

Estado del arte, qué se ha escrito sobre el tema en revistas en inglés, resumen y traducción

Gender disparities in the media coverage of local electoral campaigns in Mexico (Disparidades de género en la cobertura mediática de campañas electorales locales en México)

FRIDA V. RODELO, Universidad de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, México (frida.rodello@academico.udg.mx)

A full exercise of the right of women to participate in politics and government also implies equality in areas such as media coverage of electoral campaigns. Absence of bias in media attention is important due to the fact that lack of information about female candidates can be disadvantageous for them, since it is more difficult for those who vote to choose an option that they remember less (Kahn, 1994). Faced with this, a question arises: do women receive less media coverage than their male counterparts during electoral campaigns? This article analyzes the volume of media coverage of local electoral campaigns in Mexico during the first implementation of the principle of gender parity in legislative candidates (2015). The historical struggle for gender equality has been aimed at guaranteeing the rights of women not only to live a dignified (in areas such as work, health, education, housing, food) and free of violence life, but also to participate in politics and government. In general, women are still underrepresented in the formal political spaces in the world (Paxton, Kunovich & Hughes, 2007). Empirical evidence supports the relationship between gender and development and the need to include a gender perspective in development and democracy studies to build public policies that contribute to narrowing gender gaps. For example, according to a longitudinal study with data from 123 countries (Wyndow, Li & Mattes, 2013), empowering women (by increasing their schooling and participation in the labor force and lowering the fertility rate) fostered the development of democracy in the world during the 1980-2005 period. Since the 1990s, gender quotas have been established in Latin American countries to ensure women's access to publicly elected positions (Archenti & Tula, 2014; Jones, Alles & Tchintian, 2012). In Mexico, the political reform of 2014 incorporated in article 41 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States the principle of gender parity in the formation of candidacies of federal and local legislators, as a measure to increase the political representation of women in the country's legislatures. This principle forces political parties to posit the same number of men and women candidates.

But, in addition to gender quotas and parity, ensuring the full exercise of women's right to participate in politics and government implies gender equity and non-discrimination in the media coverage of election campaigns. The first reason for this is that differences in media attention would put these candidates at a disadvantage (Kahn, 1994). Secondly, the difference in media attention may invisibilize the political participation of women, so that people judge that women's participation is not important or that women are not interested in politics; and also contributing to the absence of role models for girls and adults. According to Unesco (2012), the media "continue to be one of the main sources of information, ideas and opinion for the majority of the world's people" (p.15) and, therefore, can spread stereotypes and ideas with the potential to improve or worsen social problems: in this case, problems such as misogyny, sexism or discrimination against women and, in general, attitudes that support the persistence of gender gaps in different

areas of social life, such as labor, economy, politics and education. As they are extremely important information vehicles, the media “must reflect the diversity of society” (Unesco, 2012, p.15). From the above, an agenda for media research includes, among other tools, systematically conducting content analysis and media monitoring with a gender perspective (Gallagher, 2014), to account for the status of women’s access to what Vega-Montiel (2010) calls a “right to communication” (which includes freedom of expression and the right to information).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK THE CAUSES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NEWS COVERAGE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS The pioneering study of Kahn (1994) establishes three possible explanations for gender differences in the coverage of election campaigns: (i) stereotypes of media organizations, (ii) news reporting standards in newsrooms and (iii) differences in campaign strategies. We will mention a fourth explanation in literature: the gender of decision makers in media organizations (Shor, Van de Rijt, Miltsov, Kulkarni & Skiena, 2015). These explanations are discussed below.

The first possible explanation –stereotypes within media organizations– can dictate in advance the best areas of competence of male and female candidates according to their gender (Kahn, 1994; Meeks, 2013), relating, for example, men with themes of foreign policy and women with education (Kahn, 1994); or imposing traditional gender roles (Mota & Biroli, 2016). Moreover, media organizations can assume and reproduce certain arguments that oppose the political participation of women. Vega-Montiel (2008) mentions three: the “rooted perception that women are less effective for positions of representation and performance of public functions”; the belief that “society is not prepared to have a female president”; and the conviction that “women must (...) have exceptional abilities to engage in politics” (p.75). The second possible explanation is that media organizations prioritize information that meets the highest standards of news reporting, including novelty and rarity. Thus, in certain contexts, the rarity of female candidates may make them more newsworthy (Kahn, 1994) or influence on how the candidate is described (Meeks, 2013). Third, news coverage may reflect differences between campaign strategies of male and female candidates (Kahn, 1994). Likewise, gender differences in issues such as campaign financing (Speck & Mancuso, 2014), recruitment and training of cadres (Beer & Camp, 2016), internal selection of candidates (Vidal Correa, 2013) –particularly the allocation of nominations in “lost districts” (Palma Cabrera & Cerva Cerna, 2014)–, partisan symbolic support (Cerva Cerna, 2014), among others, influence the effectiveness of campaigns and, therefore, can also translate into differences in media attention. The fourth possible explanation places the reason for gender differences in media coverage on the gender of media workers, especially decision makers, such as media owners and directors (Shor et al., 2015). According to Mexico’s Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres [National Institute of Women] (2005, p. 14), executive positions (CEOs, presidents, vicepresidents, seats in councils, etc.) in Mexican radio stations are occupied by women in only 12% of cases. For television stations, this same statistic is reduced to 5%. In addition, despite the fact that about 60% of those who study journalism in Mexico are women, labor access to media organizations does not correspond proportionally with this trend, as women are 16.3% of the written press journalists in the Federal District and 24.2% of journalists in the other Mexican states (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, 2005, p. 13). A similar situation prevails outside the media sector (Zabludovsky, 2015). In a study on the explanatory role of this variable, Meeks (2013) found the following differences in the way men and women journalists covered candidates in the United States: women who covered Senate elections emphasized more than their peers the

feminized qualities and issues; men who covered state and presidential elections emphasized masculinized contents more than their comrades.

