

Through the Activist Lens: Framing the Works of Sebastião Salgado

Which Frames are used in Newspaper Coverage of Sebastião Salgado and his Work
between 1984 and 2019?

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ABSTRACT:

The overarching theme of this paper is that of Activism, a neologism that combines both 'art' and 'activism. Activism has been highly commended as a novel technique for both artists and activists, and can be used in a variety of different manners. However, within the academic literature there exists a gap, as very little of the existing research has focused on trying to measure the impact of activist practices. Therefore, the purpose of this research paper is to see whether it is possible to lay an initial framework that can initiate a discussion on how to create a criterion by which to measure the end results of activism. This is done by relying on the argument that the more coverage an activist has, the wider the range of diffusion of their message, and therefore has a higher effect. In order to initiate this discussion, a quantitative frame analysis was applied, as implicit within newspaper coverage is the notion of framing. Within journalistic literature, framing as a technique is known to have the potential to influence people's thought process, and subsequently the way they perceive certain issues or events. By examining the type of frames used in newspapers, one can begin to theorize about the potential effect these frames have on readers. Therefore, the following research will examine the frames utilized in newspaper coverage on the infamous photographer Sebastião Salgado and his work. It was found that Artist, Subject Matter and Socio-Political-Economic Frames were the most dominant throughout the data. Therefore, it can be theorized that as these are the frames most used by the newspaper media in order to discuss Salgado and his work, which may imply that they focus on the aesthetics and the content of his photographs, it can be subsequently speculated that readers perceives him in the same fashion.

KEYWORDS: Activism, Criteria, Framing, Impact, Sebastião Salgado

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INTRODUCTION

When thinking of art, one considers its aesthetic value and the satisfaction that it can bring us, however usually one does not think of art as being a means to an end. On the other hand, if one considers the phenomenon of social movements, one would consider it to be inherently political, since the aim of any activist group usually has a concrete purpose and goal. But what happens when you combine art and activism? You come up with Artivism. Artivism is a relatively new phenomenon which has begun to gain traction in the academic world since the 1990's (Goris, 2017). It has been commended as a pioneering movement that has the ability to extend beyond the confines of academic boundaries (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018). It is a broad term that can range from actions or individuals who wish to express themselves artistically with political undertones, to movements who use art as a tactical tool for communication (Korpe, 2013). On the one hand, the amalgamation of art with social movements, allows art to move past the philosophical borders that assign it to the realm of the absurd, and instead imbues it with the power of communication. On the other hand, by approaching art as a tool to support the transmission of their purpose, social movements are enabling the aestheticisation of their causes that has the potential to raise greater interest in their work.

Although artivism is considered to be an exceptional phenomenon (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018; Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Goris, 2017; Mesías-Lema, 2018), that is supported by a growing range of literature on the benefits of its use, there has been very little research that examines the end result of activist practices. If there is no attempt made to study the impact that activist actions or movements can have, it then provides very little evidence to corroborate its professed exceptionalism. The resulting gap in the literature is what led to the creation of this thesis.

Of course, there is no doubt that trying to measure the concept of impact is a daunting and nigh impossible task, however the researcher wishes to venture an attempt to lay out a preliminary academic framework to initiate a discussion on how to quantify the impact of artivism. Duncombe et al., (2018) published an interesting report that endeavors to provide groundwork of what methods activists use to observe whether their work has “worked”. They suggest that a useful method is to regard the amount of coverage one receives via newspapers, reasoning that the more coverage an activist receives, the wider the diffusion of the activist’s message (Duncombe, 2016).

When examining newspaper coverage, one also needs to take into account the concept of framing. Where framing can be understood as a journalistic technique that highlights certain facets of a story over others, and can help both the media and readers to understand and organize certain events (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014; Entman, 2007; Greenwood & Smith, 2007). It is known that framing can also influence the way that people perceive certain issues or events (Rappaport, 1998), therefore, the manner in which newspapers utilize frames can in theory influence how people regard an activist and their work, which can be seen as a form of impact. Which is why a framing analysis was utilized for this study.

Sebastião Salgado was chosen as a case study for this thesis, as the researcher believes he embodies both the art and activist side of activism. Salgado is a renowned photographer who has an extensive body of work that covers a myriad of themes that spans almost the entire planet. Ranging from changing labor practices in the 90's to coverage on the eradication of polio campaign, Salgado transcends the academic limitations on art and activism as separate entities and instead fuses them together. Considering the extent and diversity of his work, there has been very little academic research focused on him, aside from an in-depth examination compiled by Parvati Nair (2011) and a few other intellectual accounts, there has been no attempt made in trying to discern the impact of Salgado's work.

Therefore, to attempt to create an initial framework on which a criterion for measuring impact can be based on, this thesis will focus on the type of frames used in newspaper coverage on Salgado and his work. The first chapter of this thesis will provide a theoretical framework on the existing literature on activism, impact, framing and Salgado. Within the chapter, an explanation of the methods used to generate the frames utilized for the results and analysis will be present. Chapter two will elucidate the methodology and operationalization. Chapter three will provide the analysis of the collected data and their subsequent results. Finally chapter four will involve a discussion of the results and conclusion.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conceptualizing Artivism; Activist Artists and Artistic Activists

Historically, the term ‘artivism’ is seen to have risen as a result of dramatic shifts that were taking place in political, societal, cultural and artistic fields in the United States during the 1960’s and 1970’s (Delgado, 2013; Mesías-Lema, 2018). Where the rise of contemporary artivism occurred in tandem with anti-consumerist, anti-capitalist and anti-globalization movements (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Korpe, 2013). Since the 1990s, the integration of art as a tool for activist groups has been increasingly seen as a beneficial and novel technique to raise societal awareness and attract a larger audience to their causes (Goris, 2017).

Artivism as a relatively new phenomenon does not simply want to criticize the existing state of things, but rather commits itself to changing the status quo (Groys, 2014). What is interesting about artivism is that its two components, art and social action, reside on polar opposites. Where traditional concepts of the value of art function in accordance to the philosophy of *l’art pour l’art*, whose aesthetic qualities should ensure its autonomy from worldly constraints (Groys, 2014; Korpe, 2013; Robinson, 2015). In contrast, the central component to activism is that of social action, an element that automatically politicizes itself as having a *purpose* (Groys, 2014; Robinson, 2015). When art incorporates itself into the realm of social action, it subsequently politicizes itself, and according to Groys (2013), turns its back on notions of aestheticization. Aladro-Vico et al., (2018) agree with Groys in that the installation of artivism in the present day signals a shift in the way that art is used and understood, and rather flips it critically to resist entrenched and elitist ideas. In so doing, artivism challenges the concept of the aesthetic object, bringing it down from being a venerated form to one that embodies a more pragmatic stance in the social realm (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018).

