

Gender Differences in Political Media Coverage: a Meta-Analysis

Abstract

Do the media cover men and women politicians and candidates differently? This article performs a systematic analysis of 86 studies covering over 20,000 politicians in over 750,000 media stories, and presents the accumulated knowledge in a comprehensive theoretical framework. Contrary to common belief, there is little gender bias in the *amount* of coverage of politicians in majoritarian electoral systems, but there is in proportional electoral systems, where women politicians lag behind men in media attention. In addition, we systematically review gender differences in the *content* of media reports on political candidates, such as differences in attention to private life and family, viability and horse-race coverage, issue coverage, and gender stereotypes. Overall, women politicians receive more attention to their appearance and personal life, more negative viability coverage, and to some extent stereotypical issue and trait coverage. We conclude by pointing out promising avenues for future research.

Keywords

Gender bias, Media coverage, Political candidates, Stereotypes, Meta-analysis

Gender Differences in Political Media Coverage: a Meta-Analysis

Are women politicians disadvantaged in their media coverage?¹ The seminal work of Kahn (Kahn, Kim Fridkin & Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, Kim Fridkin, 1994), resulted in the emergence of a subfield directed at gender differences in the media coverage of politicians.² Research in this field focusses on the question of women politicians receive different media coverage than their male colleagues, both in terms of quantity (are women politicians less visible in news coverage?) and in the quality of the coverage (are women politicians covered differently than men politicians in news coverage?). Yet, despite the scholarly interest into these topics, we lack a clear answer to the question of media reporting is biased toward women politicians. In this paper we provide a systematic overview of research on gender differences in the coverage of politicians, in 86 studies in 66 publications covering over 3,500 women politicians in over 750,000 coded media stories.

The results show that while overall there is little gender bias in the *amount* of coverage, women politicians are considerably less visible in the media than men in democracies with proportional electoral systems. Also, there is indication that TV reporting may pay less attention to women in politics, while newspapers provide equal amounts of coverage. Moreover, women politicians receive a different *type* of coverage: more attention to their appearance, family life, lower assessments of their political viability. Though not unequivocally, the coverage tends to be in line with gendered stereotypes, while there is no bias in the tone of coverage nor the amount of horse race or viability coverage. In the conclusion we outline the most promising directions for future research to further our understanding of women politicians in the media.

Gender bias in the amount and type of media coverage politicians receive is an important topic, as present-day politics is strongly mediatized and voters rely almost exclusively on the media as their source of political information. Disadvantageous reporting by the media can hurt the electoral chances of women candidates and threaten the political

longevity of sitting women politicians. Aside from affecting career perspectives of women in politics and as such directly contributing to the underrepresentation of women in politics, the media images of men and women politicians in the media are likely to strengthen the association people have of politics as a masculine realm. This, in turn, can depress the political ambitions of young women and discourage political elites from selecting women, leading to continued underrepresentation of women in the future.

Gaps in Our Current Knowledge

Despite much valuable research into gender-differentiated coverage, there are three inadequacies in our knowledge. First, we do not know the overall or average outcome of the research in the field, resulting in three conflicting narratives. One, there are authors who summarize the state of the field as that women politicians receive *less* media attention than their male counterparts (e.g., Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears, & Wadia, 2013; Verge & Pastor, 2018 see Appendix A for details). Two, there are those who stress contradictory findings regarding gender and the visibility politicians, with both men and women sometimes having the advantage (e.g., Brooks, 2013; Wagner, Trimble, Sampert, & Gerrits, 2017). Three, there are scholars that posit a trend through time, in which women were disadvantaged a couple of decades ago, but are now on an equal footing with men, perhaps due to the normalization of women in politics (e.g., Fernandez-Garcia, 2016; Ward, 2016). Besides being contradictory, these three stories also point to radically different directions for future research. The second narrative for example, of mixed findings, leads to the recommendation that the *conditionality* of bias be examined, while the third would suggest that gender differences in visibility in the news is no longer a relevant object of study. To know the overall outcome, and to know what to study next, we need a more systematic and more comprehensive approach.

Second, we have only limited insight into the nature of any gender bias in the media coverage of politicians. Studies tend to compare various aspects of media coverage per article,

usually finding differences in the coverage and men and women politicians in at least one but not all of the studied aspects. Because of this, individual studies usually convey the message that there is a media bias towards women politicians, but this can refer to completely different type of coverage. For example, the studies of Miller, Peake and Boulton (2010) and Robertson et al. (2002) come to similar conclusions, namely that there is progress towards more equitable coverage, while some indicators of bias persist. Yet where they find bias and where equality differs in important ways: the first study finds that *men* politicians receive significantly more positive media coverage, while the latter finds that *women* get significantly more positively toned reporting. So, to know what kind of bias there is, if there is any, we need an overview that compares all the studies there are *per aspect* of the media coverage they consider.

Third, we know very little of the conditions that foster or hinder gender-equal media coverage. Due to the labor-intensiveness of data collection and coding involved in content analysis, most studies cover a single country. However, there are a number of contextual factors that are likely to influence the relative press treatment of men and women politicians, for instance political institutions, societal gender norms, and levels of female representation. Due to the lack of comparative work, the impact of these contextual moderators remains largely untested. Furthermore, the majority of the extant work on this topic is conducted in the United States, so in a presidential system with first-past-the-post elections and two effective parties. Less work is done in parliamentary, and in particular in multi-party systems with high numbers of parties. By systematically and comprehensively comparing the research conducted in different contexts, we can shed some light on these moderating factors.

Theoretical Foundations for Different Types of Bias

It is not surprising that numerous studies have compared coverage of men and women politicians, seeing how important appearing in the media is for political actors. Political

communication research shows that the visibility of political parties or candidates influences voting behavior: as there is a higher awareness of a party/politician among voters, the party/candidate is deemed more viable by the electorate. This way, higher visibility of parties and candidates on average leads to increase in vote intentions for that party/candidate (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004; Aaldering, van der Meer, & Van der Brug, 2018). Electorally, not only the visibility of the politicians in the media is important, but also the way they are discussed. Research, for instance, shows that the tone of the coverage (e.g., McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997; Soroka, Bodet, Young, & Andrew, 2009), viability coverage (Schmitt-Beck, 1996; Van der Meer, , Hakhverdian, & Aaldering, 2016) and trait coverage influence voters in their electoral choices (e.g., McCombs et al., 1997; Aaldering et al., 2018). Moreover, gender differentiated content of coverage can serve to reinforce already existing stereotypes and the status as ‘other’ of women in politics.

Why would there be a difference in the media reporting on men and women politicians? Our focus in this paper is on gender *bias* in political news coverage, i.e. whether women politicians receive different coverage in the media due to their gender. This means differential treatment, and thus does not include differences in coverage arising from for example different political positions of men and women. Based on the literature, we distinguish three main mechanisms that could lead news makers to pay different amounts of attention to men and women politicians: 1) the news value of rarity, 2) networks and 3) stereotypes. In addition, the last mechanism, stereotypes, can also lead to differences in the *type* of coverage.

First, news values are the criteria journalists use to determine what to cover (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). In her pioneering work, Kahn (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991: 184; 1994: 155; 1996) suggested that because women in politics in the US at that time were still relatively rare, they fit the news value of novelty and could therefore be considered more newsworthy and granted more media attention. The results proved otherwise, as women

running for the US Senate actually received *less* media coverage in these data. Research since then has often motivated the choice to study the amount of coverage on empirical grounds rather than theoretical grounds, citing Kahn's findings as a reason to expect lower attention for women.

Second, gendered access to networks could be a mechanism that drives gender differences in news visibility (e.g., Ross et al., 2013: 12; Vos, 2013: 405; Hooghe, Jacobs, & Claes, 2015: 409). Political journalism is a majority-male profession in most countries, and journalists maintain fixed contact lists as well as socialize informally with politicians during and outside office hours (see Aalberg & Strömbäck, 2011). If journalists have a preference for same-gender (informal) contacts, this could lead the male majority of journalists to reach out more easily to a male politician as a source for an article, resulting in men politicians being more visible in the news (see also Sreberny-Mohammadi & Ross, 1996).

Third, men politicians could receive more media attention as a result of stereotypes. Stereotypes imply that identical characteristics are assigned to all members of a group, irrespective of the differences in characteristics within the group (e.g., Aronson, 2004). They can be descriptive, concerning for example what men and women are like, as well as prescriptive, dictating what they *should* be like (Caleo & Heilman, 2013: 144). In general, men are believed to possess *agentic* qualities, such as aggressive, dominant, ambitious, independent, decisive, self-confident, while women are thought to embody *communal* qualities, such as affectionate, emotional, friendly, helpful, warm, nurturant (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 2002: 574). Women are stereotypically associated with private life and men with public life (O'Neill, Savigny, & Cann, 2016; Hooghe et al., 2015: 387), and political leadership is associated with masculinity (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Because of this masculine connotation of leadership, and because political functions are seen as requiring agentic qualities, journalists can perceive the candidacies of men as more *viable* than those of women. Since viable candidates are deemed more important

to cover due to the news value of power (Bennett, 1990) this could lead journalists to pay more attention to men contenders than to their women counterparts, under otherwise similar circumstances.

Besides leading to a lower amount of coverage, gender stereotypes can also give rise to differences in the *type* of coverage. First, as indicated, stereotypes can work prescriptively, specifying how group member *should* behave. According to Role Congruity Theory, a mismatch between the perceived characteristics of a social group and the requirements of a social role such as leadership lowers evaluations of group members in that role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In this case, the perceived characteristics of women, i.e. the descriptive stereotype of women, are at odds with the requirements of political leadership, i.e. the prescriptive leadership stereotype. Alternatively, the descriptive stereotype of leadership conflicts with the prescriptive stereotype of a woman. The consequence is that women leaders inevitably fail on some standard, because they either violate the stereotype of a leader, or that of a woman. This can lead to negative evaluations and reporting by journalists if they (consciously or not) adhere to the prescriptive stereotypes. The resulting expectation is that women politicians are covered in a more negative tone than men. Another possible result of the incongruence is that non-stereotypical behavior is more conspicuous and exaggerated by observers (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), while the news value of unexpectedness also pushes journalists to pay extra attention. This has led researchers to hypothesize an overreporting of aggressive or combative behavior on the part of women politicians by journalists (Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003a; 2003b). The media's convention to frame politics in masculine and combative terms, such as war and sports metaphors, could further exacerbate the effect, according to the 'gendered mediation' thesis (Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; 2003a; Sreberny-Mohammadi & Ross, 1996). Additionally, because counter-stereotypical behavior is unexpected, it could be subject to more journalistic interpretation, as opposed to mere description (Gidengil & Everitt, 2000; 2003b).

Second, as the descriptive masculine stereotype of leadership can prompt news makers to see women candidates as less viable, they might report more on the viability of women candidates, by focusing more strongly on the question whether she can stay in the race and what their chances are of winning the elections (horse race coverage), they might discuss their professional background and credentials more and describe their viability more negatively. In addition, journalists might also provide more opportunity for candidates to speak to their electorate directly if they are perceived as more viable, and therefore quote men politicians more directly (rather than paraphrasing them). This has resulted the expectation that women politicians receive more viability or horse-race coverage, more coverage on their professional background, lower viability assessments and less direct quotes in the media.

Third, the fact that women are stereotypically dissociated from public life and politics leads to a host of expectations regarding personal coverage. The association of women with private life, physical beauty and nurturing, supporting roles can find its reflection in coverage focusing more on the personal background, physical appearance and marital status and children (or lack thereof) of women politicians. Therefore, researchers have expected that women politicians receive more coverage on their personality traits, appearance and family life. Also, the actual relative scarcity of women in politics compared to men, as well as the stereotypical dissociation between women and politics can make the fact that a politician is a woman more salient to a journalist. The result can be that journalists explicitly mention the gender of the politician more if she is women. Furthermore, researchers have hypothesized that the attention to these trivial matters goes at the expense of substantive coverage, and therefore that women get less issue coverage.

Fourth and finally, media coverage can also directly reflect the content of existing gender stereotypes. If a stereotype is activated and applied to a politician in the mind of a journalists (see Bauer, 2015), descriptions of that politician will likely be more in line with the stereotype. Women and men are stereotypically associated with certain character traits such as

sensitive, honest, passive, gentle and compassionate and men with traits such as objective, competitive, strong, tough, intelligent and ambitious. It has been expected therefore, that newsmakers use the 'feminine' traits more often to describe women politicians, while 'male' traits are applied to men politicians. The stereotype not only includes traits, but also certain competencies (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Women are thought to be better at 'compassion issues' such as poverty, education, health care and the environment as well as issues thought to be directly related to interests of women such as gender quotas, violence against women and abortion, while men are thought to excel at 'though' issues, such as the economy, trade, defense and foreign policy. Political reporting could therefore be in line with these issue stereotypes, reporting on men with 'masculine issues' and on women with 'feminine issues'. And since leadership is part of the masculine stereotype, women politicians have been expected to receive less coverage in terms of their leadership traits.

Moderators.

Since most research considers a single context, we know very little of the conditions under which gender bias in reporting is stronger. Still, some conditioning factors have been hypothesized. Because more powerful political offices are more strongly linked to the masculine leadership stereotype and because of the issues relevant for certain offices, researchers have expected gender gaps in coverage to be larger in higher level offices rather than local levels (e.g., Atkeson & Krebs, 2008) and for executive functions (e.g., Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose, & Weber, 2013). In addition, political institutions have been hypothesized to matter, as in more personalized systems individual characteristics of the candidate are thought to affect coverage more (e.g., Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008). Thus, gender of the candidate would have a larger impact on coverage in plurality electoral systems than in proportional systems. In similar vein, gender stereotypes may play a larger role in coverage during primaries than during general election campaigns, since the absence of party differences and often of large

ideological differences also leads to an increased importance of personal characteristics (Hayes & Lawless, 2015). Further, it might also matter whether campaigns or routine political times are examined, as journalistic gender bias might be larger during routine politics when journalists are less focused on balanced reporting (Aaldering & Van Der Pas, 2018). Finally, if gendered coverage is spurred by the news value of rarity, gender differences in news attention should diminish over time and with higher levels of female representation (Fernandez-Garcia, 2016: 143).

Control variables.

In order to distinguish journalistic bias from mere differences in reporting that are not due to gender, the political actors under scrutiny need to be comparable on everything but gender, either by design or through statistical controls. Newsworthiness increases with perceived viability and power (Bennett, 1990), so ideally studies should control for positions of power, prior positions, experience, party size and indicators of viability such as position in the polls and fundraising. In addition, connections with journalists tend to improve over time and with effort, so time active in politics and the intensity of media-seeking behavior should be held constant. Furthermore, the content of the politicians' own communication should ideally be controlled for, such as attention in the candidate's campaign to personal life, appearance and 'masculine' and 'feminine' issues and traits.

Recap.