Meeks' (2013) interpretation of this data is that journalists, both men and women (possibly unconsciously), support the "genderization" (i.e., gender-based allocation) of popularly elected positions (p. 68). GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE VOLUME OF COVERAGE DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS Gender differences in media coverage of election campaigns can be of different types. Atkeson and Krebb (2008) have distinguished four main approaches in the literature on this topic: (i) the volume of coverage, (ii) the viability of the candidates, (iii) the candidates' issues, and (iv) the qualities of candidates. Since this study focuses on the first of these approaches, the following literature review will mainly comment on evidence referring to biases in volume of media coverage. According to the literature review by Shor et al. (2015), the evidence indicates that despite greater participation of women in various spheres of social life, a very large gender gap remains in the proportion of news coverage, to the extent that these authors speak of a "paper ceiling", since the studies they reviewed "typically find that women's names constitute about a quarter of the total mentions [of actors]" (p.962). Shor et al. (2015) have proposed that "inequalities in media coverage often reflect societal realities and everyday societal inequalities" (p. 964). In a similar

vein, Baitinger (2015), after finding that fewer women than men appear as guests in talk shows, mentions that "these gender differences can be explained, for the most part, by women's underrepresentation in the political professions from which guests are selected" rather than by sexism in the media (p. 587). Focusing specifically on news coverage of political campaigns in the United States, Kahn (1994) found gender differences in coverage by monitoring 47 campaigns for Senate and governorships between 1982 and 1988. The differences were: (i) lower volume of coverage of female candidates to Senate compared to male counterparts, and (ii) more negative female candidate coverage compared to their male counterparts. In the gubernatorial campaigns, the author did not registered differences in volume of coverage. In a later analysis, referring to the coverage of the senatorial campaigns and the U.S. gubernatorial campaigns of 1994, Smith (1997) obtained results different from those of Kahn. On this occasion, the author performed two regression analyzes to predict coverage volumes, the first with data on men's coverage, and the second with women's data. One of his findings is that the fact that a female candidate competes for governor contributed an additional 5.65 square inches per day of coverage (possibly because of the novelty factor), whereas it was not a significant factor for male candidates. Smith's conclusion was that there is "little evidence of gender-based patterns of coverage in 1994 senatorial and gubernatorial contests [in the United States], at least in terms of quantity" (p.76). According to Smith, the difference between his results and those of Kahn (1994) is explained by the fact that in the 1990s the United States experienced an era of greater awareness of the role of women in politics (1992 had been proclaimed the "year of the woman"). Other studies report similar results: Atkeson and Krebb (2008) also found no differences in volume in the U.S. municipal elections, nor Devitt (2002) in gubernatorial elections —also in the United States. By contrast, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001) found evidence of greater coverage for female

candidates in gubernatorial and senatorial elections in the United States in 2000; likewise, Meeks (2012) also recorded greater media coverage of female candidates in four selected cases of women-versus-men races won by women in the United States. Campaign studies in Israel also show coverage with “quantitative gender parity” (Lachover, 2015, p.3), that is, absence of gender differences in media attention.

Outside the United States, there have been fewer studies on gender differences in the volume of media coverage. One of these is Hooghe, Jacobs and Claes (2015), concerning the television coverage volumes of members of the Belgian Parliament. The conclusions of these authors were that “news media continue to have a biased treatment of male and female MPs [members of parliament]” (p.407). In addition, having a longitudinal sample allowed them to reject the notion that the increase of women in positions of power will increase also their media coverage. This is because, among other reasons, this differential treatment is particularly detrimental to women who occupy the most important positions, such as being party president, being a minister, presiding over the House or leading the parliamentary group (Hooghe et al., 2015). In another study, Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013) observed gender biases in their analysis of the coverage of Romanian representatives’ elections to the 2009 European Parliament: female candidates appeared more in tabloids; male candidates appeared more in broadsheet newspapers. Likewise, more trivialization and a greater number of gender issues were observed in the coverage of female candidates than in the coverage of male candidates. Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears and Wadia (2013) obtained a similar result in their analysis of coverage of the 2010 United Kingdom general elections, as women were less mentioned in the news stories than men, but appeared more often in articles focused specifically on gender issues. Studies of differences in coverage during campaigns usually consider within the analysis factors that, coupled with gender, may also explain the differences in media coverage of candidates. In the case of Kahn (1994), these factors were the competitiveness of the election¹, the candidate’s incumbent or challenger status, or being in an “open race”². Smith (1997) took into account, in addition to the previously mentioned factors, the gender of the writer of the news story, and presence of newspaper’s endorsement for the candidate, among other variables.

CUADERNOS.INFO Nº 39 / DECEMBER 2016 / ISSN 0719-3661 / E-Version: www.cuadernos.info / ISSN 0719-367x

Resumen

Un ejercicio pleno del derecho de las mujeres a participar en la política implica también una cobertura mediática no discriminatoria de las campañas electorales. Para determinar si hubo diferencias de género en el volumen de cobertura de las primeras campañas en que se aplica el principio de paridad de género en México, se analizaron datos provenientes de las campañas locales de Jalisco. Se encontró que los hombres obtuvieron medias de porcentaje de notas significativamente superiores a la de sus contrapartes mujeres, especialmente cuando se compararon los volúmenes de cobertura de candidaturas postuladas por partidos gobernantes (incumbents) y por partidos grandes.

