequently, it is expected that the media echoes a wide range of actors who externalize their opinions. But Gans recalls that the "recruitment and their access to journalists reflects the hierarchies of nation and society" (p 119). This means that we can also expect that the primary role of politicians in an election will be reflected in the media coverage.

The selection of political and partisan sources in a presidential election is a fertile ground for the analysis of Partisan Bias and favouritism in the Media. Hagen (1993) argues that since "most of the news discourse originates from sources the selection of these sources greatly influences the news" (p 318). Hagen shares with Gans a perspective in which the selection of sources seems to be the primary

factor in the creation of news. In the world of sources, there is no diversity. Shoemaker and Reese (2001) review a series of content analyses which demonstrate the existence of a media predilection for powerful sources. These powerful sources represent powerful actors such as officials, politicians, presidents, and important companies (Shoemaker 2001, Hallin et al. 1994)

But the predilection for specific sources can have strong connections with the political views of the medium. Hagen finds that the political line taken by the newspapers influenced the selection of sources in the coverage of the controversy of the German Census. He studies five newspapers during 1987, in a political spectrum from right to left. This spectrum was extended from the conservative-right "Welt" to the only organ of the alternative press with wider readers, "die tageszeitung". Hagen took the argument that "all statements that involved an evaluation of some aspects of the census or of the discussions of the census" (p. 322) as a unit of analysis. He also measures other attributes in the news, such as the direction of the argument "whether an argument was for or against the census", the newspaper name, and the sources which expressed the argument. He attests that arguments, supporting the census or not, appeared in all the newspapers with a similar average, which indicates that the arguments were not selected on the basis of the political position of the media. Nevertheless, he found that the selection of sources reflected the political orientation of the newspapers more than arguments. Hagen observes that friendly sources were the more important "witness[es]" in newspapers which supported the census. In contrasts, critical sources were more frequent in papers with more critical stances. From his results, Hagen concludes with a theory of the opportune witness:

> Sources belonging to groups who shared the same opinion as the newspapers were used as opportune witness to reinforce the newspapers´ own opinion. These sources were witness in the sense that they testify to a specify view in a conflict how to interpret reality. It was opportune for a journalist to cite more frequently those sources who confirmed the newspapers´ point of view (p. 329).

In Hagen's opinion, the journalists behave like "door-men" in their reporting. They stand at the entrance and allow more frequently the sources who favourably express the newspaper's position to enter. However, once the sources are on the stage, the journalists do not try to influence them. Similar patterns of sourcing have been investigated in the content of alternative media. Atton and Wickenden (2005) assure that alternative media might be seen as a strong contender of the sourcing hierarchies of "mainstream media". In a content analysis of the UK activist newspaper SchNEWS, Atton and Wickenden conclude that the source types that SchNEWS favours are protesters and activists, but the medium reproduces the hierarchical structure of mainstream media:

> These sources comprise counter-elite that dominates an alternative hierarchy of sources. The deployment of this counter-elite by SchNEWS seems to operate similarly to mainstream media sourcing practices, at least to the degree that it limits the opportunities of other voices to be heard. That such limits pertain in at least one example of alternative media (where we would expect greater opportunities for media access) is significant. This alternative hierarchy does not challenge the notions of hierarchical sourcing, neither of sourcing relationships, nor even of the elite notion of sourcing (p. 357).

Hagen and Atton and Wickenden seem to confirm that the construction of hierarchies in the sources is a common pattern in the news outlets, whether they are "mainstream" or "alternative". These findings strengthen one of the purposes of this thesis: to detect the hierarchy in the sourcing of Co Latino and EDH. Furthermore, I am also interested to find the differences and similarities between both sourcing hierarchies. To detect the hierarchies is important to create a typology of the sources. It's impossible to talk about hierarchies without constructing categories. Previous research shows how several studies have coped with the necessity to create affiliation of sources and roles of the sources in the news pieces.

Typology of sources

In her comparative analysis of the press coverage in four European countries, Berkel (2006) makes a distinction between actors in the political centre and actors of the periphery. With this categorization, she attempts to find how the editorial lines of nine newspapers in Germany, Austria, France, and United Kingdom intervened in the selection of sources. Berkel limits the scope of her analysis to only actors placed in the political center, which means governmental, political or partisan sources. In her view, periphery sources consist of actors linked with interest groups and social movements. Berkel concludes that the leftist newspapers voiced more frequently leftist political speakers. On the contrary, conservative outlets clearly showed patterns in favour of conservative speakers.

Even though I renounce restricting my investigation to political or partisan sources, Berkel´s study brings back the importance of Habermas in the creation of a source's typology. As Berkel asserts, Habermas (2006) distinguishes two types of actors in the public sphere: actors in the centre and actors in the periphery. Nevertheless, Habermas uses a more detailed categorization in regards with the highly mediated political public sphere. On the center, he places journalists and the politicians. Both of them are "co-authors and addresses of public opinions" (p. 416). But Habermas perceives five other types of actors: 1) lobbyists who represent special interest; 2) advocates groups who represent general interest group or substitute for a lack of representation of marginalized groups; 3) experts who are credited with scientific or professional knowledge invited to give an advice participate in the public sphere; 4) Moral entrepreneurs who generate public attention for neglected issues; and 5) intellectuals, who are individuals with a personal reputation in some fields and with a spontaneous engagement with the public sphere in order to promote general interest.

In the literature related to content analyses, several scholars have created particular categories of sources. Rupar (2007) places central actor and peripheral actors in the same level. She coded nine categories of sources in which sources

such as politicians, environmental groups, indigenous groups and scientists are considered actors within the same level. Hallin et al. (1994) also integrate in common model central and peripheral speakers. They divide their source affiliation typology in a two-tiered dimension. The broader one has five large groups: Executive Branch, Congressional, Foreign, Former Government and Nongovernment (p. 755). Within these five broad groups, there are 31 smaller categories such as journalist, low level military, university, intelligence agencies, judiciary, and research groups.

 I have created a model in which I integrate actors from the centre and from the periphery of the public sphere. My decision is based on the necessity of showing how the Salvadorian newspapers use non-political peripheral sources to influence news. "Independent" sources might not be explicitly identified with a party, but the patterns of sourcing of every newspaper can reveal that the outlets identify them as friendly or hostile in their political lines. Therefore, I can assume that media outlets will favour the selection of "friendly" non-partisan sources over "hostile" sources.

As I show later in my methodological chapter, I have constructed a two-tiered sourcing affiliation typology as Hallin et al. Firstly, I create broad groups using some of the concepts of Habermas´ types of actors. In a second tier, I divide the broad groups into small units which can provide more details about the patterns of sourcing of Co Latino and EDH.

Prominence of sources

The frequency is often the measurement which demonstrates the predilection of a medium for specific actors. The more a source is selected, the more important it is for the outlet (Hagen 1993, Atton & Wickenden 2005, Gans 1979, Shoemaker & Reese 2001, Berkel 2006, Strömback & Nord 2006, Hatcher 2008). Nevertheless, the frequency cannot demonstrate by itself the prominence of the source in the text or in a news broadcast. For example, a newspaper might extensively use a leftist source, but always at the bottom of the news piece. This systematic pattern of

placement can reveal the newspaper editorial perspective over this type of source. Hallin et al (1994) and Zeldes et al (2008) solve any possibilities of distortion resulted from frequency, complementing their research with prominence indicators.

In their study of Sourcing Patterns of National Security Reporters, Hall et al assure that "journalists generally assume that placing something higher in the story gives it greater importance, in part because readers frequently do not read the stories to the end" (p. 757). They measure the prominence of a source on the basis of how high it appears in the text: 1) between graphs 1-5, 2) graphs 6-10, 3) graphs 11-15 and 4) below graph 15. The assumption of Hall et al that audiences often stop reading before the end is confirmed by a recent study of print and online reading. Adam et al (2007) analyze the eye tracking in the reading of 605 readers in the United States during 2006. They concluded that participants who read broadsheet papers read an average of 62 percent of a story they selected. With tabloids, the number is reduced to 57 percent. Adam et al also found that only 40 percent of the stories in broadsheet and 36 percent were read from start to finish.

Zeldes et al (2008) utilizes the concept of "primacy" as a measurement of the prominence of sources in the examination of partisan and bias in U.S. network coverage of 2000-2004 presidential elections. Based on marketing theorization, they assumed that the primacy effects in the content is demonstrated when previous research found that audience members tend to "evaluate the first message more extensively, integrating new information with old information" (p. 567). Because of this implication, they attempt to measure the "primacy" in the news pieces as an instrument to detect Partisan or Structural Bias. Zeldes et al operationalize prominence by "whether the Republican or the Democrat was presented first" in the information (p. 571).

In this thesis, I analyze simultaneously the frequency and the prominence of sources. Both indicators can provide a more complex perspective of the sourcing patterns in the two highly politicized Salvadorian newspapers. I acknowledge that

in my prominence indicator the theory Hallin et al has been highly influential but I have adapted it to my purpose.

2.4 Previous Studies

To my knowledge, there are only two previous quantitative studies of Salvadorian Elections. At the beginning of this chapter, I used several findings of those studies to support fundamental conceptualizations. Herein, I go into the method and the ways they meet the results. Furthermore, I briefly review qualitative content analysis related to the Salvadorian campaign. In the next subsection, I pose my criticism to previous literature and I enhance the contribution of my work in Salvadorian Media Studies.

2.4.1 Elections 1999

Janus et al (1999) studied four television stations, four radio stations and four newspapers during the 1999 Salvadorian Presidential campaign. Janus, Moore and Rodriguez Schneider examined a presidential election with seven candidates. The two strongest competitors were ARENA´s candidate, Francisco Flores, and FMLN´s nominee, Facundo Guardado.

For academic purposes, I highlight the results in regards with printed media. Janus et al used the story as a unit of analysis and collected a total of "more" than 1,600 questionnaires, including 400 from broadcast media and 1,200 from print media (p. 7). The study does not mention if the number of questionnaires is equivalent to the number of analyzed stories. After analyzing the research, I found that they examined 1,062 newspaper stories in the four Salvadorian dailies: EDH, Co Latino, La Prensa Gráfica and Diario El Mundo. In the newspapers, the sampling period was between November 1998 and January 1999. The research does not show intercoder reliability tests, even it suggests that a team processed the questionnaires.

Janus et al measure the type and size of the story, which party was reflected in the story, if headline is true to the story, the size of the photographs, the amount of

sources per story, issues, information with no sources, and information attributed to official sources. Some of the relevant results indicate that:

1- 95.3% of the headlines were true to the message of the story.
2- 43% of the stories were in favour of ARENA (43%) and 21% were friendly to FMLN.
3- Only 12.2% of total of the stories showed a negative position against one of the parties.
4- El 78.9% of the stories has only one source.

In EDH, they found a ratio of 2: 1 in positive coverage in favour of ARENA. The right-wing party also received more coverage. In Co Latino, the trend was in the other direction: an overwhelming positive and larger coverage in favour of FMLN.

2.4.2. Elections 2009

In 2008, the European Union (EU) deployed a Mission of Observers to guarantee the fairness of the 2009 Legislative and Presidential Elections. The legislative and local government elections were held in January, and the presidential in March 15th. One of the purposes of the Mission was to measure the balance of the news coverage during the campaign, especially toward the presidential election. For the presidential campaign research, the EU studies 16 news outlets, including five newspapers in a period between 31st December 2008 and 1st March 2009. During the period of the research, the political landscape of El Salvador was transformed from a stage with four candidates to a scene with only two: FMLN´s candidate, Mauricio Funes, and ARENA´s nominate, Rodrigo Ávila.

After frequent attempts to find deeper data related to the methodology, results and the theory framework of the EU´s study, I have not been able to locate more information than that which is publicly available on the website of the Mission of Observers (http://www.eueom-sv.org/en/metodologia_monitoreo). I contacted the press officer of the mission, Javier Gutiérrez, several times, and never received a response to my requests for further information. Consequently, all the details

described in this thesis are based on the results and the methodology described in the internet site.

The EU´s study does not disclose the amount of stories analyzed in the presidential campaign examination, neither the number of coders nor the rate of intercoder reliability. The unit of the analysis seems to be the story. The website (EU 2009) explains that the EU measures "(F) or each item in the program, the length of the item in seconds and the tone of the item (positive/negative/neutral) are noted". They operationalize a negative tone when the news outlets or the journalists "are clearly biased against the candidate/party; where the candidate/party is criticized". A neutral tone will be coded when the information "is presented in an unbiased way; there is no discernable tone". Finally, a positive tone of the story means in the EU´s research when "the media company/journalist is clearly biased in favor of the candidate/party; where the candidate/party is praised".

The EU´s results show that EDH provides the same amount of space to FMLN and ARENA (50% and 50%), but ARENA receives more positive coverage than FMLN. In contrast, Co Latino provides more space to FMLN (56%). A similar pattern is revealed with the data related to the tone of the coverage: FMLN receives more positive coverage than ARENA.

2.4.3 Qualitative studies

Frames

Raúl Alas (2004) investigates qualitatively the framing in two Salvadorian newspapers (EDH and La Prensa Grafica) during the 1999 campaign for the San Salvador´s mayor. Even though he quantitatively analyzed part of the data, he stressed that his proposal sought a qualitative model of interpretation of framing. First, Alas utilizes quantitative content analysis to measure the frequency of six types of framings within a sampling of 156 stories. On the qualitative perspective, he attempts to use the numeric values to show the interaction of the interaction in

three big "macro frames": human, expositive and attack. In this part, the utilization of intra or intercoder reliability is not mentioned.

Alas concludes that the results of both elements (quantitative and qualitative) confirm that the coverage favours ARENA´s candidate for mayor, Evelyn Jacir de Lovo, over the FMLN´s nominate, Carlos Rivas Zamora. The frame used more in the depiction of Jacir de Lovo was the "human" macro frame, in which the media presented the human and the celebrity side of the candidate.

Discourse analyses

Nataly Guzman, Xiomara Pereza and Ivón Rivera (2006) utillize discourse, rhetoric, and strategic-descriptive analyses to study the news of the 2006 Legislative and Local governments Elections. They focus on the same newspapers as Alas: EDH and La Prensa Gráfica. One of their findings is that strategies of EDH were to show ARENA's candidates in "superficial" and "cheerful" situations (p. 44), while, the FMLN nominees were only involved in criminal and violent environments.

Guzman et al conclude:

> The media followed the agenda of the Executive Branch Party (ARENA). They based the arguments in linguistic resources which appeal more to the persuasion than to the interpretation; they implemented a campaign against the leftist party (FMLN) (p.46).

I have found two other articles which analyze the media coverage in campaigns from a qualitative perspective. In Gonzalez et al (2006) and Peraza et al (2006), the authors attempt to find how EDH and La Prensa Gráfica positively portray ARENA and the presidential image, and, in contrast, how the outlets depict FMLN as an imminent danger for Salvadorian society.

2.5 Critics

2.5.1 Janus et al. and European Union

The content analyses of Janus et al (1999) and the European Union (2009) share several limitations:

1) **Lack of information about the sampling and gathering of data.** The studies did not show, in a clear and accurate way, basic information which can demonstrate the validity and reliability of the studies. In both studies, the intercoder reliability rate is absent. In Janus et al, they acknowledge that five people coded the stories, but in the EU¨s analysis, this information is not provided.

2) **How many stories were analyzed?** In the EU´s research, the amount of stories analyzed was never disclosed. In Janus et al, I found confused data: while the authors talk about the utilization of 1200 questionnaires in the newspaper analysis (from a total of 1600 questionnaires including 400 for radio and TV), they later acknowledge that the number of stories analyzed was 1,062 (p. 25). I have assumed here that the sampling of articles was 1,062, but the lack of clearness of the research might force me to commit a mistake.