In sum, we comprehensively and systematically take stock of the field of studies comparing newspaper and television media coverage of men and women politicians, thus inspecting whether in general women get lower amounts of attention, and whether the coverage they do get is more negative in tone, overreports aggressive and combative behavior, is more interpretive, is more focused on viability and the professional background of women candidates, assesses their viability lower, contains less direct quotes, focusses more on

personality traits, appearance, family life and the politician's gender, is less focused on substantive issues, follows gender stereotypes in terms of traits and issues and reports less on leadership traits. In addition, we expect that any gender bias -if any- is worse for higher level offices, for executive functions, in plurality systems, during primaries, outside of election campaigns, longer back in time and where female political representation is low.

Method for Selecting Articles

The following criteria were used to select studies: a) The research must focus on the media coverage of *politicians*. This excludes research on the media coverage of other professions (e.g. journalists, athletes) or men and women in generally (i.e. non-politicians). b) The method must be *content analysis*, i.e., the research must systematically study the media coverage of politicians in terms of characteristics that were formulated in advance. c) The research should make a *comparison* between the media coverage of men and women. This excludes research that only looks at coverage of women. d) The research should focus on *traditional media* coverage, i.e. newspaper and/or television coverage, and not social media. This criterion was adopted for comparability and feasibility. e) The study must be published in English. f) The research should be published in an academic journal or book or presented at an academic conference. We include conference papers in our analyses to lessen the effect of publication bias.

A broad search string to select scholarly research on gender bias in media coverage of politicians was formulated, in which the following aspects were included: content analysis, media coverage, gender, and politician.³ We used Google Scholar as the database to select research for our initial selection. The abstracts of the first 300 results that came up were read to determine whether the study met the criteria (see Appendix B for excluded studies). Then, we searched specifically for review articles on this topic. In a next step, we checked all references of these studies for research meeting the requirements for inclusion. Finally, we

searched for additional studies using alternations of our search string on Google Scholar. In total, we came to a list of 66 research publications that fulfilled all selection criteria and were coded and included in this paper.

Method of Coding

The selection of 66 academic publications were coded on a number of features (see codebook in supplementary material). If publications included separate samples and results for different types of politician or election, each sample was considered a separate case (e.g., Jalalzai (2006), studying both senators and governors). Likewise, separate samples for TV and newspaper coverage with separately reported results, were treated as distinct cases. Because of this, the 66 publications that were coded resulted in 86 cases in our dataset. We coded the basic information of the study: title, author(s), journal or book it was publicized in, year of publication, number of citations, country or countries included in the study, time frame of the study, whether the study concerns campaign periods, the level of office of the politicians that were studied, the type of election that was studied, the electoral system in which the politicians operate, the disproportionality and the number of parties and seats in that system, the percentage female representation at the national legislative level, the medium that was studied (newspapers and/or television broadcasts), and whether the study performed manual or automated content analysis. Then, the characteristics of the analyses were coded, including the type of unit of analysis, the included control variables and the number of observations.

As indicated before, control variables are important to separate journalistic gender bias from mere differences in reporting, however, the majority of studies (55) employ no controls. Of the studies that do so, most (23) hold constant for factors related to political standing, such as incumbency, length of tenure, prior positions, and standing in the polls, while only seven studies (additionally) control for the own communication of politicians, despite Kahn's (1994) early example. Furthermore, there is an overwhelming focus on North American cases,

perhaps in part due to our English language criterion for the publication. Of the 86 study cases, 43 are on the US context, followed by Canada with 14 cases. 22 Studies are conducted in Europe, and only two are on non-English speaking, non-European countries (Chile and Venezuela). Out of the 86 studies included in our dataset, 69 focused solely on electoral campaign periods, 11 focused on routine time alone and 6 studied both campaign periods and times of routine politics.

Finally, we focused on the results of the study and coded whether (statistically significant) gender differences were found for politicians' visibility, horse-race and viability coverage, personal coverage, issue coverage and trait coverage. In addition, we constructed a numerical measure for the difference in visibility of women and men politicians in the study. First, from the reported amount of media attention per man and woman politician, we calculated the *proportion* of visibility for women (P_f), by dividing the reported female visibility value by the total (male + female) visibility value. Using this proportion, we calculated the meta-analysis effect size indicator d' (Rosenthal, 1984; see also Schmidt & Hunter, 2014).⁴ d' is simply the difference in visibility proportions of men and women, so $d' = P_f - (1 - P_f)$ given that $P_m = 1 - P_f$. Because publications could have several results, derived from multiple samples or media, dependency in the effect sizes was taken into account using robust variance estimation with random effects weights, implemented in the robumeta package (Hedges, Tipton, & Johnson, 2010; Tanner-Smith & Tipton, 2014; Tipton, 2015). Weights were calculated using $w = \frac{N}{1-d'^2}$, in which N is the number of observations in the sample (Rosenthal, 1984: 71). The main analyses are weighted for the number of politicians, robustness analyses with alternative specifications can be found in Appendix C. The full coded dataset is provided in the supplementary material.

Results on Quantity of Coverage

Over all studies, is there a difference in visibility between men and women politicians? Figure 1 displays the d' score for the 70 cases in 52 publications inspecting the visibility of candidates or politicians in the media. The figure shows both values well above 0 (men less visible) as well below (women less visible), while the mean estimate is -0.036, with the 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.088 to 0.015. Thus, taken over all studies, women politicians are about 3.6 percentage points less visible in the media than men politicians, a slight difference that could be compatible with equitable reporting. At the same time, there is considerable variation between studies in the gender balance in visibility. The question then is whether these are systematic or arbitrary differences. To inspect this, we turn to the potential moderators of gender differences in news visibility.

FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE

Figure 2 displays the coefficients of separate models for each of the moderators. Based on the literature, we expected more gender biased coverage for higher political offices and for executive functions because of the stronger masculine stereotype associated with these offices. Contrary to this, Figure 2 shows that the coefficients in the models for office level and office type could well be zero and that even the direction of the effects does not form a convincing pattern.⁵

FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE

Next, we expected that institutions that foster a personalized electoral connection would lead to a larger gender effects on coverage, but the evidence points in the opposite direction. In fact, a significant, negative gender gap in media attention is found in countries with proportional representation. In countries with plurality/majority voting, represented in the data by the US (34 studies), Canada (10), United Kingdom (4) and Australia (1), the d' is estimated at 0.012 (95% CI from -0.043 to 0.067), while in proportional representation (PR) systems it is estimated at -0.141 (95% CI from -0.214 to -0.068). Concretely, this means that

men politicians are 14 percentage points more visible than women politicians in PR systems, while the difference is negligible in majoritarian systems. Countries with mixed member elections, represented by Germany, New Zealand and Venezuela, like majoritarian systems show little gender bias.

This raises the question what it is about countries PR systems that leads to a lower media visibility of women politicians compared to men. This electoral system is associated with more proportional electoral outcomes (i.e., a stronger association between vote share and seat share), a larger number of parties in the legislature and generally less personal vote incentives (Andre, Depauw, & Martin, 2016; Gallagher & Mitchell, 2005). In addition, the PR systems in the meta-analysis dataset all lie in one geographic region, namely Europe. To understand which of these properties might drive lower female visibility, we regressed the gender difference in visibility on a) Gallagher's Least Squares Index of disproportionality, b) the effective number of parties, c) the mean personal vote incentive of the electoral system according to André et al. (2016),⁶ and d) a Europe dummy. The results are shown in Table 1. Disproportionality has a near-zero effect, while the effective number of parties, the personal (rather than party) vote orientation and the Europe dummy significantly impact female media visibility when considered separately. When modelled together, none is significant, indicating that it is impossible to fully disentangle them empirically with these data. Thus, although we cannot exclude that this is a European regional particularity, it seems that the personalized rather than party-centered orientation of the electoral systems and possibly a smaller number of parties in the party-system lead to more gender equal media attention to politicians.

TABLE 1 AROUND HERE

The remaining hypothesized moderators do not affect gender balance in the amount of coverage. Thus, it does not matter whether primary or general elections, routine or campaign periods, the 1980s or the 2010s are studied. The level of female representation seemingly (and surprising) has a detrimental effect on female visibility, but this is driven by the fact that

female representation tends to be high in the European countries with PR systems. When combined in one analysis, the negative effect of proportional representation remains, while the effect of female representation becomes positive and non-significant (see Appendix C). We additionally inspected whether the type of medium matter, and found some indication that TV provides a more disadvantaged stage for women politicians compared to newspaper coverage. The studies inspecting TV coverage had about 10 percentage points lower visibility scores for women politicians ($b=-0.092$, $p=0.051$), and studies covering both TV and newspapers likewise reported lower visibility for women politicians relative to newspapers ($b=-0.178$, $p=0.022$). The latter result, however, is only based on three studies, and as such must be interpreted with caution. Therefore, we see this as an indication -and not a sure sign- that TV coverage might be less equitable than newspapers in the amount of attention devoted to men and women politicians. Further, we found no differences between types of newspapers (tabloid, quality) ⁷.

Finally, we inspected how knowledge on media visibility is accumulated in the field, by considering the gender composition of authors and citation patterns of studies (full results in Appendix C). First, unsurprisingly, most studies into media attention on men and women politicians are conducted by a female author or fully female team (51). Thirteen studies are by gender-mixed teams, and only six are by a male author or a fully male team. Interestingly, there is a relation between the gender of the authors and the outcome on gender bias in visibility: the larger the share of female authors (from 0 to 1), the more equal the visibility result ($b=0.142$, $p=0.035$). To be precise, fully male teams report a mean gender gap in visibility of -0.158 to the disadvantage of women politicians, mixed teams report an average d' of -0.070, while fully female authored studies report about equal visibility at $d'=0.007$. Second, a similar pattern is apparent in the relation between the reported result, the gender of authors of publications, and the number of times it is cited. Male authors are on average cited more, but, moreover, male authors are cited more when they find women are less visible,

while female authors are cited more when they find men are less visible. This could be a sign that it is harder to publish results that argue that your own gender is disadvantaged. Lastly, in relation to the conflicting narratives in summaries on the field, how widely a publication is cited depends both on the results and the timing of the study. Among studies published before 2006, those reporting lower visibility for women are cited much more; among the studies published after 2006 the opposite holds: reporting a lower visibility for men leads to more citations. Given the overall outcome of about equal visibility, this could be seen as the field (over)correcting itself from early impressions of starkly unequal attention.

Results on Quality of Coverage

We now turn our attention to differences in *the way* politicians are discussed, based on expectations regarding stereotype incongruence (1), lower viability estimations (2), the link between women and private life (3), and issue and trait stereotypes (4). Table 2 presents an overview of gender differences in the different aspects of media content based on our coding of 86 studies on these topics (a detailed list of which studies find which results can be found in Supplementary Appendix D).

First, the table summarizes the findings concerning the tone of the media coverage in which politicians are portrayed. The incongruence between what is generally desired from leaders and what from women gives rise to the expectation that women politicians are evaluated more negatively in the media. Conroy and colleagues (2015) even maintain that gender differences in the tone of the news coverage are ‘largely a well-established phenomenon’ (2015: 575). However, some expect women politicians to have an advantage over their male colleagues (e.g., Lühiste & Banducci, 2016). The empirical findings are rather mixed: about an equal number of studies show that men politicians are portrayed more positively, that women politicians are portrayed more positively, and that there is no difference in the tone of the coverage between male and female politicians. The data show no

clear indication that the country or region, type or level of the political office, type of medium or time moderates the relationship. Thus, based on these studies, we conclude that there is no gender difference in the tone of the coverage of politicians. Besides prompting negative evaluations, stereotype incongruence could also lead the media to amplify non-stereotypical behavior, such as attack behavior by women, and to more interpretative coverage. This ‘gendered mediation’ has been examined in too few studies to summarize in the table, and all are by Gidengil and Everitt on the coverage of leader debates in Canada. They show that women politicians are described in more aggressive terms and with an overemphasis on combative behavior (Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; 2003a; 2003b) and that women politicians receive less descriptive and more ‘mediated’ coverage (i.e., analytical or evaluative, both labeled as interpretative coverage) (Gidengil & Everitt, 2000; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003b).

TABLE 2 AROUND HERE

Second, gender stereotypes likely affect the perceived viability of the politicians, and by consequence their viability coverage. This type of reporting focuses on the question of the candidates can stay in the race and what their chances are of winning the elections. Specifically, studies examine whether there are gender differences in the amount of horse race coverage, in the assessment of the viability, on professional background information (such as information on previous functions and experience), and in the number of quotes of politicians that are printed in the reporting. The overall evidence supporting the assumption that viability coverage is favorable for men politicians is present, but weak.

Let us start with the amount of horse race coverage: most studies that examined this type of coverage measured horse race reporting by coding news reports on election polls, but some included also other aspects, for instance who has a stronger campaign organization, discussion of the performance of candidates in the campaign (Kahn, 1994), or the campaign tactics that were used and where the candidates campaigned (Devitt, 2002). The findings in Table 2 are most consistent with no gender difference in the amount of horse race coverage,

as 23 out of 33 studies report equal amounts of horse race coverage for male and female politicians. The second aspect of viability coverage is the assessment of the viability of politicians in the reporting. This includes how the electoral chances are evaluated by journalists, for instance as 'competitive' or as 'sure loser', and, thus, the assessment of a candidate's electability (Bode & Hennings, 2012), but also, for example, 'whether the candidate had contact with the president or whether the candidate is unfit for the job' (Niven, 2005). There is some indication that male candidates receive a favorable treatment, as most studies show that the viability assessment is more positive for male candidates, some studies show equal evaluations for men and women politicians, and studies that show that viability assessment is in favor of women politicians are very rare. Third, focusing on the professional background of politicians, the findings are not clear-cut. There are more studies that show that women politicians receive more background coverage than studies that show more reporting on male politicians' professional track-record, but also much research shows no gender difference in terms of the amount of background reporting. Fourth, the number of direct quotes of politicians that are included in the reporting also show an advantage for men: most studies show that men politicians are more often cited than women, some show no gender difference, and only one shows that women are more often quoted.

Thus, most evidence supports the assumption that viability coverage is favorable for male politicians, although with some mixed results. Even though men and women politicians receive same amounts of horse race coverage and possibly also equal amounts of professional background coverage, the findings show that men are portrayed more positively in viability assessments and are quoted more often. It is noticeable that this aspect of media coverage is hardly studied outside North America. Thus, these conclusions are convincing for viability coverage of political candidates in the US and in Canada, but must be drawn more cautiously for the rest of the world.

Third, as women are stereotypically associated with the private sphere instead of public life and politics, the media could be expected to focus more on personal lives of female politicians. We distinguish four relevant categories in personal coverage: media reporting on the physical appearance of a politician, on his/her family life, personality coverage (i.e. the amount of personality trait coverage) and whether the gender of the politician is discussed. The findings in Table 2 show that in three of these four categories there is a clear gender gap: women politicians receive more media coverage that focusses on their looks than male politicians, woman politicians receive more family related personal coverage than male politicians, and when women politicians are portrayed, more often than their male colleagues, their gender is mentioned. One category shows a different picture: for the amount of trait coverage, the results indicate that there is likely no gender bias, as most studies find that men and women politicians receive equal amounts of personality coverage.