As a result of art’s integration into the social domain, it signals a desire to protest against the hegemonic ideals that determine the borders of the art world (Marks, 2015). Rather, art wishes to recuperate its power as a channel for creative free expression without constraints to be an entirely independent entity (Marks, 2015). In other words, art is proposing the creation of a “counter-reality” that is supported by art itself. Therefore, when *l’art pour l’art* presents itself as being removed from the political, it then becomes automatically political because of its refusal to be political (Robinson, 2015; Thiel, 2017). Furthermore, as Thiel (2017) aptly points out, the general assumption that art is an autonomous realm is undermined by the fact that art has always been historically dependent on patrons and markets. This in itself weakens the argument that *l’art pour l’art* is simply just *because*, since rather it is contingent to the whims of those that finance it (Thiel, 2017). The fact that art is moving beyond its predefined aesthetic realm is a sign of art’s increased involvement in political matters, which takes upon itself the possibility to express its discontent with political, cultural, social or economical situations (Korpe, 2013). As Groys (2014) explains, artivists want to change the state of the current system, and do so with art as a tool, this material tangibility translates into a change that takes place in reality rather than in the

ephemeral world of art.

The production of the visual arts in combination with activism is, according to Mesías-Lema (2018), central to the activist strategy to impact and sway public opinion. By using art as a medium of visual communication, it enables activists to have an additional channel –other than verbal exchanges– through which to convey their message to the public (Goris, 2017). Such creations are designed specifically to draw attention, implant awareness, and encourage the audience to think critically (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018; Thiel, 2017). Activists try to achieve these goals by embedding subjective and emotional ideas into their artwork, and in so doing, art initiates a different way of affecting human perception (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018). By employing numerous mediums and techniques, activists can develop new methods of critical thinking that can lead to contesting entrenched hegemonic ideas and act as a critical reflection of reality (Thiel, 2017).

The use of artistic practices as a mode of expression is considered to be ideal as it uses the freedom of the cultural and artistic sphere to shield itself from legal repercussions (Korpe, 2013). Nevertheless, Korpe (2013) explains this ‘protection’ is not universal. Although being a part of the artistic world may allow for the freedom to create *anything*, the protection that the art world bestows may work against the purpose of the production as it is still bound to the confines of the cultural and artistic sphere, and is therefore regarded as something ephemeral and not as matter of “substance” (Korpe, 2013; Robinson, 2015). This contradiction leads one to consider the implications of the context of production (Dragičević Šešić, Brkić & Matejić, 2015; Robinson, 2015; Thiel, 2017). It is therefore possible to consider that there exists varying “degrees” of activism. Where on one end of the spectrum one would find a type of *artistic activism* that originates from the art world and wishes to be involved in social activism but is nonetheless limited by the art world’s apolitical constraints (Korpe, 2013). On the other end of the spectrum, one would find a type of *activist art* that mainly functions within the world of social activism, but uses art to further its cause thereby politicizing the entire process (Korpe, 2013).

Activism is Change; The Effect of Activism

Duncombe (2016) explains that both art and activism by themselves have entirely different roles in the world. On the one hand, *activism* is the process of confronting, challenging and inciting shifts in power relations (Duncombe, 2016). Where its main purpose is to generate some sort of *change* that benefits the community or issue in question; its end goal being to create an *effect*, or to leave a lasting *impact* (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Duncombe, 2016). On the other hand, *art* is rather more vague in its purpose, as Duncombe (2016) states, the value of art lies in revealing to the audience different perspectives and new manners through which to see the world. Therefore, the impact of art on the human consciousness is difficult to measure as usually it is an “intangible” emotion that it generates (Duncombe, 2016). This abstract emotion as Duncombe (2016) describes, is something that we are not quite able to explain to ourselves, but nevertheless still *affects* us. He furthers this argument by saying that art has the ability to generate a ‘feeling’ in us, so much so

that it has the power to change our perception and have a lasting emotional impact (Duncombe, 2016). Therefore, the very act of being removed from the realm of rational thought imbues art with a power that has the capability to generate a stronger emotion, and therefore *effect* on an individual (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova, Bailey, 2018).

As previously mentioned, activism is interested in evoking a reaction and generating impact (Thiel, 2017). By focusing on this aspect, activist practices can bring underlying social issues to the forefront of public discussion, that if successful, can be effective in precipitating change (Thiel, 2017). Robinson (2015) explains that activism is most commonly understood through its description of embodying social or politically intended art. Which can establish that the endeavors of art in activism, take place within the political domain (Robinson, 2015). This shift in the understanding of art as an *active* tool changes the importance and even perhaps the traditionally established value of art as *l'art pour l'art*. Therefore, activism takes on a vigorous role when dealing with the utilitarian issues of reality, and is able to distance itself from the domain of *l'art pour l'art*, as it provides both a critical and creative reflection of these matters. In so doing, it gives itself the agency and possibility to communicate through individual and social situations (Robinson, 2015).

According to Duncombe (2016), activists tend to focus their work towards four goals. The first is to cause a *cultural shift in thought*; this aims to cause an instantaneous effect upon the way the audience talks and thinks about a certain matter, and if it is not even talked about at all, to initiate a debate about it (Duncombe, 2016). The second goal is to cause a *cultural change*; this refers to long-term impact on how people feel, react, and what they do about an issue (Duncombe, 2016). The third goal focuses on creating a *direct material impact*, which is centered around the principle of having a short-term cause showcased which has a visible and material effect (Duncombe, 2016). The fourth goal is related to the previous target, but rather it focuses on producing *long-term material results* (Duncombe, 2016). So rather than simply encouraging active participation in community debates, the end goal would be to address the underlying theoretical structures of the issue (Duncombe, 2016). If the debate focuses on issues of racism, then the purpose of this activism would be to address the underlying problems of racism, and focus on changing perceptions and ways of doing things, so that issues that underlie racism are changed (Duncombe, 2016).

Nevertheless, Groys (2014) points out that the art component of activism is usually the perpetrator of the activist's failure. This is also due to the very same reason as to what makes activism such a promising technique; the aestheticism of the artwork (Groys, 2014). Due to its removal from rationality, it may also have simply no effect at all, rather, it embeds the issue into the aesthetic realm which therefore also removes the issue from reality, thereby inhibiting any form of constructive debate around the topic (Groys, 2014). Thiel (2017) adds to this by explaining that art can also be used subversively, so that instead of being employed outside the dominant economic and political ideologies, it is used to further the demands and policies of the dominant *modus operandus*, which therefore implies that activism can be used by

anyone, anywhere, and for any purpose. This in itself is part of what makes activism such a debatable method.

Measuring the Concept of Impact in Activism

Carter (2009) points out the difficulty in measuring the real impact of activist actions. He explains that when trying to discuss and observe the effects of activist movements, there exists only anecdotal evidence (Carter, 2009); which is perhaps useful for sharing experiences, but it is not enough to base a criteria of measurement upon. Delgado (2013) furthers this point, by saying that if anecdotes are all we have to measure the impact of activism then it is not possible to rely on the fact that activism is of any use at all.