BEYOND HEARTH AND HOME: FEMALE LEGISLATORS, FEMINIST POLICY CHANGE, AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION IN MEXICO (Más allá del hogar: Las legisladoras, el cambio feminista en las políticas y la representación sustantiva en México)

Jennifer M. Piscopo

The dramatic increase in women's numerical presence in legislatures across Latin America raises the possibility that qualitative improvements in policy and governance will follow. These expectations are grounded in normative discourses that see women –by virtue of their different social positions and roles– as introducing new perspectives to policy debates: the more diverse the legislative body, the more responsive and inclusive the decisions. In the words of Argentine activists who supported the electoral quota law that compelled parties to nominate women, “With few women in politics, women change, but with many women in politics, politics changes” (Marx, Borner, and Caminotti 2007:61). For scholars of gender and politics, this connection is studied as the link between women's descriptive representation (that is, women's numbers in legislative office) and women's substantive representation (that is, women's policy interests). Researchers have explored whether Latin American female legislators are more likely than male legislators to support policies related to women's interests, conceived as women's rights policies or social policies such as education and health. Generally, findings have been positive: female legislators do change politics by supporting equal rights legislation and social welfare policies (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Miguel 2012; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Yet none of these studies have included the Mexican case, despite a highly successful electoral quota law that has raised women's descriptive representation to over 30 percent. This study offers the first quantitative assessment of the descriptive-substantive connection in the Mexican Congress. The Mexican case also provides an opportunity to answer some outstanding theoretical and methodological questions. First, how can scholars parse the causal effects of gender identity versus party membership? Scholars have debated whether women's policy preferences can be attributed to their sex or to their adherence to party platforms (Htun and Powers 2006; Piscopo 2011a). In the case of Mexico, two of the major three parties have staked clear, consistent ideological positions: the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) on the right, advocating economic neoliberalism and social conservatism, and the Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD) on the left, advocating state-led social welfare regimes that benefit the working class and other marginalized groups. Looking at substantive representation within the Mexican political parties offers an opportunity to explore whether rightist women (female panistas) still stake out progressive positions on women's issues. Second, and related, how can scholars measure women's substantive representation without neglecting the diversity of identities and preferences within women as a group? Celis and Childs (2012) have asked what scholars of women's substantive

representation should “do” with conservative women. At is, the standard conceptualization and operationalization of women’s interests has examined feminist policy change, ignoring instances wherein female legislators support policies that restrict women’s rights or protect male privilege. Yet under a strict definition of women’s substantive representation –that women’s interests are advocated for in policy debates– there appears no reason to exclude, *ex ante*, conservative visions.

After all, as a female panista commented in an interview, women who identify as housewives have interests in economic policies that support women’s domestic –as opposed to formal sector– work.¹ This paper thus takes a “values-neutral” approach to substantive representation, comparing female legislators who represent feminist policy change (proposals that would advance women’s rights and roles beyond those associated with hearth and home) to female legislators who represent non-feminist policy change (policies that shape women’s rights and roles in relation to hearth and home). In addition, can male legislators substantively represent women? The causal factor linking descriptive representation to substantive representation is legislators’ gender identity. Consequently, male legislators are not typically theorized as advocates for women’s interests. Yet this theoretical formulation confronts an empirical reality: male legislators may represent women less than female legislators, but they do not neglect women’s interests all of the time (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Piscopo 2011a; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). When, then, are men considered women’s interests advocates? This paper explores this question by attending more carefully to the frequencies of men’s and women’s advocacy of feminist versus nonfeminist policy proposals, as well as proposals related to child wellbeing. This paper thus uses the Mexican case to address outstanding questions about which legislators undertake substantive representation and which policies count as substantive representation. I ask the following research questions: Does women’s descriptive representation enhance women’s substantive representation? Does gender identity (as proxied by sex) or party ideology best explain legislators’ policy preferences on women’s interests? Finally, how much evidence exists for substantive representation that is non-feminist and/or undertaken by men, and what are the theoretical implications of these trends? I focus on substantive representation as process, which Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) conceptualize as alterations to the legislative agenda (as opposed to substantive representation as outcome, which consists of policy change). I operationalize substantive representation as bill introduction, using quantitative data from the Mexican Chamber of Deputies between 1997 and 2012. I supplement the statistical analysis with qualitative data from fifteen elite interviews conducted with female legislators from Mexico’s three largest parties in December 2009. At the time, interviewees were current members of the Chamber of Deputies or Senate, or had served at least one term in either chamber between 1997 and 2009.² Consistent with other studies from Latin America, I find that electing women indeed adds women’s interests to the legislative agenda. While right parties are less likely to represent women overall, female deputies from the right and left are more likely than their male colleagues to represent women’s interests. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of substantive representation is feminist. Related, my coding scheme for women’s interests shows that researchers must untangle the complicated nexus between women, hearth, and home. When feminist proposals are separated from non-feminist proposals, and non-feminist proposals are divided between women, on the one hand, and children, on the other, significant differences between male legislators’ and female legislators’ bill introduction emerge. Male legislators, particularly those on the left, do propose some feminist bills, but many male legislators abandon an explicit focus on women in favor of an explicit focus on children, is

abandonment being most notable among men on the right side suggests that previous studies, which have not divided women's interests in this way, may have over-estimated the participation of male legislators in feminist substantive representation at is, when a single "women's interest" measure includes proposals addressing women and children, divergences in female legislators' and male legislators' approaches to substantive representation are overlooked. I build this argument as follows.

First, I present background data on women's descriptive representation and legislative politics in Mexico. Second, I analyze overall trends in women's substantive representation, followed by an examination of the bills' content –that is, whether substantive representation means the advocacy of feminist proposals, non-feminist proposals, or proposals focused on children. I conclude that female legislators are largely responsible for placing feminist women's interests on the agenda.