Thus, women politicians are more often discussed in terms of their gender, their family life and their physical appearance, but not in terms of their personality. Even though the results are not univocal, the overall picture is that women politicians receive more personal coverage than their male colleagues. This could be disadvantageous for female politicians: personal coverage highlights ‘non-political’ aspects of politicians, which might affect the way voters evaluate the political actor.

The most important consequence of a stronger focus on the personal life of women politicians compared to their male colleagues, is that this type of coverage might be at the expense of media reporting on politician’s political standpoints. The empirical evidence for less issue coverage for female politicians, however, is somewhat ambiguous: a large number of studies find no gender difference and a large number shows that men politicians receive more issue coverage. However, of latter group, in most cases significance is not tested. Based on these findings, we conclude that there is not enough evidence to state that men politicians receive more issue-based coverage than their female colleagues. It should be noted that

research that focusses on issue coverage, again, is very North-America focused and to draw convincing conclusions about whether women politicians in other parts of the world receive less issue coverage than their male counterparts, much more research is needed.

Fourth, media coverage might simply reflect gendered stereotypes. We distinguish three categories: media coverage reflecting issue stereotypes, trait stereotypes and the masculine leadership stereotype. Based on stereotypical thinking, certain policy issue competencies are linked to men and others to women. Accordingly, it is often hypothesized that women politicians are more often discussed in media coverage in relation to the so-called *feminine issues*, while on stereotypical *masculine issues*, men politicians should be overrepresented. The findings in Table 2 show that, although there are quite a lot of studies that find that men politicians are mainly covered on masculine issues and women politicians on feminine issues, the combined evidence for this hypothesis is not overly convincing. However, these results also do not warrant a rejection of the hypothesis. There might be a (weak) effect of issue stereotypes on the coverage of men and women politicians in terms of their coverage on issues, perhaps caused by the lack of statistical power in many of these studies. Consequently, the conclusion is somewhat unsatisfying: there might be reason to belief that there is a gender bias in the content of issue covering, but more research is needed in this respect.

Similar to the expectation with issue stereotypes, the most often studied hypothesis concerning trait coverage is that women politicians are mainly covered in the media in terms of the feminine stereotype traits, while men politicians are mostly covered based on masculine traits.⁸ As Table 2 shows, the results are as unclear as for issue stereotypes. This aspect is not studied that frequently, but when it is studied researchers show that politicians are mainly covered in terms of the traits belonging to their gender stereotype as often as they show that there is no gender effect in trait stereotype coverage. Thus, again, we come to the conclusion that more research is needed in this respect to convincingly accept or reject this hypothesis. It

should be noted, however, that the fourteen studies almost exclusively focus on newspaper coverage during campaign periods, and thus these conclusions cannot easily be transformed to television coverage and media coverage during times of routine politics.

Then, there is a subgroup that not focusses on gender differences in trait coverage based on ‘regular’ gender-stereotypes, but specifically on gender differences in the way politicians are portrayed in terms of their leadership traits. Leadership traits are those character traits in politicians that are important for voters when they cast their ballot. Hayes and Lawless (2015) include the four traits from the seminal work of (Kinder, 1986): competence, leadership, integrity and empathy; Valenzuela and Correa (2009) include the traits charisma/compassion, honesty, leadership, aggressiveness and competency; and Aaldering and Van der Pas (2018) including political skills, vigorousness, integrity, communicative skills and consistency. The findings concerning leadership trait coverage are mixed and the conclusion is a cautious one: it is likely that men politicians are more often portrayed in the media in terms of their leadership traits, but here as well more research is needed.

Conclusion

Are journalists biased against female politicians? We systematically analyzed 86 studies covering over 3,500 women politicians and over 750,000 coded media stories to answer this question. Our meta-analysis of visibility suggests that there is little gender bias in the *amount* of coverage of politicians in majoritarian electoral systems, while in PR systems women politicians get about 14 percentage points less media attention than men. Also, there is an indication that the gender difference in media visibility of politicians is larger on TV than in newspapers. However, we pose this as a new hypothesis for future research, as there is more empirical research needed that focuses on TV coverage to draw a sure conclusion. None of the other explanations generally offered for when the visibility gap should be larger or

smaller was able to account for differences in relative female visibility between studies. This is a striking and new insight, given the scarcity of research into the conditions of gender bias due to the resource intensity of comparative work.

It was expected that electoral systems with a strongly personalized connection between representatives and represented, such as majoritarian systems, would produce larger gender effects on media visibility. The results are to the contrary, in *party* rather than *person*-oriented systems women appear to be disadvantaged in the media. These surprising results beg the question why this apparent inequality exists in PR systems. Although the level of personal orientation has the strongest observed effect, we cannot fully disentangle empirically whether the lower effective number of parties, the party (rather than personal) vote orientation or something particular about Europe is at play here. However, a possible hypothesis that might be tested in future work is that in electoral contexts dominated by parties, there is more specialization among politicians within parties. If this division of labor is done along gender lines, and men tend to take on media relations, this might explain the lower media visibility of women in countries with PR systems.

The review of gender bias in the *content* of the media coverage of politicians provides support for some widely held expectations concerning the favorability of media reporting of male politicians, while others are debunked. The combined studies show that there is little evidence for gender differentiated coverage in the general tone in which politicians are portrayed and in the amount of issue coverage politicians receive. On the other hand, we find that the viability assessments are largely in favor of men politicians (even though there is no gender difference in the amount of horse race coverage), women politicians receive more appearance, family and gender coverage than their male colleagues, female politicians' combative behavior is exaggerated and there is reason to believe that politicians are mainly portrayed in accordance with the issues and traits belonging to their gender stereotype.

Finally, we end by pointing to two promising directions to move forward. The question posed in this article was one about *bias*, i.e. whether journalists treat women politicians differently. To answer this, ideally everything that matters except the gender of the politician is held constant. Many studies endeavor to do this either by examining arguably similar politicians or by controlling statistically for factors like political status and experience. However, relatively few studies take the campaign and other communication on the part of politicians into account, in spite of the early example set by Kahn (e.g., Kahn, & Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1994; see also Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; 2003a; 2003b). It is even harder to observe the informal behavior of politicians toward journalists, except in qualitative comparisons (e.g., Goodyear-Grant, 2013). Given that certain differences in coverage have been established in a fair number of studies, a stronger emphasis on whether these differences in fact stem from journalistic *bias* is now warranted. This can be done either by combining media content analysis with information on politicians' campaigns and networks, or by exploring new methods, such as experiments on journalists.

Second, the field would benefit from a stronger focus on the mechanism that can explain the gender bias. If differences in coverage indeed stem from journalistic bias, how exactly does that differential treatment come about? We have outlined three potential mechanisms in this article, i.e. news values, gendered networks and stereotypes, but we lack empirical evidence on whether these indeed drive the observed outcomes. For example, coverage in line with gender stereotypes arguably comes from stereotyping by journalists, but the cognitive process by which journalists arrive at this type of reporting remains a black box (cf. Bauer, 2015). In addition, the role of networks in gender differentiated political coverage is currently understudied. How do the formal and informal contacts between politicians and journalists figure in the gender bias in political reporting? A better understanding of these mechanisms is crucial, as only by understanding how gender bias comes about can we select effective remedies.

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Notes

¹ Under ‘politician’ we understand both candidates and political office-holders.

² We use the term ‘gender’ to denote the sex of the politician as publicly known.

³ The precise wording of the search term is: (“Content analysis” OR “content analyses”) AND (coverage OR reporting OR reports OR news OR media OR press OR TV OR newspaper) AND (gender OR sex OR (male AND female) OR (men AND women)) AND (political OR politician OR politics OR leader).

⁴ We did not use a standardized difference between means as a measure of effect size because for a large part of the studies, the standard deviations of the means were not reported and irretrievable.

⁵ To ensure functional equivalence of office levels and office types, we also performed this analysis on studies in the US only. Also in these 34 studies, no convincing pattern between office level and type and the relative visibility of men and women politicians was found. Analyses are available upon request.

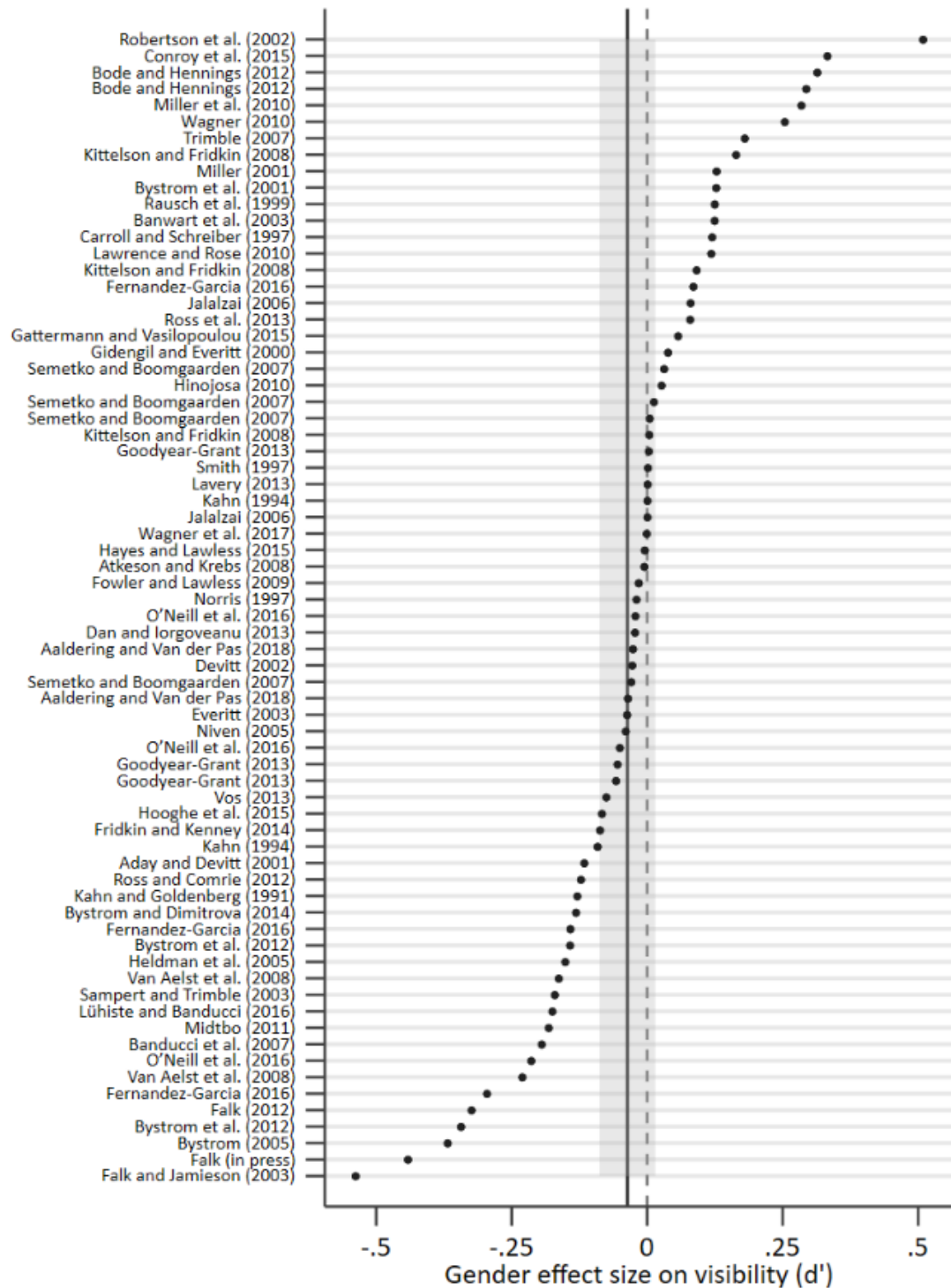
⁶ Each study was assigned the mean personal vote orientation of their electoral system as reported by André et al. (2016, 47, Table 5). André and colleagues distinguish between closed-list proportional, flexible-list proportional, open-list proportional, single-member plurality, single transferable vote, and two-round system, which respectively have scores of 2.37, 2.43, 3.16, 3.38, 3.57, and 3.41, on a 5-point scale with higher numbers indicating a more personal vote orientation. European Parliament elections use different types of list systems, so the three studies covering these elections are excluded from this analysis. Assigning the three studies the mean score of the three types of proportional system does not change the results.

⁷ The studies that control for the own communication of politicians have about 7 percentage points lower d' scores ($b=-0.067$), a difference with studies without controls that is not statistically significant ($p=0.309$). Studies that only control for political factors also report lower d' scores than studies with no controls, but also not significantly so ($b=-0.076$, $p=0.139$). Full results available upon request.

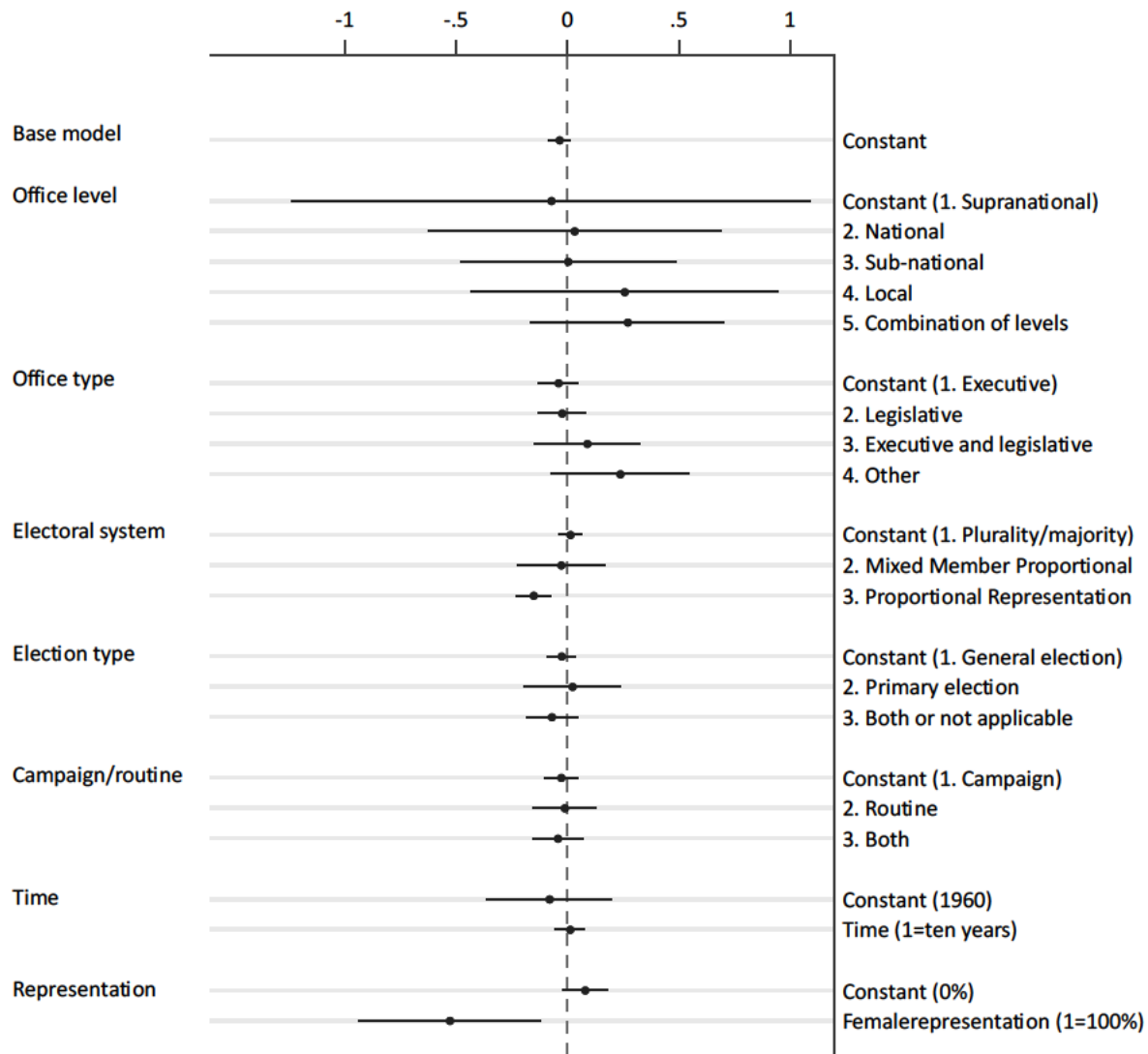
⁸ Within the gendered political media coverage literature, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) were the first to study this topic and operationalized masculine traits by ‘independent, objective, competitive, strong leader, insensitive, aggressive, unemotional, ambitious, and tough’ and feminine traits by ‘dependent, noncompetitive, passive, gentle, emotional, weak leader, and compassionate’.