In the existing literature on activism, much has been written on it in a theoretical sense, whereby points of value are highlighted and its efficacy as a novel form to inspire social change is revered, but very little has been written on the actual end results of it. As Duncombe et al., (2018) describe, it is *essential* to understand the end product of such movements and trends because if there is no effort made to understand the impact left behind, then activism is akin to magic –in theory it is a source of power and is advantageous for social movements– but nevertheless, it remains a theory steeped in the mythical and speculative. In other words, it is necessary to investigate the concept of *impact* to see whether it is possible to create a criterion upon which to observe the effects of activism, in so doing, it should become a mechanism that can legitimize the reliability of activism as a domain.

Delgado (2013) takes a rather pessimistic view on the subject by saying that we need to consider the extent to which activist productions have actually initiated change, or whether it serves to reinforce already existing ideologies and practices. As Thiel (2017) describes, activists may over time influence or have contributed to the transformation of a certain issue, but it is the *effect* or *impact* of such change which cannot be predicted or measured beforehand. Only after the production, action, protest or manifestation can one begin to identify the aftereffects, and at times, only years later will the impact of such actions become clear (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). Therefore, it is necessary to create some form of criterion by which to measure impact.

Impact as a Matter of Attention

One of the main goals of activism is to establish a line of communication with the target audience (Campana, 2015). Korpe (2013) remarks that activists establish this link through many different mediums, not least of which include spaces such as art institutions (galleries and museums in the form of exhibitions), but also contact through direct communication on social media sites and mainstream media coverage. The more sources used, the wider the range of impact (Campana, 2015; Korpe, 2013). This is where the media can come into play as mediators and transmitters of information (Thiel, 2017). Therefore, the way that a story is framed in the media can play a large part in forming one's perception of a topic and can therefore play a large role in generating public awareness (Thiel, 2017). According to Duncombe et al.,

(2018), people are inspired to enact change when they encounter powerful emotions such as fear, hate, love, compassion or hope.

Duncombe et al., (2018) explain that due to the proliferation of media outlets on the Internet, activists have begun using small indicators to see whether their productions have reached an audience. These indicators include the number of website visitors, the level of attendance for screenings, amount of comments, shares, audience participation in the creation of events or productions, media coverage (number of articles, or critic reviews), total amount of donations, number of volunteers and petition signatories (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). As can be seen, what these indicators display is in reality the levels of public attention that one can receive. Of course all of these indicators do not provide an exact measuring of *impact*, but nevertheless it provides a point of reference to see whether they as an actor or their productions have “worked”.

Measuring Attention Through Newspaper Coverage

Since mass media outlets play a large role in determining the dominant cultural narratives present in a society (Shaw, 1979), it is therefore essential for the activist to cultivate a presence in the media in order to have a chance at creating an impact. The more coverage they receive, the more likely they, or their work will also reach a wider audience (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018).

The first step is to see whether your work has been noticed, because if it has not received any attention at all, it means that you are no further in advancing your cause because no one knows about it (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The second step is to see whether your work has entered into the public debate by observing the amount and type of coverage the production has received (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). However, at this moment we reach an impasse, how does this express impact? Although coverage expresses the diffusion of the message, how does one know whether it can incite change?

Since it is difficult to know whom the audience is, the following step would be to turn to the type of coverage or attention an activist receives. Therefore, a *content analysis* of newspaper articles on the *coverage* of an activist is already a partial, yet significant measurement of the potential impact an activist’s work can have (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018).

Framing

Consequently, if, in order to establish an initial component of the criterion to measure impact, one needs to conduct an analysis into the content of newspaper coverage on an activist, it is therefore necessary to take into consideration the concept of framing. As explained by Croteau & Hoynes (2014), a frame is the way that the media organizes a story. Greenwood & Smith (2007) further this by explaining that framing is a certain composition that is given to stories which allows both the media and readership to organize and understand issues and events. Media writers highlight certain themes in a text that can make certain view points more salient more than others (Greenwood & Smith, 2007). According to Dakroury & Eid (2012) framing is

a tool for media outlets to provide an already interpreted meaning of the subject to their audiences. By including certain factors and excluding others, the media effectively provides the audience a sterilized version which can influence the process of critical thinking (Dakroury & Eid, 2012).

Rappaport (1998) explains the concept of narrative as being a story that pertains to a large group of individuals and is shared through social interaction and customs. These narratives can take on the form of being dominant cultural narratives, which is the dominant discourse about societal matters that the majority of the population ascribes to (Dakroury & Eid, 2012; Rappaport, 1998). These cultural narratives are spread around and transmitted by mass media sources (newspapers, television, social media) and social institutions (educational institutions, community groups), that use common symbols or words to reinforce the narrative of a certain topic (Rappaport, 1998). These communicative symbols are done in such a way that the transmission of the message seems to be unintentional but more often than not are already entrenched in the discourse of the institution that reflects the establishment's practices (Rappaport, 1998).

What many people do not realize is how the simple positioning of some words against a certain story can change the narrative surrounding it completely (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014; Rappaport, 1998). Additionally, this simple manipulation of the narrative has a very high potential to affect people's behaviors and thought processes (Greenwood & Smith, 2007; Rappaport, 1998). Unconsciously, people appropriate and refashion the stories and narratives that they encounter around them (Rappaport, 1998). By appropriating these stories, people's thought process is affected which thereby can affect their opinions (Rappaport, 1998).

In a study conducted into media framing of the events that occurred after the attacks of September 11 in the United States, Ryan (2004) posited that all of the newspapers he analyzed were clearly advocating a rhetoric that insisted that the attacks were an act of war. What followed, indicated that these newspapers supported an aggressive American military response (Ryan, 2004). In another study that conducted a similar analysis, Reese & Lewis (2009), found that the powerful rhetoric of the dominant newspapers created a climate that supported the (then) American administration's policy of military intervention in Iraq. In so doing, it effectively left no room for alternative viewpoints, and as it was the only narrative in circulation, it legitimized the administration's response in the eyes of the American public (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

Therefore, in highlighting certain narratives over others when describing a story, the media can influence the way a story is perceived by the public (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014). This in essence, is a form of impact, as they can manipulate their readers' understanding of a certain issue. For this reason, a framing analysis of newspaper articles may provide the first step in understanding the effect an activist or their work may have on public perceptions.

Attention as a Change in Consciousness

The governing narratives that pervade our social structures are produced and

reproduced by mass media sources and social-political institutions (Rappaport, 1998). This reproduction of ideologies may even be done at a subconscious level from the side of the producers, but whether done deliberately or not, it has a powerful effect on those at the receiving end (Rappaport, 1998). According to Rappaport (1998), the power of these narratives can be ascribed to at least three reasons: (1) the repetition of narratives can create a greater tendency to remember, which therefore generates memory, (2) these narratives can produce meaning as well as emotion, and (3) narratives can help shape perceptions, which in turn can be part of identity-construction. As such, the cultural narratives produced by the mass media can reinforce (or change) our existing state of mind and the way we understand hegemony and counter-hegemonic ideals (Purcell, 2009).

