Survey on disinformation experiences of Constitutional Convention members
We thank all the members of the Board of Directors, collaborators of Fundación Multitudes, from the present, past and future, which made this study possible and the ones that will come.

Also we greatly appreciate the French Embassy for their collaboration and support in this research.

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Introduction

With the guidelines of Fundación Multitudes to firmly protect and strengthen democracy, we wish to investigate, inform, monitor and report the dissemination of disinformation and its impact on democratic processes, especially disinformation that propagates the violation and violence against women who participate in the public world or who are elected to office. To measure one aspect of this phenomenon, we conducted a survey to the members of the Constitutional Convention in office between 2021 and 2022, in order to know their experience with disinformation and to make this type of aggression visible. In addition, this exercise aims to contribute with mechanisms to stop the delegitimization of this unprecedented process in Chile through disinformation campaigns.

Survey objective

To learn about the experiences and narratives of the Chilean conventionalists members of the Constituent Convention in relation to the disinformation and delegitimization suffered by the process and the Convention itself due to disinformation campaigns, data breaches and fake news.
Multiple sources have mentioned the antagonistic role that disinformation has played in the Constituent Convention and how it has become an element of delegitimization of this process. There are now personal statements and also those of the Convention as a whole that claim to have been targeted of multiple disinformation attacks and online violence. An investigation by the Center for Investigative Journalism (CIPER Chile) concluded that this problem is a "complete attack", that is, at the same time and from different sides, where the attacks on the Convention in social networks have been clearly coordinated and follow a logic of systematic aggression. Another study carried out within the framework of the project "Women and Politics on Twitter", of the University of Santiago together with UN Women called "Analysis of violent speeches towards women candidates to the Constitutional Convention in Chile", where more than 90 thousand tweets of the 72 constituents using this social network, determined that 75% of them received insults, violent messages and hate speech, a 12% raise than the previous month.
On the other hand, an investigation by the School of Journalism, in alliance with the Stop Hate project of the Audiovisual Content Observatory of the Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, showed that the most frequent topic of violent speeches are of the psychological, ideological and moral type. Along with that, it was discovered that there are 101 Twitter accounts that emit at least one violent message per week towards female constituents. After that survey, it was filtered to the 15 accounts that emitted the most aggressive messages, 80% of them belonged to men.

This is just a handful of studies that have been published regarding misinformation and the Convention. However, it is worth asking about the type of disinformation suffered by the members of this institution.
Methodology

A survey was carried out with a quantitative methodology to measure the experience of the candidates and former candidates and carry out a probabilistic analysis of the data. Characterization questions were asked, four closed questions about the experience with disinformation of the candidates and an open question of qualitative nature to give the respondents the space to tell their experiences as victims of disinformation and/or episodes that they have suffered. The survey was conducted from August 2021 to April 2022.

The survey was sent to the candidates through the following channel:

- Three emails with the survey to all the conventionals to their institutional addresses.
- Request for a lobbying audience to 110 conventional companies via "Ley de Lobby" plataform.
- WhatsApp messages to conventionals and advisors.
- Reminders through the institutional mail of the convention members and/or their advisors.
- An on-site visit to the Convention venue.
Of the 154 conventionalists, this research reached 41.5%. Of those who responded, written surveys were administered to 45 convention members and oral surveys by video call, programmed by the lobbying hearings requested, to 10 convention members and 3 by messages.

Information collection summary

| Total members of the Constitutional Convention | 154 | 100% |
| Total respondents                         | 64  | 41.5% |

Results

Characterization of the sample

- 28 men (43.8%) and 36 women (56.3%) have answered the survey, none of the respondents has identified with another gender identity.

- The average age of the respondents is 44.8 years. In the case of men, the average age corresponds to 47.5 and women to 42.6.

- 5 people are in the LGBT+ community. 3 women and 2 men.

- 13 people keep some degree of identity regarding indigenous peoples, where 5 belong to reserved seats, 2 belong but are not of said seats and 6 identify themselves but do not formally belong to said groups.