*Data was first analyzed as part of author's Ph.D. Dissertation, "Do Women Represent Women? Gender and Policy in Argentina and Mexico" (2011), University of California, San Diego. ** Assistant Professor of Politics, Department of Politics, Occidental College, Los Angeles; piscopo@oxy.edu.*

Resumen:

Este artículo utiliza el caso mexicano para explorar temas pendientes en la conexión entre la representación descriptiva de las mujeres (es decir, la presencia numérica de las mujeres en la legislatura) y la representación sustantiva de las mujeres (es decir, las políticas que responden a los intereses de las mujeres). De acuerdo con trabajos previos sobre América Latina, encuentro que la elección de mujeres hace que la agenda legislativa sea más diversa, y también que las legisladoras –más que los legisladores– presenten propuestas que se sustentan en perspectivas feministas sobre los derechos y roles de las mujeres. Estas tendencias se mantienen a través de todos los partidos políticos mexicanos que se organizan ideológicamente, indicando que las activistas feministas deben preocuparse por que se elijan representantes de izquierda y mujeres. Es decir, las mujeres de derecha son aun más progresistas que los hombres de derecha. Para concluir, planteo la necesidad de desentrañar la relación entre las mujeres y el hogar y de eliminar la fusión de "intereses de las mujeres" con la niñez.

INTERACTION BETWEEN GENOTYPE AND GEOGRAPHIC REGION FOR MILK PRODUCTION IN MEXICAN HOLSTEIN CATTLE

Genotype x environment interaction (GEI) results from the lack of adaptation of regions for Holstein cattle in Mexico. Differentiation of environments in Mexico and other countries with tropical and subtropical regions is important, because Holstein herds and production level could be influenced for the environment in different magnitude. Therefore, this type of studies may give some indication of what could happen when selection is performed under several environmental conditions. The objective of this study was to investigate the presence of genotype- geographical region interactions for milk production in Holstein cattle in Mexico. MATERIAL AND METHODS Data were obtained from the milk recording system of the Mexican Holstein Association. First lactation 305-day mature equivalent records were used. Data were edited by discarding records

without lactation number, with less than 18 months of age at first calving, and with codes indicating lactations initiated with abortion, or terminated by sale, illness or lesions, or cows with less than 1500 kg of total milk production. Data from herds with less than 10 records, were also discarded. Records were classified by location of herd as Northern, Central and Southern regions.

Northern region included the arid states of Baja California Norte, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Coahuila and Durango; the Central region involve mostly arid and temperate states of Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, and the Southern region included the temperate and subtropical states of Mexico, Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Puebla and Veracruz. Dominant climatic classification according to the modified Köppen system, average temperature and annual rainfall are presented for each region in table I.

Climates, temperatures and rainfall varied considerably within regions and states. To obtain the average values for temperature and rainfall given in table I, climate prevailing in the area where herds were located in each state was considered. Northern region presented the most extreme temperatures, and Southern region was the one with highest rainfall. Genetic correlations for milk production (r_g) were estimated using records of daughters of sires distributed in several regions, considering only sires with at least 5 daughters in two regions for bivariate analysis (Garrick and Van Vleck, 1987). Numbers of records analyzed are shown in table II. Two seasons were defined trying to get a minimum of 10 observations in the combination herd-year-season of calving effects and to have seasons with different average temperature and precipitation effects; season 1 from June to November (warm and rainy); and season 2 from December to May (dry and cold). Three bivariate animal models were used to estimate the components of (co)variance. Restricted Maximum Likelihood (REML) method and the MTDFREML program (Boldman et al., 1995) were used. Several studies have reported (co)variance estimates from REML-animal model analyses in dairy cattle (Cienfuegos et al., 1999; Dedková and Wolf, 2001; Zwald et al., 2003; Valencia et al., 2004), due to their convenient properties of maintaining estimates within the parametric space taking into account selection bias when complete pedigree is used (Henderson, 1984). variances and covariances in this type of studies (e.g. Cienfuegos et al., 1999), assuming that the environments for the daughters of each bull were independent, therefore, residual covariance was set to 0. All additive genetic relationships were considered through the numerator additive relationship matrix A with complete pedigree information of each animal and records for several generations. To estimate the (co)variance components, convergence was assumed when the change in $-2 \log$ likelihood (L) was equal to or smaller than 10^{-6} . If the model converged to similar values for genetic correlations, using at least three restarts with different initial sets of values for the variances and covariances, a global maximum was assumed to be found (Boldman et al., 1995). test if the genetic correlation between two regions was less than one (Robert et al., 1995). Values of L were obtained for two models; in the first model (1) all variances were estimated, while in the second (2), L was obtained restricting r_g to be equal to one.

Instituto de Ciencias Agrícolas. Universidad de Guanajuato. ExHacienda El Copal. AP311. Irapuato, 36500, Guanajuato. México. posadas@dulcinea.ugto.mx 2 Facultad de Medicina Veterinaria y Zootecnia. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Ciudad Universitaria. 04510 Coyoacán. D.F. México. montaldo@servidor.unam.mx 3 Centro Nacional de Investigación en Fisiología Animal. INIFAP-SAGARPA. México. Km 1 carretera a Colón. Ajuchitlán 76280. Querétaro. México. ruiz.felipe@inifap.gob.mx

Resumen

Se utilizaron registros de primera lactancia corregidos a 305 días y equivalente de madurez, para investigar la presencia de interacciones genotipo-regiones para producción de leche en Ganado Holstein en México. Los registros fueron clasificados en tres regiones del país: Norte, Centro y Sur. Las correlaciones genéticas (r_g) fueron estimadas por pares de regiones, usando modelos animales bivariados. Sólo se utilizaron registros de sementales con hijas en dos regiones en cada análisis. Los modelos incluyeron hato-añoestación de parto como efecto fijo, y el efecto de animal como aleatorio. Las r_g entre Norte-Centro, Norte-Sur y regiones Centro-Sur fueron de 0,73, 0,38 y 0,93, respectivamente. La r_g entre Norte-Sur fue significativamente menor que la unidad ($p=0,002$), mientras que la r_g entre Norte-Centro tuvo una probabilidad cercana al límite de significancia ($p=0,07$). Estos resultados indican la presencia de una interacción genotipo-ambiente, los cuales pueden tener diversas repercusiones para el mejoramiento genético del ganado Holstein en México. Se requieren estudios adicionales orientados a la identificación de factores ambientales específicos relacionados a estas interacciones

Modernizing Schools in Mexico: The Rise of Teacher Assessment and School-based Management Policies