Tables and Figures

Figure 1. Effect of gender on media visibility



Note: d' is the proportion of visibility for women minus the proportion of visibility for men. The solid line is the estimated mean, with the 95% confidence interval in grey.

Figure 2. Explaining differences in visibility – coefficient plot

Note: Robust variance estimation coefficients explaining d' , with 95% confidence intervals. Full models in Appendix C.

Table 1. Explaining differences in visibility – properties of PR systems

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Least Squares Index	0.001 (0.822)						
Effective number of parties		-0.029 (0.031)				0.017 (0.568)	-0.019 (0.379)
Personal Orientation			0.152 (0.015)		0.113 (0.356)	0.229 (0.154)	
Europe dummy				-0.139 (0.002)	-0.049 (0.643)		-0.062 (0.514)
Constant	-0.025 (0.547)	0.073 (0.081)	-0.502 (0.019)	0.026 (0.303)	-0.360 (0.378)	-0.801 (0.173)	0.065 (0.185)

Note: Robust variance estimation coefficients explaining d' , p-values in parentheses.

Table 2. Summary of gender differences in the content of media coverage

	Men more			Equal	Women more			Total
	Significant	Mixed Significance	Unknown		Significant	Mixed Significance	Unknown	
General Tone Positive	4	2	4	8	3	1	5	27
Horse Race	0	1	3	23	5	0	3	35
Viability Assessment	5	0	6	6	1	0	1	19
Background	1	1	3	9	4	0	4	22
Quotes	3	1	5	5	0	0	1	15
Physical Appearance	0	0	2	7	6	3	12	30
Family Life	0	1	2	9	10	2	7	31
Trait Amount	0	0	1	10	1	2	2	16
Mention of Gender	0	0	3	1	9	0	5	18
Issue Amount	6	0	9	14	1	1	3	34
Leadership Traits	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	7

	Men more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes			Men more on male stereotypes, men more on female stereotypes			Women more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes			Women more on male stereotypes, men more on female stereotypes			Equal	Total
	Significant	Mixed	Unknown	Significant	Mixed	Unknown	Significant	Mixed	Unknown	Significant	Mixed	Unknown		
Issue stereotypes	5	4	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	12	30
Trait stereotypes	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	5	14

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Appendix A: Summaries of the state of the field

Table 1. Gender differences in news visibility as discussed in existing literature

Women politicians or candidates receive less coverage:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Women who run for office receive less attention from the media than men (Teele, Kalla, & Rosenbluth, 2018: 527). – This pattern [that in general males are given a benefit in quantity of coverage over females] is confirmed by similar findings in races for other offices (Falk, 2010: 106). – Women politicians typically receive less media coverage than their male peers [...]. Even when a government has a gender-balanced composition, male ministers still obtain much more coverage than female ministers (Verge & Pastor, 2018: 3). – The literature reports that women presidential candidates consistently garner less press coverage than men (Miller, Peake, & Boulton, 2010: 176). – [...] women still struggle for publicity. (Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears, & Wadia, 2013: 5).
The literature is contradictory:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Several studies have found that female political aspirants receive less attention in the form of news stories, commentary and cartoons than do their male counterparts [...]. Yet other research shows women may receive more coverage because of their sex (Trimble, 2007: 972). – Some scholars have uncovered few major differences in the amount of news coverage [...], while others have discovered women receive significantly more media attention [...] or significantly less depending upon the electoral context, candidates, or news format examined (Wagner, Trimble, Sampert, & Gerrits, 2017: 475). – The question of quantity of coverage also often emerges: Do women candidates receive less coverage than their male counterparts? Some studies lend credence to those concerns, while others have found little difference, and still others have demonstrated that female candidates actually receive more coverage than male candidates overall (Brooks, 2013: 150). – Kahn [...] concludes that female candidates in the US receive less coverage than their male contenders [...]. More recent studies validate her findings [...]. However, other researchers do not find a gender bias in terms of quantity of coverage (Vos, 2013: 391).
The bias from the past has equalized over time:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Both U.S. and international gender and politics scholarship has repeatedly found that female candidates receive less coverage than their male counterparts [...]. However, some studies suggest that this gap may have closed or at least be waning (Ward, 2016: 321). – More recent work indicates that the patterns of gender difference in the coverage of candidates seen in the 1980s and 1990s are changing and becoming more equitable [...]. Looking across a range of offices, it is clear that women are generally receiving as much total coverage as men and as much coverage on policy and political positions, although some work still finds that women's "novelty" as candidates is a continuing frame (Dolan, 2014: 29). – A number of studies have found that men politicians usually receive more press attention than women [...]. However, more recent work shows that, as women have attained higher levels of representation over time, the amount of coverage has balanced [...] or even reversed to women's advantage (Fernandez-Garcia, 2016: 143).

Note: Emphasis was added.

Appendix B: Excluded studies

We list excluded studies according to the stage in which they were excluded. First, Table B1 lists the studies that were part of the initial 300 search results on Google Scholar and that were *not* selected to be included in the analysis. The excluded studies are ordered by the first selection criterion that was not met by the study. Second, Table B2 lists studies that were found at a later stage, and excluded, along with the reason for exclusion.

Table B1. Excluded studies from first 300 Google Scholar results

Study is not a (systematic) content analysis
Kahn, K. F. (1992). Does being male help? An investigation of the effects of candidate gender and campaign coverage on evaluations of US Senate candidates. <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , 54(2), 497-517.
Kahn, K. F. (1994). Does gender make a difference? An experimental examination of sex stereotypes and press patterns in statewide campaigns. <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , 162-195.
Alexander, D., & Andersen, K. (1993). Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits. <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> , 46(3), 527-545.
Koch, J. W. (1999). Candidate gender and assessments of senate candidates. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> , 84-96.
Tremblay, M. (1998). Do female MPs substantively represent women? A study of legislative behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament. <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique</i> , 31(3), 435-465.
Bystrom, D. G. (2004). Women as political communication sources and audiences. <i>Handbook of political communication research</i> , 435-459.
Burden, B. C. (2008). The social roots of the partisan gender gap. <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> , 72(1), 55-75.
Stroud, N. J. (2008). Media use and political predispositions: Revisiting the concept of selective exposure. <i>Political Behavior</i> , 30(3), 341-366. (also not a male/female comparison)
McCann, M. W. (1994). Rights at work: Pay equity reform and the politics of legal mobilization. University of Chicago Press.
Linz, D., Donnerstein, E., & Penrod, S. (1987). The findings and recommendations of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography: Do the psychological "facts" fit the political fury?. <i>American Psychologist</i> , 42(10), 946.
Ritter, B. A., & Yoder, J. D. (2004). Gender differences in leader emergence persist even for dominant women: An updated confirmation of role congruity theory. <i>Psychology of Women Quarterly</i> , 28(3), 187-193.
Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. (1985). The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. <i>Journal of Research in Personality</i> , 19(3), 299-320.
Neuendorf, K. A. (2016). <i>The content analysis guidebook</i> . Sage. (also no comparison)
Radford, J. (1987). Policing male violence—policing women. In <i>Women, violence and social control</i> (pp. 30-45). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
Jacobs, R. L., & McClelland, D. C. (1994). Moving up the corporate ladder: A longitudinal study of the leadership motive pattern and managerial success in women and men. <i>Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research</i> , 46(1), 32.
Koch, J. W. (2000). Do citizens apply gender stereotypes to infer candidates' ideological orientations?. <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , 62(2), 414-429.

- Darcy, R., & Schramm, S. S. (1977). When women run against men. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 41(1), 1-12.
- Terkildsen, N., & Schnell, F. (1997). How media frames move public opinion: An analysis of the women's movement. *Political research quarterly*, 50(4), 879-900.
- Aries, E. (1976). Interaction patterns and themes of male, female, and mixed groups. *Small group behavior*, 7(1), 7-18.
- Tuchman, G. (1979). Women's depiction by the mass media. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 4(3), 528-542.
- Wolin, L. D. (2003). Gender issues in advertising—An oversight synthesis of research: 1970–2002. *Journal of advertising research*, 43(1), 111-129.
- Fox, R. L., & Oxley, Z. M. (2003). Gender stereotyping in state executive elections: Candidate selection and success. *The Journal of Politics*, 65(3), 833-850.
- Goertz, G., & Mazur, A. (2008). *Politics, Gender and Concepts*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Seiter, E. (1986). Stereotypes and the media: A re-evaluation. *Journal of communication*, 36(2), 14-26.
- Dreher, G. F., & Ash, R. A. (1990). A comparative study of mentoring among men and women in managerial, professional, and technical positions. *Journal of applied psychology*, 75(5), 539.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1996). Sexually explicit media, gender differences, and evolutionary theory. *Journal of Communication*, 46(3), 8-31.
- Chiricos, T., Eschholz, S., & Gertz, M. (1997). Crime, news and fear of crime: Toward an identification of audience effects. *Social problems*, 44(3), 342-357.
- Daniels, E. A. (2009). Sex objects, athletes, and sexy athletes: How media representations of women athletes can impact adolescent girls and college women. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 24(4), 399-422.
- Meier, K. J., Mastracci, S. H., & Wilson, K. (2006). Gender and emotional labor in public organizations: An empirical examination of the link to performance. *Public Administration Review*, 66(6), 899-909.
- Korabik, K., Baril, G. L., & Watson, C. (1993). Managers' conflict management style and leadership effectiveness: The moderating effects of gender. *Sex roles*, 29(5-6), 405-420.
- Kalof, L. (1999). The effects of gender and music video imagery on sexual attitudes. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 139(3), 378-385.
- Herrett-Skjellum, J., & Allen, M. (1996). Television programming and sex stereotyping: A meta-analysis. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 19(1), 157-186.
- Milkie, M. A. (1999). Social comparisons, reflected appraisals, and mass media: The impact of pervasive beauty images on Black and White girls' self-concepts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 190-210.
- Barnett, O. W. (2000). Why battered women do not leave, part 1: External inhibiting factors within society. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 1(4), 343-372.
- Jacobs, R. L., & McClelland, D. C. (1994). Moving up the corporate ladder: A longitudinal study of the leadership motive pattern and managerial success in women and men. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, 46(1), 32.
- Hollingsworth, L. D. (2000). Sociodemographic influences in the prediction of attitudes toward transracial adoption. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 81(1), 90-100.

Study does not focus on traditional media coverage (newspaper and TV)
<p>Colley, A., & Maltby, J. (2008). Impact of the Internet on our lives: Male and female personal perspectives. <i>Computers in human behavior</i>, 24(5), 2005-2013.(also: not political actors)</p> <p>Stratigaki, M. (2004). The cooptation of gender concepts in EU policies: The case of "reconciliation of work and family". <i>Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society</i>, 11(1), 30-56.</p> <p>Argamon, S., Koppel, M., Pennebaker, J. W., & Schler, J. (2007). Mining the blogosphere: Age, gender and the varieties of self-expression. <i>First Monday</i>, 12(9).</p> <p>Van Zoonen, L. (1998). "Finally, I Have My Mother Back" Politicians and Their Families in Popular Culture. <i>Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics</i>, 3(1), 48-64.</p> <p>White, A. M. (2001, February). I am because we are: Combined race and gender political consciousness among African American women and men anti-rape activists. In <i>Women's Studies International Forum</i> (Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 11-24). Pergamon.</p> <p>Armstrong, C. L., & Gao, F. (2011). Gender, Twitter and news content: An examination across platforms and coverage areas. <i>Journalism Studies</i>, 12(4), 490-505.</p> <p>Herring, S. C., & Paolillo, J. C. (2006). Gender and genre variation in weblogs. <i>Journal of Sociolinguistics</i>, 10(4), 439-459.</p> <p>Ginossar, T. (2008). Online participation: a content analysis of differences in utilization of two online cancer communities by men and women, patients and family members. <i>Health communication</i>, 23(1), 1-12.</p> <p>Hum, N. J., Chamberlin, P. E., Hambright, B. L., Portwood, A. C., Schat, A. C., & Bevan, J. L. (2011). A picture is worth a thousand words: A content analysis of Facebook profile photographs. <i>Computers in Human Behavior</i>, 27(5), 1828-1833.</p> <p>Clavio, G., & Eagleman, A. N. (2011). Gender and sexually suggestive images in sports blogs. <i>Journal of Sport Management</i>, 25(4), 295-304.</p> <p>Puhl, R. M., Peterson, J. L., DePierre, J. A., & Luedicke, J. (2013). Headless, hungry, and unhealthy: a video content analysis of obese persons portrayed in online news. <i>Journal of health communication</i>, 18(6), 686-702.</p> <p>Perrin, A. (2015). Social media usage. <i>Pew Research Center</i>.</p>
Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
<p>Lundell, Å. K., & Ekström, M. (2008). The complex visual gendering of political women in the press. <i>Journalism Studies</i>, 9(6), 891-910.</p> <p>Herring, S. C., Scheidt, L. A., Kouper, I., & Wright, E. (2007). Longitudinal content analysis of blogs: 2003-2004. <i>Blogging, citizenship, and the future of media</i>, 3-20.</p> <p>Bell, P. (2001). Content analysis of visual images. <i>Handbook of visual analysis</i>, 13.</p> <p>Carroll, S. J. (1999). The disempowerment of the gender gap: Soccer moms and the 1996 elections. <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i>, 32(1), 7-11.</p> <p>Lee, F. L. (2004). Constructing perfect women: The portrayal of female officials in Hong Kong newspapers. <i>Media, Culture & Society</i>, 26(2), 207-225.</p> <p>Zeldes, G. A., & Fico, F. (2005). Race and gender: An analysis of sources and reporters in the networks' coverage of the 2000 presidential campaign. <i>Mass Communication & Society</i>, 8(4), 373-385.</p> <p>Scharrer, E., & Bissell, K. (2000). Overcoming traditional boundaries: The role of political activity in media coverage of first ladies. <i>Women & Politics</i>, 21(1), 55-83.</p> <p>Garcia-Blanco, I., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2012). The discursive construction of women politicians in the European press. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i>, 12(3), 422-441.</p>
Study is not in English

