

**Supplementary Material: Approaching Equality? Media Treatment of Male and Female  
Members of Presidential Cabinets in a Cross-Country Comparison**

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**Abstract**

Generalizability of extant findings about media treatment of women in politics is uncertain because most research examines candidates for the legislature or heads of government, and little work moves beyond Anglo-American countries. We examine six presidential cabinets in Costa Rica, Uruguay, and the United States, which provide differing levels of women's incorporation into government. These cases permit us to test hypotheses arguing that differences in media treatment of men and women cabinet ministers will decrease as women's inclusion in government expands, and that media treatment of women is more critical when women head departments associated with masculine gender stereotypes. Results show that greater incorporation of women into government is associated with fewer gendered differences in media coverage, tone of minister coverage is more favorable for women who hold masculine stereotyped portfolios, and that the media does present qualifications of women cabinet ministers.

**Keywords:** women in executive politics; female cabinet ministers; media coverage; quantitative, cross-national research, Costa Rica, Uruguay, United States

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## A Women's Historical Inclusion in Government by Case

Costa Rica provides a case of extensive representation of women in executive and legislative branch politics since the 1990s (see [Naranjo and Taylor-Robinson 2023](#); [Piscopo 2018](#); [Pignataro and Taylor-Robinson 2021](#)), with 42.8% and 38% women in the initial cabinet of each of the presidents we study, increasing to 52% women in the cabinet installed in 2018. In addition, Costa Rica elected a woman president in 2010, and has had a successful gender quota for legislative elections since 2009 and 45.6% women in the legislature in 2018 ([IPU 2020](#)).

The United States offers an intermediate case, and it is the country where media treatment of women in politics has been most studied. The U.S. ranks low in absolute numbers of women in the legislature and the cabinet.<sup>1</sup> However, women gained access to the cabinet early (1943) and women have held some high-profile positions, such Secretary of State and Secretary of Homeland Security. Women's representation in the cabinet has been moderate, with 21.4% and 26.6% women in the initial cabinets of each of the presidents we study ([Borrelli 2010](#)).

Uruguay offers a case where there have been few women in government while women are well represented in the workforce and well educated ([Inmujeres 2013](#); [Johnson 2023](#); [Universidad de la República 2014](#)). Until 2005, Uruguay lagged behind most Latin America countries for representation of women in the cabinet, as only 4 women held full cabinet-rank posts in the administrations from 1985-2004.<sup>2</sup> This changed with the cabinet of President Vázquez in 2015 that included 4 women, and the initial cabinets of the presidents we study had 15.4 and 38.5% women respectively. Women's representation in the legislature has been low compared to averages in the region, even after the adoption of a gender quota in 2014.

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<sup>1</sup>In the U.S., women's legislative presence remained at less than a quarter. In 2018, the House was only 23% women while the Senate was only 25% women, ranking the U.S. 86th in the world according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

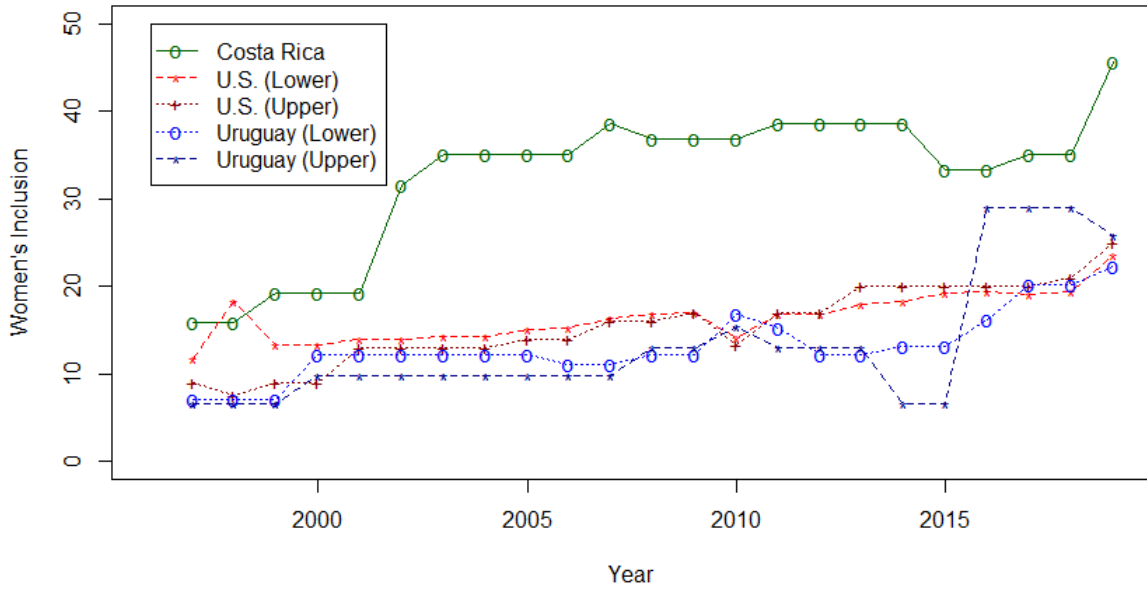
<sup>2</sup><https://guide2womenleaders.com/Uruguay.htm> accessed April 15, 2020.

Table A.1: History of Women’s Inclusion in Government

	Costa Rica	United States	Uruguay
President	2010-14		
Vice President <sup>f</sup>	1986-90, 1998-2002, 2002-06, 2006-09, 2018-20, 2018-present	2021-present	2017-19, 2020-present
<i>Cabinet Posts<sup>2</sup></i>			
Agriculture	2010-24	2001-05	
Commerce & Industry	2002-03, 2010-13, 2010-14, 2017-18, 2018-20, 2018-20, 2018-present	1977-79, 1992-93, 2013-2017	2015-2019, 2012-2020
Culture	1974-78, 1978-82, 1990, 1991-94, 1998-2002, 2006-10, 2010-13, 2014-?, 2014-15, 2015-18, 2018-present	no such department	1981-83, 1985-90
Defense	no such department		2005-08
Education	1958-62, 1978-82, 2002-03 2003-04, 2006-10, 2014-18, 2019, 2020	1977-79, 1992-93, 2013-17	2000, 2012-20, 2015-19
Energy, Mining, & Environment	1998-2002, 2020	1993-97, 2001-06, 2013-17	
Finance/Treasury	2009-10, 2018-19		
Foreign Relations	1986-90, 2018	1997-2001, 2005-09, 2009-13	
Health	2002-06, 2006-10, 2010-14, 2014-15, 2018, 2018-19	1953-55, 1979-81, 1983-85, 1989-90, 1993-2001, 2009-14, 2014-17	2005-10, 2005-10, 2010-11, 2013-15, 2015-20
Housing & Urban Development	1982-84, 1997-98, 2008, 2010-12 2018-present	1975-77, 1977-79	1999-2000, 2010-12, 2015-20,
Justice & Public Security	1978-82, 1990-94, 1994-97, 1996-98 1998-2002, 2002, 2002-06, 2006-08, 2008-09, 2008-10, 2012-14, 2014-15, 2014-18, 2015-17, 2020	1993-2001, 2009-13, 2015-17, 2017-19	2007-09
Labor & Social Security	2010-14, 2019-present	1935-45, 1987-89, 1989-90, 1991-93, 1997-2001, 2001-09, 2009-13	1995-99
Planning	2002-04, 2010-12, 2014-?	no such department	no such department
Presidency & Communications	1994-97, 2002-03, 2008-10, 2019-20	no such department	no such department
Public Works & Transportation	2006-09	1983-87, 2006-09, 2017-20	
Women’s Issues <sup>3</sup>	1998-99, 1999-2002, 2002, 2002-04, 2004-06, 2012-13, 2013-14, 2014-18, 2018-20	no such department	no such department
Congress Leaders	1986-87, 2001-02, 2018-19	2007-11, 2019-present	2005-06, 2010-11, 2019-20
Upper Chamber	no upper chamber		
Lower or only chamber			

*Note:* (1) Costa Rica has two vice presidents who run on a slate with the party’s presidential candidate. (2) Portfolio categories used by Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2016: Table 3.1); categories of posts were determined based on ministry mission statements and organizational diagrams from ministry webpages. Some categories include more than 1 portfolio, For example, Commerce & Industry includes economics and tourism. For Uruguay, it includes the ministry of Industry, Energy & Mines and Tourism. Culture includes sports (unless culture is part of the education portfolio). Education includes science and technology, and Health includes social development. Acting secretaries are not included. (3) The Women’s Issues portfolio has not existed as a cabinet rank department in all administrations. Sources: [guide2womenleaders.com](http://guide2womenleaders.com); Wikipedia Anexo: Gabinete de Carlos Alvarado Quesada; Wikipedia Anexo: Gabinete de Luis Guillermo Solis; Wikipedia pages for each U.S. cabinet department; Anexo: Presidente de la Cámara de Representantes de Uruguay; Gabinete del Presidente José Mujica.