3) **"Subjectivity" in the measurements.** I explained before the multiple approaches with regards to tone. In the tone measurement, each study uses a different unit of analysis and elaborates the concept of tone in particular ways. In Janus et al, I observe that the tone of the story was measured through the analysis of the headlines. They present five options for coding headlines: true to the content, untrue to the content, positive, negative and objective. These five characteristics seem not to be exclusive with each other, and the document did not mention if the coder could select more than one option. This lack of information hinders the possibility of interpreting the frequency and of finding the mechanisms in which tone functioned. Janus et al acknowledge that "some of the questions" in their questionnaire are "subjective" (p.21) and that the space measurement "may not yield reliable

results". I mentioned before how EU operationalized the measurement of tone in three categories: negative, positive and neutral. I have three observations to the EU's tone measurement. Firstly, I think that the tones could be also mixed. In a story, it is possible to find positive and negative remarks toward candidates or parties. Second, the concept of "praise" and "critics" should better operationalized: What should be understood as praise? And what should be understood as critics? An intercoder reliability rate would have helped to demonstrate the efficiency of the EU´s tone measurement.

4) **Story centred.** The two content analyses have the article as the unit of analysis. Janus et al examined sourcing, asking how many sources was found in each news piece. From a story approach, the results will be general and with limited details. To go deeper into sourcing patterns, it is necessary to use a smaller unit of analysis such as the sources or the claims.

2.5.2 Qualitative analyses

The major limitation of qualitative content analyses or discourse analyses is the impossibility of processing large amount of data. This is the main reason why I choose to use a quantitative method in this research. Another cause was the feasibility of comparing patterns and to facilitate the replicability.

In relation to Gonzalez et al (2006) and Peraza et al (2006), I could not find the description of their method, and how they reached their conclusions. These aspects raised doubts about the nature of the articles: are they opinion pieces or academic works? In this thesis, I do not try to solve the dilemma of the nature of both documents; I simply argue that the findings of both articles should be studied with caution and academic awareness.

2.6: Beyond the simplistic finding of bias

As I previously reviewed, there is strong evidence that EDH and Co Latino are newspapers which traditionally reflect their partisan favouritism in the tailoring of information. "Biased" press is not a particular feature of Salvadorian media. Latin

American journalism has a long tradition of alignment with political parties or political causes (Janus & Rockwell 2001, Waisbord 2000, Waisbord 2003, Hallin & Papanosopoulos 2002). For these reasons, the point of departure of this thesis goes beyond the simplistic diy fscovering of bias in the Salvadorian newspapers, which seems a very obvious goal. The main purpose of this thesis is to examine to what extent the partisan favouritism operates and the divergences and convergences in the coverage patterns of the newspapers.

3. BACKGROUND

On the 15th of March, 2009, Mauricio Funes, a former CNN reporter, won the Salvadorian Presidential Elections. Funes, backed by the left-wing party Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN in Spanish), defeated Rodrigo Avila, the Presidential Candidate of the conservative Republican Nationalist Alliance (ARENA in Spanish). In a tight race, Funes gained 1.354 million votes, (51.4%) more than the 1.284 million of Avila (48.6%) (Tribunal Supremo Electoral 2009)[4]. FMLN and Funes terminated 20 years of ARENA's control of the executive branch.

3.1 Elections for two

Article 80 of the Salvadorian Constitution (Constitución Política de El Salvador 1983) proclaims that elections of presidents and vice-presidents should be made in a maximum of two ballot-rounds[5]. If none of the candidates - forced by law to be registered in a political party - does not obtain the 50% plus 1 vote, a new round is opened for the two parties (or coalitions) which gathered the most votes.

FMLN has participated in presidential elections since 1994. Two years before, a peace agreement finished a 12 years of civil war, and allowed the conversion of FMLN from a Marxist Leninist guerrilla to a legal party. The peace agreement - signed by an ARENA government and FMLN - drew a new line in the political history of El Salvador. For this chapter, 1992 is a point of departure to explain the political and media context behind the 2009 Presidential. While it is important to acknowledge that many things of the current Salvadorian political situation are bound to the 12 years of civil war (1980-1992), it is not the focus of this thesis to reflect or discuss about the range in which the civil war affected the political and media landscapes.

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[4] http://www.tse.gob.sv/e107_files/downloads/Resultados_090315/Presidente_Consolidado_Nacional.pdf
[5] http://www.constitution.org/cons/elsalvad.htm

From 1994 to 2009, only one of four elections needed a second ballot round (1994). ARENA easily defeated FMLN in three of the elections, until 2009. In the first and only ballot round in 2004, ARENA's nominee and later Salvadorian president, Antonio Saca, obtained almost double the amount of votes of FMLN's candidate, Schafik Handal (LPG Datos 2009b[2]). On that occasion, Saca competed not only against Handal, but three more actors presented their presidential candidacies.

In the 2009 elections, only two parties participated in the presidential election: ARENA and FMLN. In the first few days of February, the Christian Democratic Party (PDC in Spanish) and the National Council Party (PCN in Spanish) withdrew their candidates and endorsed Avila and ARENA. The General Secretary of the National Revolutionary Front (FDR in Spanish), Julio Hernandez, announced in February his personal decision to support Avila and Zablah (Cabrera 2009). These allies endorsed Avila, but ARENA's flag was the only one which appeared in the ballot together with the FMLN's symbol.

In February 2009, the party Democratic Change (CD in Spanish) endorsed Funes (Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional 2009a). Members of PCN, PDC, FDR and ARENA challenged their parties' official position and backed the left-oriented candidate. One PDC politician said that he did not obey his party position because he was not consulted. "Funes is the leader we were waiting for", said the politician (Escobar 2009). Like ARENA, FMLN did not sign an official coalition agreement with CD and other allies. In the ballot the only two available flags were ARENA's and FMLN's. For the first time since 1994, the first round of the presidential election had only two actors.

3.2 FMLN and Funes' possibility of winning

In 1994, FMLN entered the political stage after twelve years as a guerrilla outfit. From 1980 until 1992, FMLN was a coalition of five Marxist-Leninist guerrilla groups: Revolutionary Peoples' Army (ERP in Spanish), Popular Liberation Forces (FPL in Spanish), Central American Workers Party (PRTC in Spanish), Salvadorian

Communist Party (PCS in Spanish), and National Resistance (RN in Spanish). FMLN defines itself as a "revolutionary", "pluralistic" and "socialist" party (Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional 2009b). FMLN's nominate, Mauricio Funes, worked as journalist for more than 20 years[6]. He was a correspondent for CNN in San Salvador and awarded by Columbia University the Maria Moors Cabot Prize in 1994[7]. In September 2007, Funes decided to leave journalism and accepted the candidacy of FMLN.

The launch of Funes triggered the popularity of FMLN. The department of surveys of the daily newspaper LA PRENSA GRAFICA, LPG Datos (2009a), reported that the voting intention for left-wing party grew almost 9 percentages in the period between August and October 2007 (16.6%-25.5%). In April 2008, FMLN reached 33.6% of voting intention over 24.7% of ARENA. In February 2009, FMLN showed 30.9% and ARENA 28.0%.

Even though FMLN was defeated in three consecutive presidential elections, the left-wing party showed a constant increase in the percentage of votes in every campaign (LPG Datos 2009a p.1). FMLN achieved 25% in 1994, 29.1% in 1999, and 36% in 2004. Nevertheless, ARENA also increased the percentage of votes: 49% in 1994, 52% in 1999, and 58% in 2004. The popularity of Funes and the progression of FMLN in the Elections indicated that the leftist party had good chances of defeating ARENA.

3.3 ARENA, 20 years in power

ARENA achieved the presidency in March 1989. The right-wing party defeated the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in the first round of the election. For 20 years (1989-2009), El Salvador was governed by ARENA through four different heads of states. In 1992, the Executive Branch in control of ARENA signed a peace

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[6] http://www.presidencia.gob.sv/presidente.html

[7]
http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1165270069762/page/1212610134664/JRNTabPage.htm#tab2

agreement with the FMLN. After months of negotiation, the insurgents and the conservative government accorded to modify the political system. Some of these changes were modifications of the Constitution, dismantling of the security corps and the creation of news institutions to prevent Human Right abuses.

ARENA was founded in 1981 and defines itself as a "liberal" party which believes in the "individual right to acquires, retains and use the properties as a projection of the human personality and source of productivity" (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista 2009 p. 3). One of its goals is to "defend our western traditions against the ideological and permanent aggression of the international communism" (p. 5). Rodrigo Avila, ARENA's candidate, was born in 1964[8]. He was general director of National Civil Police (the police created after the peace agreement) twice: 1994-1999, and 2005-2008. Avila won one of ARENA's congressional seats in 2000. In 2004, he became vice minister of security. In March 2008, ARENA designated Avila as their presidential candidate, seven months after Funes' launch. Avila attempted to substitute the Salvadorian president, Antonio Saca.

Contrary to Funes, Avila had a weak beginning after his designation. LPG Datos (2009a) reported that one month after Avila's nomination; ARENA had 24.7% of the voting intention, while FMLN had 33.6%.

3.4 Pools before the elections: the gap is closing

Article 230 of the Código Electoral (Electoral Law) (1993 p. 69) prohibits any publication, broadcasting or communication of polls and projection of electoral tendencies "fifteen days before the Election Day until the electoral results are officialised". It means that media, universities or companies were allowed to publish their surveys until February 28th 2009.

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[8] http://www.univision.com/content/content.jhtml?cid=1866730

Polls published before the legal deadline revealed contradictory forecasts. El Diario de Hoy (2009c) found that ARENA had the support of 43.2% over a 40.1% of FMLN[9]. Central American University (UCA in Spanish) states that Funes was endorsed by the 49% of the people, while Avila only 31% (Escobar & Castillo 2009). The daily newspaper La Prensa Gráfica showed that the gap between FMLN and ARENA was 2.9% in favour of the left-wing party (LPG Datos 2009a p.1).The contradictions of the results suggested that the results of the elections were unable to be easily predicted

3.5 External Actors: United States, Brazil and Venezuela

Three foreign actors were relevant during the 2009 Presidential Elections. The most important was the United States. Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorian immigrants live in the United States. This fact, along with the active involvement of the U.S. government during the Civil War, gives Washington's opinion an important role in the Salvadorian political discourse. During the 2004 presidential campaign, the U.S Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs in George W. Bush's administration, Roger Noriega, warned the Salvadorians about the danger of choosing Schafik Handal, FMLN's candidate, as president. "The FMLN's campaign has emphasized the differences with us in regards the Central American Free Trade agreement and other issues, and we know the history of this political movement (FMLN), therefore, it 's just that the Salvadorian people judge what type of relationships this movement (FMLN) can maintain with us", Noriega states (Rojas 2009).

In 2009, the position of the State Department toward FMLN changed. The Charge d'Affairs of the U.S. Embassy, Robert Blau, remarked the "impartial position" of his government in relation to the elections: "There is not and there will not be involvement of the United States in the elections" (El Diario de Hoy 2009c).

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[9] http://www.elsalvador.com/especiales/2008/decision2009/entrega260209_01.asp

Brazil was another relevant actor in the election. As presidential candidate, Funes met several times the Brazilian Head of State, Luiz Inazio Da Silva. In May 2008, Funes and Da Silva agreed to increase cooperation (Diario Co Latino 2008). The bond between the candidate and the Brazilian president was more obvious when Da Silva's communication strategist, Joao Santana, decided to take responsibility for Funes' campaign (Valencia & Arauz 2010).

The third actor was the Venezuelan President, Hugo Chavez, one the most prominent critics against the United States' policies toward Latin America. During the campaign, the relationship between Chavez, Funes and FMLN was a salient issue. One of the fears expressed by ARENA was the potential interventionism of Chavez in local politics (Cascante 2009). In February 2008, a U.S. intelligence report suggested the possibility that FMLN would receive money from Chavez (El Faro 2008). The Salvadorian president and ARENA's militant, Antonio Saca, showed his worries about the involvement. In contrast, FMLN denied the U.S'. Speculations and challenged Saca to foster a law to regulate the parties' money

3.6 Media Landscape

3.6.1   Historical press alignment

The close relationship between media and politics is not new in El Salvador. Previous literature finds that strong connection during the 19th and 20th centuries. (Rockwell & Janus 2003, Janus 1999, Rockwell 2002, López 1961, Wolf 2007). López (1961) acknowledges how in the early days of El Salvador's independence, newspapers fell easily into two groups: liberal and conservative. Rockwell and Janus (2003) recognize a similar situation in the media during the 12 years of civil war and after the peace accord: the existence of two political and ideological media fronts.

El Salvador has an environment with "high political parallelism" (Hallin and Mancini 2004p. 74). For Hallin and Mancini, a realm with highly political parallelism is the

one in which the structure of a media system can be described as similar to the party system. Hallin and Mancini argue that in Europe, the high political parallelism is one of the characteristics of the Southern European or polarized pluralist media systems (Greece, Spain, Italy, and France).

> The Polarized Pluralist Model is characterized by a high level of politicization, with the state and political parties intervening strongly in many areas of social life and with much of the population holding strong loyalties to widely varying political ideologies. Loyalty to these ideologies goes along with widespread skepticism about any conception of a "common good" that would transcend them, and a relative absence of commonly agreed rules and norms. The news media are similarly characterized by a high degree of external pluralism, in which media are seen as champions of diverse political ideologies, and commitment to these ideologies, a commitment to these ideologies tends to outweigh commitment to a common professional culture.

Hallin and Mancini construct the Southern European system in comparison with two other media systems: The Democratic Corporatist Model (Germany and Scandinavian countries) and the Liberal Model (Great Britain, Ireland). The Democratic Corporatist Model shares with the Southern European model a high level of political parallelism in the media, but they differ in the level of development of the mass press. The Democratic Corporatist Model is characterized by a higher level of readership and by more autonomy of the media. The Liberal Model is a system with low political parallelism and state intervention and a higher professionalization of journalists. In a comparative perspective, the Polarized Pluralist Model would be the one with closer ties to political parties and the liberal, the one with fewer. The Democratic Corporatist Model might be in the middle.

With regards to Latin America, Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002) assure that the systems of Colombia, Mexico and Brazil can be described in a similar way to the polarized model, but in an extreme form (p. 175). They find five major

commonalities between the two models: low levels of newspaper circulation, tradition of advocacy reporting, instrumentalization of privately-owned media, politicization of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation as well as limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession. Historical connections and the obvious parallels in their political development can be two possible reasons for the commonalities. Hallin and Papathanassopoulos argue that the similarities of both models can elaborate a new concept to portray the influence of politics in media: clientelesism. According to Hallin and Papathanassopoulos "clientelism" refers to (pp. 184-185):

> a pattern of social organization in which access to social resources is controlled by patrons and delivered to clients in exchange for deference and various kinds of support. It is a particularistic and asymmetrical form of social organization, and is typically contrasted with forms of citizenship in which access to resources is based on universalistic criteria and formal equality before the law. [...] Clientelistic relationships have been central to the social and political organization of all seven countries covered here. In Italy it is referred to as clientelismo, in Greece as rousfeti, in Spanish-speaking countries as caciquismo or caudillismo and in Brazil as coronelismo.

Two media groups can be easily detected following the logic of the two Salvadorian main parties' alliances – FMLN and ARENA .On one hand, the same mainstream media that supported ARENA during the war still plays a role of hegemony in a limited national market. A short glance confirms this fact. The television sector is controlled by Telecorporación Salvadoreña (TCS in Spanish), a faithful defender of ARENA, that reaches 90% of the viewing audience (Rockwell and Janus, 2003 pp. 244), and the majority of the daily circulation of over 250,000 copies is controlled by pro-government newspapers La Prensa Gráfica, El Diario de Hoy and Diario El Mundo (WAN, 2006 pp. 617). In the radio spectrum, the right-wing oriented Association of Broadcasters of El Salvador (ASDER in Spanish) owns 65 out of 196 radio-stations established in the country (CIA, 2005).