-
Study is not: published (as academic article or book) or an academic conference paper
-
Empirical material already covered in other studies
Kahn, K. F., & Fridkin, K. (1996). The political consequences of being a woman: How stereotypes influence the conduct and consequences of political campaigns. Columbia University Press.
Kahn, K. F., & Goldenberg, E. N. (1991). The media: obstacle or ally of feminists?. <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> , 515(1), 104-113.
Study is not journalistic coverage, but own communication of politicians
Kahn, K. F. (1993). Gender differences in campaign messages: The political advertisements of men and women candidates for US Senate. <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> , 46(3), 481-502.
Dolan, K. (2005). Do women candidates play to gender stereotypes? Do men candidates play to women? Candidate sex and issues priorities on campaign websites. <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> , 58(1), 31-44.
Haferkamp, N., Eimler, S. C., Papadakis, A. M., & Kruck, J. V. (2012). Men are from Mars, women are from Venus? Examining gender differences in self-presentation on social networking sites. <i>Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking</i> , 15(2), 91-98.
Carlson, T. (2001). Gender and political advertising across cultures: A comparison of male and female political advertising in Finland and the US. <i>European Journal of Communication</i> , 16(2), 131-154.
Wadsworth, A. J., Patterson, P., Kaid, L. L., Cullers, G., Malcomb, D., & Lamirand, L. (1987). "Masculine" vs. "feminine" strategies in political ADS: Implications for female candidates. <i>Journal of Applied Communication Research</i> , 15(1-2), 77-94.
Johnston, A., & White, A. B. (1994). Communication styles and female candidates: A study of the political advertising during the 1986 senate elections. <i>Journalism Quarterly</i> , 71(2), 321-329.
Carlson, T. (2007). It's a man's world? Male and female election campaigning on the Internet. <i>Journal of Political Marketing</i> , 6(1), 41-67.
Williams, L. (1994). Political Advertising in the 'Year of the Woman': Did X Mark the Spot?. <i>The year of the woman: Myths and realities</i> , 197-215.
Kaid, L. L. (2004). Political advertising. <i>Handbook of political communication research</i> , 155-202.
Study does not focus on media coverage of politicians.
Bretl, D. J., & Cantor, J. (1988). The portrayal of men and women in US television commercials: A recent content analysis and trends over 15 years. <i>Sex roles</i> , 18(9), 595-609. (Not political actors)
Craft, S., & Wanta, W. (2004). Women in the newsroom: Influences of female editors and reporters on the news agenda. <i>Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly</i> , 81(1), 124-138. (M/F journalists, editors)
Tinker, T., & Neimark, M. (1987). The role of annual reports in gender and class contradictions at General Motors: 1917-1976. <i>Accounting, organizations and society</i> , 12(1), 71-88. (Not political actors)
Christopherson, N., Janning, M., & McConnell, E. D. (2002). Two kicks forward, one kick back: A content analysis of media discourses on the 1999 Women's World Cup Soccer Championship. <i>Sociology of Sport Journal</i> , 19(2), 170-188. (Not political actors)

- Armstrong, C. L. (2004). The influence of reporter gender on source selection in newspaper stories. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), 139-154. (Not political actors; M/F journalists)
- Davis, S. (1990). Men as success objects and women as sex objects: A study of personal advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 23(1-2), 43-50. (Not political actors)
- Cann, D. J., & Mohr, P. B. (2001). Journalist and source gender in Australian television news. *Journal of Broadcasting & electronic media*, 45(1), 162-174. (Not political actors; M/F journalists)
- Koivula, N. (1999). Gender stereotyping in televised media sport coverage. *Sex roles*, 41(7), 589-604. (Not political actors)
- Zoch, L. M., & Turk, J. V. (1998). Women making news: Gender as a variable in source selection and use. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75(4), 762-775. (Not political actors)
- Desmond, R., & Danilewicz, A. (2010). Women are on, but not in, the news: Gender roles in local television news. *Sex Roles*, 62(11-12), 822-829. (Not political actors)
- Dilevko, J., & Harris, R. M. (1997). Information technology and social relations: Portrayals of gender roles in high tech product advertisements. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 48(8), 718-727. (Not political actors)
- Wensing, E. H., & Bruce, T. (2003). Bending the rules: Media representations of gender during an international sporting event. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 38(4), 387-396. (Not political actors)
- Brescoll, V., & LaFrance, M. (2004). The correlates and consequences of newspaper reports of research on sex differences. *Psychological Science*, 15(8), 515-520. (Not political actors)
- Furnham, A., Abramsky, S., & Gunter, B. (1997). A cross-cultural content analysis of children's television advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 37(1), 91-99. (Not political actors)
- Jackson, P., Stevenson, N., & Brooks, K. (2001). *Making sense of men's magazines*. Polity. (Not political actors)
- Leader, A. E., Weiner, J. L., Kelly, B. J., Hornik, R. C., & Cappella, J. N. (2009). Effects of information framing on human papillomavirus vaccination. *Journal of Women's Health*, 18(2), 225-233. (Not political actors and effect study)
- Vincent, J. (2004). Game, sex, and match: The construction of gender in British newspaper coverage of the 2000 Wimbledon Championships. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 21(4), 435-456. (Not political actors)
- Furnham, A., & Bitar, N. (1993). The stereotyped portrayal of men and women in British television advertisements. *Sex roles*, 29(3-4), 297-310. (Not political actors)
- Cooky, C., Wachs, F. L., Messner, M., & Dworkin, S. L. (2010). It's not about the game: Don Imus, race, class, gender and sexuality in contemporary media. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27(2), 139-159. (Not political actors)
- Ross, K., & Carter, C. (2011). Women and news: A long and winding road. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(8), 1148-1165. (Not political actors)
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2011). Content analysis—A methodological primer for gender research. *Sex Roles*, 64(3-4), 276-289. (Not political actors)
- Zhang, Y., Dixon, T. L., & Conrad, K. (2010). Female body image as a function of themes in rap music videos: A content analysis. *Sex roles*, 62(11-12), 787-797. (Not political actors)
- Baron-Cohen, S. (2002). The extreme male brain theory of autism. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, 6(6), 248-254. (Not political actors)
- Signorielli, N., McLeod, D., & Healy, E. (1994). Profile: Gender stereotypes in MTV

- commercials: The beat goes on. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 38(1), 91-101. (Not political actors)
- Taylor, F. (2003). Content analysis and gender stereotypes in children's books. *Teaching Sociology*, 300-311. (Not political actors)
- Conrad, K., Dixon, T. L., & Zhang, Y. (2009). Controversial rap themes, gender portrayals and skin tone distortion: A content analysis of rap music videos. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 53(1), 134-156. (Not political actors)
- Herring, S. C., Kouper, I., Scheidt, L. A., & Wright, E. (2004). Women and children last: The discursive construction of weblogs. (Not political actors and not traditional media)
- Peirce, K. (1990). A feminist theoretical perspective on the socialization of teenage girls through Seventeen magazine. *Sex Roles*, 23(9), 491-500. (Not political actors)
- Patten, E., & Parker, K. (2011). *Women in the US military: Growing share, distinctive profile*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. (Not political actors)
- Weber, J. D., & Carini, R. M. (2013). Where are the female athletes in Sports Illustrated? A content analysis of covers (2000–2011). *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 48(2), 196-203. (Not political actors)
- Signorielli, N. (1989). Television and conceptions about sex roles: Maintaining conventionality and the status quo. *Sex roles*, 21(5), 341-360. (Not political actors)
- Eddy, P. L., & VanDerLinden, K. E. (2006). Emerging definitions of leadership in higher education: New visions of leadership or same old “hero” leader?. *Community College Review*, 34(1), 5-26. (Not political actors)
- Kuperberg, A., & Stone, P. (2008). The media depiction of women who opt out. *Gender & society*, 22(4), 497-517. (Not political actors)
- Fodor, E. (2002). Smiling women and fighting men: the gender of the communist subject in state socialist Hungary. *Gender & Society*, 16(2), 240-263. (Not political actors)
- Berg, L. R. V., & Streckfuss, D. (1992). Profile: Prime-time television's portrayal of women and the world of work: A demographic profile. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 36(2), 195-208. (Not political actors)
- Sun, C., Bridges, A., Wosnitzer, R., Scharrer, E., & Liberman, R. (2008). A comparison of male and female directors in popular pornography: What happens when women are at the helm?. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(3), 312-325. (Not political actors)
- Hegarty, P., & Buechel, C. (2006). Androcentric reporting of gender differences in APA journals: 1965-2004. *Review of General Psychology*, 10(4), 377. (Not political actors)
- Marecek, J., Piliavin, J. A., Fitzsimmons, E., Krogh, E. C., Leader, E., & Trudell, B. (1978). Women as TV experts: The voice of authority?. *Journal of Communication*, 28(1), 159-168. (Not political actors)
- Gill, R. (2007). *Gender and the Media*. Polity. (Not political actors)
- Pedersen, S., & Macafee, C. (2007). Gender differences in British blogging. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(4), 1472-1492. (Not political actors and not traditional media)
- Fink, J. S., & Kensicki, L. J. (2002). An imperceptible difference: Visual and textual constructions of femininity in Sports Illustrated and Sports Illustrated for Women. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), 317-339. (Not political actors)
- Wallis, C. (2011). Performing gender: A content analysis of gender display in music videos. *Sex Roles*, 64(3-4), 160-172. (Not political actors)
- Brown, J. D. (2002). Mass media influences on sexuality. *Journal of sex research*, 39(1), 42-45. (Not political actors)
- Volgy, T. J., & Schwarz, J. E. (1980). TV entertainment programming and sociopolitical

- attitudes. *Journalism Quarterly*, 57(1), 150-155. (Not political actors)
- Kellner, D. (2011). Cultural studies, multiculturalism, and media culture. *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader*, 3, 7-18. (Not political actors)
- Herek, G. M. (1986). On heterosexual masculinity: Some psychical consequences of the social construction of gender and sexuality. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29(5), 563-577. (Not political actors)
- Furnham, A., & Farragher, E. (2000). A cross-cultural content analysis of sex-role stereotyping in television advertisements: A comparison between Great Britain and New Zealand. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 44(3), 415-436. (Not political actors)
- Agliata, D., & Tantleff-Dunn, S. (2004). The impact of media exposure on males' body image. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 23(1), 7-22. (Not political actors)
- Mastin, T., Coe, A., Hamilton, S., & Tarr, S. (2004). Product purchase decision-making behavior and gender role stereotypes: A content analysis of advertisements in *Essence* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1990–1999. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 15(4), 229-243. (Not political actors)
- Ashley, L., & Olson, B. (1998). Constructing reality: Print media's framing of the women's movement, 1966 to 1986. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75(2), 263-277. (Not political actors)
- Mazzella, C., Durkin, K., Cerini, E., & Buralli, P. (1992). Sex role stereotyping in Australian television advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 26(7), 243-259. (Not political actors)
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- Lauzen, M. M., & Dozier, D. M. (2005). Maintaining the double standard: Portrayals of age and gender in popular films. *Sex Roles*, 52(7), 437-446. (Not political actors)
- Bronstein, C. (2005). Representing the third wave: Mainstream print media framing of a new feminist movement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(4), 783-803. (Different topic, no comparison between men and women, not political actors)
- Hallmark, J. R., & Armstrong, R. N. (1999). Gender equity in televised sports: A comparative analysis of men's and women's NCAA Division I basketball championship broadcasts, 1991–1995. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43(2), 222-235. (Not political actors)
- Scruton, S., Caudwell, J., & Holland, S. (2005). 'BEND IT LIKE PATEL' Centring 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), 71-88. (Not political actors)
- Vincent, J., Pedersen, P. M., Whisenant, W. A., & Massey, D. (2007). Analysing the print media coverage of professional tennis players: British newspaper narratives about female competitors in the Wimbledon Championships. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, 2(3), 281-300. (Not political actors)
- Capranica, L., & Aversa, F. (2002). Italian television sport coverage during the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games: A gender perspective. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(3-4), 337-349. (Not political actors)
- Pritchard, D., & Hughes, K. D. (1997). Patterns of deviance in crime news. *Journal of Communication*, 47(3), 49-67. (Not political actors, no comparison between men and women)
- Sisjord, M. K., & Kristiansen, E. (2008). Serious athletes or media clowns? Female and male

wrestlers' perceptions of media constructions. <i>Sociology of Sport Journal</i> , 25(3), 350-368. (Not political actors)
Sparks, G. G., & Fehlner, C. L. (1986). Faces in the news: Gender comparisons of magazine photographs. <i>Journal of Communication</i> , 36(4), 70-79. (Not political actors)
Bolig, R., Stein, P. J., & Mckenry, P. C. (1984). The self-advertisement approach to dating: Male-female differences. <i>Family Relations</i> , 587-592. (Not about media coverage, not political actors)
Haas, A. (1979). Male and female spoken language differences: Stereotypes and evidence. <i>Psychological Bulletin</i> , 86(3), 616. (Different topic, not political actors)

Table B2. Excluded studies found through references and additional searches

Paper	Reason
Van Acker, E. (2003). Media representations of women politicians in Australia and New Zealand: High expectations, hostility or stardom. <i>Policy and Society</i> , 22(1), 116-136.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Adcock, C. (2010). The politician, the wife, the citizen, and her newspaper: Rethinking women, democracy, and media (ted) representation. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 10(2), 135-159.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Anderson, K. V. (2002). From spouses to candidates: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Elizabeth Dole, and the gendered office of US president. <i>Rhetoric & Public Affairs</i> , 5(1), 105-132.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Anderson, J. A., Diabah, G., & Afrakoma hMensa, P. (2011). Powerful women in powerless language: Media misrepresentation of African women in politics (the case of Liberia). <i>Journal of Pragmatics</i> , 43(10), 2509-2518.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Bathla, S. (1998). Women, democracy and the media: Cultural and political representations in the Indian press. Sage Publications.	Study is not: published (as academic article or book) or an academic conference paper Study does not focus on media coverage of politicians
Bathla, S. (2004). Gender construction in the media: A study of two Indian women politicians. <i>Asian Journal of Women's Studies</i> , 10(3), 7-34.	Study is not a systematic content analysis Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Baxter, J. (2017). Women Leaders and Gender Stereotyping in the UK Press: A Poststructuralist Approach. Springer.	Study is not a systematic content analysis Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Bejarano, C. (2013). The Latina Advantage: Gender, Race, and Political Success. Austin: University of Texas Press.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Braden, M. (1996). <i>Women politicians and the media</i> . University Press of Kentucky.	Study is not a systematic content analysis