After the Revolution (1910-1917), Mexico's development model was based on state centered economy that has been accounted for the 'Mexican Miracle'. Hence, from 1940 to 1970, Mexico's gross domestic product grew at a steady rate of 6% (Buffie, 1990, p. 398; Cárdenas & Castañeda, 1994). By then, education policy focused on expanding access to education, especially to basic level, and simultaneously, on increasing the education levels in order to support the economic development of the country. However, after 1980, the nature of Mexico's development model changed towards a model of economic "modernization" that essentially meant opening the country's economy towards liberalization, and regional integration. Accordingly, the state's functions were reduced and decentralized, state-owned industries and infrastructure were sold to the private sector, and market liberalization was hugely promoted (Cabrera, 2015; Cejudo 2003; Villareal, 2000). It was no different for education and simultaneously, the Mexican state began the "modernization" of the Mexican Education System (SEM). In this paper we aim to analyze a series of education policies implemented during this modernization period as Mexico joined the Global Education Reform Movement (Hargreaves, Earl, Moore & Manning, 2001; Sahlberg, 2011) up to these days. Our objective is to outline the evolution of the teacher assessment policy through Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) initiatives and the origins of school-based management (SBM) policies in the Mexican education context started, with the late 1980s reforms up to the last one, enacted in 2013. Similarly, our purpose is to set out the educational and political context to understand how the assessment culture became institutionalized within the SEM through these reforms. Our contribution also seeks to provide a systematized landscape of the complex

processes of education policy that introduced accountability and testing culture across the Mexican schools and upon the teachers. In doing so, we offer an articulated read of the reforms in education and the stakeholders that have been involved in the policy-making processes.

For this purpose, we conducted a document analysis (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). We collected around 130 publicly available documents or 'documentary sources' (Mogalakwe, 2006), covering the period from 1980 to 2016, and which were relevant to teacher assessment and school based management policies in basic education in Mexico by using digital search engines (Scopus, EBSCOhost, Google Scholar, and Google). At the first stage, we identified the documents concerning National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education (ANMEB), Teachers Career Service (CM), the Quality School Program (PEC), the National Institute for Education Assessment (INEE) and Education Reform 2012–2013 (RE2012–2013), and selected 90 of those. The main selection criterion was based upon the document's relevance vis-à-vis understanding the processes of teacher assessment institutionalization and of school-based management education policies in recent education policy in Mexico. In a second stage of the analysis, we classified our data into four categories: a) Government policy documents, which included enacted laws, congress policy assessments, policy briefings, federal/national policy frameworks, and government agreements; b) NGO policy assessment documents, which included policy reports, briefings, recommendations, and communications; c) academic research, which included empirical studies and policy assessments; and d) press articles, which included news articles, feature articles and opinion pieces strictly related to the policies and their context. We selected diverse documentary evidence in order to cover several angles of the object of our research. The third stage involved grouping the policy government articles into the following categories, a) specific policy documents that shaped/enacted the policy; b) specific policy recommendations/assessments shaping/assessing the policies; c) research/examinations that investigated the effects/outcomes of such policies; d) articles that reported about the policy reactions or its effects. Aided by common word processing and document software, (Acrobat Reader and Word) we were able to aggregate document descriptions, passages and quotes that allowed us to narrow down our analysis. Within this stage the objective was to understand the policy mechanisms and rules of operation in order to sketch a road map of the policies workings in regards to teacher assessment and SBM throughout the subsequent education reforms and policy agenda. The final stage involved drafting our policy analysis road map, which was then informed by academic research regarding those policies. While we were not looking to triangulate, the interactions between the literature we explored, allowed us to contrast policy documents with policy recommendations and with academic research in order to provide a more complete analysis. In this sense, Berg (2004, p 270) suggests having a minimum of three pieces of evidence for each interpretation of an inquiry. Similarly, in order for the reader to better identify the policies and historical stages that the SEM has undergone across Mexican history, we devised the following timeline seeking to provide a bigger picture and spatial representation from the context we address within the article. Consequently, our analysis across the paper is divided into five sections. In the first section, we outline the context under which Mexico joined the growing support for the global education reform movement in the 1990s. The ANMEB became the first among the

set of reforms aiming to modernize the state-centered and stagnated education system. Under the ANMEB, the CM program sought to increase teacher quality and student performance.

Branded as a true-merit pay system, in reality, CM constituted one of the first assessment devices to implement an evidence-based policy agenda and inform education policies in order to improve quality in education. In the second section, we introduce the subsequent wave of reforms that took place in the 2000s dovetailing with CM in order to analyze the PEC, implemented to decentralize school management and increase school accountability by introducing five-year school grants. This section will also introduce how the basic education reform based on competencies related to the PEC and to teacher assessment. In the third section, we analyze the institutionalization of the assessment culture within the SEM. In doing so, we review the genesis of the M&E mechanisms and its evolution from an office embedded within the SEP until the last RE2012–2013 where the INEE acquired constitutional autonomy. Further, in the fourth section, we map out the stakeholders involved in the CM, PEC, and INEE, and thus identify how these influenced and effected the development and implementation of last RE2012–2013 teacher high-stakes assessments. Finally, in the last section of the paper we discuss the main results and consequences of these accountability policies as they have been implemented, and we provide a contextual analysis of the implementation and the resistance to the latest reform in some regions of Mexico.

: Echávarri, J., & Peraza, C. (2017). *Modernizing schools in Mexico: The rise of teacher assessment and school-based management policies*. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 25(90). <http://dx.doi.org/epaa.v25.2771> This article is part of the special issue, *Global Perspectives on HighStakes Teacher Accountability Policies*, guest edited by Jessica Holloway, Tore Bernt Sorensen, and Antoni Verger.