Figure A.1: Women's Legislative Inclusion Over Time



Note: Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union

## B Variation in Legislative-Executive Relations

Since 2000, Costa Rica has had many parties in its Legislative Assembly, and no president's party has had a majority. However, presidents did not form coalition cabinets until 2018, instead focusing on balancing intra-party factions, and sectors of society in their cabinets (Pignataro and Taylor-Robinson 2021). Costa Rica's 1949 Constitution intentionally created a weak presidency, described as the weakest in Latin America due to the president's lack of formal legislative powers and partisan power that decays early in the term since presidents cannot be immediately re-elected (Carey 1997; Vargas Cullell 2007). As a consequence, cabinet ministers must persuade the legislature to pass executive bills, bills can die in committee, and laws are often overturned by the Court (Alfaro-Redondo and Gómez-Campos 2014; Pignataro López and Cascante Matamoros 2018; Taylor-Robinson and Ross 2011; Wilson 2011).

Uruguay has a stable party system, with three major parties. From 2005 to 2019, the left-leaning Broad Front won the presidency and a majority in the congress. The Broad Front is made up of factions that, prior to joining the FA, functioned as independent parties, or were progressive factions of the Blanco or Colorado Parties, that stood in opposition of and were persecuted by the military dictatorship. Due to the ideological diversity of the factions within the Front, and the double-simultaneous vote system, members of congress are elected from factions more than from the Front.<sup>3</sup> This makes executive-legislative relations, as well as maintaining balance within the cabinet and in sub-cabinet posts a challenge for the president, even though the constitution grants the president relatively strong legislative powers. It is also a reason why Uruguayan cabinets have been described as having more in common with "generalist" types of cabinets found in parliamentary systems where extensive political experience is possibly more important for gaining a cabinet seat than specialized expertise in the area of the portfolio. Cabinets in the three FA governments have all been single party majority cabinets. However, Uruguay has experience with coalition cab-

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<sup>3</sup>Uruguayan voters cast a ballot for a faction slate for the legislature, selecting among multiple faction slates within their preferred party. Votes for factions are pooled to the party to determine the number of seats won by a party, but those seats are distributed among the factions. This system means that voters think about faction within their party when deciding their vote.

inets in several of the presidential administrations that preceded these FA governments (Buquet and Chasquetti 2017; Chasquetti 2016; Chasquetti and Micozzi 2014; Saiegh 2010).

In the US, with its two-party system, a major constraint on the power of the executive is divided government, that can be tempered by a president's popularity and ability to persuade (Bond, Fleisher and Wood 2003; Neustadt 1960; Edwards III 2009).

## C Newspaper Selection

Beyond justifying our cases and reframing the implications of focusing on consolidated democracies, we also considered the role of ideology in cabinet and newspaper relationships. First, when selecting which newspapers to code, we prioritized being able to use the same paper from the same storage platform to analyze both cabinets in each country to minimize variation induced by outlet choice and coding rules implemented by the storage platform (here, Nexus Uni). Further, given the periods of time under study and the resources available to the researchers, we were limited in what papers allowed for both cabinets to be analyzed. In Costa Rica, only La Nación was available for both coverage windows needed. In the United States, we had access to both the New York Times and the Washington Post, and in the Uruguay, we technically had access to coverage from both El País and La República. However, La República was undergoing a series of economic challenges and significant leadership changes in between the 2010 period of analysis and the 2015 period of analysis. Specifically in 2012, La República laid off 14 reporters in one week, briefly interrupting coverage in many areas, and, in 2011, it was acquired by an investment firm headed by Argentine investors, whereas El País continues to be owned and operated by Uruguayans.

Ideally, in all cases we could have analyzed at least two newspapers, with one paper sharing the ideological lean of the government and one sharing the ideological lean of the main opposition, but data availability made that impossible in Costa Rica and the United States. In Costa Rica, a centrist (sometimes considered center-right, see Carvajal 1970) media outlet was our only available source, though the novelty of the PAC means we could not have determined with accuracy

which newspapers would be pro- and anti-PAC in coverage. Though, La Nación has historically been less hostile towards the PUSC than the PLN, suggesting the Chinchilla government may have received more negative coverage all else equal. In the United States, we had access to the Washington Post and the New York Times, rated left-leaning and left by AllSides Media Bias, respectively. In Uruguay, El País is considered a conservative liberal news source, with linkages to the National Party whereas La República is considered center-left (self-declared “first left newspaper in Latin America” in an article commemorating their 100th anniversary, researcher translation) with linkages to the Broad Front (Molina Díaz 2019). Given the potentially significant changes in La República, we were unable to capitalize on the ideological diversity in Uruguay’s sources. So, we opted to move forward with one news source in each country to allow for more reasonable comparison across cases. The choices were made for us in Uruguay and Costa Rica by circumstances beyond our control, but in the United States case, we opted for the paper that is considered the number one print media outlet in the US by other studies of media coverage in the United States.

## **D Challenges Preventing Mediation Analysis of Traits**

### **D.1 Article Length and Journalistic Norms**

While there is a rich literature on how gender mediates media coverage, we are faced with a series of challenges that prevent us from appropriately engaging with this literature. Primarily, two of our cases come from Latin America, with our articles coming from prestigious newspapers, indicating a stylistic limitation to similar newspapers studied in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Gidengil and Everitt 2003; Meeks 2012; Trimble 2018; Wagner, Trimble and Sampert 2019). In order to work at the caliber of newspaper included in this study, journalists in Latin America would be expected to have received their journalism degree from an accredited journalism school in Latin America. Access to these schools has increased in recent years, but historically, these institutes have been highly competitive. Such competitiveness and prestige has led to the preservation of certain journalistic norms and professionalism that has seen evolution elsewhere



*(Los estudios de Periodismo en Latinoamérica: en el bosque de la Comunicación y las Ciencias Sociales 2015)*. These preserved norms often limit how much overly descriptive language, such as metaphors, are included in news articles. As such, in the Costa Rican and Uruguayan articles we do not see some of the key components of gendered mediation analysis as presented by the literature.

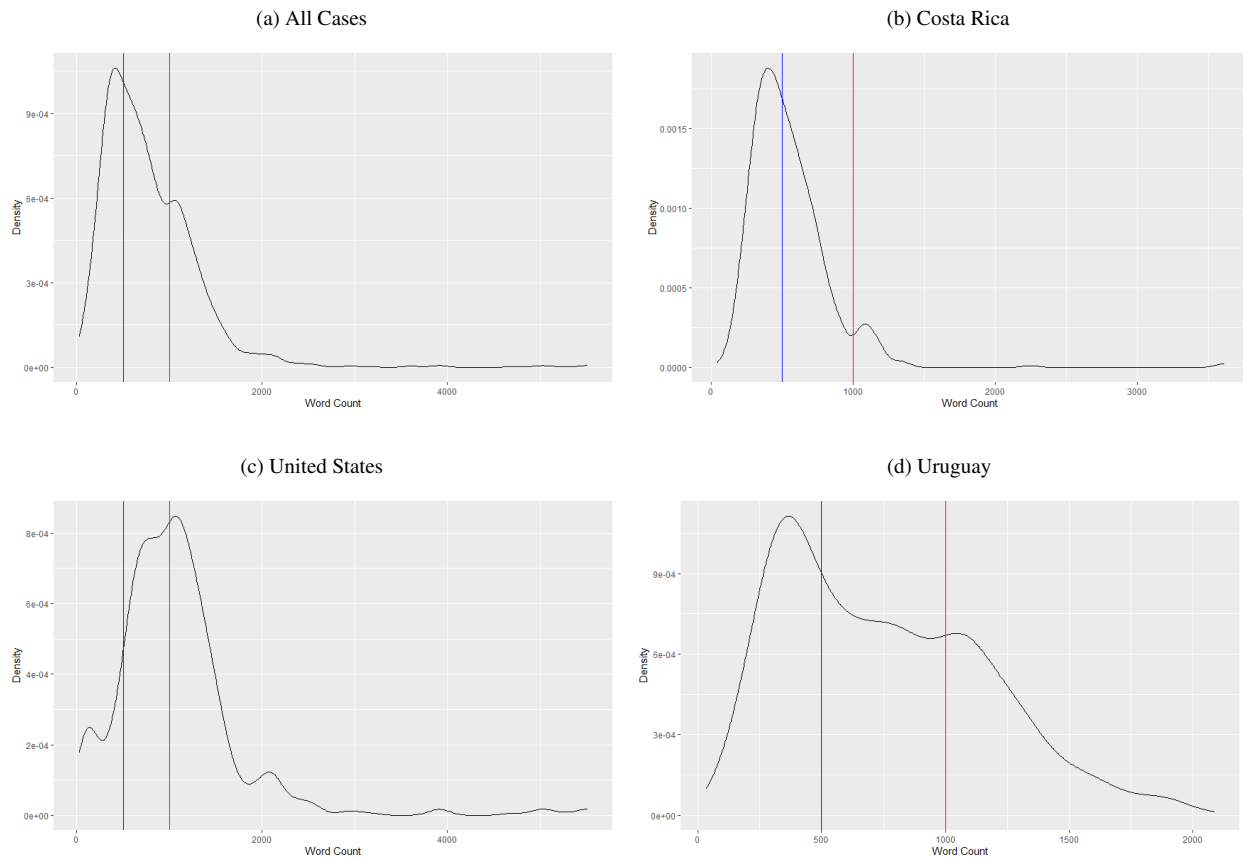
Beyond the challenges presented by cross-national journalistic norms, we are also limited in the length of the articles. Figure D1 provide a visual of the distribution of word counts in the sample as a whole, but also in the individual country cases. As you can see, the vast majority of articles are below 1000 words, with many falling below 500. There are more articles above 1000 in Uruguay and the United States, but Costa Rica has especially short articles. As such, it is difficult to generate an analysis plan that includes the nuances of gendered mediation that can be applicable to all cases. Thus, the combination of unique journalism norms in Costa Rica and Uruguay and the wide variation in journal article length across the cases prohibit traditional mediation analysis in this study.