- 43 people did not belong to the political world before joining the Convention, that is 67% of them. Of the 21 (32.8%) who did, two specified that they did so from political activism other than Mapuche sociopolitical representative. One did not answer. Crossing this parameter with the gender variable, both women and men have the same response percentage.
Questions about disinformation

A.- Do you think you have been the subject of disinformation or fake news against you in the campaign or in your work in the Convention? (Perceives that it was, but could not verify it or did not follow up)

<table>
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<th>Said yes</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>73.4%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Said no</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
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- Of those who answered positively "Yes": when disaggregated by gender, it is observed that of the total number of women, 78% answered affirmatively, while in the case of men this percentage corresponds to 67%. According to the information obtained, women are 1.75 times more likely to be victims of disinformation and false news. These differences were not significant as X2(1)=9.60, p=0.327 > 0.1.

B.- If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, what type of content was used in the disinformation campaign against you?

This was a multiple choice question. The categories were the following:
- Professional area and/or career
- Patrimony
- Political work (if applicable)
- Family (Partners, childrens, parents, etc)
- Own work at the Constitutional Convention
- Social life, relationships and/or friendships
- Violations of laws and/or regulations
- Lack of morals
- Sexual and/or affective life
76% of the surveyed members answered this question
Of all those who answered this question, 44% of them are women and 56% of them are men.
On average, the conventional ones marked 1.9 options, being similar in men and women.
The following graph shows the distribution of the options most marked by conventionals:

- The most used type of disinformation is "Constituent Convention's own work", where 60.4% of the people marked that option, followed by "political work" with 37.5% and "Patrimony" with the same percentage, while the type of disinformation least suffered by the Convention members is "Sexual and/or affective life".
C.- (WOMEN ONLY) Considering that disinformation created to discredit women is considered digital gender violence. In your years of public service or during your constitutional work and/or campaign to be elected, have you been a victim of disinformation as a form of gender violence?

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<tr>
<td>Said yes</td>
<td>61,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said no</td>
<td>38,9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Of those who answered NO to this question, 61.1% answered affirmatively that they had been the subject of disinformation or fake news against them. For this reason, although they identify disinformation as an aggression, they do not see gender-based violence in it or they have not identified said variant in the disinformation they have suffered.

D.- If you had known that you could become a victim of disinformation, fake news or digital gender violence, would you have applied to the CC anyway?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Said yes</td>
<td>98,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said no</td>
<td>1,6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Of those who answered yes, 13% did not identify having been the object of disinformation against them, so although they identify disinformation as digital gender violence, they have not experienced it.
Data crossing

The various answers were contrasted with the characterization of the respondents and the bibliography:

**Being a victim of Disinformation vs. Sample Characterization**

We observed the crossover of variables between being a victim of disinformation and the gender variable, and found no significant differences.

However, the variable belonging to a native people (without considering whether they belong to reserved seats or not) was crossed with having been the object of disinformation and false news.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belongs to an Indigenous People</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you think you have been the subject of disinformation or fake news against you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you think you have been the subject of disinformation or fake news against you?</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 59 13 100%

The vast majority of respondents -73% have been victims of disinformation attacks or Fake News. Significant differences can be observed when considering the affiliation to an indigenous population.
Comparing disinformation attacks with belonging to an indigenous population, we observed that indigenous populations are victims of more disinformation attacks than those conventionalists who do not belong to this population. Of all the participants belonging to indigenous peoples, 92% have been victims of these attacks compared to 69% of conventionalists who are not part of this community. The probability ratio statistic was used over Chi-square because it is preferable when samples are small. These differences were significant as $X^2 (1)=3.594$, $p=0.058<0.1$. This leads to the conclusion that the indigenous people of the convention are victims, to a greater extent, than those who are not indigenous. Specifically 5.5 times more likely.

In the same way we contrasted the respondents’ ascription to the LGBTQ+ community with being a victim of disinformation attacks and fake news. Overall, only 8% of respondents identify with the LGBTQ+ community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think you have been a victim of disinformation or fake news against you?</th>
<th>Do you belong to the LGQTB+ community?</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at these data, and analyze the variables, they are significant as the calculation $X^2 (1)=2.708$, $p=0.100=0.1$. According to the above, we can affirm that the LGBTQ+ community is in greater proportion a victim of disinformation.
Being a victim of disinformation v/s previous membership in the political world.