Resumen:

En este artículo analizamos la evolución de la política de evaluación docente en el contexto educativo mexicano, así como el origen de las iniciativas de gestión basada en la escuela, desde finales de la década de los 80s hasta la última Reforma Educativa 2012-2013. México se incorporó al Movimiento Global de la Reforma Educativa durante la década de los 90s a través del Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación Básica bajo el cual se creó el programa Carrera Magisterial, buscando mejorar la calidad de los maestros. Posteriormente, se implementó el Programa Escuelas de Calidad para descentralizar la gestión escolar e incrementar la transparencia en las escuelas. Finalmente, la institucionalización del Monitoreo y la Evaluación en el Sistema Educativo Mexicano dio origen al Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación. Mediante un análisis documental, revisamos los orígenes de las citadas políticas, delineando a los actores involucrados e identificando cómo éstos han influenciado y afectado el desarrollo e implementación de la última Reforma Educativa 2012-2013, en lo que concierne a la evaluación docente. Por último, el artículo ofrece un panorama

general de los resultados y consecuencias de la implementación de las políticas mencionadas y provee un análisis contextual de la implementación y boicot de la última reforma educativa en algunas regiones de México.

Local Government Capacity in the U.S.-Mexican Border: A Comparative Analysis of Calexico, California and Mexicali, Baja California

The political and economic capacity of local governments is very different on each side of the U.S.-Mexican border. But, many of the issues confronting local governments are the same. Local governments are impacted by migrants traveling through the region. There are demands for services for residents who live in one community but pay income and other taxes on the other side of the border. The inability to agree or to make decisions regarding business development in the region (competing instead of working together) is an ongoing issue. Finally, uncontrolled population growth, particularly on the Mexican side of the border, is a serious ongoing problem for local government. Some differences between the U.S. and Mexican cities are due to the systems of federalism. U.S. cities have more autonomy and financial resources than do Mexican cities. However, even with more autonomy and finances, the smaller cities on the U.S. side of the border do not have the political capacity to deal with the problems that come with being on the border. This is particularly true for cities in Imperial County, California. Local governments are the creations of their respective state governments. The number of resources that are provided directly to the local governments and the amount of revenues they can collect vary according to the federal and state constitutions and legislation. There was also a taxpayer revolt in California in the late 1970s that sought to limit the amount of taxes local governments can collect. Proposition 13, a voter initiative in California, restricted the ability of local governments to raise revenues through property taxes. State control and taxpayer movements have decreased the income sources available to local governments, particularly in California. The cities on each side of the border share economies, environment, culture and recreation, educational facilities, and housing, but do not share political systems. Many important decisions that affect life in the community, such as placement of power plants on the Mexican side of the border and border crossing wait times because of security measures, are made at the federal level—by two separate and sovereign federal governments. Most political problems are resolved formally at the federal level and, to a lesser extent, at the state level. Resolution of local transborder problems at the local level is often accomplished through informal means. Issues with cooperation between the government levels and the powerlessness of the local governments exasperate local quality of life issues. Local governments are important to quality of life because it is at the local level that government officials interact with, and are elected by, their neighbors. This permits transparency at the local level that does not exist with the state or federal government. But this closeness to the voters can also lead to poor decision and policy making by the political leaders as they try to

please all constituents. In smaller cities, there is also a level of nepotism that cannot always be avoided as there are only so many people to fill decision making positions.

These aspects of local governments are found in the city of Calexico, where a common phrase throughout Imperial County is “only in Calexico,” which is short for only in Calexico are the positives and negatives of local government so clearly visible. Nepotism is strong and is expressed through a small number of individuals and their close colleagues making the majority of the decisions. Corruption and problems in the government are spoken about every day by the residents and commentaries often appear in the newspapers. But beyond the gossip and personalities, what is the capacity of the city of Calexico to deal with the number of challenges facing the city?

In Mexicali, many of the local government challenges are the same as for Calexico but are based on different factors. Nepotism and favoritism come from the political party system and with interest groups, families, and friends (Ramos García and Sánchez Munguía, 2004). Party affiliation is used as a mechanism to move up the job ladder and many join a particular party to gain access to jobs not available to those who are non-partisan. Therefore, within this context, what is the capacity of Mexicali to deal with its local problems and challenges? How do the challenges in each city or municipality differ from the other? Is there common ground between the two? The answers to these questions are found in the bases of political and economic authority and power, or the systems of federalism in the United States and México. Local government capacity can be divided into two categories: political and economic. The political capacity includes issues such as leadership in the community and the will to move forward with policies that improve community conditions. Political capacity is derived from state and federal intergovernmental aid and local effort. Economic capacity is based on the resources available in the community through local economic growth (Warner, 1997: 59). As Warner explained in her 1997 doctoral dissertation, “Urban sociologists have emphasized the importance of the interplay of local political and economic forces in creating the ‘growth machine’ which governs public sector investments and market regulation at the local level” (Warner, 1997: 70). As will be discussed throughout this chapter, the political and economic capacity in the cities and municipalities on both sides of the U.S.- Mexican border is not strong enough to deal with the problems and issues found in the border region. One reason for the limited capacity of local governments in the border region is globalization. The term globalization for this study is primarily related to the integration of markets through technological and transportation advances. These changes have also led to the increased movement of economic refugees or workers in search of better opportunities, and the intermingling of cultures and people. The deregulation of markets that has occurred through the North American Free Trade Agreement and the movement of goods across international borders are increasing rapidly. A large part of local economies in the border region is dominated by these local forces. There are also a large number of workers moving into and through the region, be it to work for just one day on the other side of the border, or looking to find work far from their homes.² The mingling of cultures and people can also be seen directly in border cities as commerce and services are exchanged freely, and in cultural events attended by residents from

both sides of the border. The aforementioned occurrences happen every day in the U.S.-Mexican border region, thereby providing a living laboratory in which to analyze the impacts of globalization.

The relationship among federal, state, and municipal governments has always been difficult along the U.S.-Mexican border as sovereignty issues have inhibited transborder cooperation at the local level. Even though local governments obtain their authority from federal and state governments, these institutions increasingly are unable to control the international or global markets (Saint-Germain, 1995: 572) and other forces of globalization.