Scott-Smith (2011) uses the term “conscientisation” to refer to the process in which individuals become conscious of socio-political factors and their repercussions on dis-advantaged groups. Where it implies an increased awareness on the part of the individual about political, economic, and social conditions that challenge the realities one habitually has around themselves (Scott-Smith, 2011). People do not decide to incite change just because, but rather because they were exposed to powerful and emotionally changing stimuli (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). Which is why it is so important to understand the end effect of activist work.

To simplify, according to the framing of a certain narrative, one can then observe how the dominant cultural narrative is disseminated and therefore, one can thereby triangulate *how* it is possible to *change* the narrative through the way one presents its ideas or purpose to these very institutions. Or as Duncombe et al., (2018) put it, “ideas shape material reality” (p.6), and can therefore result in societal transformation. Therefore, the intention of the activist as well as their expectation should be understood within such a context. As we can see, this understanding leads us to constructing a criterion by which to observe and quantify *impact*. Therefore, activist attempts to raise awareness in order to cause a chain reaction that will hopefully generate some type of change (Carter, 2009), can be understood as a building block that is a part of the criteria to measure impact.

Attention in Order to Raise Interest

According to Duncombe et al., (2018), in our current technologically driven world, a simple presentation of the facts is no longer sufficient to create a lasting impression on people’s consciousness. In an age where information can be easily manipulated and images can be forged, activists have to resort to innovative methods in order to garner the societal attention they require to raise interest in their work (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). This is done by generating captivating stories and powerful images so that their message can resonate with people and their conscience (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018; Mattoni & Teune, 2014). Utilizing such strategies is vital to an activist’s cause because their end goal is essentially to create an *impact*.

Case Introduction: Sebastião Salgado

Sebastião Salgado was born in Brazil in 1944 (Mraz, 2010). Having studied economics, and having briefly worked for the ministry of finance, he was obliged to leave Brazil due to his involvement in student manifestations against the military dictatorship (Mraz, 2010). Salgado then moved to Paris where he began a PHD in economics, which was also the time where he discovered his skill with photography, due to borrowing his wife's camera (Mraz, 2010). After numerous trips to Africa under the employment of the International Coffee Organization where he began to take photos, he decided to leave behind his career as an economist and instead dedicate himself to photography (Mraz, 2010). Originally working for Magnum (an esteemed photography co-operative), Salgado then founded his own company, Amazonas Images (Mraz, 2010).

Salgado is heavily committed to his work, and time does not seem to be an intervening factor in the way that he structures his projects (Kay, 2011). He approaches all of his projects with the goal to integrate himself into the communities he photographs (Kay, 2011). In so doing, it provides him with a veil of invisibility, which grants him access to intimate moments that would otherwise be hidden (Kay, 2011). Although, Salgado has engaged in commercial work such as advertising and photographs for news pieces –which has helped fund his other projects– (Nair, 2011), for the purpose of this thesis, only the projects that are associated with his photojournalism will be focused on (see Table 1 for a list of projects, their timeframe and date of publication).

Project and Time Frame	Date of Publication
Other Americas (between 1977 and 1984)	1986
Sahel: The End of the Road (between 1984 and 1985)	First published in 1988 and then again in 2004
Workers: An Archaeology of the Industrial Age (between 1986 and 1992)	1993
Terra: Struggle of the Landless (collection of images taken between 1980 and 1996)	1997
Migrations: Humanity in Transition (between 1993 and 1999)	2000
The End of Polio: A Global Effort to End a Disease (between 2001 and 2002)	2003
Genesis (between 2004 and 2012)	2013
Instituto Terra (founded by Salgado and his wife as a project to reforest a portion of the Atlantic Forest)	1998-2019

Table 1. List of Salgado's projects, timeframe and publication date

In order to understand the intensity and passion that Salgado dedicates to his work, and the subsequent motives for doing so, it is first necessary to provide a brief overview of the content of his projects (refer to Table 1 for project information). In 1986, *Other Americas* was published, which focused on themes of Latin American rural indigenous life and their relation to tradition and spirituality within the context of a shifting political climate (MONOVISIONS, 2016). Thereafter, Salgado spent 15 months travelling the Sahel region, where he documented the widespread famine that occurred due to continuous bouts of drought that plague the desertic belt; *Sahel* was then published in 1988 (Kay, 2011). In 1993, *Workers* was published, where Salgado had spent six years photographing the transition and its effects from traditional forms of manual labor to the automation of industries (Nair, 2011). 1997, witnessed the publication of *Terra*, a project that centered on the efforts of the MST (Movimento Sem Terra – Landless Workers Movement) to regain land, which they view as their heritage and upon which their very livelihoods depend (Nair, 2011). At the turn of the century, in 2000 came the publication of *Migrations*, a project that can be seen as a follow-up to *Workers*, as it documented the mass migration of millions of people over 40 countries, which in part can be understood as the result of the automation of the manual labor industry (Nair, 2011). Subsequently, Salgado then published *The End of Polio*, a project that recorded a shared global effort to eradicate Polio (Kay, 2011). 2004 marked the year where Salgado shifted his attention away from photographing humanity to the start of his last project, *Genesis*, which focused on chronicling unspoiled landscapes in remote regions of the world (Wolford, 2011).

Salgado was chosen as case study for this thesis, as the researcher believes that he embodies the inherent tension that lies between the art and activist sides of activism. On the one hand, the immaculate aesthetics of his photographs can be seen to firmly entrench the subject matter of his images in the realm of the art world. A factor of which –considering the academic literature– would remove his photographs from any form of utilitarian domain. On the other hand, the sheer variety of themes that he covers in his projects and the countless initiatives he has begun reflects upon his work as being that of an activist who wishes to raise awareness. As he says, “I never wanted to give a conscience to anyone. These pictures were to give a basis of reflection and discussion” (Bogre, 2012, p. 64).

Salgado’s photographs are not easy to look at. The sheer range of themes and moments that he has captured encompasses some of the most uncomfortable topics one can come face to face with. For Wolford (2011), Salgado humanizes the suffering of people. The personalization of the very themes that are prevalent throughout his works –poverty, suffering, hunger, desolation, marginalization, war and exploitation– are what makes his audience susceptible to Salgado’s messages, because these are the very subjects that one goes to lengths so as not to see them (Wolford, 2011).