Another aspect portrayed in the characterization is belonging to the political world before joining the Constituent Convention. Therefore, we cross this edge with being the object of disinformation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you belong to the political world previously?</th>
<th>Do you think you have been a victim of disinformation?</th>
<th>Percentage of response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no association between previous political affiliation and having been a victim of disinformation. In both $\chi^2(1)=0.665$, $p=0.415$.

Type of disinformation vs. gender

- Women suffer a higher percentage of disinformation about their work in the Constitutional Convention (69%, women versus 47.3% men), about their political work (41.4% versus 31.6%) and family (24.1% versus 10.5%)
- Men suffer a higher percentage of disinformation, significantly, on the topics "Professional area" (31.6% versus 24.1%), "Heritage" (52.6% versus 27.6%) and "Lack of morals" (26.3% versus 17.2%).
If we segregate the types of disinformation by gender we obtain the following distribution:

- Women suffer a higher percentage of disinformation attacks about their work in the Constituent Convention (69%, women vs. 47.3% men), about their political work (41.4% vs. 31.6%) and family (24.1% vs. 10.5%).

- Men suffer a significantly higher percentage of disinformation attacks on the topics "Professional area" (31.6% versus 24.1%) "Patrimony" (52.6% versus 27.6%) and "Moral misconduct" (26.3% versus 17.2%).
The fact that women have suffered greater disinformation about their work at the convention can be understood through various studies that explain the evaluation of women's performance in managerial leadership positions. These are based on the fact that since there are few women in managerial positions, and in conjunction with traditionally patriarchal organizational cultures, their leadership is perceived as atypical, which forces them to prove that they can lead and therefore they must spend additional time and energy proving their capabilities, resulting in a greater workload, compared to their male colleagues, to prove the same level of competence (Godoy, 2009).

This is also seen in the scientific area, as a 2012 Yale University study whose objective was to investigate whether research and scientific competencies are equally valued in the case of men and women, where university professors were sent equal resumes except that half were labeled "Jennifer" and the other half "John". John was evaluated much more favorably by both men and women in addition to being perceived as deserving better pay. It was concluded that the gender of the individuals influenced the perception of merit and capacity for work, responsibility and leadership. (El mundo, 2012) It is a possible edge of future study to know if conventional women, or other women in political leadership positions, were considerably more delegitimized for their work in a quest to question the capabilities of such women to carry out their work, in this case, in the Constituent Convention.

The fact that men are more victimized in their professional area may be mostly related to the stereotype and patriarchal figure of men as providers.
Type of disinformation vs. belonging to indigenous peoples groups

The same variables mentioned above were contrasted, but this time contrasting by belonging to native peoples. The results were as follows.

- When contrasting the constituents' belonging to a Chilean indigenous people, no significant differences were observed except in two responses. The work of the convention itself presents significant differences between the indigenous population and having been attacked by means of disinformation about the work of the convention itself, as $X^2 (1)=4.404, p=0.035<0.1$.
- Furthermore, with respect to the attacks with content referring to the political affiliation of the constituents, significant differences were observed between belonging to the first nations or not, as $X^2 (1)=3.508, p=0.061<0.1$.
- In the context of the disinformation attacks on the Chilean constituent convention, the First Nations have been the preferred target of the attacks in at least two respects.
Qualitative analysis

From the personal experiences reported by the respondents about the experiences facing disinformation, three main topics were compiled, which were identified as: disinformation, public discredit and personal discredit. In the first place is the disinformation based on their work in the Constitutional Convention and their political activities. This axis was transversal in all the respondents, manifesting a problem at the institutional level of communication as well as campaigns against the constitutional process.

The Constitutional Convention as a democratic process has been directly affected by disinformation and fake news, in the same way as its members.

Since the beginning of the Convention in July 2021, we have seen multiple viral news about the Convention members as well as the work that has been done within the Convention, which have later turned out to be false or have been denied.

A study conducted between January and March 2022 by the NGO Derechos Digitales and the pollster Datavoz, showed that 58% of respondents said they had known information about the Convention that turned out to be false, and the most worrying thing is that 6 out of 20 people have shared false information.
Some of the conventionals highlight the role that other conventionals and the media have played as sources and distributors of disinformation. Independent convention members and those belonging to reserved seats have experienced a lack of communication tools and network management that have contributed to an inequality in the delivery of reliable information in comparison to more experienced political parties.