## **D.2 Trait Coverage**

An additional challenge to traditional mediation analysis is the infrequency in which things often analyzed by mediation analysis, including coverage of families, appearance, sex/race, and other traits, appear in the articles included in this study. Given their rarity, we provide an array of tables below. The one exception is the coverage of experience. As experience mentions are an important part of testing our expectations, we also provide the summary table here.

Below we summarize the mentions of the following: (1) if the article mentions the minister's appearance; (2) their family; (3) their sex or that they are the first (regarding sex and/or race/ethnicity); (4) their experience; and (5) any other traits. For each table, if anything is mentioned in more than one article, the number in the parentheses indicates in how many articles the description was made. Additionally, the experience tables are broken out by country for ease of

Figure D.1: Article Word Counts across Cases



*Note:* For panels (a)-(d), the blue line marks 500 and the red line marks 1000 for reference. Additionally, articles are counted once for each minister mentioned, so the difference may be partly driven by the inclusion of many ministers in an article.

searchability.<sup>4</sup> Also see Table E2 in Appendix E for summarized descriptive statistics about traits.

Table D.1: Mentions of Appearance

<b>Costa Rica</b>		
<i>Chinchilla Admin (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Economy, Industry, & Trade Foreign Trade	selected a predominantly white dress for a banquet red eyed from not sleeping; looks tired even with makeup; tired like the rest of the team (all during a down-to-the-wire treaty negotiation) looked less glamorous (though said with approval) critical of his mismatched suit
Men Ministers	Health Culture	
<i>Solis Admin (2014)</i>		
Women Ministers	None	
Men Ministers	Foreign Relations Presidency Public Works & Transport Social Development	age 46 age 58 age 44 youngest minister; age 34
<b>United States</b>		
<i>Bush Jr. Admin (2001)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Interior Labor	age 46 (5) age 63
Men Secretaries	Commerce Education State  Treasury	mentions the cowboy hat he wore he is Black (2); age 65 he is African-America (9); age 63 (3); dressed in a sharply tailored suit that could adorn any top corporate executive age 46
<i>Obama Admin. (2001)</i>		
Women Secretaries	none	
Men Secretaries	Attorney General Education Energy HUD Treasury Veterans Affairs	age 57 age 44 age 60 age 42 "his brow seems to be permanently furrowed" (2); "his high pitched voice conveys uncertainty"; age 47 "lost so much of his foot [in Vietnam] that the Army had wanted to discharge him"
<b>Uruguay</b>		
<i>Mújica Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	none	
Men Ministers	none	
<i>Vázquez Admin. (2015)</i>		
Women Ministers	none	
Men Ministers	Defense Economics & Finance Health	walks with difficulty and with the help of a cane "physique for the role [of president]"; "he looked excited" "drank mate [tea], smiled, looked at his watch, got in and out of his car, and nothing"

<sup>4</sup>The experience table is further unique because we include all cabinet posts, indicating which ones are coded as zero mentions in the analysis.

Table D.2: Mentions of Family

<b>Costa Rica</b>		
<i>Chinchilla Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Foreign and Trade Science & Technology	about her husband because he is a legislator (2); about her daughter wife of former president of the party
Men Ministers	none	
<i>Solis Admin. (2014)</i>		
Women Ministers	Health Sports	that she was retired and enjoying time with her children and grandchildren about her daughter (3); about her husband (2)
Men Ministers	Finance Foreign Relations Presidency Public Security Tourism	mentions family his family and the president's family have long known each other divorced his mother is a friend of the president mention his partner of 19 years
<b>United States</b>		
<i>Bush Jr. Admin. (2001)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Agriculture Labor	she grew up a farmer's daughter wife of Senator (5); immigrated to the US as a child (4)
Men Secretaries	HHS State Treasury	his wife comments on his connections to an important business about his son (4); about his wife he dropped out of college to marry at 19
<i>Obama Admin. (2009)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Labor	that her parents are immigrants; career history of her parents (2); her husband's late tax payments (3)
Men Secretaries	State Interior Treasury	references to her husband (2); to her daughter he grew up as part of a large, poor family on a ranch; how it means so much to his family that their son is part of the cabinet mentions his wife and two teenage children
<b>Uruguay</b>		
<i>Mújica Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Housing & Environment	she has 4 children; is divorced and in a civil union with a new partner; she grew up lower middle class
Men Ministers	Foreign Relations Health Industry, Energy & Mines Interior Labor Transportation & Public Works	he has 7 children (2); has been married twice; married to a South African citizen he has 4 children is married and has 3 children has been married 3 times and his current wife is a Representative from the MPP has 2 children is divorced and living with a partner
<i>Vázquez Admin. (2015)</i>		
Women Ministers	Housing & Environment Industry, Energy, & Mines	mentions husband and that she has children mentions her ex-husband in reference to their past business dealings (in a negative quote from another politician)
Men Ministers	Interior	mentions his wife

Table D.3: Mentions of Sex/Firsts

<b>Costa Rica</b>		
<i>Chinchilla Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Agriculture	first female leader for Agriculture "in a world dominated by men"; mentions that she is creating a team of female top managers in the ministry
Male Ministers	none	
<i>Solis Admin. (2014)</i>		
Women Ministers	none	
Men Ministers	Tourism	first homosexual cabinet member
<b>United States</b>		
<i>Bush Jr. Admin. (2001)</i>		
Women Ministers	Interior	first women to hold this post
	Labor	first Asian woman to hold a cabinet post
Men Ministers	Education	first Black superintendent
<i>Obama Admin. (2009)</i>		
Women Ministers	Labor	first Hispanic woman to serve in the California Senate (3); first female honoree (for an award); "you know the gal who's now the nominee for Secretary of Labor"; women are begin included in the "economic and environmental policy lineup" for the new administration (2)
	State	"hardly a token woman"
Men Ministers	Veterans Affairs	"highest ranking Asian-American in the US military history"
<b>Uruguay</b>		
<i>Mújica Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	None	
Men Ministers	None	
<i>Vázquez Admin. (2015)</i>		
Women Ministers	None	
Men Ministers	None	

Table D.4: Mentions of Experience: Costa Rica

<i>Chinchilla Admin (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Agriculture	education (2); career in agriculture policy (1)
	Economics, Industry, & Trade	prior minister (2)
	Foreign Commerce	none
	Health	doctor (1)
	Housing	academic (1); engineer (1); rookie in public service (1)
	Labor	none
	Planning	academic (1)
	Science and Technology	work with foundation about tech access (2); in schools (1)
	Sports	none
	Men Ministers	Culture
	Decentralization	municipal government (1)
	Education	prior minister (4)
	Environment	none
	Finance	regulatory agency (4); prior minister (2); party (2)
	Foreign Relations	former minister (1)
	Justice	returning to cabinet (1)
	Presidency	keeping him in the president's office (1); party (1)
	Public Security	none
	Public Works & Transport	prior minister (4); executive president of ports (3)
	Social Welfare	prior vice-minister (1)
	Tourism	prior minister (1)
<i>Solis Admin. (2014)</i>		
Women Ministers	Culture	legislator (2); academic (2)
	Education	university administration (3)
	Health	prior government work (1); doctor (2); party (1)
	Justice	none
	Planning	academic (4)
	Science & Technology	none
	Sports	international athlete (5); lawyer (3); environmental policy (2)
	Women's Affairs	types of prior government work (6)
Men Ministers	Agriculture	academic (2); agricultural engineer (1)
	Economy, Industry, & Trade	assembly advisor (2); economist (1); business (1); party (1)
	Environment	academic (5); climate change expert (1); ministry advisor (1); think tank founder (1)
	Finance	vice-president (2); prior minister (6); party (5); economist (1)
	Foreign Relations	prior minister (3); ambassador (2); lawyer (2); business chamber(1); party (2)
	Foreign Trade	business (4); business chamber leader (3)
	Housing	academic
	Human Development	Solis campaign leadership (3); education (1); private sector (1)
	Labor	prior minister (4); party (3); mayor (1)
	Presidency	Solis campaign chief (7); Lutheran minister (5); sociology (3); leader in the No TLC Movement (2)
	Public Security	vice-minister (5); other prior government work (1); PAC campaign (1)
	Public Works and Transport	lawyer (3); PAC founder and campaign (2)
	Tourism	business (3); tourism professional (2)