Artist vs. Documentarian

Due to the enormous body of work that reflects an indisputable mastery of the camera, many view Salgado to be an artist, a label of which he nevertheless contradicts by calling himself a documentarian (Kay, 2011). Where the purpose of a

documentarian, Kay (2011) explains, is to create a strong visceral response that utilizes emotions such as outrage, sadness, shame, or incredulity in order to motivate and encourage people to *do something*. Much like the activity of an activist. As Nair (2011) so aptly describes:

As Salgado's photographs tour the world and feature in the most elite galleries of metropolitan centers, there can be little doubt that his efforts to visually represent the dispossessed have led him to seriously confound boundaries between document and art. Furthermore, and as Sischy pointed out, he is also a commercial photographer, one who openly supports his projects as a documentarian and artist through such work. (p. 151)

In trying to garner attention for his work –through the publication of books, photo-essays, exhibitions, talks and lectures– he challenges the very philosophy of *l'art pour l'art* and rather invites his audience to participate in the discussion he creates about the nature and purpose of his work.

Just as Salgado knows how to integrate himself into the communities of his subjects, so does he know how engage his audience (Rudel, 2011). Salgado's innate ability to communicate a feeling of solidarity through the high aesthetics of his images, is in order to breach the distance between that of his audience and the subjects of his photographs (Nair, 2011). However, because of the very aestheticization of his photographs, some would argue that it in fact anaesthetizes the messages he wants to transmit (Nair, 2011). In contrast, it could also be argued that exactly *because* of the explicit aesthetics of his images, it highlights and accentuates the message he wants to transmit (Bogre, 2012). A factor of which would perhaps aid in what Duncombe (2016) had previously elucidated, in causing a *cultural shift in thought*.

Criticisms

Despite the hefty reputation that Salgado has built for himself, he nevertheless has some harsh critics of his work. Some argue that because his photographs are so beautiful, they contribute to the desensitization of his audience, because he has 'romanticized' misery, or rather, he has taken advantage of his subjects in order to capitalize on them and turn them into commodities (Kay, 2011; Nair, 2011; Rudel, 2011). Such criticisms have basis in the theory that audiences are increasingly becoming desensitized to societal issues due to the wide proliferation of images in the media (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014). Since people see distressing images on a daily basis people will eventually stop *seeing* them (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014). Such a proponent of this argument is Susan Sontag. She reasons that by creating aesthetically beautiful images whose subject matter is contradictory to its overall composition, it will simply cause people to normalize these subjects; because it implies that human degradation has gone so far over the line that it can be commodified as an art object (Sontag, 2004). An argument of which refers back to Groys (2014) who expounded that the 'art' element of activism will usually be the reason for the activist's failure.

Other critics accuse Salgado of adopting a postcolonial attitude towards his subjects (Gold, 2011). By photographing the marginalized and thereafter exhibiting them, rather than giving them a voice, instead, some claim that he is speaking for them (Gold, 2011). This is an argument that revives a very colonial and orientalist way of thinking. However, the researcher contends that this is a criticism that is difficult to maintain, as either a colonialist, or orientalist way of thinking refers to an ideological, yet albeit imaginative boundary between the East and the West (or the North and the South) (Said, 2003), whereas Salgado is originaive of Brazil, a formerly occupied territory by the Portuguese. So the point of contention here is; is it possible for a member of the 'East' or 'South' to participate in perpetuating an orientalist/colonialist standpoint upon other cultures that have a similar origin?

Although *Genesis* has not generated such criticism, it has nevertheless caused environmentalists to denounce his work due to the beautification of pristine landscapes (Rudel, 2011). For environmentalists, *Genesis* is the anti-thesis of their entire movement as it promotes a 'censored vision' of what the world looks like, and rather convinces people that the Earth is in fact, 'doing just fine' (Rudel, 2011).

All of these criticisms could be used to undermine Salgado's work and morale, as many of them have a basis in already preexisting debates that exist mainly within the academic world (Rudel, 2011). Most of these arguments however, seem to miss the point of Salgado's work entirely. With regard to those that criticize *Genesis* and his fascination with pristine landscapes, they also seem to ignore his reforestation efforts with Instituto Terra (Gold, 2011). Concerning the critics that claim his aesthetics desensitize his audience, they seem to forget, that in order to raise awareness about his subjects and their plights, one way to do this (in using a medium such as a camera), is to enter the art world in the form of exhibitions and book publications (Nair, 2011). An approach of which could be related to Scott-Smith's (2011) term of "conscientisation". Through the access granted to the art world due to the high aesthetics of his photographs, Salgado tries to ensure that his audience are kept informed of the realities of others (Nair, 2011).

Photography as a Medium of Communication

From its outset, photography has been used as a means of communication (Van Dijk, 2008). According to Bogre (2012), the use of photography as a tool to document social injustices is not a new phenomenon. Since its creation, photography has been utilized to aid but also aestheticize social research as it can act as a reflection of numerous different realities (Russell & Diaz, 2012; Szto, Furman & Langer, 2005).

Russell & Diaz (2012) explain that photographs can convey varying levels of affectivity, and in so doing, can construct different meanings for itself. They call this process of meaning making "reality aesthetics" (Russell & Diaz, 2012). By combining the image with an aesthetic layout, it is possible to convey deeper levels of meaning as it is a way to bring to light that which would otherwise be invisible (Russell & Diaz, 2012). Arnheim (1974) and Twomey (2012) continue by explaining that the role of the photographer can be manifested as the perfect tool for activist movements, as it can record specific moments as well as being in the midst of action.

According to Van Dijk (2008) the human mind is able to process images and use it as an “autobiographical evidence sheet”. The photographer decides on what frame, angle, lighting or setting to use when taking a picture, factors that can influence both the image-subject and the image-reception (Gonzalez, 2017; Van Dijk, 2008). Furthermore, the manner in which the image is taken, reflects also back on how the picture is perceived (Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk (2018) explains that this process can become a conscious reformulation of reality, and subsequently, a reformulation of our memories. Therefore, the way that a photograph is presented, but also taken, can be an important tool in shaping people’s perceptions (Phillips & Bellinger, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008).

The different experiences that each individual has been exposed to develops the knowledge that they have, this includes experiences with race, social position, work, social connections and geographical location, and according to Phillips and Bellinger (2010) this set of experiences is also instrumental in constructing the meaning or message of an image (Schwartz, 1989; Szto, Furman & Langer, 2005; Van Dijk, 2008). Ergo, the manner in which a photograph is taken can also be understood as the *framing* of the image, both in the sense of *how* the picture was taken, but also the *message* that the photographer wishes to convey to his audience.

Schwartz (1989) explains that photographs can be understood as embodying the perceptions and concerns of the photographer. Since photographs are also keepers of records and memories, they are thought of as reproducing an accurate reflection of reality that serves as an “unbiased” visual statement (Schwartz, 1989; Szto, Furman & Langer, 2005). Szto et al., (2005) and Arnheim (1992) continue by explaining that what distinguishes photographs from paintings is that photographs have the advantage of being authentic, of reflecting *reality*, which no painting can ever claim to do. By claiming to be real, the photograph has a claim to truth, because its subject matter is conveying an actuality (Arnheim, 1974; Szto, Furman & Langer, 2005). However, Phillips and Bellinger (2010) point out that images can also alter reality.