On the other hand, the former guerrilla outfit operates a network of radios stations, regional TV-stations and publications. One of the most important is a pro-FMLN afternoon daily newspaper, Diario Co Latino. Co Latino has been a faithful ally of the former guerrillas since the 1980s.

3.7 Newspapers background

3.7.1 El Diario de Hoy

El Diario de Hoy (EDH) is a conservative newspaper with a daily circulation of 100,000. After the Civil War, EDH smoothed its political bias toward objectivity after years of open anti-communism. The most important representatives of EDH are Enrique Altamirano and Fabricio Altamirano. The paper was founded in 1936 by Enrique's mother, a member of a prominent family that owned cotton and coffee plantations (Rockwell & Janus 2003). Its first circulation was 2,100 newspapers (El Diario de Hoy 2010).

EDH is published in the morning seven days a week.

3.7.2 Diario Co Latino

Diario Co Latino has a daily circulation of 10,000 copies (Valle, 2008, p.19) and allocates a positive coverage of the left-wing party (Segura 2001, European Union 2009, Janus et. al. 1991). Francisco Valencia, director of Co Latino, is a former member of the insurgency, where he played an important role in rebel propaganda unites (Vaquerano & Baires, 2008).

Diario Co Latino was created simply as Diario Latino on November 5th 1890 (Diario Co Latino 2007). In 1986, the newspaper was declared bankrupt and the owners changed. Its founders, the Pinto Family, sold their stocks to the Editora Salvadoreña a la Corporación "H". In July 1989, the administration was taken collectively by the workers after weeks of financial problems. The name was

modified from Latino to Co Latino. The term 'Co' means cooperative business (Cooperativa in Spanish). With Valencia as the new director of Co Latino, the newspaper switched its traditional conservative editorial line to one openly in favor of left-wing politicians and social movements.

Co Latino is published from Monday to Saturday in the afternoon. On Sunday, there is no Co Latino edition.

4. Empirical investigation

4.1. Research questions

1. What are the journalistic patterns present in the coverage of every Salvadoran extreme newspaper 15 days before and one day after the presidential election of March 15th?

   a. What types of patterns do the newspapers follow to provide place and space to the articles related to the presidential election?

   b. How often do the journalists explicitly offer their opinion (tone) in the articles about the two candidates or parties?

   c. What type of sources, according to the political orientation, do the newspapers use in the coverage of the presidential election, and what is the prominence of the sources?

2. What are the most important differences and commonalities between the coverage of Colatino and EDH?

   a. In what ways do EDH and Colatino differ in the placement and prominence of the articles related to the presidential election coverage?

   b. Which of the newspapers presents a higher amount of the opinion of the journalist (tone) in the news?

   c. What are the difference and commonalities in the type of sources and the prominence of the sources, according to their political orientation, in Colatino and EDH?

4.2 Operationalization of research questions

The general questions have been operationalized in seven questions which attempt to present the most important patterns of coverage in EDH and Co Latino.

1. Which party receives more space?
2. Which party receives more prominent coverage?
3. What was the tone of the coverage (explicit opinions of the journalists) for FMLN and ARENA?
4. What type of source by group affiliation was more frequently used?
5. By affiliation group, which source was usually placed in the most prominent positions?
6. Which source role was more frequently used?
7. By source roles, which individual source was usually placed in the most prominent positions?

4.3 Methodology

4.3.1 Content analysis

Krippendorff (2003) describes content analysis as the "research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from the texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (p. 18). Krippendorff explains that a content analysis requires reliable and replicable techniques. It means that "researchers working at different points in time and perhaps under different circumstances should get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data". In this thesis, we have only analyzed the textual journalistic content of the two newspapers.

Riffe et al. (2005) assures that quantitative content analysis is (p25):

> (T)he **systematic** and **replicable** examination of **symbols of communication**, which have been **assigned numeric values** according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods to describe the communication, draw **inferences** about is meaning or infer from the communication to its context, both of production of consumption.

According to Riffer et al, a **systematic** content analysis requires "identification of key terms or concepts involved in a phenomenon, specification of possible relationships among concepts, and generation of testable hypotheses".

Krippendorff and Riffe et al stress the importance of **replicability** in content analysis. They assure that "research definitions and operations must report exactly and fully so that readers can understand exactly what was done" (p.26). Exactness means that "others researchers can evaluate the procedure and the findings and, if desired, repeat the operations". The process of defining a concept in measured variables is known as operationalization. We operationalized abstract concepts as tone, sources and space in measurable values.

A content analysis examines **symbols,** because all communication uses symbols, whether verbal, textual, or images. This research technique involves assigning **numeric values** to symbols (Riffe et al 2005 p.31). In quantitative social and content analysis, the researchers transformed answers which are not numerical into numbers using coding procedures. Fielding and Gilbert (2006) remark that in doing this "we are converting from qualitively different answers (...) to quantitatively codes" (p.15)

This quantification process eases the work of a large amount of data. Riffe et al argue (p.32):

> Quantification of content units makes it possible to reduce a very large set of data to manageable form and to characterize the variation in the data with summary statistics such as percentage, averages, and ranges. The use of quantitative measures on representative samples of data permits researchers to assess the representativeness of their samples, and thus use powerful statistics tools to test hypotheses and answer research questions.

Describing and inferring are two key elements of the quantitative content analysis. Riffe et al explain that these two procedures mean to "infer from the communication its context of production or consumption" (p.32). In other words, from the data we can describe and inferred how the information was tailored and the conditions in which the news was produced. In our case, it means that content analysis allows one to see how tight the relationship between politicians and newsrooms is.

4.3.2 Justification of the method

I decide to use a quantitative content analysis because I expected to process a large amount of information. In the 16 days of our sampling period, the newspapers produced 328 stories related to the Elections. Examining this information through qualitative techniques was extremely difficult. Also the aggregate data of 328 stories and 930 sources of the thesis allow me to make more accurate general conclusions about the 16 days of the campaign. Aggregate data smoothes out the individual characteristics of news pieces and provides a better understanding of patterns in the journalistic coverage (Fielding & Gilbert 2006).

4.3.3 Advantages and disadvantages of the Quantitative Content Analysis

Advantages

One of the advantages of quantitative content analyses is the possibility of studying the content without gaining access to journalists and editorial staffs. It facilitates the acquisitions of the material and the management of the information. The dependency of external factors has been reduced to the gathering of the newspapers from the library of the Central American University (UCA) in San Salvador and a collection of files, in PDF format, found on the Co Latino website (www.diariocolatino.com)

I decided to choose quantitative content analysis for two more reasons: easy replicability for future investigation and the capacity to study a high amount of information. Though I cannot provide a general statement about the whole EDH and Co Latino coverage, this study presents an accurate view of the political environment and editorial lines during key political moments

Disadvantages

In the reduction of content to numerical categories, quantitative content analyses can lose important and meaningful information. For example, my method does not deal with latent information such as the use of metaphors. In this research, there is a clear boundary (or disadvantage) to include only explicit information. Explicit means that the information is communicated clearly, directly, and transparently. An explicit opinion does not need a high degree of interpretation from coders. I acknowledge that some elements of the text which are not "explicit" enough can be underestimated or obviated.

Another disadvantage of the content analyses is the difficulty to measure informational absences and connect them with the political and journalistic environment. We can only analyze what it is presented in the news, but not what is absent. Nevertheless, absences can be also meaningful elements for the detection of the influence of the editorial lines and journalists. Some qualitative analyses have attempted to link absences and presences in the Salvadorian political coverage (Gonzalez et al, 2006).

4.4 Sampling units and Techniques of Sampling
4.4.1 Period

I analyze the publications of EDH and Co Latino 15 days before and 1 day after the Election Day (March 15th). My decision to study a period of fifteen days before the election is based, partially, in the prohibition, by the Salvadorian Electoral Law, of

the publication of any polls during that time. Article 230 of the Código Electoral Law (1993 p. 69) mandates that:

> Fifteen days before the Election Day until the electoral results are officialised, it will not be allowed for the political parties, coalitions, natural or juridical persons, associations, or any other type of organization to publish or broadcast in any communication mass media polls or projections about the candidates, political parties, coalitions which indicate the tendencies of possible results

In the fifteen days before the election, two other campaign bans overlapped. Article 231 forbids any propaganda from the executive branch and local government, at least 30 days before the Election Day. Article 230 mandates those political parties, coalitions, and any other organization cease campaigning three days before the election and any campaign activities are prohibited on the day of voting.

These three prohibitions enhance the potential role of the press as instruments to influence voters in moments when propaganda is not available. Previous studies found substantial partisan bias in both the print and the broadcast media which intensified as the election grew nearer (Gulati et al 2004 p. 239). Strömback and Kaid (2008) assure that "people rely mainly on the news media for information that might help them decide how to vote, and that the news media can exert considerable power with regards to which issues, attributes, and frames people consider important and salient" (p. 13).

I selected the day after the election (March 16th) for two reasons: 1) election day is the most important date in campaign schedules and to exclude the coverage of this day means to miss the key event and fundamental reason for the coverage, and 2) a day after the election both newspapers reported the higher number of articles published during the sampling period: 67 from a total of 328. This amount of information pieces can provide interesting data about the patterns of coverage.

4.4.2 Content Unit

Relevant articles to be coded are all journalistic pieces within the national affairs sections, which mention explicitly: FMLN and ARENA, the presidential candidates (Rodrigo Ávila, ARENA, and Mauricio Funes, FMLN), the vice presidential nominees (Arturo Zablah, ARENA, and Salvador Sánchez Cerén, FMLN), or other non-partisan groups which support one of the presidential candidates (Amigo de Mauricio Funes which advocates FMLN´s candidate), and Alianza por el Cambio, (which endorses ARENA). Also, all the stories related to the election process, election planning and campaigning events.

There are only two non-partisan groups to take in consideration for this study, if they are explicitly mentioned. "Los amigos de Mauricio" (Mauricio Funes´s friend) is a citizen association which gathers individuals who support the candidacy of the left-wing candidate, Mauricio Funes. "Los amigos" ('the friends,' in Spanish) was not affiliated to FMLN. The other non-partisan group is "Alianza por el Cambio" (Alliance for Change), which supports ARENA, and, specifically, ARENA´s vice-presidential candidate, Arturo Zablah. An agreement between "Alianza por el cambio" and ARENA created the "Gran Alianza por el Empleo" (Great Alliance for Employment). News with other non-partisan groups will be coded for this analysis only if there is mention of Rodrigo Ávila, Mauricio Funes, Zablah, and Sánchez Cerén or if they deal explicitly with the election process.

In this analysis, we define stories as a text with headline, (sometimes) abstract, and, at least two paragraphs of texts. All news articles, independent of their sizes, will be coded. Footnotes of photographs, information graphics, side bars, boxes, mappings, advertisements, and analyses or opinion pieces prior to the editorial section will not be coded. The page "Un minuto" in EDH will not be coded. Interviews in a "Question and Answers" style will be coded as a normal article, with slightly variations in the tone measurement. In the tone section, we will provide further explanation.

4.4.3 Samples Technique

In this thesis, I use a purposeful sampling with no probability interest. This means that I can only draw conclusions in relation to the 16 analyzed days. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) state that purposive sampling is used in "studies of particular types of publication or particular times may be interest" because "were important or the time played a key role in history" (p. 100). In our case, fifteen days before the election represents a key moment in the Salvadorian political history. Firstly, polls suggested that the race between Avila and Funes would be the closest competition since the end of the war in 1992. Secondly, some of the polls showed that the gap in favour of Funes was decreasing and the possibilities for Avila increased (Miranda 2009, Segura 2009). Thirdly - for the first time in Salvadorian history - a candidate, supported by a revolutionary and socialist party, had the chance to defeat the political right. These three reasons, plus the propaganda prohibitions and the historical partisan favouritism of the newspapers, indicated that the press coverage could be used as a stage for presidential campaigning. Therefore, the analysis of the fifteen days before the election and one day after the voting has the purpose of understanding how the newspapers attempted to support their candidates in a period in which the effectiveness of the propaganda was severely affected by the prohibitions.

4.4.4 Justification of analysis units

Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) define an analysis unit as "the units that are analyzed statistically to test hypotheses or answer research questions" (p.72). My research questions are based on two analysis units: stories (in this thesis, article is synonym of story) and sources. Later on, I present a working concept of "source".

I use two analysis units as complementary levels. In the article level, I attempt to find patterns of placement, tones and, distribution of space per party. However, the story unit is insufficient to describe the peculiarities of the sourcing patterns. My interest in finding a refined method to analyze sources resides in the assumption

that sources "among all considerations" is the factor with the prime significance in partisan favouritism (Gans 1979 p. 280). Partisan favouritism chooses specific types of source "belonging to groups who shared the same opinion of the newspapers" (Hagen 1993 p. 329). Consequently, we should expect that newspapers use sources as opportune witnesses to endorse their ideas.

4.5 Instruments and Concepts

Here I present the code books of my research in order to explain the working concepts behind my method. In the theoretical chapter, the three dimensions or basic concepts of this thesis were described: placement, tone and sourcing. The placement dimension is comprised by the space, the prominence of the story and the distribution of space between parties and candidates. The tone is the orientation of journalist's judgment toward the presidential candidates. The source dimension examines the patterns of selection of speaking actors in the newspapers (how and to what extent a source appears in the news).

These three concepts have been operationalized through several indicators. Every indicator is based in discreet variables, which are expressed in whole units and mutually exclusive categories. In this thesis, any choice is limited to a set of options.

In every question of the code books, I provide theoretical justification and details how I operationalized every concept and category. As a general explanation, I utilized two types of code books: one for the story level and another for the source level. The story level has 10 questions and the sources, eight.

Codebook for STORY level
Part 1

V1: ID of story:

Each article was identified with a unique number. Stories within EDH were numbered from 1 to 183. Stories in Co Latino were numbered from 310 to 461.

<u>V2: Newspaper</u>
(1) EDH (El Diario de Hoy)
(2) Colatino

<u>*V3: Space (How much space a story occupied)*</u>
What is the size of the story?
(1) Up to a ¼ of page,
(2) From ¼ to half page (half page),
(3) From half page to ¾ of page and
(4) From ¾ to full page.
(5) More than a full page

The indicator was the space and the question "How much space a story occupy" The space was measured by percentage of pages. Other researchers have studied the space counting paragraphs (Schiffer 2006), square inches (D´alessio & Allen 2000) or square centimetres (Semetko & Boomgaarden 2007). I decided to use percentage of page because it is an easy and efficient way to measure the importance of news in a newspaper.

In this research, the space indicator did not give us the necessary information to determine who received more coverage. Therefore, I decided that the best way to measure the coverage bias - "the relative amount of coverage toward one party or the other" (D´alessio & Allen 2000) - was to calculate the amount of stories dedicated exclusively to sources of one of the two parties, instead of the percentage of pages. To solve the question I included question number 10 in the codebook at the story level.

The instructions to code this question were:
- Columns always will be coded as ¼ of page (1).
- Only if there is a doubt about the sizes of two or three articles, every article will be measured as a rule from the beginning of the headline to the last sentence. For example, if there are three articles in a page, and there are doubts specifically on the sizes of two, sizes of each should be measured. The largest will be considered with more space than the smaller. If after using the rule the doubts remain, the story which is placed higher in the page will be considered with more space.

- Footnotes of photographs, info graphics, side bars, boxes, mappings, advertisements, and analyses or opinion pieces prior to the editorial section will be not coded.

- If on one page there is only one article surrounded by bigger visual elements, such as photographs, info graphics or boxes, the article always will be considered with a space of "1 page or more", option (4). Photographs or other visual resources will not be counted. We have to stress that a story in this research is comprised by headline, (sometimes) abstract, and a text of a least two paragraphs.