Table D.5: Mentions of Experience: United States

<i>Bush Jr. Admin. (2001)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Agriculture	law background (2); political experience (1)
	Interior	state attorney general (10); legal career (3); lobbyist (3); environmental disaster while state AG (2); history of criticism of federal regulations (2); 1996 speech where she said states lost rights when they lost the Confederacy (1)
Men Secretaries	Labor	deputy secretary (5); corporate experience (3); Harvard graduate (1)
	Attorney General	Senator (2); elected office (3); proposed a bill that would outlaw abortion (1)
	Commerce	Bush campaign chair (2); business executive (1)
	Defense	prior cabinet post (9); corporate experience (3); political experience (1)
	Education	superintendent of a large school district (6)
	Energy	Senator (3); voted to ship nuclear waste from Nevada (1); has voted against the Energy Dept. (1)
	HHS	state governor (3); university work (1); attempted to establish social programs while governor (1)
	HUD	none
	State	Chair of Joint Chiefs (6). military career (5); corporate boards (4); founded organization for young people (1)
	Transportation	Representative (1); mayor (1); experience with aviation (1)
Treasury	business experience (14); Deputy Director OMB (1)	
Veterans Affairs	none	
<i>Obama Admin. (2009)</i>		
Women Secretaries	HHS	state governor (4); state insurance commissioner (2)
	Homeland Security	state governor (3); US Attorney (1)
	Labor	state senator (2); board of union group (2); Representative (1); Kennedy Profiles in Courage (1)
	State	Senator (4); presidential candidate (3); Former First Lady (2); Clinton Administration (1)
Men Secretaries	Agriculture	state governor (1); presidential candidate (1); lawyer who represented farmers during 1980s farm crisis (1)
	Attorney General	government career (4); judge (2); law career (2); co-manager Obama VP search (1); Representative (1)
	Commerce	none
	Defense	prior secretary (2); Republican (2); CIA Director (1)
	Education	superintendent of large school district (3); Harvard graduate (1); basketball player (1)
	Energy	Nobel laureate in physics (3)
	HUD	NYC Housing Office (1); worked at HUD (1); Harvard graduate (1)
	Interior	Senator (1); farmer and rancher (1)
	Transportation	Representative (3); Republican (2)
	Treasury	head of NY Federal Reserve (4); work at Treasury (1); senior official at IMF; financial attache in Japan (1)
Veterans Affairs	Army General (2); two purple hearts (1)	

Table D.6: Mentions of Experience: Uruguay

<i>Mújica Admin (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Housing & Environment	architect (1); VP of National Housing Agency (1); Socialist (1)
	Social Development	prior minister (1); excels at human resources (1)
Men Ministers	Agriculture	none
	Defense	guerilla experience (1)
	Economics & Finance	none
	Education	worked in Montevideo government (2); university president (1); scientist (1)
	Foreign Relations	previous posts (2)
	Health	Socialist (4); economist (3); not health (1)
	Industry, Energy, & Mines	prior sub-secretary (2); Socialist (1)
	Interior	Senator (2); Deputy (1); former minister (1)
	Labor	former Deputy (1)
	Tourism	prior minister (1)
Transportation & Public Works	former Deputy (1); worked in Montevideo government (1); active during dictatorship (1)	
<i>Vázquez Admin. (2015)</i>		
Women Minsiters	Education	prior minister (2); lack of legal experience (1)
	Housing & Environment	architect (1); student leader during dicatorship (1)
	Industry, Energy, & Mining	president of government's television company (13); private sector career (1)
	Social Development	prior minister (2); former teacher (2)
	Tourism	previous work in Sports sub-ministry
Men Ministers	Agriculture	prior minister (2)
	Defense	prior minister (1)
	Economics & Finance	vice-president (15); prior minister (2); "captain of the economy" (2); president of the Senate (1); role in party (1)
	Foreign Relations	vice-president (15); party experience (2)
	Health	worked in Montevideo government (4)
	Interior	prior minister (6); criticism of his prior performance (4)
	Labor	president of Social Security Institute
	Transportation & Public Works	previous experience in transportation (5)

Table D.7: Mentions of Other Traits: Costa Rica and Uruguay

Costa Rica		
<i>Chinchilla Admin (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Agriculture Housing	"She is surrounding herself with other women to do her job" "calmly, and by a normal process I am looking for profiles and suitable people"
Men Ministers	Education Finance Public Security	he describes himself as a "feverish user of these technologies" he likes poetry "I will not be a loose-handed minister", he reacted with discomfort "I came back more frustrated than I was this morning," despite his strong words
<i>Solis Admin. (2014)</i>		
Women Ministers	Education	"a transforming spirit, accomplishments are never individual, but are the fruit of the collective. Minister of Labor said 'You must put a heavy hand on the Ministry of Education and I am sure that it is order that [she] has.'; blunt "a woman who knows the sacrifices of getting up when it is still dark to work toward a medal"
Men Ministers	Sport Environment & Energy Finance Foreign Relations Presidency Public Security Social Development Tourism	"I have big (macro) visions" "I am not one of those who makes decisions that affect other ministries without talking to their leaders" Pres. Solis described him as experienced, proven, firm, and intelligent Pres. Solis described him as mature, considered, and of firm character courage in the face of death threats "I'm honest" proven honorability
<b>Uruguay</b>		
<i>Mújica Admin. (2010)</i>		
Women Ministers	Housing & Environment Social Development	she worked closely with Pres. Mújica's wife; strong character she is a communist (3)
Men Ministers	Agriculture Defense  Education Foreign Relations Health Industry, Energy, & Mines Interior Labor Transportation & Public Works	didactic, passionate, and above all very self-assured; past president of Rice Producers Association; doing a terrible job at handling business with Brazil the US denied him a visa in 2007 when he was a Deputy because they considered him a terrorist (2); says that the government does not have a magic wand to raise salaries he is good at science because that is all he could read in prison [during dictatorship] trusted by Pres. Mújica; vegetarian he is a socialist and a leftist disagrees with Pres. Mújica about new deal over TV pragmatic; executive; tense; charismatic; close to Pres. Mújica; unreasonable he was an activist against the dictatorship & was arrested ex-communist and ex-unionist
<i>Vázquez Admin. (2015)</i>		
Women Ministers	Education Housing & Environment Industry, Energy, & Mines  Social Development	member of the doctor's union friend with other ministers; a beast for work has cultivated a strong personalism; authoritarian; almost as bad as a dictator; efficient & responsible; a woman surrounded by lights & shadows; loved & hated, a desire for visibility; desires to expand her own control; strong counterweight faithful to her style that swings between arrogance and pedantry; prejudiced; trained as a Marxist; blamed for causing other ministers anxiety; shamefully supported later by the vice-president; very weak in history; fanatic; not resigned to accept reality; represents a vision that will lead to the deterioration of teaching big soccer team fan
Men Ministers	Defense Economics & Finance  Foreign Relations Health Interior  Labor Transportation & Public Works	a cautious technician who has good guidelines, sense of humor, party heavy weight, didactic, predictable, trustworthy, known for the job of president, party of the party's trident of power, prudent, cautious, conciliatory figure, extraordinary for his defense of party unity at the cost of his own image, other party leaders tolerate his demands because he does it without overstepping his remit, questions whether he has the spine to do what's right, cheered up, difficult to get meetings with him has the spirit; called to invite ex-ministers and subsecretaries for assistance; look for technical support outraged has no respect for the electoral institutions; has always been one of the most poorly evaluated government leaders in practically all the surveys; very hard; not good at getting results (3); above all a political professional and faithful militant of the left has adopted the rule of not commenting on ongoing labor disputes until a resolution is reached prioritizing work; eliminating ceremony; friend of another minister