Brooks, D. J. (2013). He runs, she runs: Why gender stereotypes do not harm women candidates. Princeton University Press.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Burke, C., & Mazzarella, S. R. (2008). "A slightly new shade of lipstick": Gendered mediation in internet news stories. <i>Women's Studies in Communication</i> , 31(3), 395-418.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians Study does not focus on traditional media coverage (newspaper and TV)
Burns, S., Eberhardt, L., & Merolla, J. L. (2013). What is the difference between a hockey mom and a pit bull? Presentations of Palin and gender stereotypes in the 2008 presidential election. <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> , 66(3), 687-701.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Burrell, B. (2014). Gender in Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.	Study is not journalistic coverage, but own communication of politicians
Bystrom, D. G. (2004). Women as political communication sources and audiences. <i>Handbook of political communication research</i> , 435-459.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Bystrom, D. (2006). <i>Advertising, web sites, and media coverage: Gender and communication along the campaign trail</i> . In: 'Gender and Elections. Shaping the future of American politics.' (eds.) by S. Carroll and R. Fox. Cambridge University Press: New York, 169-188.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Bystrom, D. G. (Ed.). (2004). Gender and candidate communication: Videostyle, webstyle, newsstyle. Psychology Press.	Study is not journalistic coverage, but own communication of politicians
Bystrom, D. G., & Brown, N. (2011). Videostyle 2008: A comparison of female vs. male political candidate television ads. In: Communication in the 2008 US elections: Digital natives elect a president' (eds) M. McKinney and M. Banwar. Peter Lang Publishing: New York, 211-240.	Study is not journalistic coverage, but own communication of politicians
Bystrom, D. G., & Hennings, V. M. (2013). Newspaper Coverage of Women Running for the U.S. Senate in 2012: Evidence of an Increasingly Level Playing Field? In Armstrong, C. (Ed.), <i>Media Disparity: A Gender Battleground</i> . Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians (It compares news coverage of male and female politicians, but only based on newspaper articles that mention the female candidate. Thus, comparison is: when a female is mentioned, is the male also mentioned?)
Bystrom, D.G., McKinnon, L.M., & Chaney, C. (1999). 'First ladies and the fourth estate: Media coverage of Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole in the 1996 presidential	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians

campaign.' In: The Electronic Election: Perspectives on the 1996 Campaign Communication, ed. Dianne Bystrom and Lynda Lee Kaid. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.	
Cantrell, T. H., & Bachmann, I. (2008). Who is the lady in the window? A comparison of international and national press coverage of first female government heads. <i>Journalism Studies</i> , 9(3), 429-446.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Campbell, R., & Childs, S. (2010). 'Wags', 'wives' and 'mothers'... but what about women politicians?. <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i> , 63(4), 760-777.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Campbell, R., & Childs, S. (2010). 'Wags', 'wives' and 'mothers'... but what about women politicians?. <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i> , 63(4), 760-777.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Campbell, D. E., & Wolbrecht, C. (2006). See Jane run: Women politicians as role models for adolescents. <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , 68(2), 233-247.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Campus, D. (2013). Women political leaders and the media. Springer.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Carlin and Winfrey (2009). Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Carter, C., Branston, G. & Allan, S. (1998). News, Gender and Power. London: Routledge.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Clare, J. (2002). Making Spectacles of Ourselves: The Site/Sight of Woman as Leader.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Deutchman, I., & Ellison, A. (2004). When Feminists Don't Fit The Case of Pauline Hanson. <i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i> , 6(1), 29-52.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Dittmar, K. (2015). Navigating Gendered Terrain: Stereotypes and Strategy in Political Campaigns. Philadelphia: Temple University Press	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Duerst-Lahti, G. (2006). "Presidential Elections: Gendered Space and the Case of 2004." In <i>Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics</i> , ed. Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 12-42.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Falk, E. (2010). Women for president: Media bias in nine campaigns. University of Illinois Press.	Empirical material already covered in other studies (Falk (2012))
Falk, E. & Kenski, K. (2006). Issue Saliency and Gender Stereotypes: Support for Women As Presidents in Times of War and Terrorism. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 87 (1): 1-18.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Fiig (2009). A Gender-Equal Utopia?: Press Coverage of Women Politicians In The Danish Media.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Fox, R. L. (1997). Gender dynamics in congressional elections.	Study is not a systematic

Thousand Oaks: Sage	content analysis
Gallagher, M. (2001) <i>Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy</i> . New York: Palgrave.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Garcia-Blanco, I., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2012). The discursive construction of women politicians in the European press. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 12(3), 422-441.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Gilmartin, P. (2001). Still the Angel in the Household: Political Cartoons of Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Campaign. <i>Women & Politics</i> 22 ~4!: 51–67.	Study is not a systematic content analysis of traditional media
Gomard, K. & Krogstad, A. (ed.) (2001). <i>Instead of the Ideal Debate. Doing Politics and Doing Gender in Nordic Political Campain Discourse</i> . Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Gunter, B. (1996). <i>Television and Gender Representation</i> . London: John Libbey.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Heflick and Goldenberg (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that Objectification Causes Women to be Perceived as Less Competent and Less Fully Human	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper and Puvia (2011). From women to objects: appearance focus, target gender and perceptions of warmth, mortality and competence	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Heith, D.J. (2001). Footwear, lipstick, and an orthodox Sabbath: Media coverage of non-traditional candidates. <i>White House Studies</i> 1 (3): 35-49.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Heith, D. J. (2003). The lipstick watch: Media coverage, gender, and presidential campaigns. <i>Anticipating madam president</i> , 123-30.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Heldman, C. & Wade, L. (2011). Sexualizing Sarah Palin: The Social and Political Context of the Sexual Objectification of Female Candidates	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Herzog, H. (1998). More than a looking glass: Women in Israeli local politics and the media. <i>Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics</i> , 3(1), 26-47.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Hooghe, M., & De Swert, K. 2009. Gender model or job model? Putting the presence of female new sources in Belgian television news broadcasts (2003–2007) in perspective. <i>Media Report to Women</i> , 37(1), 1–21.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ibroscheva, E., & Raicheva-Stover, M. (2009). Engendering transition: Portrayals of female politicians in the Bulgarian press. <i>The Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 20(2), 111-128.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ibroscheva, E., & Stover, M. (2012). The Girls of Parliament A Historical Analysis of the Press Coverage. In: (eds.) Ross, <i>The Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Media</i> , 35.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Jenkins, C. (1996). Press coverage of the first women in Australia's federal parliament. <i>Australian Studies in Journalism</i> , 5, 82-100.	Study is not a systematic content analysis

Jorgensen, Karin Wahl (2000). "Constructing Masculinities in U.S. Presidential Campaigns: The Case of 1992", pp. 53-78 in Annabelle Sreberny & Lisbet van Zoonen (ed.). <i>Gender, Politics and Communication</i> . Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Kahn, K. F., & Kenney, P. J. (1997). A model of candidate evaluations in Senate elections: The impact of campaign intensity. <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , 59(4), 1173-1205.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Kahn, K. F., & Goldenberg, E. N. (1991). The media: obstacle or ally of feminists?. <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> , 515(1), 104-113.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Kropf and Boiney (2001). The electoral glass ceiling? Gender, viability and the news in U.S. Senate campaigns. <i>Women and Politics</i> 23:79-103.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Larson, S.G. (2001). American Women and Politics in the Media: A Review Essay	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Lemish, D., & Tidhar, C.E. 1999. "Still Marginal: Women in Israel's 1996 Television Election Campaign." <i>Sex Roles</i> 41:389-412.	Study does not focus on traditional media coverage
Lithgow, L. (2000). A question of relativity: The role of the news media in shaping the view of women in Asian political dynasties. The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy Working Paper Series, 13.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Lundell, Å. K., & Ekström, M. (2008). The complex visual gendering of political women in the press. <i>Journalism Studies</i> , 9(6), 891-910.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Major, L. H., & Coleman, R. (2008). The intersection of race and gender in election coverage: What happens when the candidates don't fit the stereotypes?. <i>The Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 19(4), 315-333.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
McGregor, J. (1996). Gender politics and the news: The search for a Beehive bimbo-Boadicea. <i>Dangerous Democracy? News Media Politics in New Zealand</i> , 181-196.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Meeks, L. 2013. He Wrote, She Wrote Journalist Gender, Political Office, and Campaign News. <i>Journal and Mass Communication Quarterly</i> , 90(1), 58-74.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Peake, L. (1997). Press coverage of women candidates for the UK parliament. In: ECPR 25th Joint Session of Workshops. Universitat Bern, Switzerland.	This study was not found.
Parry-Giles, S. J. (2000). Mediating Hillary Rodham Clinton : Television news practices and image-making in the postmodern age . <i>Critical Studies in Media Communication</i> , 17(2), 205-226.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Parry-Giles, S., & Parry-Giles, T. (1996). Gendered politics and presidential image construction: a reassessment of the 'feminine style.' <i>Communication Monographs</i> , 63(4), 337-53.	Study is not a systematic content analysis

Robinson, G., & Saint-Jean, A. (1991). Women Politicians and Their Media Coverage. In K. Megyery (Ed.), <i>Women in Canadian Politics: Toward Equity in Representation – vol. 6</i> . Dundurn Press: Toronto, pp. 127–169.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Rodgers, S., & Thorson, E. 2003. A socialization perspective on male and female reporting. <i>Journal of Communication</i> , 53(4), 658–675.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ross, K. & Sreberny, A. (2000). 'Women in the house: Media representations of British politicians', In A. Sreberny & L. van Zoonen (Eds.), <i>Gender, politics and communication</i> . Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Ross, K. (1995). Gender and party politics: how the press reported the Labour leadership campaign, 1994. <i>Media, Culture & Society</i> , 17(3), 499-509.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Ross, K., & Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (1997). Playing house—gender, politics and the news media in Britain. <i>Media, Culture & Society</i> , 19(1), 101-109.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Ross, K. & Carter, C. (2011). "Women and News: A Long and Winding Road." <i>Media, Culture and Society</i> 33 (8):1148–1165.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ross, K. (2002). <i>Women, Politics, Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective</i> . Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Scharrer, E. (2002). An "Improbable Leap": a content analysis of newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's transition from first lady to Senate candidate. <i>Journalism Studies</i> , 3(3), 393-406.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Scharrer, E. (2002). An "Improbable Leap": a content analysis of newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's transition from first lady to Senate candidate. <i>Journalism Studies</i> , 3(3), 393-406.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Silver, D. (1986). A Comparison of Newspapers Coverage of Male and Female Officials in Michigan. <i>Journalism Quarterly</i> 63 (1): 144–49.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians: the study tests whether females are less visible in the media than males, not specifically for politicians. The author calls the group that she is studying state officials or legislators, but this groups also includes judges and a social service director.
Sreberny-Mohammadi, A., & Ross, K. (1996). Women MPs and the media: Representing the body politic. <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i> , 49(1), 103-116.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Stein, K.F. (2009) The Cleavage Commotion: How the Press Covered Senator Clinton's Campaign. In <i>Cracked but Not</i>	Empirical data: based on Falk (2008)

Shattered: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency, edited by Theodore F. Sheckels, 173–187.	
Trimble, L., & Sampert, S. (2004). Who's in the Game? The Framing of Election 2000 by the Globe and Mail and the National Post. <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique</i> , 37(1), 51-71.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Van Acker, E. (2003). Media representations of women politicians in Australia and New Zealand: High expectations, hostility or stardom. <i>Policy and Society</i> , 22(1), 116-136.	Study is not a systematic content analysis
Van Aelst, P. & De Swert, K. (2009). Politics in the news: Do campaigns matter? A comparison of political news during election periods and routine periods in Flanders (Belgium).	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Van Aelst, P. (2006). Toeschouwer, speler of scheidsrechter? Een empirische studie over de rol van de media in de verkiezingscampagne van 2003.	This study is not in English and it is a dissertation.
Vandenhende, 2010. Tabloidisering van het politieke nieuws op televisie. Een vergelijkende analyse van het VRT-journaal en het VTM-nieuws.	This study is a masterthesis
Vos, D. (2012). Is gender bias een mythe? Op zoek naar verklaringen voor de beperkte aanwezigheid van vrouwelijke politici in het Vlaamse televisienieuws. <i>Res Publica</i> , 54(2), 193-217.	This study is not in English
Walsh, C. (2015). Media Capital or Media Deficit? Representations of women in leadership roles in old and new media. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 15(6), 1025-1034.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ward, O. (2016). Seeing Double: Race, Gender, and Coverage of Minority Women's Campaigns for the US House of Representatives. <i>Politics & Gender</i> , 12(2), 317-343.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Ward, O. (2017). Intersectionality and Press Coverage of Political Campaigns: Representations of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic Female Candidates at the UK 2010 General Election. <i>The International Journal of Press/Politics</i> , 22(1), 43-66.	Study does not compare coverage of male and female politicians
Woodall, G.S., & Fridkin, K.L. (2007). 'Shaping women's chances: Stereotypes and the media'. In: Rethinking madam president: Are we ready for a woman in the White House, (eds.) Robert P. Watson and Ann Gordon, 69-86.	Study is not a systematic content analysis

Appendix C: Full Models

The analysis presented in the paper is done using robust variance estimation (RVE) with random effects weights, based on the number of candidates in the sample (specification 1 in Table C1). Random effects weights are suited to account for dependency due to correlated effects, while fixed effects weights are better suited for dependency due to hierarchical effects (Hedges, Tipton, & Johnson, 2010; Tanner-Smith & Tipton, 2014; Tipton, 2015). The dependency in our dataset is a mixture of both, since multiple observations per publication can come from separate estimates on the same sample for different types of media (correlated effects) and from estimates on separate samples of different types of politician in one publication (hierarchical effects). We therefore replicated the analysis with fixed effects weights as well (specifications 3-4). In addition, we alternatively weighted using the 10log of the number of politicians in the sample (specifications 2 and 4), instead of the number of politicians in the sample, so $w = \frac{\log_{10}(N)}{1-d^2}$ instead of $w = \frac{N}{1-d^2}$. Furthermore, we also estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) models, with and without weights for the number of candidates and with and without clustering on publication (specifications 5-8). The results can be found in Table C1.