V4: Prominence (Where is the story?):
(1)   Low prominence
(2)   High prominence

Determining the prominence of a story attempts to find if an article is placed in the most visible part of the newspaper (high prominence) or in other places (low prominence positions).

The instructions to code this question were:

- **High prominence.** In EDH, a high prominence story is placed in pages with headlines of "Tema de Portada" or "Nacional" in EDH. In Colatino, a high prominence article is placed in pages 2 and 3. In both newspapers, any story mentioned in the front page, independent of their location, should be considered a high prominence article.

- **Low prominence.** In both newspapers, a story with low prominence is placed somewhere else in the newspaper and does not fulfil the requirements of option (2).

My approach is similar to the perspective of Asante (2002), which uses only two categories to analyze the prominence of the articles (front page or inside page). Other scholars propose a more complex instrument to study the prominence. For example, Hurwitz et al (1976) examine the prominence of an article in four categories.

<u>V5: Evaluations about FMLN</u>

Did you find an explicit evaluation(s) or opinion (s) made by the journalist about FMLN, Mauricio Funes, Salvador Sánchez Cerén, "Amigos de Mauricio" or other allies to the FMLN?

(1) Yes
(2) No

Note: If you answered (1), you can choose options (1) (2) or (3) in V8..But if your response is (0), you only option is (0).

<u>V6: Evaluations about ARENA</u>

Did you find in this story explicit evaluation(s) or opinion(s) made by the journalist about ARENA, Rodrigo Avila or Arturo Zablah?
(1) Yes
(2) No

Note: If you answered (1), you can choose options (1) (2) or (3) in V9..But if your response is (0), you only option is (0).

<u>V7:Type of evaluation (tone) about FMLN</u>
The evaluation(s) or opinion(s) about FMLN in this story were:
(1) only friendly
(2) Mixed tone
(3) Only hostile
(0) No explicit tone

<u>V8:Type of evaluation (tone) about ARENA</u>
The evaluation(s) or opinion(s) about ARENA in this story were:
(1) only friendly
(2) Mixed tone
(3) Only hostile
(0) No explicit tone

From question V5 to V8, I attempt to examine and categorize the type of tone of every article. Firstly, Questions V5 and V6 seek to discover the existence of tone. In this thesis, tone should be understood as any explicit evaluation(s) or opinion(s) against the performance of one of the parties or candidates. Explicit evaluations or opinions means ideas, judgements or concepts which the journalist(s) provides his /her/their own point of view about FMLN (candidates or allies) or ARENA (candidates or allies), without attributing this opinion to a person, consumed fact,

organization(s) or document(s). Explicit means that the judgement is communicated clearly, directly and transparently. An explicit opinion does not need a high degree of interpretation.

In Question and Answers interviews, the detection of judges will be taken from the questions of the journalist. In an interview with evaluations, a reporter gives an opinion, instead of asking questions.

After detecting the existence of evaluations (or tones), questions V7 and V8 categorize the tones in three categories: only friendly, only hostile and mixed. How can coders find which specific tone is presented in the article? First, coders should take the perspective of the candidate evaluated. Later, they should read the evaluation and consider if the candidate would like or dislike the opinion. If the candidate would like the evaluation, it means that the opinion is friendly, but if the candidate would dislike it, it is hostile. In a friendly opinion, the candidate is portrayed advantageously and praised. In a hostile opinion, the candidate is criticized and portrayed in a disadvantageous image. If a story only has positive evaluations, it will be coded as an "only friendly" article. If the article has only negative judgements, it should be coded as "only hostile". Nevertheless, we could find in a story both friendly and hostile opinions. In this case, the coders should label the article as mixed tone. If the coder did not find any evaluation the story should be coded with no explicit tone.

V.9. Date of the newspaper story.
When was the story published?

(1) 1th March
(2) 2nd March
(3) 3rd March
(4) 4th March
(5) 5th March
(6) 6th March
(7) 7th March
(8) 8th March
(9) 9th March
(10) 10th March
(11) 11th March
(12) 12th March

(13)   13th March
(14)   14th March
(15)   15th March
(16)   16th March
(17)   17th March
(18)   18th March

V.10. Space distribution per party

In this story, there are:

1. Only FMLN (and allies) sources
2. Only ARENA (and allies) sources
3. Both ARENA and FMLN sources
0. In this story, there is neither ARENA nor FMLN sources

With this question, we attempt to find out the coverage bias, which is, according to D´alessio and Allen (2000), "the relative amount of coverage toward one party or the other" (p. 133). If a newspaper allocates more stories with one exclusive type of political source it might indicate the existence of a clear coverage. D'alessio and Allen assure that a balanced coverage should provide equal or similar space to each party in a two-party political system.

In practical terms, if an article only used FMLN's sources or actors supporting Funes, we will code it as (1). We should label (2), if an article only reports sources connected to ARENA or Avila's supporters. If there are sources from both parties, we label the article (3). Any other type of source should be labelled as (0).

In the source level, I explain how I categorize the ARENA''s and allies and FMLN and allies sources. The question V.10 is linked with a previous understanding of the way sources are coding. Nevertheless, I have placed the question in the article codebook because the analysis unit of the space is still the article or story.

V1: Id of story

Every story is identified with a unique number. We have used the same method of the ID as the Story Level.

A source is any person, consumed fact, document, or organization to which information is attributed by the journalist (Hatcher 2008, Hallin et al. 1994). The source can be cited direct by the journalist who uses quotation marks (directly cited).

For example: **The president agrees that "FMLN belongs to Chavez"**.

Also, a journalist can indirectly cite a source when he or she restates the message of the source, but using his own words (indirectly cited). For example: **The president suggests that his support for Ávila is still something to think about**.

Also in the same article can be a combination of both direct and indirect sources. For example: **The president agrees that "FMLN belongs to Chavez", but he expects that the left party can distance itself from Caracas.** Usually when a journalist attributes information to a source, he or she uses verbs such as "says", "assures", "promises", "argues", "affirms". These verbs evoke oral and verbal actions. Sources can be also "identified" by name or as "anonymous".

It is important to remark that if there is information attributed to several types of sources placed in the same line, we coded only the first source. For example, in an article which says **"FMLN leaders, Funes and Sanchez Cerén reported that ..."** you must only code the first one, until you find another source.

If a source cites another source, you must count the source who talks with the reporter, not the "second hand" source. For example: **"The analyst argues that**

other people said to him". In this, we coded only the analyst, not the "other people" mentioned by the expert.

V2: ID of source in the story

Every source must be counted in order of appearance. The ID source should be placed next to the article and, also, in the answer sheet. In every article, the first source must be labelled as number 1.The ID is unique, a number per source. The same source can be found several times in an article, but only the first appearance should be counted.

V3: Name of the newspaper
(1) EDH
(2) Colatino

V4: Prominence of the source:
Where does the source "talk" for the first time?

(1) In the headline, abstract, first paragraph and second graph
(2) Between third paragraph and fifth (including fifth)
(3) Below paragraph five

I based the operationalization of my prominence indicator on three studies: the study of Sourcing Patterns of National Security Reporters of Hall et al. (1994), the 2006 eye tracking in U.S newspapers of Adam et al (2007), and the examination of Partisan and Bias in U.S. Network Coverage of 2000-2004 of Zeldes et al (2008). In Hall et al, the authors assure that "journalist generally assume that placing something higher in the story gives it greater importance, in part because readers frequently do not read the stories to the end" (p. 757)"..

The placement of a source in a high position not only shows the preference of the reporter and media for a specific type of source, but this practice also seems to affect the interpretation of the information by the reader. Based on marketing theorization, Zeldes et al (2008) affirm that audiences tend to "evaluate the first message more extensively, integrating new information with old information" (p 567). This effect has been labelled as "primacy". In this case, a systematic

presentation of a specific source in the "first" positions of the text could make readers evaluate better the first source over the others presented later.

We assume that journalists and the media give consciously more importance to sources placed at the beginning of the text and higher placed. In this thesis, I only code the first appearance of each source. Appearance means when a source expresses its opinion through a citation (indirect voice) or a quote (direct voice) for the first time in the text. For example, a source who "talks" in the first paragraph will be evaluated with more prominence than one which was presented in paragraph number 20.

V5: Nature of the source
(1) Document
(2) Person
(3) Organization
(75) Other

The nature of the source attempts to find if the journalists and the newspapers privilege "human" sources (person) over official statements (organizations) or leaked documents (document). It is considered a person when the information is attributed to a subject identified by name or an anonymous subject who speaks only on him/her behalf. A subject is considered a person source when he or she talks in behalf of an organization but it is identified in general as "an official" or "representative". A document is a text or program within a medium to which the journalist attributes the information. An organization source is a source identified only by the name of the organization. A TV program was considered a document when the journalist identified the program with the name of the program first and the name of the organization later. A program was coded as an organization if the name of the medium was mentioned first. Sources were coded as "others" when none of the three categories can be applied.

V6: Sex of source:
What is sex of the source?

(1) Woman
(2) Man

(3) Unspecified (organizations, documents, groups, anonymous)

A source was coded as woman when the journalist identified or suggests that the people who gave the information were female. The same process was followed to code a source as man. Unspecified sources were actors with no gender identification such as organizations, anonymous sources, groups, and documents. All sources identified in plural such as "political sources" or "ARENA´s leaders", were coded as "unspecified" (3).

V7: Type of affiliation: According to the groups of sources mentioned in V.10, to what group does the source belong?

    (1)   Politicians of FMLN or FMLN´s ally
    (2)   Politicians of ARENA or ARENA´s ally
    (3)   Referees
    (4)   Foreign Actors
    (5)   Media
    (6)   Citizens
    (7)   Expert
    (8)   Advocate groups
    (9)   Lobbyist
    (10)   Bureaucrats
    (11)   Anonymous
    (75)   Others

As I briefly mentioned in the theoretical chapter, I have constructed a two-tiered sourcing typology, inspired by Hallin et al (1994) and Habermas (2006). In the first layer, which V7 attempted to measure, I was inspired by Habermas' conceptualization of the actor's intervention in the communication of the public sphere. According to Habermas, two types of actors are in "the core" of the political communication of the public sphere: politicians and journalists. In the periphery, other actors attempt to influence the political discourse of the public sphere. These peripheral actors are: 1) lobbyist; 2) advocates groups; 3) experts; 4) moral entrepreneurs; and 5) intellectuals. Adapting Habermas' theory to this thesis, I put

in the same category sources from the core of the public sphere and sources from the periphery. These categories were labelled as source's affiliation.

I constructed 12 sources affiliation categories in the first layer: 1) politicians of FMLN or FMLN´s ally; 2) politicians of ARENA or ARENA´s ally; 3) referees: 4) foreign actors; 5) media; 6) citizens; 7) expert; 8) advocate groups; 9) lobbyist; 10) bureaucrats; 11) anonymous, and 12) others. Only 1 category per source could be selected and taken as valid for the first affiliation and ignore the other ones. In 1 and 2, I put all politicians with openly partisan interests. Also, I include in 1 and 2 other political sources, which did not belong to FMLN or ARENA, but supported one of the candidates.

Referees (3) mean all the sources which were affiliated to organizations or institutions which had the obligation to consolidate the fairness of the elections or to witness the legality of the voting. In this case, I clustered the observers (national or foreign people sent to El Salvador to witch out the integrity of the elections), the Tribunal Supremo Electoral (Supreme Electoral Jury), and all the sources related to the juridical branch such as the Fiscalia General de la Republica (General Attorney of the Republic) or FGR, Procuraduria de Derechos Humanos (Attorney's Office for Human Rights) or PDDHH, and the Procuraduria General de la Republica (Attorney's Office) or PGR.

In 4, I grouped all the foreign politicians who gave an opinion about the elections and the candidates. These sources were foreign politicians who show their endorsement or apprehension in regards to Funes and Avila. In number 5, I included all the sources affiliated to the media (for example journalists, media representatives, a medium official position). The citizen's sources (6) were national subjects without any political membership or any special knowledge who talks about the Election. Journalists usually identify them with their occupation or simply describe them as a regular person.

Experts (7) are the intellectuals credited with scientific or professional knowledge invited to give or persons with a reputation in some field (Habermas 2006). They usually identified by the journalists as "analyst", "expert", or "academic". Advocate groups (8) are individuals who represent general interest group or substitute for a lack of representation of marginalized groups. In this group were included all the sources related to NGO's, churches, unions, or professional associations.

The lobbyist category (9) comprised all the individuals identifiable as "empresario" (business man) or representatives of a business chamber or groups of owners of companies such as ANEP (Private Sector National Association). Bureaucrats (10) are all the sources who occupied a position in the executive branch or represent autonomous entities controlled by the former president and ARENA's leader, Antonio Saca. This category also included Saca himself, police officials, Army representatives and local government officials who were not identified with any political parties.

Anonymous sources (11) are the sources whose affiliation was not disclosed by the journalist, for example, "sources reveal" or "people assure". Other (75) were sources which did not fit into any of the categories.

V8: Source role:
Who talks?

1. Politicians FMLN
(1) Mauricio Funes
(2) Salvador Sánchez Cerén
(3) Member of FMLN
(4) Member of CD
(5) Dissidents of FDR supporting Funes
(6) Member Amigos de Mauricio
(7) Political supporter of FMLN or FMLN´s ally
(8) Political party institutionally (FMLN or FMLN ´s ally)
(9) Unnamed source in FMLN or FMLN´s ally
(10) Dissidents of PCN, PDC and ARENA supporting Funes.
(11) Vanda Pignato (First Lady)
(12) New or dead parties' representative supporting Funes
(13) Relative of the FMLN´s candidates (not the First Lady)
(14) Common position with more than one of Funes´ allies.

2. Politicians ARENA

(15) Rodrigo Avila
(16) Arturo Zablah
(17) Member of ARENA
(18) Member of PDC
(19) Member of PCN
(20) Member of FDR
(21) Member of Alianza por el Cambio
(22) Dissidents of CD supporting Avila
(23) Political supporter of ARENA or Arena's ally
(24) Political party institutionally (ARENA or Arena's ally)
(25) Unnamed source in ARENA or Arena's ally
(26) Dissidents of CD and FMLN supporting ARENA.
(27) Celina de Ávila (First lady)
(28) New or dead parties' representatives supporting Avila
(29) Relative of the ARENA´s candidates (not the First Lady)
(30) Common position with more than one Avila´s allies.

3. Referees
(31) EU observers
(32) International and National observer (not EU)
(33) Tribunal Supremo Electoral representative (TSE) and JVE (unidentifed with political party, only as member of TSE)
(34) Judicial branch

4. Foreign Actors
(35) U.S. Government official
(36) Official of Brazil
(37) Hugo Chavez
(38) Former foreign politicians
(39) Representative of Latin American government (not included OAS observer)
(40) Representative of European countries (not included observers)

5. Media
(41) National media representative or institution
(42) Newspaper itself

6. Citizens
(43) Citizen

7. Experts
(44) Salvadoran think tank representative
(45) Representative of education institution
(46) Foreign think tank expert (not U.S.)
(47) U.S. think tank expert
(48) Independent Salvadoran analyst or expert

8. Advocate groups
(49) Representative of NGO or social movement

(50) Religious representative
(51) Labour or professional Unions or organizations

9. *Lobbyist*
(52) Private sector representative

10. *Bureaucrats*
(53) Antonio Saca
(54) Polices and military
(55) Ministries, autonomous institutions and other governmental institutions
(56) Former Salvadoran officials
(57) Major or local authorities unidentified with a party

11. Anonymous
(58) Anonymous source with no political identification

75. *Other*
(75) Others

In a second tier, I divide the broad groups into smaller units. Each source was coded into one of 56 categories. While in the affiliation I tried to find to which political sector a source belonged, in this part I attempted the specific role of every source.. I have called to these small units "roles", because each source played a function and a position within one the 12 broad groups. For example, a source, within each affiliation, can play the role of a political ally or the role of a party's leader. In this thesis, we depart from the general perspective of source affiliations to a more specific view of the roles.