Bogre (2012) continues Phillips and Bellinger’s argument by explaining that there is a congenital conflict between the extent to which photography can help further a cause and its ability to diminish the actual purpose of the cause. Where some critics claim that photographs cannot be objective, because it hides the symbolism and intention of the photographer in its content (Bogre, 2012). This refers to instances where the subjects being photographed are in reality being transformed into an object to observe and to placate viewers of their guilty conscience (Bogre, 2012). Susan Sontag (2003) argues that since photographs have such a strong power to make us recall past events due to its accuracy, its accuracy should not be sabotaged by trying to make them aesthetically attractive (Sontag, 2003). If made aesthetically attractive, it minimizes the potential of the photograph to have an impact (Sontag, 2003). In other words, by aestheticizing misery, hunger, poverty, or war, it subsequently normalizes these events, so that it becomes “just another image”, which eventually causes people to become desensitized (Sontag, 2004).

Purcell (2009) develops an interesting argument by describing community-development initiatives that encourage members to utilize photography in order to

document and reflect upon their life situations. Apparently, these images helped members as a visual aid to understand their situations and of those around them, which led to the development of a social awareness that also stimulated critical thinking (Purcell, 2009). By developing these abilities, Purcell (2009) explains that it can lead people to question and challenge their boundaries of committing to social change. As this consciousness develops, people will envision an improved lifestyle, which can lead to action and change (Purcell, 2009). He further goes on to explain how photography can be used as a tool for development as well as a method to challenge the existing hegemonic structure (Purcell, 2009). Since photography produces visual information, it can also have the ability to trigger an open debate about certain issues (Purcell, 2009).

Expectations

From the above literature four expectations for the results and analysis have been formed:

Expectation 1: There will be in an increase of articles written about Salgado in the same year or the year after the publication of one of his projects.

Expectation 2: Articles on Salgado will be more prominent in the arts and culture section of newspapers.

Expectation 3: The most prominent frame that will be found in articles on Salgado will be the Artist Frame.

Expectation 3a: Articles with the Artist Frame as most prominent will be featured in the arts and culture section of newspapers.

Expectation 4: The least prominent frame that will be found in articles on Salgado will be the Environmentalist frame.

Newspaper Framing of Salgado

As can be gathered from the above literature, framing is technique that the media use in order to structure a story (Greenwood & Smith, 2007). By highlighting certain facets of the story over others, media writers can make certain approaches, or viewpoints, more salient (Rappaport, 1998). Since framing is achieved through the composition of words, the frame of a story cannot be overtly pinpointed (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). As such, this transmission of information can, as Croteau & Hoynes (2014) explained can have a powerful effect on reader's critical thought process, and subsequently their perceptions.

The decision on which frames to use is dependent on the writer's unconscious decision of how to apply a frame when trying to represent a particular story as an event that is newsworthy (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). According to Entman et al., (2009), there are two manners in which to generate frames, which are *generic frames* and

issue-specific frames. The generic frames consist of 5 frames that Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) suggest can be identified across a range of different cases, these frames are; conflict, economic consequences, human impact, morality and responsibility frames. Issue-specific frames are relevant only to certain issues or events, which implies that those topics that reside outside of the range of cases where generic frames can be applied to, can only be analyzed by generating frames relevant to the particular issue (De Vreese, 2012; Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009). Therefore, since the purpose of this study is to observe how the media frames Sebastião Salgado, and it is also the first of its kind to do so, an issue-specific frame procedure will be applied.

Entman et al., (2009) suggest using a *manual-holistic approach* in order to generate the frames. They explain, “that frames are manually coded as holistic variables in a quantitative content analysis, whether inductively or deductively” (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009, p. 180). In order to do so, a qualitative analysis of several news articles were coded as holistic variables using a quantitative content analysis approach. Van Gorp & Vercruysse (2012) call the resulting frames ‘interpretive frame packages’, and explain that to create these packages one must use an inductive approach. This inductive approach is accomplished through an analysis of the articles for the data set and a literature review (Van Gorp, 2007). Each frame package can be structured with a core frame, framing devices and reasoning devices (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). The core frame is the implied cultural theory that expounds the entire package (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). The framing devices refer to elements in the article that can serve as indicators of the frame, this includes aspects such as vocabulary and catchphrases, indicators of which allow for the construction of the message of the frame (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). The reasoning devices are a result of ‘casual reasoning’ that may be evoked when (in this case) Salgado is linked with a particular frame (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). These frame packages are then placed in a frame matrix (refer to Table 2).

Core Frame	Framing Devices	Reasoning Devices	Text Examples
F1: Artist Frame (<i>indicating the 'art' side activism</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles that place the value of Salgado's work as a commodity. - Writers that analyze the aesthetics of Salgado's photographs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There exists a debate of the real and potential value of art. - Without consensus, the value and it potential to be political remains in stasis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "This flamboyant aestheticism" (Tonkin, 2000) - "...his careful and studied composition" (Tierney, 2000)
F2: Socio-Politico-Economic Frame (<i>indicating the 'activism' side of activism</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A focus on the economic, political or social forces that serve as a rationale for the projects Salgado creates. - As these factors serve as a basis for Salgado's projects, they also serve to demonstrate the underlying factors of which Salgado wants to raise awareness about. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Since this also reflects the activist side of activism, it also displays the <i>purpose</i> side of activism, and therefore the purpose of Salgado's work. - A focus on these underlying factors demonstrates what needs to be changed, in order to reshape the subsequent effects on humanity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Political concerns drive his work" (Plagens, 1991) - "...shows what the country's expanding economy has cost in human terms." (Edwards, 1998)
F3: Subject Matter Frame (<i>indicating the 'activism' side of activism</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles that focus on the content of Salgado's work, and the explicit message he wishes to convey. - The subject matter of his photographs as the issues he wishes to raise awareness about. - This also focuses on the tension between the 'art' and 'activist' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Similar to the previous frame, a focus on the subject matter of Salgado's photographs indicates the topics and themes he wants his audience to understand. - Photographs serving as visual evidence of the issues he tries to raise awareness of. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Salgado's shining subject is human dignity" (Jarmusch, 1991) - "...hands covering their faces to mask their grief" (Keyes, 2003)