Finally, we excluded studies for which we had to (partially) reconstruct data, which could be the case for two reasons (see codebook). a) For studies presenting regression coefficients and no predicted or mean scores, and no original data could be obtained in order to produce predicted visibility scores, we used the value of the regression constant for the reference category (e.g. men), and the constant plus the coefficient of gender for the target category (e.g. women) to –imperfectly– gauge their visibility. b) Some studies did not explicitly report on visibility, but did include numbers that can be understood as measures of visibility, which we interpreted as such. In Table C2 specification 9 excludes studies of type a, specification 10 of type b, and specification 11 excludes both.

The additional model showing that the effect negative effect of female representation appears to have been spurious, as it disappears when combined with electoral systems as independent variable, can be seen in Table C3. Also results explaining the gender effect on visibility with medium characteristics and gender of the author of the publication are in that table. Analyses on the number of citations of the publication are reported in Table C4, while interactions present in these models are displayed graphically in Figures C1-C3.

Table C1. Full models explaining difference in visibility between men and women politicians (d')

Model	Specification 1 RVE, random effects weights for N candidates			Specification 2 RVE, random effects weights for log10 N candidates			Specification 3 RVE, fixed effects weights for N candidates			Specification 4 RVE, fixed effects weights for log10 N candidates			Specification 5 OLS		Specification 6 OLS, clustered		Specification 7 OLS, weighted		Specification 8 OLS, weighted and clustered	
Independent variables	b	se	dfs	b	se	dfs	b	se	dfs	b	se	dfs	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Base																				
Constant	-0.036	0.025	23.7	-0.023	0.025	38.6	-0.148	0.026	2.8	-0.023	0.025	38.6	-0.026	0.021	-0.026	0.023	-0.126	0.011	-0.126	0.028
Officelevel																				
Constant (1. Supranational)	-0.074	0.111	1.1	-0.081	0.101	1.4	-0.167	0.044	1.0	-0.081	0.101	1.4	-0.047	0.101	-0.047	0.058	-0.167	0.020	-0.167	0.012
2. National	0.031	0.115	1.6	0.038	0.104	1.8	0.017	0.079	2.4	0.038	0.104	1.8	0.010	0.104	0.010	0.065	0.059	0.024	0.059	0.048
3. Sub-national	0.002	0.116	2.1	0.021	0.106	2.6	0.054	0.065	4.0	0.021	0.106	2.6	-0.013	0.113	-0.013	0.072	0.030	0.036	0.030	0.042
4. Local	0.256	0.163	2.0	0.204	0.163	2.7	0.378	0.110	1.2	0.204	0.163	2.7	0.082	0.142	0.082	0.114	0.359	0.158	0.359	0.066
5. Combination of levels	0.270	0.152	3.7	0.292	0.156	3.8	0.362	0.107	2.6	0.292	0.156	3.8	0.238	0.133	0.238	0.115	0.362	0.151	0.362	0.089
Officetype																				
Constant (1. Executive)	-0.041	0.041	11.4	-0.051	0.047	16.9	-0.040	0.040	10.1	-0.051	0.047	16.9	-0.062	0.035	-0.062	0.052	-0.049	0.099	-0.049	0.033
2. Legislative	-0.025	0.050	14.0	-0.005	0.054	27.9	-0.116	0.046	10.4	-0.005	0.054	27.9	0.027	0.046	0.027	0.056	-0.082	0.100	-0.082	0.043
3. Executive and legislative	0.088	0.106	9.9	0.145	0.105	12.4	0.037	0.106	9.5	0.145	0.105	12.4	0.126	0.071	0.126	0.087	0.046	0.128	0.046	0.071
4. Other	0.237	0.094	2.8	0.212	0.095	2.8	0.248	0.088	2.9	0.212	0.095	2.8	0.206	0.107	0.206	0.082	0.257	0.187	0.257	0.059
Electoralssystemtype																				
Constant (1. Plurality/majority)	0.012	0.025	11.2	0.021	0.028	30.3	0.000	0.026	7.5	0.021	0.028	30.3	-0.004	0.025	-0.004	0.031	-0.024	0.014	-0.024	0.020
2. Mixed Member Proportional	-0.029	0.043	1.9	-0.039	0.046	2.0	-0.017	0.044	1.9	-0.039	0.046	2.0	-0.009	0.077	-0.009	0.039	0.025	0.051	0.025	0.020
3. Proportional Representation	-0.153	0.038	14.2	-0.144	0.041	14.8	-0.176	0.029	9.1	-0.144	0.041	14.8	-0.102	0.054	-0.102	0.040	-0.153	0.017	-0.153	0.022
Electiontype																				
Constant (1. General election)	-0.027	0.030	17.6	-0.008	0.031	26.6	-0.152	0.025	2.4	-0.008	0.031	26.6	0.001	0.025	0.001	0.027	-0.129	0.012	-0.129	0.030
2. Primary election	0.021	0.088	5.4	-0.034	0.080	11.1	0.159	0.089	3.9	-0.034	0.080	11.1	-0.085	0.059	-0.085	0.080	0.136	0.157	0.136	0.079
3. Both or not applicable	-0.071	0.042	3.9	-0.084	0.041	5.7	0.052	0.031	1.8	-0.084	0.041	5.7	-0.093	0.061	-0.093	0.032	0.031	0.041	0.031	0.031
Campaign/routine																				
Constant (1. Campaign)	-0.029	0.036	15.2	-0.012	0.033	28.5	-0.158	0.023	2.0	-0.012	0.033	28.5	-0.014	0.024	-0.014	0.029	-0.133	0.012	-0.133	0.030
2. Routine	-0.013	0.058	6.5	-0.031	0.056	6.9	0.104	0.049	2.8	-0.031	0.056	6.9	-0.054	0.062	-0.054	0.043	0.057	0.038	0.057	0.038
3. Both	-0.044	0.037	3.2	-0.054	0.035	4.8	0.080	0.023	1.5	-0.054	0.035	4.8	-0.041	0.077	-0.041	0.032	0.057	0.062	0.057	0.030
Time																				
Constant (1960)	-0.082	0.105	4.3	-0.111	0.103	3.1	-0.058	0.184	7.7	-0.111	0.103	3.1	-0.159	0.079	-0.159	0.092	0.067	0.111	0.067	0.143
Time (1=ten years)	0.011	0.025	4.5	0.022	0.025	3.3	-0.020	0.039	7.1	0.022	0.025	3.3	0.033	0.019	0.033	0.023	-0.043	0.024	-0.043	0.031
Femalerepresentation																				
Constant (0%)	0.079	0.048	20.2	0.078	0.053	23.4	-0.110	0.108	5.8	0.078	0.053	23.4	0.024	0.050	0.024	0.060	-0.070	0.043	-0.070	0.087
Femalerepresentation (1=100%)	-0.530	0.187	11.6	-0.513	0.209	13.8	-0.173	0.385	6.3	-0.513	0.209	13.8	-0.253	0.237	-0.253	0.237	-0.256	0.189	-0.256	0.313

Note: Regression coefficients (b), standard errors (se), and degrees of freedom (dfs). The first model specification is the main result presented in the paper. Note that robust variance estimates with degrees of freedom lower than 4 may be untrustworthy (see Tipton, 2015).

Table C2. Full models explaining d' , leaving out recalculated results

Model	Specification 9 Excluding results for which constant was used			Specification 10 Excluding results which no explicit visibility numbers			Specification 11 Excluding both		
Independent variables	b	se	dfs	b	se	dfs	b	se	dfs
Base									
Constant	-0.016	0.026	25.696	-0.060	0.025	18.663	-0.036	0.025	23.714
Officelevel									
Constant (1. Supranational)	0.053	0.017	1.000	-0.076	0.112	1.080	-0.074	0.111	1.091
2. National	-0.096	0.034	1.187	0.017	0.116	1.670	0.031	0.115	1.556
3. Sub-national	-0.125	0.045	1.467	0.002	0.117	2.077	0.002	0.116	2.072
4. Local	0.131	0.120	2.238	0.028	0.128	1.158	0.256	0.163	2.035
5. Combination of levels	0.144	0.104	2.608	0.273	0.151	3.703	0.270	0.152	3.686
Officetype									
Constant (1. Executive)	-0.042	0.042	12.004	-0.041	0.041	11.137	-0.041	0.041	11.385
2. Legislative	-0.007	0.050	15.912	-0.043	0.050	13.648	-0.025	0.050	14.008
3. Executive and legislative	0.200	0.098	8.682	0.081	0.107	9.729	0.088	0.106	9.931
4. Other	0.284	0.050	1.719	0.105	0.096	1.283	0.237	0.094	2.792
Electoralssystemtype									
Constant (1. Plurality/majority)	0.018	0.025	13.688	-0.004	0.028	8.832	0.012	0.025	11.233
2. Mixed Member Proportional	-0.035	0.043	1.874	-0.013	0.045	1.871	-0.029	0.043	1.867
3. Proportional Representation	-0.147	0.050	9.116	-0.139	0.039	13.472	-0.153	0.038	14.194
Electiontype									
Constant (1. General election)	0.002	0.031	19.122	-0.056	0.032	13.145	-0.027	0.030	17.615
2. Primary election	-0.017	0.102	5.230	0.054	0.089	5.115	0.021	0.088	5.402
3. Both or not applicable	-0.099	0.043	4.756	-0.043	0.042	3.792	-0.071	0.042	3.939
Campaign/routine									
Constant (1. Campaign)	0.001	0.035	18.638	-0.069	0.039	9.851	-0.029	0.036	15.191
2. Routine	-0.041	0.058	7.293	0.025	0.060	6.518	-0.013	0.058	6.525
3. Both	-0.069	0.038	2.816	-0.005	0.040	2.992	-0.044	0.037	3.214
Time									
Constant (1960)	-0.117	0.086	3.629	-0.053	0.126	4.304	-0.082	0.105	4.292
Time (1=ten years)	0.024	0.021	3.826	-0.001	0.030	4.460	0.011	0.025	4.484
Femalerepresentation									
Constant (0%)	0.086	0.051	18.281	0.056	0.050	18.648	0.079	0.048	20.181
Femalerepresentation (1=100%)	-0.505	0.221	9.433	-0.514	0.186	11.453	-0.530	0.187	11.592

Note: Regression coefficients (b), standard errors (se), and degrees of freedom (dfs). RVE models with random effects weights for the number of politicians. Note that robust variance estimates with degrees of freedom lower than 4 may be untrustworthy (see Tipton, 2015).

Table C3. Models explaining d' with medium characteristics and gender of the authors

Model	Independent variables	b	se	dfs	n
Female representation and electoral system					66
	Female representation	0.212	0.258	6.552	
	2. Mixed Member	-0.054	0.060	1.889	
	3. Proportional Representation	-0.180	0.053	4.016	
	Constant	-0.019	0.042	9.766	
Medium type (ref = 1. newspapers)					70
	2. TV	-0.092	0.036	5.089	
	3. TV and newspapers	-0.178	0.027	1.990	
	Constant	-0.007	0.025	13.782	
Newspaper type (ref = 1. Quality / broadsheet)					58
	newspapertype2	-0.051	0.016	1.339	
	newspapertype3	-0.191	0.052	2.121	
	newspapertype4	-0.090	0.034	1.786	
	Constant	0.072	0.016	1.339	
Gender of researchers					70
	Share of female authors	0.142	0.052	5.617	
	Constant	-0.144	0.041	3.847	
Studies by male only researchers					
	Constant	-0.158	0.043	1.803	
Studies by mixed teams					13
	Constant	-0.069	0.051	3.704	
Studies by female only researchers					51
	Constant	0.007	0.028	20.534	

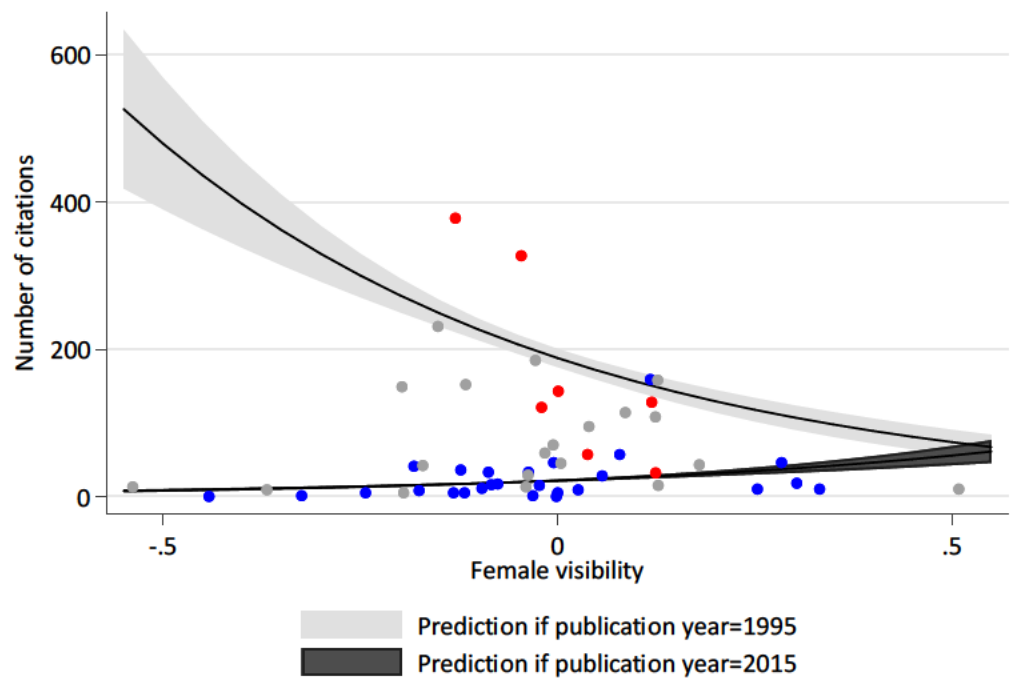
Note: Regression coefficients (b), standard errors (se), and degrees of freedom (dfs). RVE models with random effects weights for the number of politicians. Note that robust variance estimates with degrees of freedom lower than 4 may be untrustworthy (see Tipton, 2015).