From sources role (1) to source role (30), I included the most relevant political positions during the campaign. The presidential candidates (Funes and Avila) and the vice-presidential nominees (Sanchez Ceren and Zablah) were individualized as source roles. Then, I individualized the political sources by party (3) (4) (6) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21). In the bloc of Funes, there were two important political organizations, beside FMLN: Cambio Demácratico (Democratic Change in English), CD, and Amigos de Mauricio (Friends of Mauricio in English). Amigos de Mauricio was a group comprised of civilians. In Avila's bloc, three political parties and another citizen group supported the right-wing candidate: Partido Democrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party in English), PDC; Partido de Conciliaciön Nacional (Nacional Council Party in English), PCN; Frente Demácratico Revolucionario

(Democratic Revolutionary Front in English), FDR; and Alianza por el Cambio (Alliance for Change), a citizen organization which endorsed Zablah. Each of these organizations was a source role. The membership of a source was detected according to the way journalists identified them explicitly in the content.

I establish a difference between members of a party and political supporter (7) (23). A political supporter is an individual who was not identified in a specific position within a party. Journalists usually portray them in rallies or in other campaigning events. In this election, not all the members of the parties agreed with the official position of their organizations. The press coverage presented examples of members of a party endorsing the contrary candidate. These sources were called "dissidents" (5) (10) (22) (26). Dissidents are sources, identified by the journalist as members of a party, who back the nominee of the antagonist bloc. I included several types of political dissidents. A source was coded as Political Party institutionally (8) (24) when the party talks institutionally rejected using politicians as means. Unnamed sources (9) (25) were "off the record" sources who were identified only as member of party, without presenting the name.

I tried to grasp the influence of the candidates' family in the coverage. I analyzed the frequency that Vanda Pignato (Funes' wife), Celina de Avila (Avila's wife) and other relatives of the president and vice president candidates (13) (29) were mentioned in press coverage. In the categories of New or dead parties (12) (28), I coded the official positions or the representatives of parties which were not allowed to participate in the 2009 Presidential Election. Six parties were permitted to present candidates: PDC, PCN, FDR, CD, FMLN and ARENA. Nevertheless, only ARENA and FMLN presented nominees. The rest choose to endorse either Funes or Avila. As a common position with more than one Funes' or Avila' allies (14) (30), I coded documents or political agreements shared institutionally between the parties of the each bloc. The agreements were not voiced by a politician or any other subject.

In EU observers (31), I coded all the sources identified as part of the Mission of Observers sent by the European Commission. In (32), I also analyzed the observers who did not belong to the EU. Category (33) clustered all the representatives of the Tribunal Supremo Electoral (TSE) and all the offices related to guarantee the fairness of the electoral process (local and regional TSE representatives, members of the poll stations). In (34), I coded all the offices, departments and entities related to the judicial branch of the state or institutions which persecute irregularities in the election (PGR, FGR and PDHH).

I individualized the foreign actors according to the historical connection of El Salvador with the United States (35), the role of the Brazilian politicians in the campaign of Funes (36), and the relevance of Venezuela as paradigm of the Latin American left (37). In (37), I integrated all the senators, congressmen or congresswomen, officials of the executive branch and other representatives of the U.S. governments. In (36), I examined all officials from Brazil and in (37) only when Hugo Chavez, Venezuelan President, was used as a source of information. In (38), I coded all foreign politicians who were not identified with an active position in the government of their countries. Many of them were depicted as former presidents or former foreign affairs ministers. The (39) included only officials from Latin American countries other than Brazil and Venezuela and (40) officials from the European Union. Members of the Mission of Observers of the European Commission were excluded from (40).

For the media sources, I operationalized two categories: a source which speaks on behalf of a medium (41) and when one of the newspapers used its own information as a source (42). Citizens' sources (43) were national subjects without any political membership or any special knowledge who talks about the election. Journalists usually identify them with their occupation or simply describe them as regular persons.

There were five types of experts. Salvadoran think tank representatives (44), who were the experts linked by the journalists with one of the Salvadoran think tank or other analysis associations or companies. Representatives of an educational

institution (45) were the experts connected to a university or institution of higher education.

Foreign think tank expert (46) means the analyst who works with a non-Salvadorian and non-American think tank. In (47), I only coded experts linked with think tank based on the United States. Independent Salvadorian analyst or expert (48) were the specialist who talks and were not identified in relation with any think tank, university or other type of company and association.

I identified three types of advocate groups. In (49), I coded all the sources connected to a nongovernmental organizations or member of social movements, such as association of peasants or ecological groups. Category (50) integrated all the sources identified as any church or religious movement. The sources related to unions and associations of liberal profession were labelled as (51).

The private sector representative (52) comprised all the individuals identified as "empresario" (business man) or representatives of a business chamber or groups of owners of companies such as ANEP (Private Sector National Association in Spanish).

In categories (53) (54) and, (55), I coded the sources of the executive branch, Antonio Saca: Saca himself, (53), police officers and military (54), and ministries and other representative or institution in which Saca had direct command (55). In (56), I included former Salvadoran officials who did not occupy an active position in Saca's cabinet and, in (57), local authorities unidentified with a party.

In anonymous sources (58), journalists only mentioned the source but did not reveal to what organization, party or institution the person belongs. For example, "sources reveal that the candidate". In this case, there is not an explicit clarification of the origin of the source. In (75), the journalist identified the source with an organization, but the organization or institution is not considered in the questionnaire. For example, I coded (75) every time reporters used the United Nations or any other United Nations department.

4.6 Intracoder Reliability

In this research, I was the only coder. That's why I use the term "intracoder reliability", instead of "intercoder reliability". To test the reliability of my codification, I coded twice a subsample of 32 stories which represent 10 percent of the total of 328 stories. The first codification was In October 2009 and the second in November 2009. The subsample was selected randomly from the sampling. I selected one story per 10. This type of selection prevents any bias which can increase the reliability of my instrument.

Different authors used different subsample sizes test the reliability. Hall et al (1993) utilized 6.8% of the total amount of stories, but Druckman and Parkin (2005) increased the percentage to 35%. Riffe et al (2005) recommend for a total of 500 pieces of content a minimum subsample of 49 (10%). They suggest that for a population of 250 pieces of content, a minimum usage of 18%. For this thesis, I selected 10 % because I considered that the two levels of the instrument (one questionnaire with the story as analysis unit and another with the source as analysis unit) represented a double effort in the testing of reliability.

The first test of reliability was the percentage of agreement. In the percentage of agreement, I simply calculate the number of coincidences between the first coding and the second one. To any variable I asked the question "Are the code 1 (October 2010) and code 2 (November 2010) the same?" If they were the same, I considered it as an agreement. The percentage of general agreement of my instrument was 82.65%, a little higher than the minimal rate. According to Riffe et al (2005), the standard of minimal percentage in the level of agreement is 80%.

Riffe et al claim that the agreement figures may be overinflate the reliability because the chances of accidental agreement might increase as the number of coders decreases. In order not to overestimate the percentage of agreement and also with the intention of using a more standardized measurement, I decided to use

Cohen's Kappa test which measures the reliability of coders taking into account observed agreement and expected agreement. Kappa Formula is:

$$Kappa= \frac{Po-Pe}{1-Pe}$$

Po= observed agreement

Pe= expected agreement

The averaged coefficient of my instrument was **0.77**. In Cohen's Kappa the perfect agreement between raters is 1.0 and the completely disagreement, 0. Landis and Koch (1977) propose some "benchmarks" to interpret the Cohen's Kappa (p. 165):

Kappa Statistic	_Strength of Agreement_
< 0.00	**Poor**
0.00-0.20	**Slight**
0.21-0.40	**Fair**
0.41-0.60	**Moderate**
0.61-0.80	**Substantial**
0.81-1.00	**Almost perfect**

1.1 Table. Cohen's Kappa benchmarks.

Taking Landis and Koch as benchmarks, we can **conclude** that **my instrument** shows a **substantial strength of agreement** between the two coding times. The results per question in both reliability test (percentage of agreement and Cohen's Kappa) can be seen below.

Story Level

Question	Percentage of Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
V1. Article ID	**100%.**	**1**
V2. Newspaper ID	**100%**	**1**
V3.Space of article	**96%**	**0.90**

V4. Prominence	87%	0.59
V5. Existence of Evaluation about FMLN	90%	0.37
V6. Existence of Evaluation about ARENA	96%	0.79
V7. Type of Evaluation about FMLN	93. 7%	0.38
V8. Type of evaluation about ARENA	100%	0.90
V9. Date of newspapers	100%	1.0
V.10: Space distribution	93, 7%	0.95

1.2 Table. Reliability tests in the codebook of the story level.

Averages in the Story Level

Percentage of agreement: 95, 7%

Cohen's Kappa: 0.78

Source Level

Question	Percentage of Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
V.1. ID article	81%	1
V2. Id Source	81%	1
V3. Name of the newspaper	81	1
V4. Prominence of source	70%	0,53
V5. Nature of source	68%	0,65
V6. Gender of source	58%	0,61
V7. Source role	55%	0,67
V8. Type of affiliation	63%	0,73

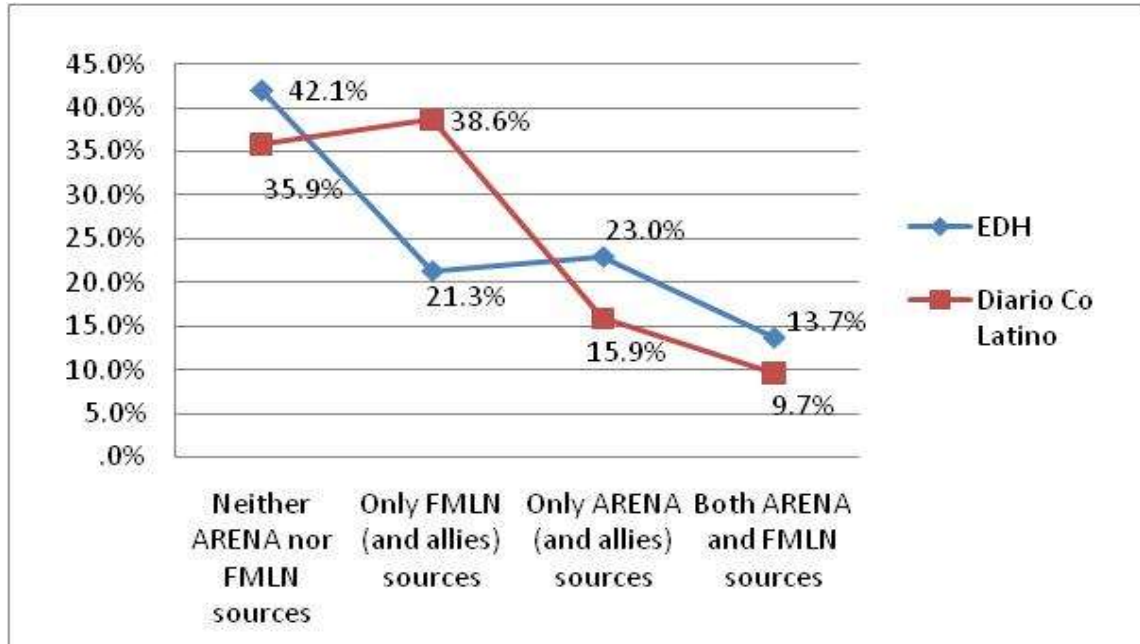*1.3 Table. Reliability tests in the codebook of the source level.*

Averages in the Source Level

Percentage of agreement: 69, 6%

Cohen's Kappa: 0.77

5. Results

5.1. Which party receives more space?

*1.1 Graphic.* *Amount of space by newspapers*

General Information

The total amount of stories or articles analyzed in this research was 328. In Co Latino 145 were analyzed, and in EDH, 183.

Divergences:

The amount of space dedicated to news with exclusive ARENA or FMLN sources reflects a clear position of the newspapers towards one of the parties. Co Latino provided 38.6% of all its news to information with only FMLN's sources, more than double the articles dedicated to only ARENA's source. In EDH, the gap in favour of ARENA is least marked: 23% of the information had only ARENA's sources, while a 21.3% showed only leftist sources.

Convergences:

The most important convergence seems to be the relevance of the news without ARENA's or FMLN's sources. In Co Latino, this type of news represented a third of
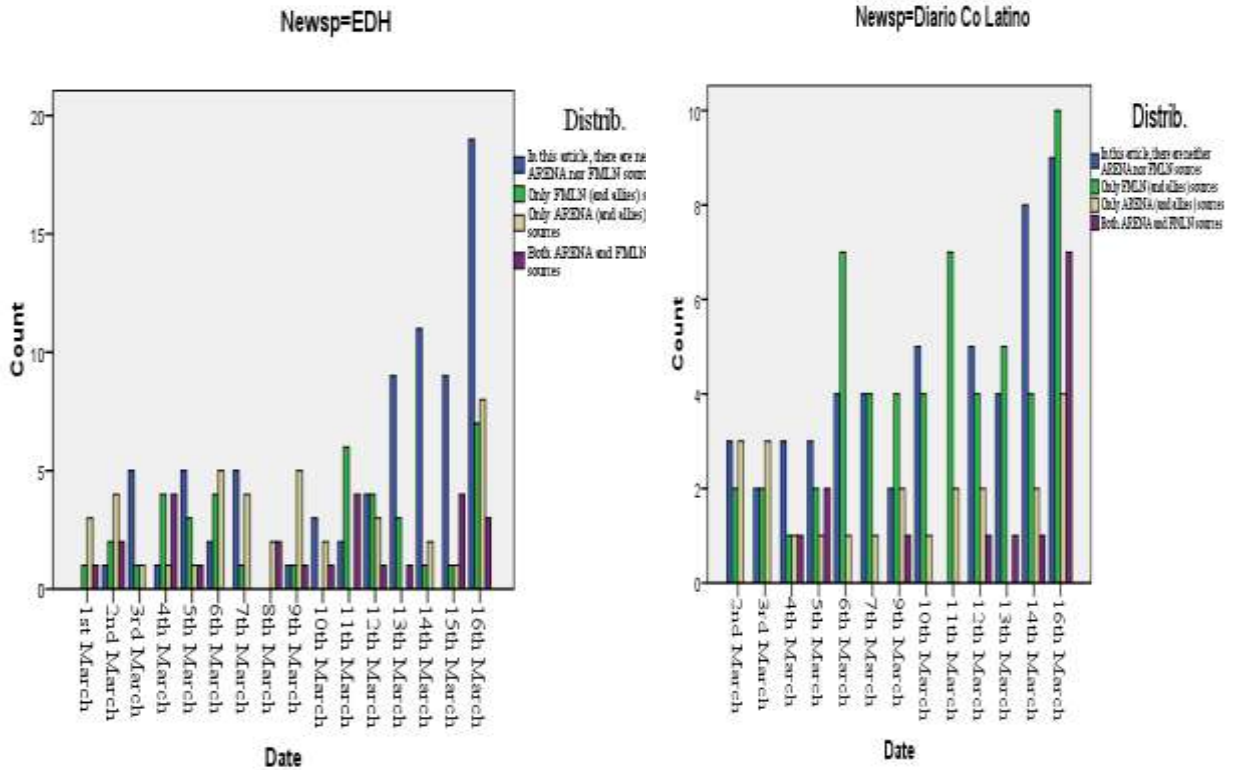

1.2 Graphic. *Distribution of stories in the 16 days of the sampling period.*

the coverage and, in EDH, almost half. One possible explanation might be the attention of media on topics related to electoral procedures and the coverage during the Election day. In Graphic 1.2, we can observe how the amount of articles without partisan sources increased as Election Day approaches. Some examples of this "procedure" reporting were the articles which describe how the electoral offices were equipped and the stories which explain the irregularities during the Election Day.