The power of the market over the government is supported through clauses in the North American Free Trade Agreement. This phenomenon influences the political capacity at the local level. For example, if a state or local government does not agree with a business plan of a company and decide to stop its activity, this company may file a complaint with a trilateral board that can overrule the government's decision.

This supranational authority limits the power of governments, moving the market and business above the three levels of government in the nation (Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 2002). This paper begins with a review of the theories surrounding local government capacity. The core to this capacity is based in the federalist systems of the United States and México. Local authority, which is derived from the states, can be a moot question if there is not enough political or economic capacity at the local level. The following two sections review the local governments of Calexico and Mexicali, specifically, their organizational infrastructure. After the individual discussions of each municipal government, a short comparative analysis is presented. Finally, a regional view will be explored to understand the joint capacity of the governments, especially with the influences of globalization.

Collins, Kimberly Local Government Capacity in the U.S.-Mexican Border: A Comparative Analysis of Calexico, California and Mexicali, Baja California Nóesis. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, vol. 16, núm. 31, enero-junio, 2007, pp. 234- 264 Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Administración Ciudad Juárez, México

Resumen

A lo largo de la frontera EUMéxico, existen problemas en ambos lados que confrontan los gobiernos locales. Ejemplos de estos hechos incluyen inmigración y políticas de seguridad; crecimiento de la población descontrolado que obedece al desarrollo económico; la falta de planeación urbana e infraestructura. Este documento revisa estos problemas mediante un análisis de federalismo en las ciudades hermanas de Calexico, California y Mexicali, Baja California.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: AN ANALYSIS USING SURVEY DATA FROM BRAZIL, COLOMBIA, AND MEXICO

The internet has changed the way we communicate, express our opinions and the way we engage and participate in politics¹. In the political arena, internet use is currently embedded in electoral campaigns, policy-making, government communications, and citizen activism. Even before we experienced the full potential of the online world in politics, in the 2004 American presidential campaign, Democratic Party candidate Howard Dean's campaign manager confidently stated that "the internet is the most democratizing innovation we have ever seen, more so even than the printing press" ². He was not wrong. Today, information can be spread and accessed faster, is cheaper, and can be 'created' by anyone with a smartphone connected to the internet.

The creation of social networking sites (SNS) like Meetup.com, Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp opened new opportunities for citizens, policymakers, government officials, political parties, election candidates, and even traditional media outlets. They have allowed people who otherwise would never have met to do so, have discussions, get involved in groups focused on their interests, get organized (politically or otherwise), even from the most remote locations, and while far away from each other. It is hard to realize that just a bit over a decade ago, the possibility of having a "direct discussion" with someone not being present in the same physical location was only possible via telephone and in more limited scope, via videoconferencing.

When asked about the reasons to be on SNS, users worldwide have expressed they do it to connect with friends (42%), staying "up to date with current activities and events" (41%), and to express an opinion (30%)³. The data reflects the relevance of these channels for personal expression and as a source of information. The fact that people can now engage with others about politics in the online world has expanded the notion we used to have about the "political public sphere"⁴. Before the internet, the environment created within communities or neighborhoods was the usual focal place for political discussions because their proximity allowed the discussion and expression of political opinions. Nowadays, since these discussions are no longer limited to the offline world, it is widely acknowledged that the internet expands citizens' opportunities to exchange information and ideas regarding matters "of common concern" with people beyond their local, physical surroundings.

Building a political public sphere "and the conditions for communication within it are essential for democracy"⁵. Among the top factors that foster interpersonal relations is news consumption, which also leads to political expression. Studies have also shown that "the relationship between talking about politics today and participating in the future is strong. Furthermore, existing literature reveals that those exposed to political news are more prone to express their political opinions and will later be more politically involved⁷. Consequently, the internet and social networking sites' role in expanding or contributing to political involvement has been subject to numerous scholarly studies⁸. If there are tools that can strengthen political participation, it is important that users as

well as the academics and policymakers know how they do it and under what conditions. This study aims to contribute to that field of inquiry by expanding what other scholars have done in the past. This study considers how consumption of political information via SNS may encourage several forms of political participation: civic engagement, voting, and protests. While past research has mostly focused on North America, this analysis concentrates on three specific countries in Latin America: Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. Furthermore, existing research focuses mainly on traditional social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, leaving a relatively unexplored area: messaging platforms such as WhatsApp. There is a discussion concerning WhatsApp's classification as a social networking platform (SNS). This study considers this messaging application as SNS because it allows users to have a profile, publish in a timeline (stories), and share a status message with members of the persons' network (contacts).

For this study's purpose, online communication is not being contrasted against the use of traditional media, but as complementing source of information. In that regard, the integration of online and traditional communication can happen when discussions that started by "looselycoupled individual and groups," who were communicating both online and offline, causes

"spillovers." Examples of this include the many Wikileaks cables which published information through the internet that was later replicated through traditional media or the Arab Revolutions, which refers to mobilizations that started online and had such an impact that they became agenda setters for the mass media. The overall impact of social media on democracy continues to be an important area of study even though it might be too soon to have a conclusive characterization of it. Nonetheless, the fact that more than half of the world's population is estimated to use social media is sufficient reason to explore more thoroughly its effects on our political life⁹. It should be noted that this study does not aim to prove whether SNS are good or bad for democracy, but rather to expand the analysis of its relationship with political participation. This paper argues that individuals who frequently use Facebook and WhatsApp to access political information show an increased likelihood of political participation compared to those who never view political information through these platforms. To evaluate this hypothesis, the author ran numerous statistical regression models using 2018/19 survey responses conducted by the Americas Barometer. Through quantitative analysis of data assembled by Americas Barometer furnished herein, the author has endeavored to expose a positive relationship between consuming political information via SNS and political participation that has not been adequately considered in existing social and political science literature focused on the effects of SNS use in Latin America.