Table D.8: Mentions of Other Traits: United States

<i>Bush Jr. Admin (2001)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Interior	strong advocate of the new exploration of natural resources; long association with right-wing property rights groups; very conservative; thinks that public lands should be less regulated; sincere; diligent; knowledgeable; divisive; fiercely loyal; extreme; supports states' rights, especially when concerning environmental factors; believes that the federal government should not take anyone's property without compensation; "has problematic policies and extremist positions"; conservative and conservationist; environmental extremist; moderate and appropriate; strong environmentalist; describes herself as a "passionate conservationist"; protegee of James Watt who angered environmental groups as Reagan's Interior Secretary; one-time member of the Libertarian Party (2); "so far off the fringe"; her happy place is Bear Lake in Rocky Mountain National Park
	Labor	scuba dives; "lived the American dream"; accomplished manager; graceful leader and strong commitment to public service; prominent conservative
Men Secretaries	Attorney General	a public record of hazing and attacking all minority groups; opposes abortion in all cases (2); endorses the right of schools to turn away gay teachers; Pres. Bush says that he has integrity; says that he cares more about the unfinished Civil War than about unnecessary civil rights; has problematic policies and extremist positions; Christian conservative (3); as state governor asked job candidate about his sexual orientation and opposed appointment of a Bay Area businessman to serve as Ambassador to Luxembourg (2); has problematic policies and extremist positions; has "unyielding and intemperate positions on many issues"; "his views placed him on the distant shores of American jurisprudence", he misrepresents and mistreats people; says that he would not allow past stances to get in the way of his job
	Commerce	one of Pres Bush's best friends; Christian; Pres. Bush referred to him as a "good man"
	Defense	stable; disciplined; manically exuberant; former Eagle Scout; college wrestler; highly organized; political personality; master bureaucrat; has advocated for a more aggressive approach to foreign policy; a businessman and an administrator; commanding figure; independent political bases and close ties to Cheney; Cheney's former mentor
	Education	Pres. Bush calls him a "really good man"; "shares the ideals of MLK: equal opportunity, equal treatment, and equal rights"; Rep. Jackson-Lee calls him a "self-effacing catalyst behind management improvements and rising students achievements"
	HHS	pro-life (anti-choice); innovator in overhauling welfare & gives states more flexibility & discretion in the management of social welfare programs;
	HUD	past support for stem cell research, deep ties with cigarette manufacturing company (2); bold innovator on welfare and health policy
	State	Pres. Bush says that he has a "wonderful story"
	Transportation	talks every day with a colleague; trading gossip; swapping advice and hashing out each other's crisis of the moment; want to re-energize sanctions and take a tough approach to Iraq; a pro-choice moderate; has brilliant people skills; good personal reputation; wealthy with investment portfolio of 28.2 million; wrote an autobiography; acted like a talk show host; "I'm more interested in leadership than I am in management"; "Don't mistake it - I'm still a general"; close ties to Mr. Cheney from previous administrations (2); expert at Washington martial arts; sees himself as larger than his cabinet post;
	Treasury	more cautious about military intervention; he is a story; American hero; a noted tinkerer and handyman; he lives on the internet
	Veterans Affairs	caring, able, thoughtful, has a great story, strong advocate for local control
		less enthusiastic team player; straight talker; captain of old-line industry; political maverick; attention to safety; very sincere; single-minded; quiet; and seemingly meek; a colleague of Mr. Cheney from other administrations; "broad-gauge thinker who has some very interesting ideas about how to approach a wide variety of problems"
		He is no shrinking violet. He'll tell it like it is and do what's right
<i>Obama Admin. (2009)</i>		
Women Secretaries	Homeland Security	no nonsense approach
	Labor	warm; polite (2)
	State	"terrific public servant"; very skilled and capable; frequent BlackBerry user; her Senate campaign had a stately Queen mother aspect; town hall campaign format clearly played to her strengths; has struggled at times with long-windedness
Men Secretaries	Attorney General	well known in DC for his charitable work & deep roots in community; integrity and independence are strengths
	Education	not stuffy; asks the people who work for him to call him by his first name
	Energy	not pretentious
	Interior	well-liked centrist; Hispanic heritage
	Treasury	smart (2); baby boomer; "hot nerd"; high-pitched voice which makes him seem uncertain; has "dedicated his career to our country & served with honor; intelligence, and distinction"; very competent (2); extraordinarily qualified; "initially nervous start" in his Senate testimony then "gaining some confidence; "his career until now had played out behind the scenes as a civil servant & a central banker; he occasionally lapsed into financial jargon & struggled to connect to a broader public audience
	Veterans Affairs	Asian-American

## E Descriptive Statistics

Table E.1: Distribution of Categorical Variables (Post-Related)

Variable	N	Percent of Data
<i>Country</i>		
Costa Rica	670	33%
Uruguay	737	36.3%
United States	621	30.6%
<i>Administration</i>		
Bush	430	21.2%
Chinchilla	388	19.1%
Mujica	401	19.8%
Obama	191	9.4%
Solís	282	13.9%
Vazquez	336	16.6%
<i>Post Stereotype (based on Krook and O'Brien 2012)</i>		
Feminine	367	18.1%
Neutral	279	13.8%
Masculine	1382	68.1%
<i>Prestige (based on Krook and O'Brien 2012)</i>		
Low	174	8.6%
Medium	1018	50.2%
High	836	41.2%
<i>High Visibility</i>		
Low Visibility	1311	64.6%
High Visibility	717	35.5%

Table E.2: Distribution of Categorical Variables (Coverage-Related)

<i>Mention of Sex or Other First</i>		
No	2013	99.3%
Yes	15	0.7%
<i>Mention of Family</i>		
No	1977	97.5%
Yes	51	2.5%
<i>Mention of Experience</i>		
No	1651	81.4%
Yes	377	18.6%
<i>Mention of Appearance</i>		
No	1980	97.6%
Yes	48	2.4%
<i>Mention of Other Traits</i>		
No	1857	91.6%
Yes	171	8.4%

Table E.3: Distribution of Continuous Variables

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Word Count	2022	783.31	542.23	26	5512
% of Paragraphs (CR and US only)	1287	0.22	0.27	0	1
% of Sentences (Uruguay only)	737	0.19	0.25	0	1
No. of Ministers	2026	2.16	2.67	0	17
No. of Quotes/Paraphrases	2026	1.04	3.00	0	59
Overall Tone	2023	2.03	0.50	1	3
Minister Tone	2021	2.08	0.45	1	3

## E.1 Missing Observations

- Word Count: (2022 included obs. 2028 possible)
  - Anne Veneman: 1 observation w/ no word count (a photo)
  - Colin Powell: 2 observations w/ no word count (a photo; a blurb for a different photo)
  - Donald Evans: 1 observation w/ no word count (a photo)
  - Gary Locke: 1 observation w/ no word count (no articles)

- Gisela Kopper: 1 observation w/ no word count (no articles)
- Percent of Paragraphs (1287/2028 possible obs.)
  - All of Uruguay = 737 observations
  - Anne Veneman: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Colin Powell: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Donald Evans: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Gary Locke: 1 observation (no articles)
- Percent of Sentences (737 obs/2028 possible)
  - Not coded in US or CR = 1291
  - No other missingness
- Number of ministers and number of quotes (2026 out 2028 possible)
  - Gary Lock and Gisela Kopper drop out of analysis because have no articles
- Overall Tone (2023/2028 obs.)
  - Anne Veneman: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Colin Powell: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Donald Evans: 1 observation (a photo)
  - Gary Locke: 1 observation (no articles)
  - Gisela Kopper: 1 observation (no articles)
- Minister Tone (2021/2028 obs.)<sup>5</sup>
  - Anne Veneman: 1 (a photo)

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<sup>5</sup>Minister tone is coded for 99.65% of observations.

- Colin Powell: 2 (two articles coded as nothing)
- Donald Evans: 1 observation (a photo)
- Gary Locke: 1 observation (no articles)
- Hillary Clinton: 1 (one article w/ nothing coded)
- Gisela Kopper: 1 observation (no articles)

## F Intercoder Reliability

Originally, Coder 1 coded all of Costa Rica and one U.S. Cabinet (Obama), Coder 2 coded one Uruguay cabinet (Vázquez), Coder 3 coded one U.S. Cabinet (Bush), and Coder 4 coded one Uruguay cabinet (Mujica). To allow for intercoder reliability tests, Coder 1 also coded part of the Bush cabinet, Coder 2 coded part of the Mujica administration, the Chinchilla administration, and the Solis Administration. The overlap between Coder 1 and Coder 3 for the Bush administration was 72.07% of the corpus, the overlap between Coder 1 and Coder 2 for the two Costa Rica Administrations was 11.04% of the corpus, the overlap between Coder 2 and Coder 4 for the Mujica administration was 11.22%. Intercoder reliability was tested using Kappa's Cohen's for

Table F.1: Intercoder Reliability

<b>Coder 1 and 2 – Costa Rica</b>	
Overall Tone	0.669
Minister Tone	0.629
<b>Coder 1 and 3 – United States</b>	
Overall Tone	0.815
Minister Tone	0.903
<b>Coder 2 and 4 – Uruguay</b>	
Overall Tone	0.8
Minister Tone	1.0

tone variables which were considered the most subjective. As indicated by Table F1, the results indicate that there is strong intercoder reliability.

## **G Alternative Tests**

In order to explore alternative explanations for differences in coverage of men and women, we include alternative tests using variables proposed in the cabinet literature. First, we explore the relationship of post stereotype, gender, and quantity of coverage. Then, we consider the prestige of the post as the level of prestige (high, medium, low) may be correlated with both coverage of the position and the likelihood that a woman holds the post (Krook and O'Brien 2012). Finally, we consider whether or not the visibility of the post will impact the quantity and quality of coverage received by men and women ministers.