The data revealed another convergence: the low level of news which combine both parties' sources. This finding suggested that the editorial lines of the newspapers weakly encourage the tailoring of pieces with contradictory partisan views. There

was a clear pattern that shows that outlets conceive the articles as exclusive terrain for one of the parties.

5.2 Which party receives more prominent coverage?
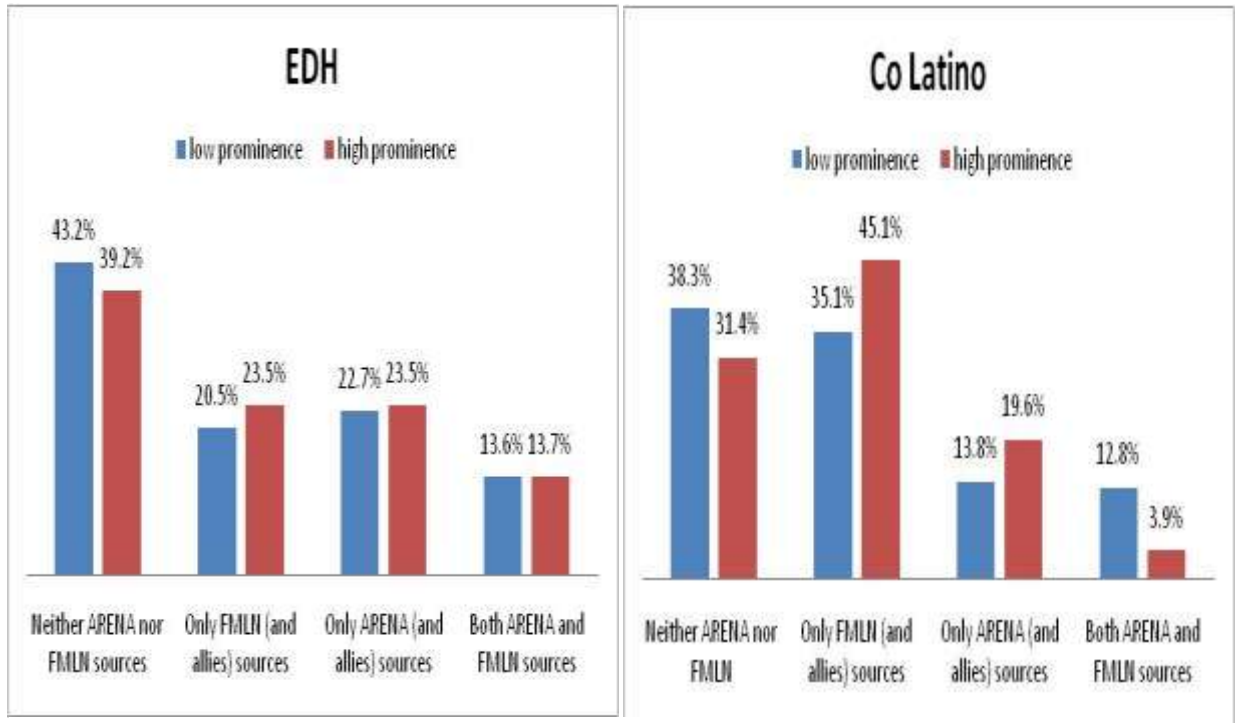
1.3 Graphic. Prominence of coverage in EDH and Co Latino.

Divergences

EDH and Co Latino showed two different prominence patterns in the placement of stories with partisan sources. EDH positioned "ARENA's only" news pieces and "FMLN's only stories" in a very similar way. The right-wing outlet placed in high prominence spaces the same percentage of articles of ARENA and FMLN (23.5%). A similar trend was witnessed in the placement of low prominent stories. The 22.7% of "ARENA's only" articles were ranked as "low prominence", and a 20.5% of "FMLN's only" news pieces.

Co Latino reported a clear trend in favour of FMLN. 45.1% of the high prominence articles were dedicated to "FMLN's only" stories, in comparison with 19.6% of

"ARENA's only" news. The low prominence indicator also showed that FMLN's articles had a higher percentage of participation than ARENA's news (FMLN 35.1%, and ARENA 13.8%). The imbalance in the low prominence indicator of Co Latino's coverage can be linked with the fact that the left-wing medium allocated a higher percentage of only FMLN's source articles (See Graphic 1.1).

The stories with both ARENA and FMLN sources were ranked differently in every newspaper. 13.7% of EDH's higher prominent news was dedicated to articles with "both ARENA and FMLN's sources, while in Co Latino only 3.9%. Nevertheless, there was of convergence in the outlets to place a very similar percentage of their story in low prominence positions (EDH 13.6%, and Co Latino 12.8%)

Convergences

The two newspapers placed the majority of stories without ARENA or FMLN's sources in low prominence position. Nevertheless, EDH published a higher percentage of stories of these types of articles

5.3 What was the tone of the coverage for FMLN and ARENA?
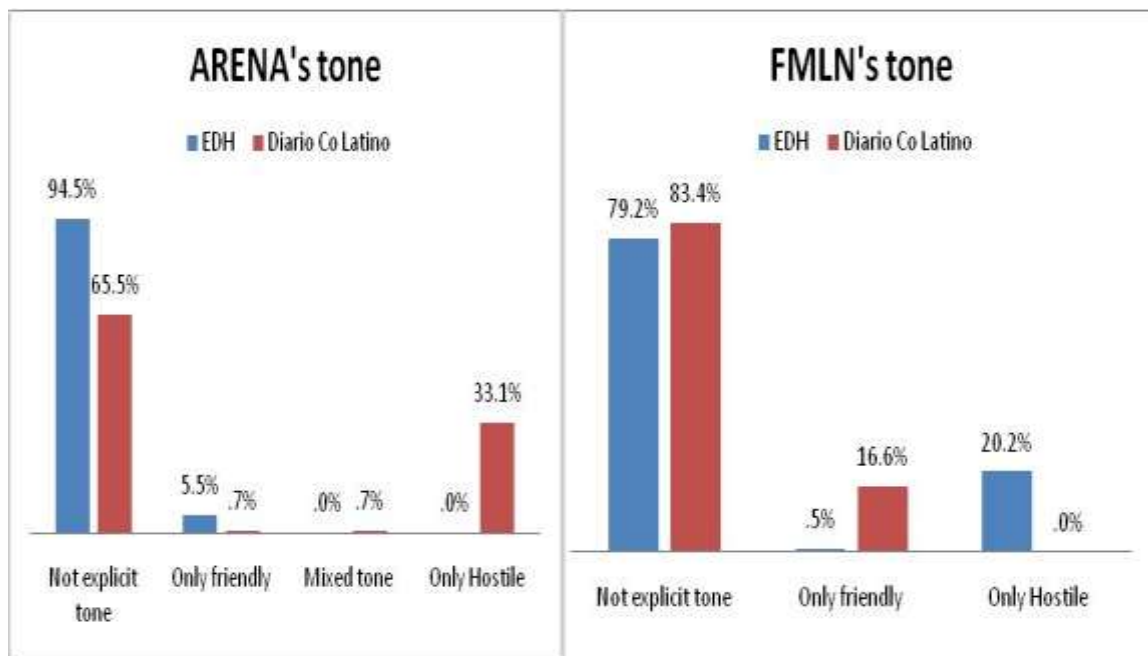
1.4 Graphic. Tone of the coverage by newspapers.

Divergences

In the analysis of tone, partisan favouritism of the newspapers seems to reveal a pattern that impacts the journalistic content. In EDH, 20.2% of the articles presented hostility toward FMLN and 5.5% friendliness toward ARENA. The right-wing outlet did not depict hostility towards ARENA, and the percentage of friendly tone toward FMLN is considerably small (.5%). EDH does not present stories with mixed tones. A mixed tone story combines friendly and hostile judgment in relation with the two parties.

The direction of Co Latino coverage contrasts with EDH trend, but with a more marked pattern: 33.1% of the stories presented in the left-wing presented hostile tones toward ARENA, while a 16.6% showed friendly stances with FMLN. There were only 0.7% of the stories with friendly positions toward ARENA and not hostile views in relation with FMLN. The percentage of mixed stories in Co Latino is almost irrelevant: 0.7%.

Convergences

In EDH and Co Latino, the majority of the articles show "no explicit tone". This common pattern suggests that, though the evident "toning" tradition of the outlets in regards to the journalistic content, the newspapers and/or journalists limited their blatant evaluations. The reasons behind this trend exceed the boundaries of my research but, nevertheless, reinforce the necessity to trace partisan favouritism in sourcing patterns,

Another convergent pattern, paradoxically, can be found in the divergences. Though the newspapers have politically extremist directions, the mechanism to show their partisan favouritism seems very similar: EDH and Co Latino preferred the usage of hostile tones toward the antagonist party than openly provide friendly coverage to their favourite party. Co Latino used more than double the articles to attack ARENA (33.1% hostile tones) than friendly evaluation toward FMLN (16.6%).

EDH utilized 20.2% of their articles to depict negatively the left-wing and only 5.5% to present a friendly face of the right-wing party

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5.4 What type of source by group affiliation was more frequently used?
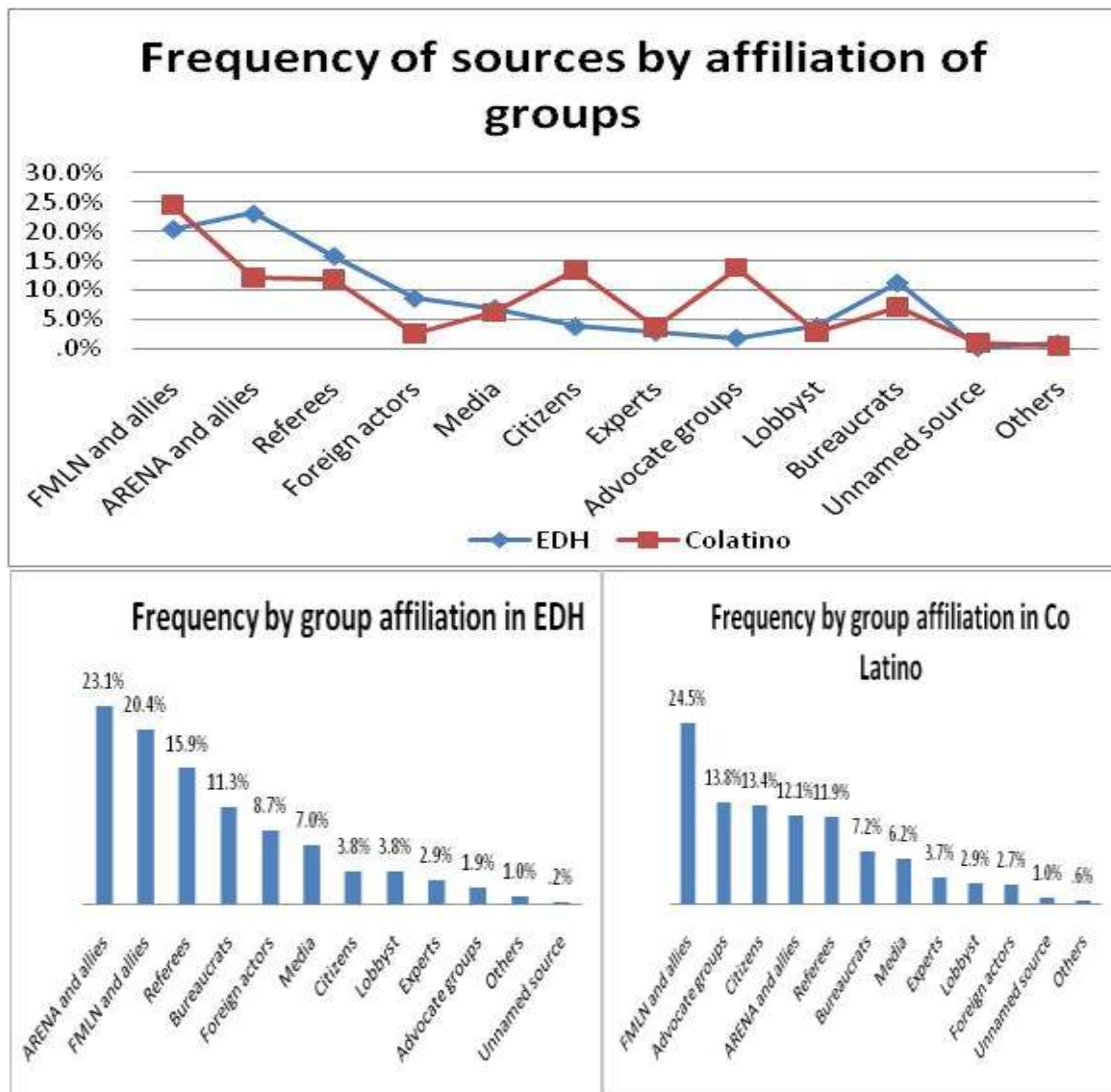
1.5 Graphic. Sources by group affiliation.

General Information

In this thesis, I analyzed a total of 930 sources within 328 articles (13 stories without any source). The total of sources in Co Latino were 514, and, in EDH, 416. The average of sources per stories in Co Latino were 3.54, and in EDH 2.27.

I have grouped more than 50 sources in 12 broad groups. These groups, which I have named affiliation groups, provide a general overview of the sourcing patterns in both newspapers. Later in this thesis, I offer a more refined perspective of the sourcing patterns using a classification of more than types of 50 sources.

Divergences

As I observed in the indicators of amount of space and tone, there is a clear trend of both newspapers to use more frequently friendly sources---this pattern seems stronger in Co Latino. EDH more frequently used ARENA's sources (23.1%) than FMLN's actors (20.4%). In contrast, EDH displayed 24.5% of FMLN's sources and only 12.1% of ARENA's.

Divergences go beyond the simple analysis of openly partisan sources. The frequency in the affiliation of sources reveals two different sources hierarchies. In EDH, partisan sources (ARENA's allies and FMLN's allies) occupied the most important places in their source repertoire. Bureaucrats, referees - all the institutions forced to be impartial in an election by law - and foreign politicians - labelled in this research merely as "foreign actor" - and media representatives were also placed at the top of EDH's preferences. These six types of source affiliation represented 86.4% of all the sources displayed in EDH during the 16 days of our sampling period. The other six affiliation groups (citizens, lobbyist, experts, advocate groups, others, and unnamed sources) received minimal attention: 13.6%. In synthesis, EDH highlighted the appearance of partisan sources - ARENA's sources in a higher degree - bureaucrats, and representative of the institutions

which organized the Election Day. "Advocate groups" such as NGOs, unions, professional organizations, and citizen sources represented a minority.

In contrast, Co Latino's sourcing hierarchies enhanced FMLN's actors and diminishes the intervention of bureaucratic sources. The most common sources in Co Latino were the ones linked with FMLN's campaign: 24.5%. The second place was occupied by sources from "advocate groups", in which NGOs and unions are included, with 13.8%; and the third, citizen's sources (13.4%). Below these three types of source, we can find "ARENA and allies sources" (12.11%) and Referees (11.9%). Co Latino also discouraged the usage of lobbyist sources - people who speak on behalf of the private sector - (2.9%) and foreign political actors (2.7%).

One possible explanation to understand the preference of EDH for bureaucratic sources and the predilection of Co Latino for civil society sources might be the control of ARENA of the executive branch, the autonomous institutions, the army, the police, and the presidency of the Tribunal Supremo Electoral, the tribunal responsible for the transparency of the Elections. This fact can help us to explain why Co Latino discouraged the use of bureaucratic source, but EDH reinforces them. In other words, my research suggests that partisan favouritism not only intervened in the selection of partisan or openly political sources. Partisan favouritism also influenced the selection of "independent" sources such as NGOs, foreign politicians or citizens. As a preliminary conclusion, we can see how journalists and/or the editorial lines use specific sources as "opportune witnesses" to support specific political views. The repertoire of "opportune witnesses" can be observed by analyzing the most frequent sources by affiliation group. The repertoire includes partisan and non-partisan sources.