	side of activism.		
F4: Humanitarian Frame (<i>indicating the social work and purpose of activism</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Content that centers on Salgado's actions to support human welfare (such as supporting, or working with NGO's, donations to collectives, and other causes). - Exploration of how Salgado can imbue his subjects with dignity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Photographs do not encourage voyeurism, but rather obliges one to realize the realities of others. - Salgado does not solely document, but also supports his projects through the donations and establishment of collectives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...his photographs that give dignity and individuality to those whose misfortunes are being chronicled." (Riding, 2000) - "...each one infused with empathy and respect for subjects often seen in pitiful circumstances." (The Nation, 2017)
F5: Critical Frame (<i>indicating a negative evaluation of Salgado's work</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles that focus on the tension between 'art' and 'activism' of Salgado's photos. - Columnists that criticize Salgado's work as encouraging voyeurism and normalizing misery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Salgado's work is commodifying other people's misery. - Salgado as a hypocrite, who does not care for his subjects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "This work has been branded 'neo-colonialist', patronizing and responsible for creating unhealthy stereotypes." (Wade, 2000) - "...justifying his voyeurism by shrouding his subjects in liberal platitudes." (Tierney, 2001)
F6: Environmentalist Frame (<i>indicating an environmental side of activism, this frame most likely will have a higher presence for Genesis</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coverage that places emphasis on Salgado's work as environmentally conscious and friendly. - Analysis of his works as preservationist and outdated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In-depth research into his work and understanding of the factors that put the environment at risk. - Work as encouraging passivity towards safeguarding the environment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...seeks to record the remnants of the natural pristine state of isolated areas" (Godoy, 2005) - "...he has been travelling for his epic, ecological work in

			progress.” (Finkel, 2009)
F7: Admiration Frame (<i>indicating a positive evaluation of Salgado’s work</i>)	- Articles that reflect on Salgado’s projects as unique and exceptional	- Reflects on the passion and dedication of Salgado towards his work.	- “Won him praise and prizes” (Riding, 1986) - "...should draw its viewers deeper into Salgado's unique world." (Tonkin, 1997)

Table 2. Coding Matrix of frame packages

For further information of each frame refer to appendix 2

In order to reach this frame matrix in an inductive manner, one has to establish the core concepts of the study in the literature review (Van Gorp, 2007). Van Gorp (2007) then advises to use a selection of articles to determine the elements that could serve as framing or reasoning devices. Thereafter, the researcher discerned logical links (which will be expounded on in the methodology in accordance with the frame coding manual) throughout the framing and reasoning devices in the different articles, the most repetitive results were then integrated as frame packages in the frame matrix (Van Gorp, 2007). According to Van Gorp (2007), by following these steps it is, “a practical way to demonstrate how the central framing theme holds among a coherent structure of devices” (p.72). Which should (theoretically) achieve the criteria for reliability, reproducibility and validity (Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012).

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY & OPERATIONALIZATION

This thesis aims to establish an initial framework to study the impact of activism through the study of frames found in English-language newspapers and their coverage on Sebastião Salgado and his work. Additionally, through the detection of frames, the analysis sought to discover the degree to which frames were most dominant in order to observe how the media interpret Salgado and his work in relation to Artivism. The research method used was a *quantitative frame analysis* for the data.

A frame analysis was chosen as various scholars have commended its use when trying to understand the approach that the media takes when discussing an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007; De Vreese, 2012; Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009; Schlichting, 2013; Van Gorp, 2007). Chong & Druckman (2007) explain that if one wishes to examine public opinion, it is then necessary to conduct a study into how newspapers frame certain issues (for example in politics), and thereby observe how the public utilizes this information. Entman et al., (2009) continue by explaining that framing can be used to construct certain messages by highlighting certain facets of the story over others. In so doing, framing can be used strategically in order to influence audience perceptions on certain issues (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009).

By having used a frame analysis it was possible to observe how Anglo newspapers portray and examine Salgado and his works. As was mentioned in the theoretical framework, there exists very little academic research that attempts to quantify the *impact* of activism. This thesis relies on the argument that newspaper coverage is a component of measuring impact since frames, “can affect frames in thought” (Schlichting, 2013, p.494). Of the available literature on framing there is a consensus that framing can have a substantial effect on people’s perceptions and opinions on certain topics (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009). In observing the type of coverage that Salgado receives, it was therefore possible to speculate the extent of impact that Salgado’s projects may have. Although it does not demonstrate how the types of frames found have influenced readers perceptions, it nevertheless provides an initial idea into how Salgado’s work has been received in the media. If his work would have no coverage, it would imply that his projects are not being examined, which would suggest that he has no impact at all.

As Sebastião Salgado is a Brazilian located in Paris and functions within a cosmopolitan setting, English-language newspaper publications were focused on rather than including publications in different languages. Firstly, the sample set was collected on LexisNexis Uni (a reliable database for newspaper publications and archives) using the search term of “Sebastião Salgado”. The size of the total data set was determined after the filter of “English” was added which resulted in 2,775 articles appearing in the time frame between January 1975 and December 2019. The second step was to establish the sampling procedure and therefore, determine the required parameters for the data set. As only Salgado’s name was utilized, many of the articles that appeared had no relevance to the photographer himself. Articles that were excluded were those that mentioned him only briefly (using his name as credit for using one of his photographs in a story, or that used him as a benchmark when

examining other photographers, artists, or social activists), duplicate articles, articles that evaluated his commercial work, articles that were an evaluation of his publications (books), and those that evaluated or covered films about him. The parameters for the data set remained with his 'social' work (so mainly what was published for the projects of *Other Americas*, *Sahel*, *Workers*, *Terra*, *Migrations*, *The End of Polio campaign* and *Genesis*).

Thirdly, to categorize the articles suitable for the analysis, a spreadsheet was used that ordered the articles by name, source, newspaper, newspaper section (such as entertainment, international news and arts and culture sections), date of publication, number of times Salgado's name was mentioned in an article, page number, search process on LexisNexis, list number in order of articles examined on LexisNexis, and URL. Articles used for the analysis were chosen on the basis of their content, rather than the title of the article (which could be misleading), which is how a total of 314 articles were found to be suitable.

Operationalization

As elucidated in the previous chapter the frames were developed through a combination of the theoretical framework and a qualitative analysis of a sample set of the news articles, which were coded in a quantitative manner. As suggested by Van Gorp & Vercruyse (2012), when using an issue-specific frame analysis, the manner in which one generates the frames is by using an inductive approach that consists of the aforementioned elements.

Upon having created the Framing Matrix (refer to Table 2), the frames were further defined in a *frame-coding manual* (refer to appendix 2). The manual included an explanation of each frame, and a list of words that were used to describe each frame when the coding began. The describing set of words were determined through the initial stage when the researcher was coding the frames as holistic variables (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009). Thereafter, the selection of words was chosen on the basis of a deductive reasoning approach with their relation to the core frame. So for example; words that were chosen for the Artist Frame consisted of terms such as *composition*, *aesthetic*, and *creative*; Socio-Political-Economic Frame had words such as *development*, *globalization*, and *Marxism*; Subject Matter Frame consisted of terms such as *symbolism*, *misery*, and *displaced*; *Empathy*, *documentarian*, and *solidarity* were used for the Humanitarian Frame; Critical Frame used words such as *voyeur*, *elitist*, and *dehumanizing*; words such as *nature*, *environment*, and *pristine* were used for the Environmentalist Frame; and Admiration Frame had terms such as *awards*, *exceptional*, and *passionate*. The inventory of words thereby created, can be seen as an inference from the themes of the core frames. Where it is possible to speculate that when using a word such as 'aesthetic', it brings to mind aspects such as art or artists which could then be associated to the Artist Frame, whereas using a word such as 'nature', would more likely conjure up visual ideas of flora and fauna which can be then linked to the Environmentalist Frame.