### **G.1 Quantity of Coverage by Gender Stereotype of Post and Minister Gender**

While not directly related to Hypothesis 2 we do think it is important to understand how quantity of coverage is related to gender and post stereotype. Table G1 presents the fully specified models, with controls for left government (coded 1 for left government, 0 for right or right-center government) and unemployment (measured January year of inauguration). Model 1 is a hierarchical linear regression model, Models 2-3 are ordinary least squares regressions (hierarchical models provided no additional explanatory power), and Models 4-5 in are mixed-effect negative binomial regression models. Model 3 does not include a left government control as both administrations are left governments.

We generally don't find gendered patterns of coverage when we consider the role of post stereotype in differences in quantity of coverage. However, there is some suggestive evidence that men and women in neutral posts receive differential coverage when compared to men and women in feminine stereotyped posts, but the results are not consistent across different approximations of quantity of coverage. Interestingly, unlike when we factor in the gender power score, there does appear to be a significant penalty with regards to word count for women. Though, that penalty does not hold for women in masculine posts.

Table G.1: Gender, Post Stereotype, and the Quantity of Coverage

	Word Count (1)	% Paragraphs (2)	% Sentences (3)	# Quotes (4)	# Ministers (5)
Gender	-136.320** (54.218)	-0.013 (0.040)	0.043 (0.304)	0.050 (0.228)	0.015 (0.098)
Neutral Stereotype	-117.144** (55.811)	-0.022 (0.038)	-0.050 (0.063)	-0.239 (0.251)	0.456*** (0.097)
Masculine Stereotype	-95.565** (38.813)	-0.010 (0.030)	0.057** (0.028)	-0.148 (0.167)	-0.048 (0.072)
Left Government	142.421 (264.486)	-0.002 (0.028)		0.360 (0.404)	-0.152 (0.411)
Unemployment Rate	-34.802 (86.811)	0.000 (0.008)	0.095*** (0.034)	0.069 (0.135)	0.037 (0.135)
Gender*Neutral Stereotype	110.846 (79.437)	0.128** (0.054)	0.070 (0.074)	0.221 (0.347)	-0.200 (0.139)
Gender*Masculine Stereotype	184.404*** (67.146)	-0.004 (0.046)	0.002 (0.053)	-0.451 (0.301)	0.099 (0.124)
Word Count				0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
Constant	1055.195* (543.875)	0.228*** (0.055)	-0.505** (0.240)	-0.970 (0.865)	0.071 (0.848)
Var(Administration)	55819.3*** (32784.93)			0.117 (0.081)	0.134* (0.080)
Var(Constant)	239555.9*** (7545.38)				
Observations	2022	1287	737	2022	2022

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 is a hierarchical linear regression.

Models 2-3 are OLS regression models. Models 4-5 are multilevel negative binomial regression models, coefficients interpretable as log odds.

## G.2 Prestige of Cabinet Post

Table G2 provides the distribution of prestige across gender in each of our three countries. As you can see, when considering the cross sections of gender and prestige across the three cases, we accumulate three zeros: (1) low prestige women in the U.S., (2) low prestige men in the U.S., and (3) high prestige women in Uruguay.

Table G.2: Number of Articles by Gender and Post Prestige

	Men	Women
<b>Costa Rica</b>		
High Prestige	165	12
Medium Prestige	194	192
Low Prestige	63	44
<b>United States</b>		
High Prestige	358	40
Medium Prestige	111	112
Low Prestige	0	0
<b>Uruguay</b>		
High Prestige	261	0
Medium Prestige	332	77
Low Prestige	19	48

Using this alternative consideration of post classification, we now test whether or not it interacts with gender to predict quantity (Table G3) and quality (Table G3 and G4) of coverage. Given that these are just alternative specifications and not our primary model of interest, we only provide the model specifications that include the appropriate interaction and lack controls beyond the administration-level random effects (and word count for # of quotes and # of ministers). Model 1 in Table G3 is a hierarchical linear regression model, Models 2-3 in Table G3 are ordinary least squares regressions (hierarchical models provided no additional explanatory power) Models 4-5 in Table G3 are mixed-effect negative binomial regression models, Models 1-2 in Table G4 are multilevel ordered logistic regression models. The specific model was chosen to accurately model the various types of dependent variables included in the models (continuous, counts, ordered categorical). Additionally, in all models, given the categorical nature of prestige, high prestige is the reference category. Figure G1 provides the predicted probability of each type of coverage



(negative, neutral, and positive) at each level of prestige.

When looking at differences in quantity of coverage by post prestige, we see that men in medium prestige posts actually tend to get significantly different coverage than men in high prestige posts, but the direction of that relationship is not consistent. Men in medium prestige posts receive a greater % of sentences (Uruguay) and more quotes, but they are also featured with more ministers and lesser % of paragraphs (United States and Costa Rica). However, part of this result sensitivity may have to do with the fact that high prestige posts have no women in Uruguay, so results in Model 3 are less reliable. In Model 2, low prestige results are driven by Costa Rica as there are no low prestige cabinet posts in the United States. Across models including all three country cases, we find that medium prestige posts are associated with more quotes, but also more ministers featured on average.

When we turn to the tone models, we see that women in high prestige categories (only observed in Costa Rica and the US) receive significantly more positive coverage than men in high prestige categories while the benefit of coverage tone for women dissipates in the low and medium prestige categories. Overall, these results mirror the post stereotype pattern for women's coverage as they are getting the most positive coverage in the spaces they are least likely to occupy.

Table G.3: Gender, Prestige, and the Quantity of Coverage

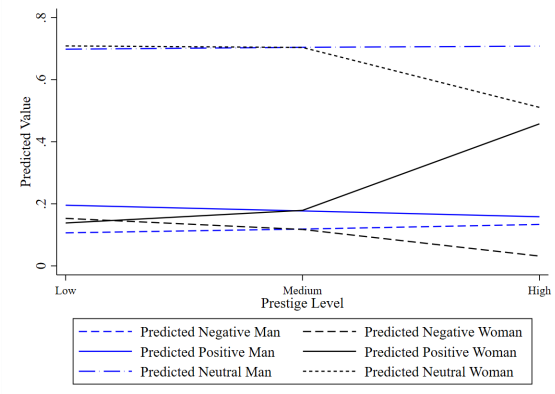
	Word Count (1)	% Paragraphs (2)	% Sentences (3)	# Quotes (4)	# Ministers (5)
Gender	113.306 (75.510)	-0.032 (0.040)		-0.183 (0.339)	0.029 (0.149)
Low Prestige	-15.844 (59.519)	0.021 (0.036)	-0.040 (0.059)	0.294 (0.252)	0.431*** (0.099)
Medium Prestige	-18.284 (28.397)	-0.036* (0.0200)	0.062*** (0.021)	0.258** (0.124)	0.185*** (0.053)
Gender*Low Prestige	-165.017 (108.097)	-0.006 (0.067)	0.033 (0.068)	0.185 (0.472)	-0.290 (0.200)
Gender*Medium Prestige	-127.033 (82.52)	0.089* (0.0453)	-0.054* (0.0316)	0.023 (0.370)	0.018 (0.161)
Word Count				0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
Constant	819.045*** (96.818)	0.228*** (0.012)	0.166*** (0.016)	-0.545** (0.215)	0.151 (0.142)
Var(Administration)	54,200.58 *** (31896.66)			0.185 (0.117)	0.105* (0.0634)
Var(Constant)	240,317.900 (7569.415)				
Observations	2022	1287	737	2022	2022

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 is a hierarchical linear regression. Models 2-3 are OLS regression models. Models 4-5 are multilevel negative binomial regression models, coefficients interpretable as log odds.

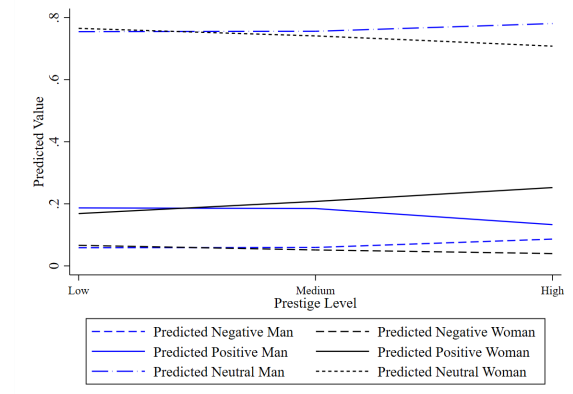
Table G.4: The Effect of Gender and Prestige on Tone

	Overall Tone (1)	Minister Tone (2)
Gender	1.583*** (0.339)	0.859** (0.334)
Low	0.267 (0.263)	0.437 (0.275)
Medium	0.140 (0.126)	0.422*** (0.140)
Low*Gender	-2.014*** (0.486)	-0.995** (0.499)
Medium*Gender	-1.570*** (0.370)	-0.700* (0.369)
Negative   Neutral	-1.969*** (0.237)	-2.591*** (0.333)
Neutral   Positive	1.764*** (0.235)	2.078*** (0.330)
Var(Administration)	0.281 (0.175)	0.587* (0.354)
Log Likelihood	-1,575.344	-1297.415
Groups	6	6
Observations	2023	2021

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parenthesis.  
Multilevel ordinal logsitic regression coefficients.