Convergences

Media representatives and media institutions were selecting in a similar amount of relevant sources in EDH and Co Latino. 7.0% of EDH sources were media sources and 6.2% in Co Latino. The difference between both newspapers in regards to

media sources was the importance in the hierarchies. In EDH, media sources were placed at 6 of 12 types of sources by affiliation group. In Co Latino, they were placed at 7.

In both newspapers, the amount of unnamed sources - anonymous sources without any partisan identification - and "other type of sources" - sources which could not be placed in one of the group affiliations - were minimal: 1.2 % in EDH and 1.6% in Co Latino.

5.5. By affiliation group, which source was usually placed in the highest prominence positions?

			In the headline, abstract, first paragraph and second paragraph	Between third paragraph and fifth (included fifth)	Below paragraph five	Total
EDH	FMLN or allies	Count	32	22	31	85
		% within affil.	37.6%	25.9%	36.5%	100.0%
	ARENA or allies	Count	29	32	35	96
		% within affil.	30.2%	33.3%	36.5%	100.0%
	Referees	Count	23	17	26	66
		% within affil.	34.8%	25.8%	39.4%	100.0%
	Foreign politicians	Count	19	5	12	36
		% within affil.	52.8%	13.9%	33.3%	100.0%
	Media	Count	3	11	15	29
		% within affil.	10.3%	37.9%	51.7%	100.0%
	Citizens	Count	4	6	6	16
		% within affil.	25.0%	37.5%	37.5%	100.0%
	Experts	Count	3	3	6	12
		% within affil.	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Advocate groups	Count	4	1	3	8
		% within affil.	50.0%	12.5%	37.5%	100.0%
	Lobbyists	Count	9	3	4	16
		% within affil.	56.3%	18.8%	25.0%	100.0%
	Bureaucrats	Count	15	17	15	47
		% within affil.	31.9%	36.2%	31.9%	100.0%
	Unnamed source	Count		1		1
		% within affil.	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Others	Count	2	1	1	4

			In the headline, abstract, first paragraph and second paragraph	Between third paragraph and fifth (included fifth)	Below paragraph five	Total
		% within affil.	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	143	119	154	416
		% within affil.	34.4%	28.6%	37.0%	100.0%

1.4 Table. *Table of EDH's source in comparison with prominence. position.*

			In the headline, abstract, first paragraph and second paragraph	Between third paragraph and fifth (included fifth)	Below paragraph five	Total
Co Latino	FMLN or allies	Count	36	34	56	126
		% within affil.	28.6%	27.0%	44.4%	100.0%
	ARENA or allies	Count	11	13	38	62
		% within affil.	17.7%	21.0%	61.3%	100.0%
	Referees	Count	10	16	35	61
		% within affil.	16.4%	26.2%	57.4%	100.0%
	Foreign politicians	Count	6	2	6	14
		% within affil.	42.9%	14.3%	42.9%	100.0%
	Media	Count	8	8	16	32
		% within affil.	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Citizens	Count	10	18	41	69
		% within affil.	14.5%	26.1%	59.4%	100.0%
	Experts	Count	5	3	11	19
		% within affil.	26.3%	15.8%	57.9%	100.0%
	Advocate groups	Count	22	18	31	71
		% within affil.	31.0%	25.4%	43.7%	100.0%
	Lobbyists	Count	5	5	5	15
		% within affil.	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Bureaucrats	Count	7	11	19	37
		% within affil.	18.9%	29.7%	51.4%	100.0%
	Unnamed source	Count	2	1	2	5
		% within affil.	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Others	Count			3	3
		% within affil.	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	122	129	263	514
		% within affil.	23.7%	25.1%	51.2%	100.0%

1.5 Table. *Table of Co Latino's source in comparison with prominence.*

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General Information

To analyse the prominence of a source in a story, I code in which paragraph the source was quoted or cited for the first time. The sources with highest prominence are those placed in the headline, abstract or in the first two paragraphs of the news piece. I coded indicators of middle prominence (a source placed between the third and fifth paragraph with the fifth) and the lowest prominence indicator (a source place below the paragraph number five).

Nevertheless, I use the data of the highest prominence as the main indicator in the comparison. If a source is usually placed in the high prominence position (in the headline, abstract or in the first two paragraphs), it should mean that editorial lines or the journalists provide systematically more visibility. In contrast, if a source usually appears in places other than high prominence positions, it signifies that editorial lines or the journalist values the source as not relevant enough in the tailoring of their news.

Because of the rich outcomes of this research, I limit my study to comparing the patterns of prominence of partisan sources ("FMLN and allies" or "ARENA and allies"), and five other sources which played an important role in the agenda hierarchies of the outlets: referees, advocate groups, bureaucrats, and citizens (highlighted in yellow in graphics 1.6 and 1.7). I did not include another six sources because they report low frequency rates.

The prominence of sources can be operationalized with the following question: when a source is quoted or cited for the first time, in which paragraph is it usually placed?

Before I interpret the data, I acknowledge that comparing the prominence of sources can underestimate or overestimate the importance of frequency. To make the interpretation transparent, I have decided to show the results in both newspapers.

Divergences

In EDH, we discover one finding which contrasts with previous coverage patterns: the right-wing newspaper places more frequently "FMLN and other allies" sources in higher prominence positions than "ARENA and allies" sources. EDH allocates 37% of FMLN sources in the first part of the news pieces, while ARENA's sources, only receive 30%. Co Latino follows the same trend but with a wider gap between the two parties: 28.6% of FMLN's sources were placed in higher prominence positions, in comparison with 17.7% of ARENA's.

A second divergence is the prominence of referees' sources in both newspapers. EDH places 34.8% of referees' sources in high prominence positions, in contrast with 16.4% of Co Latino. The bureaucrats also revealed different treatment in both newspapers: the right-wing newspaper favours with high prominence positions 31.9% of the bureaucrats, while in Co Latino, only 18.9% of the bureaucratic sources were placed in the higher level of prominence of the news pieces.

Three divergences should be understood with caution. They are the patterns of prominence of citizens, foreign actors and advocate groups. In EDH, 25% of citizens' voices were high prominence, and, in Co Latino, the same type of source reported 14.5%. Nevertheless, in Co Latino the frequency of citizens' sources is considerably higher than EDH. The right-wing newspaper used a total of 16 citizens' source in its coverage and Co Latino, 64. The second caution should be made in the interpretation of advocate groups' sources. EDH shows a higher percentage of advocate groups' representatives in high prominence positions (50%) than the left-wing newspaper (31%), but the number of sources between both newspapers is unequal. Co Latino used 71 advocate group's sources and EDH only 8 sources.

The third caution is in regards to foreign politicians. In EDH, 52.8% of foreign actors were placed in higher prominence positions and in Co Latino 42.9%. Here,

the frequency EDH is more relevant than in Co Latino. The right-wing newspapers report 36 foreign politicians in its coverage, and Co Latino only 14.

Regarding my results, I state that the indicators of sources' prominence should be refined in order to decrease the potential misleading of results. After summarizing three cases, I acknowledge that my interpretation of sourcing patterns is based on the study of frequencies. The rich and vast amount of data in the frequency indicators prevents a simple case from distorting the real patterns of the coverage. For example, in sources' prominence indicators, a source used only twice can be more prominent than one coded 100 times. The risk can be easily explained: the sources coded twice can be placed a 100% of the times in a higher prominence position, while the source coded 100 times can report only a 50%. Nevertheless, in journalistic coverage, a source coded 100 times is much more important than a source coded twice, because we attempt to find patterns.

To prevent any misleading in the analysis of prominence, I have decided to utilize a methodology to study the prominence in 58 types of sources role. I have created a ranking of the 10 more frequent sources in both newspapers, and, to these sources, I have applied the analysis of prominence.

5.6 What sources' role was more frequently used?
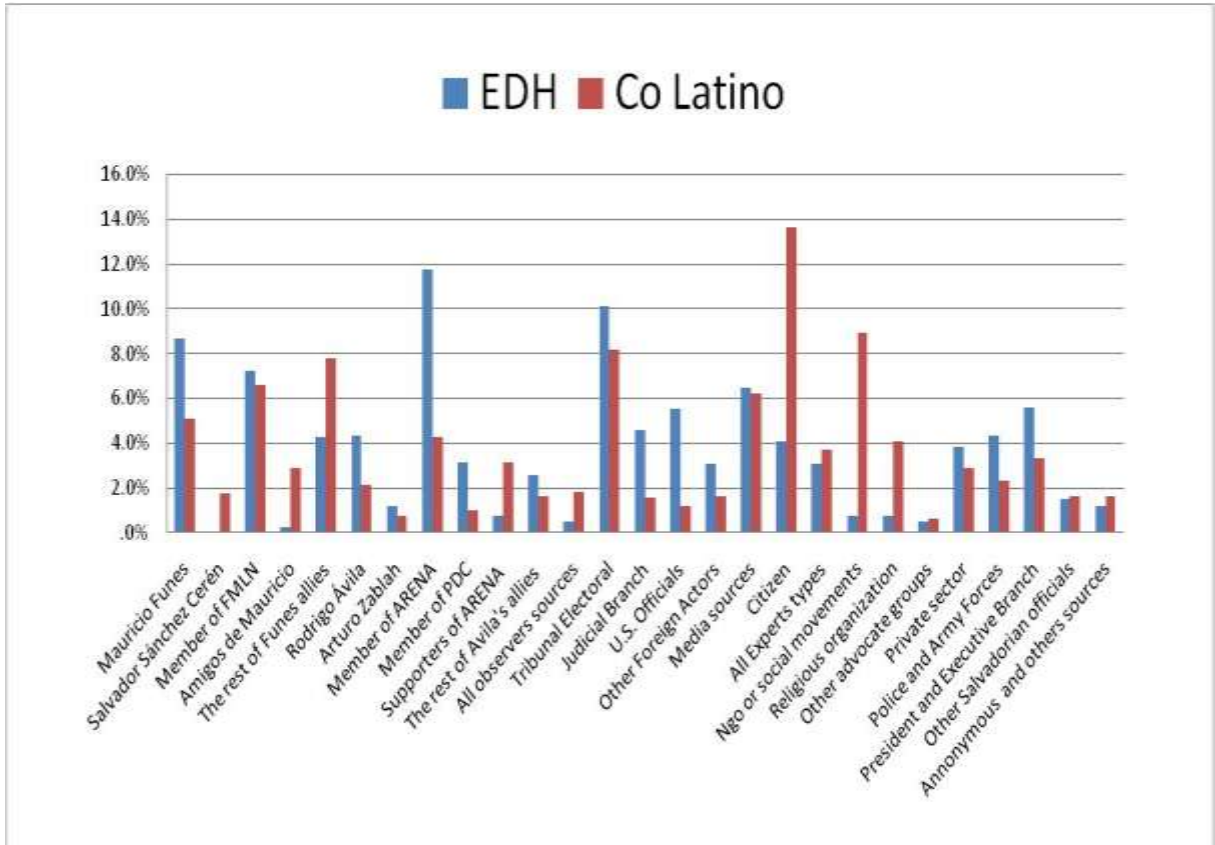
1.6 Graphic. *Frequency of source roles. Because of the percentage of the frequency, some source roles were clustered in groups.*

General Information

In this thesis, sources' role means one of the 58 categories in which every source was coded. As we saw before, these 58 source roles have been clustered into 12 broad groups called "affiliation groups".
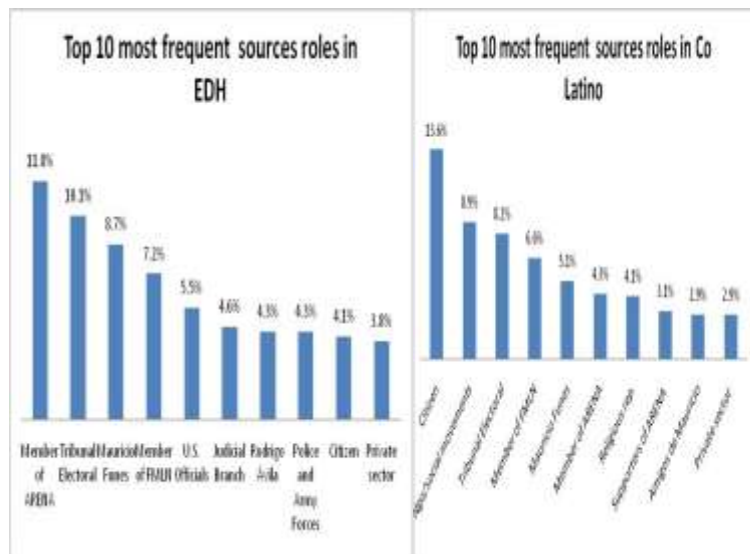
1.7 Graphic. *Top 10 sources utilized in both newspapers.*

If in the affiliation groups I clustered the source in broad categories, in my analysis of "source role" I attempt to find the frequency and prominence of individual sources. Because the number of sources is high, I construct a top 10 of the most frequently sources and, from this list, I analyze the prominence of sources' roles in every newspaper.

To code the prominence of every source, I utilized the same methodology of the analysis of prominence of sources by group affiliation: three categories which measure how high a source was placed in its first quotation or citation. In this subsection we explain the divergences and convergences in the frequency. The analysis of the prominence will come later.

From the 58 posible sources categories, 51 were coded at least once. The top 10 of the most used sources by role represented 64% of the sources in EDH, and 60% in Co Latino.

Divergences

The patterns of selection of individual sources reproduced the sources hierarchies of the analysis of the group affiliation. In EDH, sources directly linked with ARENA (not included the allies) were used 11.8%, in contrast with FMLN sources (not included allies), 7.2%. In Co Latino, the tendency was the inverse: FMLN's representative 6.6% and ARENA's 4.3%.

Divergences between Co Latino and EDH emerge when we compare the sources which are contemplated in one of the top 10 and absent in the other. In EDH, there are four types of sources which are not present in Co Latino's top 10: US political sources (5.5%), sources from the judicial branch (4.6%), Rodrigo Avila (4.3%), and police and military sources (4.3%). Avila receives limited coverage in the left-wing newspaper.

In Co Latino, three sources were exclusive to its top 10: NGO sources (8.9%), religious representatives (4.1%), and Amigos de Mauricio (2.9%). In the left-wing

newspapers, the most common source role is the citizens' sources (13.6%), a trend which contrasts with the coverage of the righ-wing outlet: only 4.1% of the sources of EDH were citizens' voices.

Convergences

Though one of the most important findings of my research is the description of two diferent hierarchies of sources, there are two relevant convergences between both hierarchies. The most relevant convergence is the finding that FMLN's presidential candidate, Mauricio Funes, was highly perceived by both newspapers as source of information. In EDH, Funes represented 8.7% of the sources, and, in Co Latino, 5.1%. The relevance of Funes contrasts with the weak presence of ARENA's presidential contender, Rodrigo Avila. In EDH, Avila represented 4.3%. Nevertheless, Avila was shadowed by ARENA's other sources, which were 7.2% of the sources. In Co Latino, Avila doesn't even belong to the top 10 sources.

For reasons this research can not respond to, Funes was more attractive to be selected as a source and had more chance to express his message than Avila. It does not mean that the stories in which Funes was portrayed were friendly toward FMLN, but at least, he had more possibilities to be chosen by newspapers and, as I will demonstrate later, to be placed in positions of high prominence in the news pieces.