"There has been a discourse of hatred towards the [native] peoples, it has harmed us in the important media and the disinformation has especially affected the constituents who belong to reserved seats, since we have had to learn the communicational strategy that other parties and coalitions are already used to."

In the area of public discrediting, disinformation plays a determining role in the perception of the competencies and capacities of the conventional at the time of exercising the assigned position. Non-attendance to assigned commissions, accusations of assets, associations with outside groups, use of influence to obtain job positions and participation in swindles and set-ups, are some of the issues that the conventionals highlight as the focus of the disinformation news.

Likewise, personal discrediting is based on the physical characteristics or aptitudes of the conventional. Fake news about the Convention member’s educational level and physical and racial characteristics were the most frequently mentioned by Convention members. Insults such as "black, nanny-face, Indian" [negro, cara de nana, indio] or "that he had a drunk face, that he probably could not read and that he had not finished third grade".
On the other hand, this phenomenon is also found when the Convention is analyzed as a collective, being associated with improper behavior among them outside the Convention, such as at parties and in their private spaces. It is worth mentioning that when analyzing the experiences of women, compared to men, they relate testimonies that relate with online gender violence.

"I have received attacks on social networks about my work at the convention that have involved my family... in my colleagues in my collective who have received death threats or insults of high caliber, and this is experienced on a daily basis with some of my colleagues. This is seen more towards my female colleagues than towards my male colleagues. I have not known the case of fellow (male) constituents who have received death threats through social networks, on the other hand women have, in more than one case."
Summary and conclusions

- 73% responded that they believe they have been the object of disinformation or fake news against them in the campaign or in their work as a constituent. This can be explained by the fact that different media, sources and perceptions show a systematic attack on the constituent convention as a body, where the figures that have been mostly criticized are related to their level of media prominence. This is a future area of research to find out the type, quantity and narrative of the disinformation towards the convention members independently of the perception of those affected.

- The type of disinformation most commonly used is the "Own work of the Constituent Convention," which follows the line of argumentation above.

- 61.1% of the conventional women responded that they have been victims of disinformation as a form of gender-based violence. Furthermore, women mentioned in their testimonies of disinformation as a form of gender-based violence that this can be accompanied by other types of violence.

- Ninety-two percent of respondents from First Nations have been the target of such attacks, compared to 68% of those who do not belong to a First Nation. Specifically, it is 5.8 times more likely, belonging to a First Nation, to be a victim of disinformation attacks. Thus, there is a stigma in targeting disinformation attacks against this underrepresented population.
The LGQTB+ community is more often the victim of disinformation.

Some of the conventionals highlight the role that other conventionals and the media have played as sources and distributors of disinformation. Politically independent Convention members and those belonging to reserved seats have experienced a lack of communication tools and network management that have contributed to an inequality in the delivery of reliable information in comparison to more experienced political parties.

In the area of public discrediting, disinformation plays a determining role in the perception of the competencies and capacities of the conventional at the moment of exercising the position. Non-attendance to assigned commissions, accusations of assets, associations with outside groups, use of influence to obtain job positions and participation in swindles and set-ups are some of the issues that the conventions highlight as the focus of the disinformation news in this topic. This edge is present in the research, being associated with improper behaviors among them outside the convention, such as at parties and private spaces.
Likewise, personal discrediting is based on the conventional's own physical characteristics or aptitudes. Fake news about the educational level of the conventionals and their physical and racial characteristics were the most frequently mentioned by the conventionals. Likewise, when the convention is analyzed as a collective, this edge is present in the research, being associated with improper behaviors among them outside the convention, such as at parties and private spaces.

It is worth mentioning that when analyzing the experiences of women, compared to men, they relate testimonies that relate misinformation to a greater number of digital violence attacks, mentioning virtual harassment, violent language, hate speech and threats or direct attacks through social networks. This was identified in 16% of the testimonies of conventional women.

The seriousness of the disinformation attacks on the Constituent Convention is expressed in its media disapproval. In the last Plaza Pública Cadem survey, corresponding to the first week of May, it shows that the option "I reject" would win with 48% versus "I approve" with 35% in the exit plebiscite. The impact of delegitimization can be seen in the fact that the reasons for rejection in September are distrust of the constituents (55%) and in second place general disagreement with the proposals (40%). While this may also be due to the errors of the Convention itself, there is also the impact of disinformation.