(a) Overall Tone



(b) Minister Tone

Figure G.1: Predicted Probabilities of Negative, Neutral, and Positive Coverage by Gender and Post Prestige (Categorical)

### G.3 Visibility of Cabinet Post

For both methodological and theoretical reasons, we also consider a dichotomous measure of visibility (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016). We used a public opinion survey asking what the most important issue was for a country, either LAPOP or Latinobarometer depending on if the election was in an even or odd year, respectively. Upon collating this data, we coded ministry posts associated with the top five issues listed by the citizenry as the most important issue facing the country. The idea is that if an issue is expressed as a top five most important issue, then not only is it likely to be an important part of the campaign, but it likely means the president will carefully consider who they place in that post. Table G5 presents the visibility of posts held by women across our six administrations.

Table G.5: Visibility of Women-Held Posts

Administration	Low	High
Chinchilla	Agriculture, Health, Housing, Science & Technology, Sports	Economics, Foreign Commerce, Labor, Planning & Economic Policy
Solís	Culture, Education, Justice, MICITT, Planning, Sports, Women’s Issues	Health
Bush	Agriculture, Labor, Interior	
Obama	Labor	Health & Human Services, State
Mujica	Housing, Land Use, & Environment	Social Development
Vázquez	Industry, Energy, Social & Mines Development, Tourism & Sports	Education

There are two approaches to who might be considered for the posts we consider high visibility. On one hand, the president may be more likely to appoint a man given stereotypes associated with men politicians (Murray 2010; Schneider and Bos 2014). On the other hand, a woman may be selected because she can serve as a scapegoat if things continue to go badly with the issue already in the public eye (Ryan and Haslam 2005, 2007). Either scenario would generate differential coverage for men and women, but the level of coverage may also be shaped by the high profile nature the post takes on during the presidency. As such, the visibility of the cabinet post may be correlated with and interact with gender while also being correlated with coverage quantity and

tenor. Therefore, we also include models related to the visibility of the cabinet post for robustness. Table G6 presents the fully specified tests for quantity of coverage, with Table G7 and Figure G2 presenting the fully specified tests for quality of coverage and the predicted probabilities of types of coverage, respectively.

When we look at quantity of coverage, we see some suggestive evidence that gender might affect how much coverage men and women get across levels of visibility, specifically, in Model 2, we see that women get more coverage on average (2.14% more), but that advantage diminishes slightly when women are in high visibility posts as opposed to low visibility posts. It is important to note that these results only hold for ministers in Costa Rica and the US as gender is not a significant predictor of % of coverage in Uruguay (Model 3). The coefficient on gender is also approaching statistical significance in Model 5 ( $p=0.149$ ), indicating that women may be discussed with more ministers than men ministers, on average. Overall, results on quantity of coverage do not overtly suggest that women and men in equally visible posts get different coverage in terms of quantity.

However, when we examine quality of coverage (Table G7 and Figure G2), we can see that gender is an important predictor of tone.<sup>6</sup> When considering overall tone, men and women at lower levels of visibility are not treated statistically differently, but women in high visibility posts are more likely to receive positive coverage and less likely to receive neutral and negative coverage when compared to men at the same level of visibility. When we look at minister specific-coverage, the more positive tone result holds for women at all levels of visibility. That is, women ministers are more likely to receive positive coverage and less likely to receive neutral and negative coverage than men at both levels of visibility.

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<sup>6</sup>These results are robust to the inclusion of an interaction to left government and unemployment, as well as an additional interaction between gender and left government.

Table G.6: Gender, Post Visibility, and Quantity of Coverage

	Word Count (1)	% Paragraphs (2)	% Sentences (3)	# Quotes (4)	# Ministers (5)
Gender	-14.666 (31.691)	0.043** (0.020)	-0.020 (0.034)	0.049 (0.141)	0.081 (0.058)
High Visibility	53.104* (27.850)	-0.001 (0.020)	-0.031 (0.022)	-0.051 (0.123)	0.024 (0.053)
Left Government	127.050 (260.443)	-0.001 (0.028)		0.581 (0.375)	-0.152 (0.305)
Unemployment	-35.017 (85.491)	-0.002 (0.008)	0.055 (0.034)	0.002 (0.126)	0.030 (0.100)
Gender*High Visibility	8.138 (53.640)	-0.066* (0.036)	0.011 (0.051)	-0.101 (0.234)	0.027 (0.100)
Constant	959.502* (534.727)	0.235*** (0.047)	-0.171 (0.240)	-0.413 (0.784)	0.556 (0.628)
Var(Administration)	51,141.36*** (31,804.45)			0.101 (0.070)	0.073* (0.044)
Var(Constant)	240,216.60*** (7,566.195)				
Observations	2022	1287	737	2026	2026

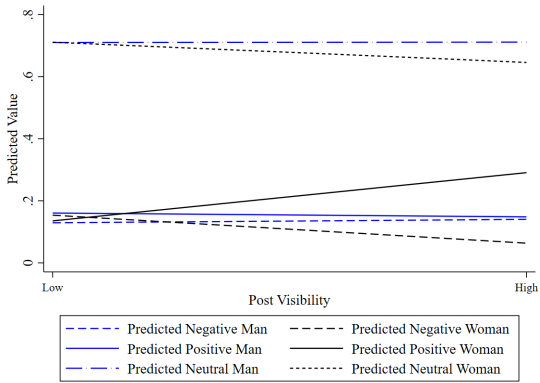
\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 is a hierarchical linear regression. Models 2-3 are OLS regression models. Models 4-5 are multilevel negative binomial regression models, coefficients interpretable as log odds.

Table G.7: Gender, Post Visibility, and Quality of Coverage

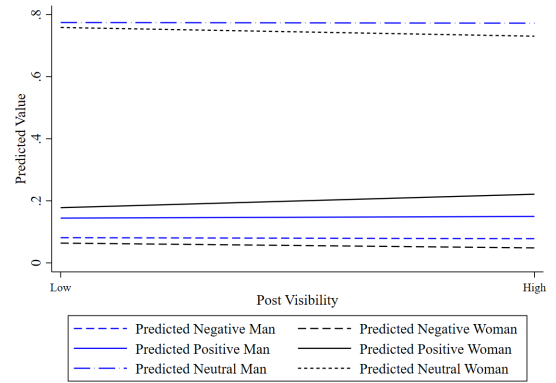
	Overall Tone (1)	Minister Tone (2)
Gender	-0.208 (0.139)	0.269* (0.152)
High Visibility	-0.097 (0.120)	0.046 (0.136)
Left Government	-0.755*** (0.133)	-1.249*** (0.203)
Unemployment	0.478*** (0.049)	0.701*** (0.073)
Gender*High Visibility	1.103*** (0.236)	0.254 (0.251)
Negative   Neutral	0.860*** (0.281)	1.459*** (0.431)
Neutral   Positive	4.611*** (0.310)	6.104*** (0.470)
Var(Administration)	0.000 (0.000)	0.016 (0.021)
Log Likelihood	-1,566.271	-1,292.913
Groups	6	6
Observations	2023	2021

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parenthesis.  
Multilevel ordinal logsitic regression coefficients.





(a) Overall Tone



(b) Minister Tone

Figure G.2: Predicted Probabilities of Negative, Neutral, and Positive Coverage by Gender and Post Visibility

## H Robustness Tests: Logistic Regression

In this section, we provide extended models of those in the main text, including controls for left government and unemployment to better approximate the media environment confronted by each administration. First, we present the quantity and quality of coverage models for the Gender Power Score tests. Then, we will present the quality of coverage models for the Post Gender Stereotype tests. Finally, we will present robustness tests for the experience models (GPS, then Post Stereotype). In both sets of experience models replications, we also control for actual experience of ministers. The coding rules and additional information on the actual experience of ministers will be introduced prior to the actual models. Generally, our results are robust to the inclusion of these controls, but we opt for the more conservative modeling approaches in the main text (despite many more variables of interest being significant in the control-rich models) as we suspect some estimate sensitivity due to multicollinearity when including both unemployment and left government.<sup>7</sup>

### H.1 Quantity and Quality of Coverage by Gender and GPS

When replicating quantity of coverage by gender and GPS, we include controls for left government, unemployment, and their interaction when the modeling strategy and the variation within the data allows it. For % paragraphs, we are unable to include an interaction between unemployment and left government because of how close unemployment is among all left government cases when Uruguay is not included. Additionally, in % sentences we are unable to include left government as a control because there is no variation among the cases. We are also unable to include a control for unemployment in the % sentences model because GPS and unemployment would perfectly covary, and even when implementing multilevel modeling (which is not ideal or recommended with just two groups).