Other convergence was that both newspapers placed the private sector sources in position 10 of their ranking. It suggests that the influence of this type of source was not overwhelming in the coverage. In EDH, private sector sources represented 3.8% of total sources, in a very closed position in regards to the percentage of times Avila was used.

5.7. By source roles, which individual source was usually placed in highest prominence positions?
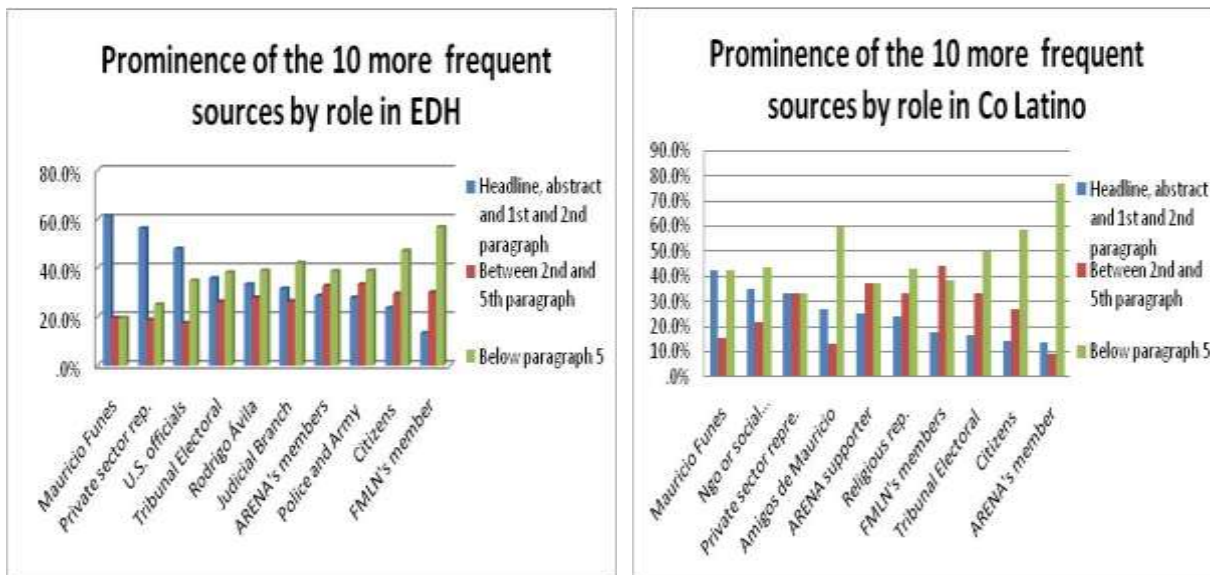
1.8 Graphic. Source prominence in EDH and Co Latino.

Using the data of high prominence as the main indicator for comparing the coverage of both newspapers, we can say that Mauricio Funes, FMLN's presidential candidate, was the source with highest prominence in EDH and Co Latino. 60% in EDH and 40% of Funes' appearances in Co Latino were placed in the headline, abstract or in the first two paragraphs of the news. The words of Funes were commonly placed in the highest prominence positions. The left-wing nominee was not the most frequent source, but his words were highly valued by both newspapers, especially in EDH. In the right-wing newspaper, Avila, ARENA's candidate, received more mention at the bottom of the news piece than in the middle or on top.

In EDH, three types of source roles receive higher prominence positions than middle or low prominence positions: Funes, private sector representatives and representatives of the U.S. government. Sources of the Tribunal Supremo Electoral receive almost as high prominence positions as middle and low prominent positions. The other six were placed mainly in low prominent places.

In Co Latino, only Funes received much higher prominence as low prominence positions. The rest of the 10 source roles more commonly received low prominence positions.

6. CONCLUSION

This work attempted to find out how Co Latino and EDH covered the last Salvadorian presidential campaign of March 2009. From the results of our research, we can describe two types of processes: divergences patterns and commonalities. In the divergences, we have analyzed the particular style of each newspaper in the placement of news, the usage of tone and in the sourcing patterns. Divergences can reveal how a specific partisan favouritism creates a particular way of tailoring journalism than differentiating one medium from another.

On the other hand, commonalities could lead us to argue that, beyond the differences in the political alignment, there are patterns which suggest the existence of shared values and practices between the two extremist newspapers. In this chapter, I start describing the divergences and commonalities between both newspapers and, later, I state the reasons that could be behind the similarities.

6.1 Divergences

The partisan favouritism of each newspaper heavily influences the distribution of space dedicated to exclusive ARENA or FMLN sources. In other words, the left and right differences in the media seem to be a very good predictor of the space a newspaper allocates to its preferred party. Co Latino provides more space to "only FMLN sources" stories than "ARENA's only" news pieces and, EDH favours "only ARENA sources" over "FMLN's only" articles. We can partially demonstrate the existence of a "coverage bias", which measures if two parties receive the same amount of space in coverage in the newspapers: outlets are more likely to provide more space to their favourite party than the antagonist (D´alessio & Allen 2000 p. 133). Nevertheless, the theory of "coverage bias" is partially applied here. This theory does not consider a phenomenon we found in this research: 42% of the stories in EDH and 35.9 % in Co Latino present neither ARENA, nor FMLN sources. In another percentage of the articles (13.5% in EDH and 9.7% in Co Latino), both political parties sources were found. Therefore, partisan favouritism in the

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distribution of space is only present in half of the coverage. In the other half, the coverage bias seems to be more subtle.

In the usage of tone, partisan favouritism was also blatant, but in a very limited part of the stories. Co Latino uses more negative tones toward ARENA, and EDH negatively depicts FMLN. However, the majority of the news pieces did not present explicit evaluation toward the parties. Here we can find a new contradictory pattern of coverage: there is a clear partisan favouritism, but this is expressed only in a minor proportion of stories.

The findings in the distribution of space and in the tone lead us to the following conclusion: partisan favouritism does not affect always the totality or the majority of the journalistic content. Partisan favouritism can affect a very limited part of the coverage, but the consistency highlighting certain aspects of the information reveals the bias.

In the sourcing hierarchies, both newspapers show important differences. Grouping the sources in 12 broad categories (affiliation), Co Latino tended to use FMLN's actors more extensively, advocate groups' representatives and citizens' voices. EDH favoured ARENA's and FMLN's politician's and other sources connected to the government executive branch (bureaucrats). The EDH's higher appreciation of bureaucrats seems logical if we take into account that ARENA controlled the executive branch and other institutions during the campaign.

After disaggregating the 12 broad categories (affiliation sources), we have analyzed the sources individually in 58 types of sources. We gave each of these 58 categories source roles. This perspective allowed us to examine the behaviour of specific political actors. We can conclude that Co Latino tended to favour the participation of sources with no explicit relationship with the government. That's why Co Latino's favourite source roles were citizen voices and non-governmental organizations. Confirming the same trend of the affiliation, EDH preferred more

institutionalized sources such as ARENA's politicians, bureaucrats, and sources related to the Supreme Electoral Jury (TSE in Spanish).

The hierarchies of sources in the newspapers (in the affiliations and in the roles) prove the existence of two different repertoires of opportune witnesses (Hagen 1993, Berkel 2006). EDH is more likely to open their stage to sources related to ARENA, the executive branch and other institutional voices. On the contrary, Co Latino's favourite opportune witnesses are left-wing politicians, NGO representatives and citizens. As a conclusion, the frequency in the usage of specific sources confirms Hagen's theory in which sources belonging to groups who shared the same opinion of the newspapers were used as opportune witnesses to reinforce the newspaper's own opinion. For both newspapers it was opportune to cite more frequently those sources with the same point of the newspaper's editorial line, even though they were not identified with a partisan label.

6.2 Commonalities

We found commonalities between EDH and Co Latino in the usage of tone. Though they differ about the party they endorse, the data reveals a similar pattern in the tailoring of favouritism. The overwhelmed amount of stories with negative tone toward one of the parties, in comparison with the few articles with positive tone stresses that newspapers focus more on attacking the antagonist than endorsing the friendly party. In this case, there was a common pattern in the coverage in EDH and Co Latino. In short, partisan favouritism is expressed mainly in the hostile tone of a newspaper toward a party or candidate, than friendly coverage to an endorsed party.

The indicators of frequency of the source roles and source prominence - how high the first appearance of a source was placed - show that Mauricio Funes, FMLN's candidate, played the most important role in the coverage. In both newspapers, Funes was more frequently used than ARENA's nominee, Rodrigo Ávila. In Co

Latino, Funes was the 5rd most used source in the coverage, while Avila did not occupy a place in the top 10 of most used sources. The situation in favour of the FMLN's nominate was paradoxically replicated in EDH: Funes was the 3rd most used source and Avila 7th. Funes was also the most prominent source in the coverage. In the top 10 of more utilized sources (source roles), the candidate was more likely to appear in the first part of the news (headline, abstract and the first two paragraphs) than any other source. No other individual source (source role) was more prominent than Funes in the coverage. We conclude that in the script of both newspapers, Funes became the most used and prominent presidential candidate. Funes conquered the battle for the attention in comparison with ARENA's nominate. Avila could not exert hegemony, even in EDH.

This thesis cannot provide the accurate reasons why EDH and Co Latino presented striking commonalities in the patterns of coverage. We can only speculate that this might show the traces of common journalistic culture in El Salvador, which goes beyond the editorial lines.

The conclusions of the research must be understood taking into consideration the limitation of the study. We do not provide arguments which can be generalized beyond the 16 days of our sampling period and the newspapers we analyzed. Our conclusions cannot be applied neither to non-electoral coverage or be used as an accurate overview of the journalistic coverage of the whole Salvadorian media landscape. Nevertheless, our methodology can be replicated in other newspapers or print media product, and in electronic media, with some adaptations.

As a final point, this research briefly analyzes the frequency of the gender of sources. The results reveal a strong bias in favour of male sources. From the total of 930 sources, 60.3% were males, 29.2% unspecified sources (organizations, documents or groups) and, only 10.4% females. Further research is needed, but the results suggest that the political discourse during campaigns might be controlled by males, as a reproduction of the masculine hegemony of the Salvadorian political arena.

7. END NOTES

[1] PDF file provided by Edwin Segura, chief of LPG DATOS, the unity of social research of LA PRENSA GRAFICA, 16 January 2009.

[2] MS Excel provided by Edwin Segura, chief of LPG DATOS, the unity of social research of LA PRENSA GRAFICA, 16 January 2009.

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LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF GRAPHS

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APENDIX 1

CODEBOOK STORY

Codebook for STORY level
Part 1

V1: ID of story:

V2: Newspaper
(1) EDH (El Diario de Hoy)
(2) Colatino

V3: Space (How much space a story occupied?)
What is the size of the story?
(1) Up to a ¼ of page,
(2) From ¼ to half page (half page),
(3) From half page to ¾ of page and
(4) From ¾ to full page.
(5) More than a full page

V4: Prominence (Where is the story?):
(1)   Low prominence
(2)   High prominence

<u>V5: Evaluations about FMLN</u>

Did you find an explicit evaluation(s) or opinion (s) made by the journalist about FMLN, Mauricio Funes, Salvador Sánchez Cerén, "Amigos de Mauricio" or other allies to the FMLN

(1)Yes
(2) No

Note: If you answered (1)", you can choose options (1) (2) or (3) in V8..But if your response is (0), you only option is (0).

<u>V6: Evaluations about ARENA</u>

Did you find in this story explicit evaluation(s) or opinion (s) made by the journalist about ARENA, Rodrigo Avila or Arturo Zablah?
(1)Yes
(2) No

Note: : If you answered (1)", you can choose options (1) (2) or (3) in V9..But if your response is (0), you only option is (0).

<u>V7:Type of evaluation (tone) about FMLN</u>
The evaluation(s) or opinion(s) about FMLN in this story were:
(1) only friendly
(2) Mixed tone
(3) Only hostile
(0) Not explicitly tone

<u>V8:Type of evaluation (tone) about ARENA</u>
The evaluation(s) or opinion(s) about ARENA in this story were:
(1) only friendly
(2) Mixed tone
(3) Only hostile
(0) Not explicitly tone

APENDIX 2

<u>Codebook for SOURCE</u>
<u>Part 2</u>

<u>V1: Id of story</u>

<u>V2: ID of source in the story</u>

<u>V3: Name of the newspaper </u>
(1) EDH
(2) Colatino

<u>V4: Prominence of the source:</u>
Where does the source "talks" the first time?

(1) In the headline, abstract, first paragraph and second graph
(2) Between third paragraph and fifth (included fifth)
(3) Below paragraph five

<u>V5: Nature of source</u>
(1) Document
(2) Person
(3) Organization

(75) Other

V6: Sex of source:
What is sex of the source?

(1) Woman
(2) Man
(3) Unspecified (organizations, documents, groups, anonymous)

V7: Type of affiliation: According to the groups of sources mentioned in V.10, to what group does the source belong?

    (1)   Politicians of FMLN or FMLN´s ally
    (2)   Politicians of ARENA or ARENA´s ally
    (3)   Referees
    (4)   Foreign Actors
    (5)   Media
    (6)   Citizens
    (7)   Expert
    (8)   Advocate groups
    (9)   Lobbyist
    (10)   Bureaucrats
    (11)   Anonymous
    (75)   Others

V8: Source role:
Who talks?

1. Politicians FMLN
(1) Mauricio Funes
(2) Salvador Sánchez Cerén
(3) Member of FMLN
(4) Member of CD
(5) Dissidents of FDR supporting Funes
(6) Member Amigos de Mauricio
(7) Political supporter of FMLN or FMLN´s ally
(8) Political party institutionally (FMLN or FMLN ´s ally)
(9) Unnamed source in FMLN or FMLN´s ally
(10) Dissidents of PCN, PDC and ARENA supporting Funes.
(11) Vanda Pignato (First Lady)
(12) New or dead parties' representative supporting Funes
(13) Relative of the FMLN´s candidates (not the First Lady)
(14) Common position with more than one Funes´ allies.

2. Politicians ARENA
(15) Rodrigo Avila
(16) Arturo Zablah
(17) Member of ARENA
(18) Member of PDC
(19) Member of PCN
(20) Member of FDR
(21) Member of Alianza por el Cambio
(22) Dissidents of CD supporting Avila
(23) Political supporter of ARENA or Arena's ally
(24) Political party institutionally (ARENA or Arena's ally)
(25) Unnamed source in ARENA or Arena's ally
(26) Dissidents of CD and FMLN supporting ARENA.
(27)Celina de Ávila (First lady)
(28) New or dead parties representatives supporting Avila
(29)Relative of the ARENA´s candidates (not the First Lady)
(30) Common position with more than one Avila´s allies.

3. Referees
(31) EU observers

(32) International and National observer (not EU)
(33) Tribunal Supremo Electoral representative (TSE) and JVE (unidentifed with political party, only as member of TSE)

(34) Judicial branch

4. Foreign Actors
(35) U.S. Government official
(36) Official of Brazil
(37) Hugo Chavez
(38) Former foreign politicians
(39) Representative of Latin American government (not included OAS observer)
(40) Representative of European countries (not included observers)

5. Media
(41) National media representative or institution
(42) Newspaper itself

6. Citizens
(43) Citizen

7. Experts
(44) Salvadoran Think tank representative
(45) Representative of education institution
(46) Foreign think tank expert (not U.S.)
(47) U.S. think tank expert
(48) Independent Salvadoran analyst or expert

8. Advocate groups
(49) Representative of ngo or social movements
(50) Religious representative
(51) Labour or professional Unions or organizations

9. Lobbyist
(52) Private sector representative

10. Bureaucrats
(53) Antonio Saca
(54) Polices and military
(55) Ministries, autonomous institutions and other governmental institutions
(56) Former Salvadoran officials
(57) Major or local authorities unidentified with a party

11. Anonymous
(58) Anonymous source with no political identification

75. Other
(75) Others