Table C4. Poisson models predicting number of citations

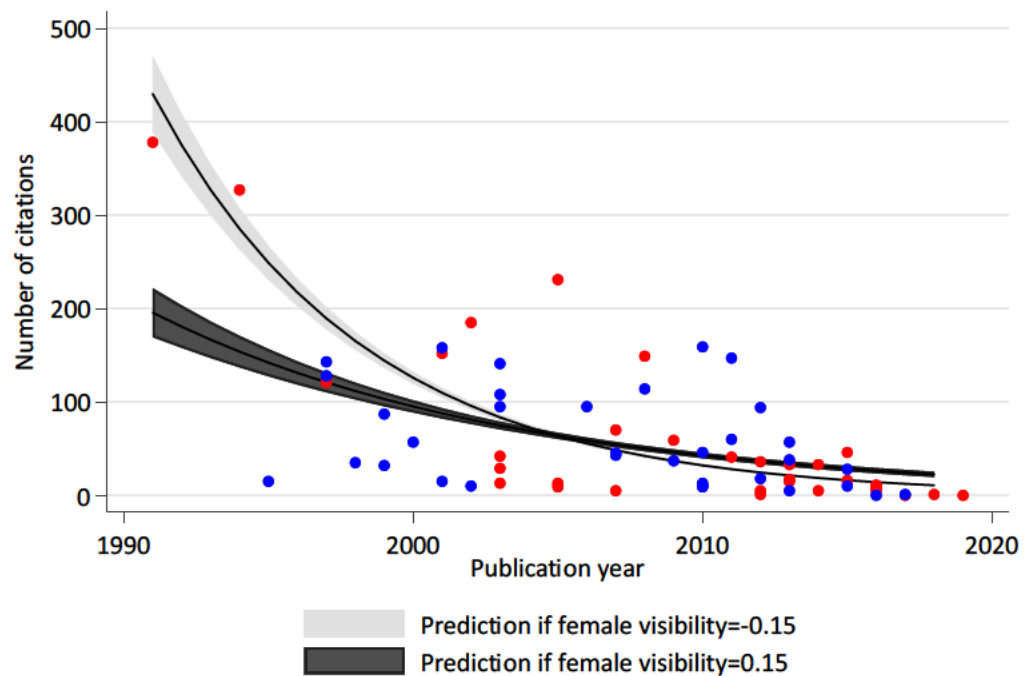
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Year (1990=0)	0.906 (0.002)		0.899 (0.002)	0.906 (0.002)	0.906 (0.002)	0.906 (0.002)	0.887 (0.002)	0.883 (0.002)
d'		1.150 (0.107)	0.053 (0.016)				0.016 (0.008)	0.003 (0.001)
d' * year			1.215 (0.023)					
Share female authors				0.907 (0.038)			1.102 (0.073)	
Female first author					0.879 (0.032)	0.879 (0.032)		1.109 (0.056)
Female first author * d'								438.957 (184.993)
Female authors * d'							72.984 (39.075)	
Constant	289.436 (9.610)	63.329 (1.101)	319.086 (12.009)	312.389 (14.507)	316.239 (13.037)	316.239 (13.037)	340.064 (23.480)	354.962 (19.215)
N	66	53	53	66	66	66	53	53
Pseudo R2	0.38	0.00	0.51	0.38	0.38	0.38	0.51	0.54

Note: Exponentiated Poisson regression coefficients (incidence rate ratios) with p-values in parentheses. The unit of analysis is the publication (rather than study within publication).

Figure C1. Citations of study depending on visibility result and publication year (model 3)

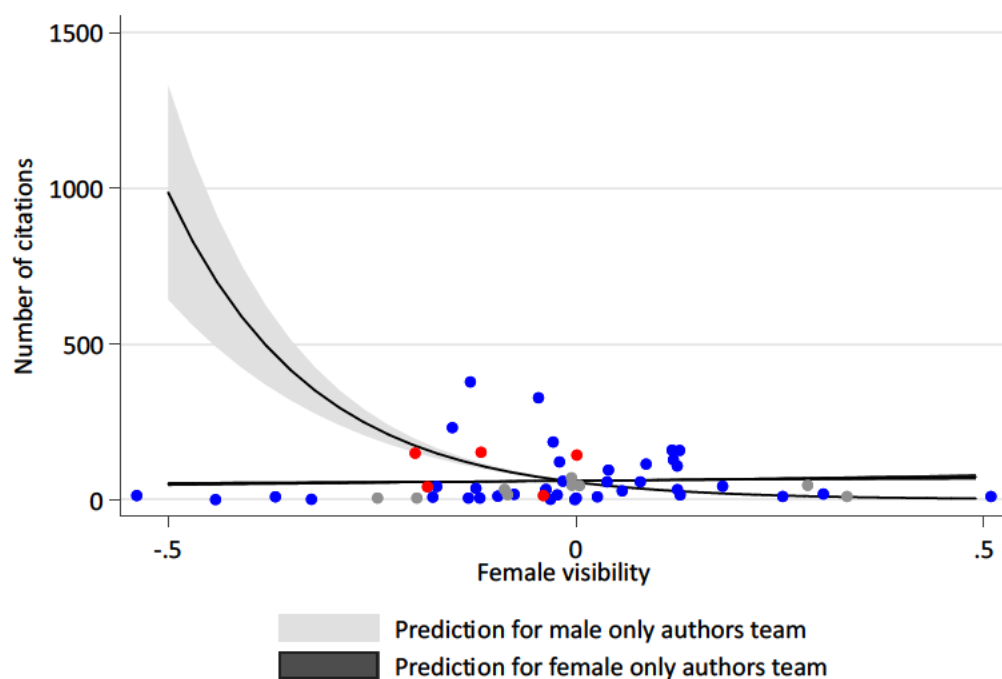


Note: Red dots are studies published before 2001, blue dots after 2010, grey dots in between.



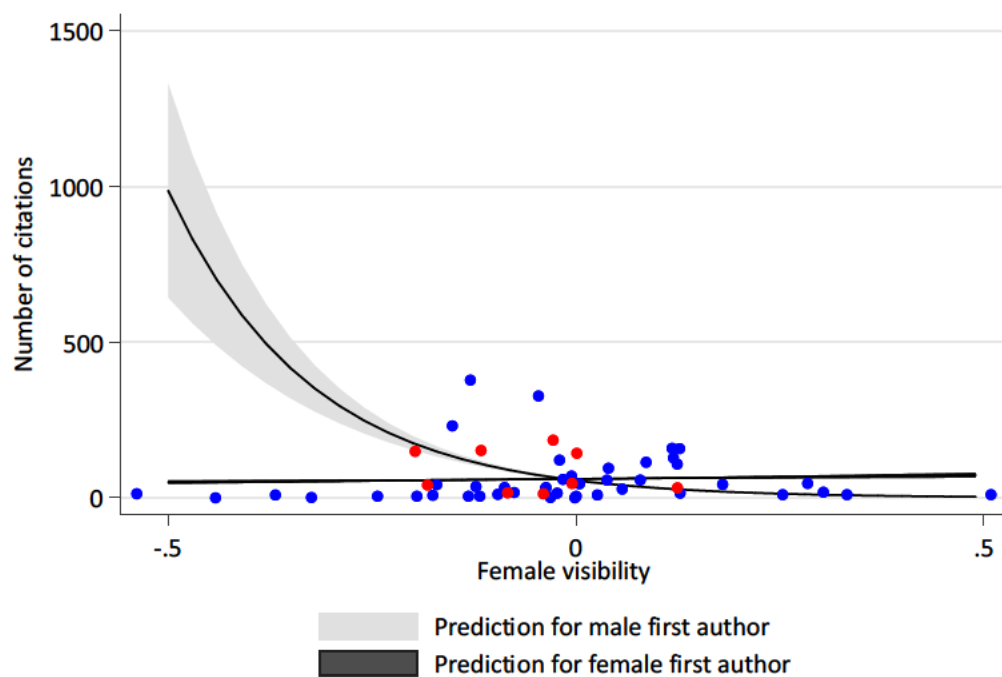
Note: Red dots are studies with d' below 0, blue dots above 0, grey dots 0.

6) **Figure C2.** Citations of study depending on visibility result and gender authors (model



Note: Red dots are studies with a male team, blue dots with a female team, grey a mixed team.

7) **Figure C3.** Citations depending on visibility result and gender of first author (model



Note: Red dots are studies with a male first author, blue dots with a female first author.

Appendix D: Detailed Results of Types of Coverage

Table 1 in the paper summarizes the findings of the systematic review on gender differences in the type of coverage. The coded results per study can be found in the full dataset in the supplementary material. In the table below, the results are presented per aspect of coverage and results category. Note that one publication can yield more than one study (e.g., due to multiple samples) per aspect of coverage.

Table C1. Results Systematic Review per Aspect of Coverage.

General Tone Positive	Men more – significant	Conroy et al. (2015)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Men more – mixed significance	Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
	Men more – unknown significance	Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
		Ross and Comrie (2012)
		Rausch et al. (1999)
		Niven (2005)
	Equal	Heldman et al. (2005)
		Kittelson and Fridkin (2008)
		Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
		Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
	Women more – significant	Smith (1997)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Tor (2011)
	Women more – mixed significance	Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – unknown significance	Lühiste and Banducci (2016)
		Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
Horse Race	Men more – significant	Heldman et al. (2005)
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Niven (2005)
		Hinojosa (2010)
		Sampert and Trimble (2003)
	Equal	Kahn (1994)
		Devitt (2002)
		Smith (1997)
		Jalalzai (2006)
		Kittelson and Fridkin (2008)
		Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Banwart et al. (2003)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Dunaway et al. (2013)
		Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)

		Ross et al. (2013)
		Everitt (2003)
		Trimble (2007)
		Lavery (2013)
		Miller (2001)
		Serini et al. (1998)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
	Women more – significant	Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – mixed significance	Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – unknown significance	Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Lawrence and Rose (2011)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
Viability Assessment	Men more – significant	Kahn and Goldenberg (1991)
		Kahn (1994)
		Jalalzai (2006)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Heldman et al. (2005)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Rausch et al. (1999)
		Falk and Jamieson (2003)
		Falk (2012)
	Equal	Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Everitt (2003)
		Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – significant	Jalalzai (2006)
	Women more – mixed significance	-
	Women more – unknown significance	Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
Background	Men more – significant	Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
	Men more – mixed significance	Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
	Men more – unknown significance	Aday and Devitt (2001)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Bystrom (2005)
	Equal	Fowler and Lawless (2009)
		Lavery (2013)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
		O'Neill et al. (2016)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)

		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – significant	Devitt (2002)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Miller (2001)
	Women more – mixed significance	-
	Women more – unknown significance	Ross et al. (2013)
		Everitt (2003)
		Trimble (2007)
		O'Neill et al. (2016)
Quotes	Men more – significant	Aday and Devitt (2001)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Men more – mixed significance	Bystrom (2005)
	Men more – unknown significance	Ross and Comrie (2012)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		O'Neill et al. (2016)
		Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
	Equal	Gidengil and Everitt (2000)
		Wagner (2011)
		Wagner et al. (2017)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – significant	-
	Women more – mixed significance	-
	Women more – unknown significance	O'Neill et al. (2016)
Physical Appearance	Men more – significant	-
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Wagner (2011)
		Bystrom (2005)
	Equal	Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Everitt (2003)
		Fowler and Lawless (2009)
		O'Neill et al. (2016)
		Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
	Women more – significant	Heldman et al. (2005)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Conroy et al. (2015)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – mixed significance	Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Miller et al. (2010)

		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
	Women more – unknown significance	Aday and Devitt (2001)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Trimble (2007)
		Niven (2005)
		O'Neill et al. (2016)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
		Falk (2012)
		Falk (in press)
		Foster Shoaf and Parsons (2016)
		Trimble (2017)
Family Life	Men more – significant	-
	Men more – mixed significance	Wagner (2011)
	Men more – unknown significance	Trimble (2017)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Equal	Heldman et al. (2005)
		Aday and Devitt (2001)
		Kittelson and Fridkin (2008)
		Fowler and Lawless (2009)
		Lavery (2013)
		Miller (2001)
		Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
	Women more – significant	Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Banwart et al. (2003)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Conroy et al. (2015)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – mixed significance	Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
	Women more – unknown significance	Everitt (2003)
		Trimble (2007)
		Niven (2005)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
		Foster Shoaf and Parsons (2016)
Trait Amount	Men more – significant	-
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Bystrom (2005)
	Equal	Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Fowler and Lawless (2009)
		Lavery (2013)
		Miller (2001)

		Hayes and Lawless (2015)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
		Bystrom et al. (2012)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Women more – significant	Dunaway et al. (2013)
	Women more – mixed significance	Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
	Women more – unknown significance	Aday and Devitt (2001)
Mention of Sex		Niven (2005)
		Sampert and Trimble (2003)
	Men more – significant	-
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Wagner (2011)
		Trimble (2017)
		Hayes (2011)
	Equal	Hayes and Lawless (2015)
	Women more – significant	Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Banwart et al. (2003)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Meeks (2012)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
		Fernandez-Garcia (2016)
	Women more – mixed significance	-
	Women more – unknown significance	Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
Issue Amount		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Niven (2005)
		Falk (in press)
	Men more – significant	Aday and Devitt (2001)
		Devitt (2002)
		Dunaway et al. (2013)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Banwart et al. (2003)
		Everitt (2003)
		Wagner (2011)
		Niven (2005)
		Hinojosa (2010)
		Bystrom (2005)
		Falk and Jamieson (2003)
		Falk (2012)
	Equal	Kahn and Goldenberg (1991)
		Kahn (1994)
		Heldman et al. (2005)
		Smith (1997)
		Jalalzai (2006)

		Trimble (2007)
		Conroy et al. (2015)
		Miller et al. (2010)
		Lavery (2013)
		Miller (2001)
		Serini et al. (1998)
		Hayes and Lawless (2015)
		Lawrence and Rose (2010)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Women more – significant	Fowler and Lawless (2009)
Leadership Trait Amount	Women more – mixed significance	Jalalzai (2006)
	Women more – unknown significance	Robertson et al. (2002)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
	Men more – significant	Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Aaldering and Van der Pas (2018)
	Men more – mixed significance	-
	Men more – unknown significance	Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
	Equal	Miller et al. (2010)
		Valenzuela and Correa (2009)
		Hayes and Lawless (2015)
Issue Stereotypes	Women more – significant	-
	Women more – mixed significance	-
	Women more – unknown significance	-
	Men more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes - significant	Kahn and Goldenberg (1991)
		Kittelson and Fridkin (2008)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
	Men more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – mixed significance	Kahn (1994)
		Serini et al. (1998)
		Miller (2001)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Men more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – unknown significance	Jalalzai (2006)
		Banwart et al. (2003)
		Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
		Bystrom et al. (2012)
		Goodyear-Grant (2013)
	Men more on male stereotypes, men more on female stereotypes - significant	Bystrom and Dimitrova (2014)
	Men more on male stereotypes, men more on female stereotypes - mixed significance	Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Women more on male	Meeks (2012)

	stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes - significant	
	Women more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – unknown significance	Semetko and Boomgaarden (2007)
	Women more on male stereotypes, men more on female stereotypes – mixed significance	Kahn (1994)
	Equal	Smith (1997)
		Jalalzai (2006)
		Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Bystrom et al. (2001)
		Banwart et al. (2003)
		Bode and Hennings (2012)
		Robertson et al. (2002)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Lavery (2013)
		Niven (2005)
		Hayes and Lawless (2015)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
		Kahn (1994)
		Kittelson and Fridkin (2008)
	Men more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – unknown significance	Falk (2012)
	Women more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes - significant	Meeks (2012)
	Women more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – mixed significance	Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
	Women more on male stereotypes, women more on female stereotypes – unknown significance	Miller et al. (2010)
	Equal	Kahn (1994)
		Atkeson and Krebs (2008)
		Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013)
		Fridkin and Kenney (2014)
		Hayes (2011)