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<sup>7</sup>Results remain robust to the inclusion of only left government or only unemployment, but we present the fully specified models for space purposes.

### H.1.1 Quantity of Coverage by Gender and Post Stereotype

When looking at Table H1, we can see that the principal findings from Table 2 in the main text hold in the robust specifications. The word count model continues to be a poor explanation for observed word count variation. In Model 2, gender remains significant and positive, and gender has an overall positive effect, even with a negative interaction for gender and GPS. In Model 5, the coefficient on gender remains positive and significant, while the interaction remains significant and negative.

Table H.1: Effect of Gender and Women's Cabinet Incorporation on Quantity of Coverage (Robust)

	Word Count (1)	% Paragraphs (2)	% Sentences (3)	# Quotes (4)	# Ministers (5)
Gender	14.685 (60.090)	0.083** (0.039)	-0.038 (0.068)	-0.059 (0.287)	0.329*** (0.110)
GPS	87.379 (144.566)	0.061** (0.028)	-0.029** (0.013)	0.252 (0.153)	0.118 (0.242)
Left Government	-2327.992** (1073.993)	0.071 (0.046)		2.335** (1.170)	-0.255 (1.800)
Unemployment	-265.476** (124.781)	-0.030** (0.015)		0.127 (0.132)	0.007 (0.209)
Left Gov.*Unemployment	369.870** (161.271)			-0.253 (0.175)	0.019 (0.270)
Gender*GPS	-24.457 (42.708)	-0.052* (0.030)	0.018 (0.041)	0.058 (0.199)	-0.193** (0.079)
Constant	2249.261*** (659.107)	0.334*** (0.068)	0.225*** (0.016)	-1.442** (0.705)	0.573 (1.104)
Var(Administration)	25,506.92*** (15,290.8)			0.016 (0.021)	0.071* (0.043)
Var(Constant)	240,765.8*** (7,583.589)				
Log Likelihood	-15,407.691			-2,554.754	-3,735.594
Groups	6	6	6	6	6
Observations	2022	1287	737	2026	2026

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 is a hierarchical linear regression.

Models 2-3 are OLS regression models. Models 4-5 are multilevel negative binomial regression models, coefficients interpretable as log odds.

## H.1.2 Quality of Coverage by Gender and GPS

When we look at Table H2, we can see that the principal findings from Table 3 in the main text generally hold in the robust specifications. In Overall Tone, the interaction of gender and GPS is significant at  $p = 0.11$ , with the coefficient continuing to be positive. The interaction between gender and GPS remains positive and significant in predicting minister tone, but the constituent gender term loses its significant ( $p > 0.4$ ). So, we continue to see that increases in women's cabinet incorporation are associated with increases in positive coverage for women ministers.

Table H.2: Effect of Gender and Women's Incorporation on Tone of Coverage (Robust)

	Overall Tone (1)	Minister Tone (2)
Gender	-0.207 (0.264)	-0.224 (0.300)
GPS	-0.111 (0.120)	-0.001 (0.124)
Unemployment	0.475*** (0.100)	0.611*** (0.102)
Left Government	-1.522* (0.886)	-2.431*** (0.902)
Left Gov.*Unemployment	0.101 (0.133)	0.177 (0.134)
Gender*GPS	0.303 (0.191)	0.442** (0.214)
Negative   Neutral	0.772 (0.521)	0.920* (0.533)
Neutral   Positive	4.501*** (0.537)	5.559*** (0.563)
var(Administration)	0.004 (0.015)	0.001 (0.013)
Log Likelihood	-1,576.542	-1,291.476
Groups	6	6
Observations	2023	2021

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parenthesis.

Multilevel ordinal logsitic regression coefficients.

## **H.2 Quality of Coverage by Gender and Post Stereotype**

In this section, we re-examine the results from Table 5 in the main text, adopting the same robust specification with regards to additional control variables. As a reminder, the reference category for post stereotype is feminine stereotyped posts. Table H3 presents the results for the robust specifications, and as in the main text models, the interaction between masculine stereotype and gender remains significant and positive for both overall and minister tone, neutral stereotype remains a significant positive predictor of overall tone, masculine stereotype remains a negative significant predictor for minister tone, and gender remains a significant and negative predictor of minister tone. However, when we include the controls for ideology, unemployment, and their interaction, we actually strengthen our conclusions from the main text as gender is now also a significant, negative predictor of overall tone.

Table H.3: Effect of Gender and Post Stereotype on Tone of Coverage (Robust)

	Overall Tone (1)	Minister Tone (2)
Gender	-0.390* (0.235)	-0.547** (0.265)
Neutral Stereotype	0.459* (0.246)	-0.195 (0.270)
Masculine Stereotype	0.098 (0.170)	-0.565*** (0.191)
Left Government	-1.218* (0.629)	-1.410 (1.446)
Unemployment	0.400*** (0.067)	0.619*** (0.162)
Left Gov.*Unemployment	0.093 (0.091)	0.051 (0.209)
Gender*Neutral Stereo.	-0.256 (0.356)	0.122 (0.393)
Gender*Masculine Stereo.	1.459*** (0.289)	1.673*** (0.331)
Negative   Neutral	0.604 (0.422)	0.524 (0.991)
Neutral   Positive	4.400*** (0.441)	5.238*** (1.006)
Var(Administration)	0.000 (0.000)	0.061 (0.049)
Log Likelihood	-1,549.578	-1,276.839
Groups	6	6
Observations	2023	2021

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Standard errors in parenthesis.  
Multilevel ordinal logsitic regression coefficients.

### H.3 Experience Models

In checking the robustness of our experience models, we focus on accounting for actual experience. So, we present additional information on experience coding prior to presenting the robust experience tests.

#### H.3.1 Experience Codings

We coded three levels of experience: (1) generalist/no experience, (2) some experience, and (3) extensive experience. The level of experience is coded in relation to relevant experience for the portfolio. Generalists are ministers who have government experience in other portfolios while no experience indicates their first form of government experience. In all country subsets and the entire data set, Levene tests reveal that the assumption of equal variance is not violated. So, we proceed with standard t-tests to test for gendered differences in actual experience (Table H4). Overall, we find no significant difference in actual experience levels between men and women ministers in any subset or the entire sample.

Table H.4: T-Tests of Experience by Gender

	Women	Men
Overall	Mean = 2.75, SD = 0.67	Mean = 2.60, SD = 0.75
	$t(95) = -0.91, p = 0.34$	
Costa Rica	Mean = 2.88, SD = 0.49	Mean = 2.76, SD = 0.60
	$t(40) = -0.71, p = 0.49$	
United States	Mean = 2.5, SD = 0.93	Mean = 2.57, SD = 0.75
	$t(27) = 0.22, p = 0.83$	
Uruguay	Mean = 2.71, SD = 0.76	Mean = 2.42, SD = 0.90
	$t(24) = -0.76, p = 0.45$	

### **H.3.2 Experience Mentions by Gender, GPS, and Post Stereotype**

We present the experience models in the same table, as they use the same model specification with the exception of the independent variable of interest (GPS vs. post stereotype). Table H5 shows that our findings in Tables 4 and 6 in the main text hold. When we consider the role of gender and GPS, the interaction between gender and GPS remains negative and significant while the constituent term for gender remains positive and significant. When we consider the role of gender and post stereotype, we continue to see that gender and masculine stereotype remains negative and significant (neutral stereotype is significant at  $p = 0.106$ , with the threshold below  $p = 0.01$  in all other specifications), while the interactions of gender with neutral and masculine stereotypes remain positive and significant.



Table H.5: Effect of Gender and GPS or Post on Experience Mentions (Robust)

	Experience Mentions	
	(1)	(2)
Gender	0.572*	-1.327***
	(0.294)	(0.291)
GPS	0.661***	
	(0.141)	
Left Government	-6.191***	-3.748**
	(1.015)	(1.875)
Unemployment	-0.630***	-0.372*
	(0.115)	(0.214)
Left Gov.*Unemployment	1.001***	0.644**
	(0.153)	(0.274)
Experience	0.082	0.183**
	(0.086)	(0.091)
Gender*GPS	-0.465**	
	(0.224)	
Neutral Stereotype		-0.435
		(0.269)
Masculine Stereotype		-1.123***
		(0.195)
Gender*Neutral Stereo.		0.934**
		(0.405)
Gender*Masculine Stereo.		1.870***
		(0.365)
Constant	1.030	0.738
	(0.637)	(1.302)
Var(Administration)	0.000	0.112
	(0.000)	(0.080)
Log Likelihood	-937.938	-926.562
Groups	6	6
Observations	2028	2028

Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Mixed-Effects Logistic Regression Coefficients. (interpretable as log-odds).

DV: Binary indicator of the article mentions the minister's experience.

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