The Americas Barometer was selected over other Latin American surveys because they have a standardized questionnaire and methodology replicated across all countries (20 for the 2018-19 edition). This allows a comparative analysis to be made of the selected nations. Furthermore, the Americas Barometer enjoys a broad reputation in the field of public opinion polls.

A thesis submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Government Baltimore, Maryland December 2020 □ 2020 Stella Yerutí Méndez All Rights Reserved

Resumen

La exposición y el compromiso con los problemas políticos contribuye a la participación política al construir ciudadanos con más conocimientos políticos, según los resultados de la investigación. Este estudio analiza la relación entre el uso recurrente de las redes sociales como fuente de información política y diferentes tipos de participación política. Específicamente, esta tesis examina el nivel de participación de personas que utilizan con frecuencia Facebook y WhatsApp para acceder a política información, en comparación con quienes tienen una cuenta pero nunca consultan este tipo de información a través de las redes sociales. El análisis se centra en tres países de América Latina: Brasil, Colombia, y México. Los resultados de un análisis cuantitativo utilizando modelos de regresión basados en las Américas Las respuestas de la encuesta 2018/19 del Barómetro encuentran que la exposición frecuente al contenido político a través de Facebook y WhatsApp se asocian positivamente con el compromiso cívico, la participación de votantes y participación en protestas en los tres países estudiados.

July 2nd, 2018: The Day after inside Written Press Presidential Elections in Mexico

The elections' relevance was defined by different factors in political, economic, social and cultural ambiances. AMLO's (Andrés Manuel López Obrador) leadership, built throughout national territory and being this the third time the candidate contested to be the Republic's President, printed a personal mark of honesty and determination. These attributes made the suffrage rule in AMLO's favor with over 30 million votes from the citizenship. From the contentious and aggressive discourse of 2006 elections, AMLO turned his ideals to the possibility of having an "amorous Republic" in 2012, and this year's proposal was one, firm and overwhelming: to fight against corruption. On second term he proposed a national reconciliation with the proverbial "Peace and love" speech.

Corruption scandals from various governments like PRI's or PAN's helped raise the cause represented by López Obrador. These scandals along current President's disapproval index were crucial factors for millions of citizens to finally get tired desire a completely different political regimen. The proposal of establishing the movement Frente por México, whose members were the parties PAN, PRD and MC, did not have the expected impact on the Mexican society. The insider division within the allied parties was visualized in the public sphere, as well as the political maneuvers taken by the PAN's headmaster, Ricardo Anaya, who was the second most powerful candidate at the end of the electoral process. President Peña Nieto's (EPN) decision of turning José Antonio Meade, a member of the presidential cabinet, into the PRI's candidate resulted in a new wave of critics towards the party's inside. Both the president and the party stayed firm on this decision, though. Meade made it to the dispute carrying the burden of EPN's past mistakes. Without the enough amount of autonomy and liberty, his picture was always associated to

economic crisis, political mistakes and any type of scandal. He reached a third place way too far from the winner of the electoral journal of July 1st, 2018.

Campaigns' main characteristics were attacks, accusations and disqualifications amongst the three main presidential candidates. In the three official debates and before the overwhelming result from censuses that showed AMLO's superiority, caused an aggressive response from the other candidates to the obvious winner: it was even pointed out that

AMLO doesn't speak English, that he got a degree after 14 years of study, that his proposals were mere emotional ideas, etc. But Morena's leader always said that the key to achieve a "fourth transformation" consists on eradicate corruption, give support to elders and unemployed youngsters, drastically reduce all salaries (including the government's), build three oil refineries and take control of all oil profits, etc. The media were highly active during the electoral campaigns. On their websites, both critics and support messages were found; applause and repudiation. The mass media were highlighted: informing and giving personal opinions. By giving opinions, they influenced; when this happened, a huge impact was caused on their audiences' opinions and ideas. The media act as mediators within contemporary societies even though their power goes beyond that "limit". They are social actors and as social actors they defend political trends based on their own interests. What was the most important journals' (at least inside Mexico City) stance the day after the electoral process? Were there any coincidences on the opinions' and information's treatment? Which were the specificities inside the journalistic speech? Both methodology and discourse analysis' tools that give answer to these questions will be registered within this article, in which the historic precedents of past elections that awakened a sense of finding the path to democracy in Mexico will be shown first.

European Journal of Social Sciences ISSN 1450-2267 Vol. 57 No 1 October, 2018, pp.30-50
<http://www.europeanjournalofsocialsciences.com/>

Resumen

Las elecciones presidenciales del 1 de julio de 2018 representaron un hecho histórico sin precedentes en la vida de México. Los resultados de las elecciones culminaron en una nueva configuración de la mapa político-electoral. El partido Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (Morena), cuyo Registro oficial ante el Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) fue reconocido el 9 de julio, 2014, trepó victorioso en las elecciones. Los medios, como actores socialmente relevantes, abordaron este tema desde diferentes perspectivas: ¿Cuál fue el procedimiento seguido por seis revistas a lo largo de los titulares de las primeras páginas de 2 de julio de 2018? ¿Existen coincidencias, divergencias o especificidades? ¿Cuál fue la orientación ideológica? A través del análisis del discurso y un modelo elaborado a partir de las propuestas de Juan Nadal Palazón (2008, 2013) sobre el campo semántico / pragmático, y Silvia Gutiérrez Vidrio (2011) nivel pragmático, se responderá a las preguntas planteadas. El corpus de la investigación será el análisis de los seis titulares de las revistas Milenio, La Jornada, El Universal, Excelsior, El Financiero y Reforma. Los resultados del análisis se examinaron dentro de un contexto político e

histórico, encontrando coincidencias, diferencias y especificidades en los titulares de las revistas. La semántica el análisis arrojó resultados específicos en cada primera página. La constante dentro del campo pragmático fue interpretación.