To conduct the coding procedure, a Python algorithm was utilized which was then applied to a document where all of the articles had been placed. In order for the

algorithm to identify what it was coding, the compiled list of words for each frame (which can be found in appendix 2) was placed in the program. To avoid confusion, for some of the describing words in the frame-code manual only the stem of the word was placed. This was done to avoid a repetition of words that are conjugations of the same word. For the Artist Frame, stemmed words were ‘cultur’ (which could then find deriving words such as ‘culture’, ‘cultural’, and ‘culturally’), ‘photojournalis’ (photojournalist and photojournalism). The stemmed words in the Socio-Political-Economic Frame were ‘consumeris’ (consumerism and consumerist), ‘capitalis’ (capitalism and capitalist), ‘econom’ (economics, economist, economical, and economically), ‘exploit’ (exploitation), ‘marx’ (Marxist and Marxism), ‘migrat’ (migrant and migration), ‘politic’ (politics, political, politician, politically), and ‘technolog’ (technology and technological). Subject Matter Frame had one stemmed word, that of ‘ideolog’ (ideology and ideological). Humanitarian Frame’s stemmed words were, ‘document’ (documentarian and documentation), ‘activis’ (activist and activism), ‘sociolog’ (sociology, sociologist and sociological), ‘ethnograph’ (ethnographer and ethnography), ‘social mobil’ (mobilization and mobility), ‘cooperat’ (cooperation, cooperative and cooperatively), ‘photojournalis’ (photojournalism and photojournalist), ‘communicat’ (communicate, communication, and communicatively) and ‘controvers’ (controversial and controversy). For the Critical Frame the stemmed words were ‘coloni’ (colonialist and colonialism), ‘hegemon’ (hegemony and hegemonic), ‘manipulat’ (manipulation, manipulate and manipulative), ‘imperialis’ (imperialism and imperialist) and ‘dehumani’ (dehumanize and dehumanise). The stemmed words for Environmentalist Frame are ‘ecolog’ (ecology, ecologist) and ‘preserv’ (preservation, preserve). Admiration Frame had three stemmed words, ‘divin’ (divine and divinity), ‘sensitiv’ (sensitive and sensitivity) and ‘persua’ (persuasive and persuasion). In addition to the stemming of words, the difference between American and British English spelling for words were taken into account, these included ‘aesthetic’ and ‘esthetic’, ‘labor’ and ‘labour’.

By placing the relevant words per frame in the program, it would subsequently scan all of the articles for any of the relevant words and when the program encountered one of the terms, it would attach a numerical value that would add up in consecutive order, thereby providing a numerical score for each article and their relation to each frame. Once the coding was completed, the numerical values were then translated into a spreadsheet, which was then grouped together with the original spreadsheet where all of the articles had already been categorized. Subsequently, the data was grouped into different categories and tables in order to observe which patterns emerged. The frequency of the words was not taken into account, as the researcher found that it would distort the results. If the program would have counted the frequency of a word in an article, it would be possible that one word would be encountered multiple times, however in doing so, the numerical value given to each encounter might then misrepresent the overall value of each frame. Since the algorithm only counts the words it encounters, and does not display *which* words were the ones found, the frequency would not have added additional value to the study.

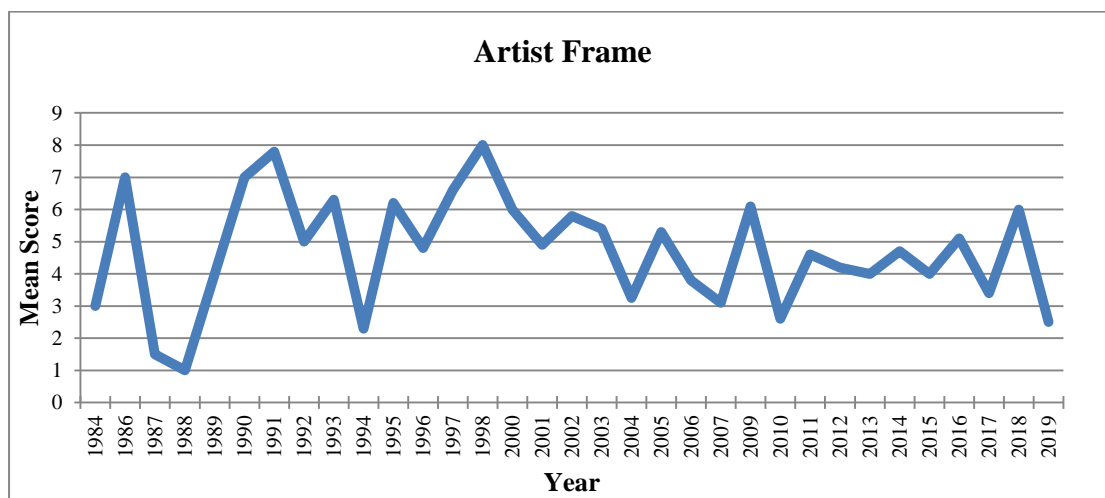
As Babbie (2011) explains, for a content analysis it is necessary to ensure the reliability and validity of the process. Where reliability refers to when a technique, if used repeatedly, will persistently bear the same results (Babbie, 2011). As this study only had one researcher, inter-coder reliability is out of the question (Haskins, Miller & Quarles, 1984). Haskins et al., (1984) suggest that if there is only one researcher involved, that a method of ensuring reliability is to conduct an intra-coder test that involves the researcher re-coding a small sample of the entire data set. However, the present researcher argues that since an algorithm was utilized to conduct the coding, that this ensures the reliability of the coding process, as the algorithm does not make the same mistakes as could be encountered when doing a manual coding process.

The validity of a study refers to the extent of whether the empirical method used sufficiently reflects the concept being measured (Babbie, 2011). Matthes and Kohring (2008), explain that measuring validity in framing studies is quite difficult as frames are quite abstract concepts, which can complicate pinpointing its actual measurement. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that the frames present in this study and the subsequent 'describing vocabulary' chosen may fall short in validity, since there is such a wide range of vocabulary found in newspaper articles that can be used to describe the same phenomenon (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS & RESULTS

Artist Frame

As can be seen in graph 1, the Artist Frame begins to increase from 1986, with a sharp dip in 1987 and 1988. 1986 was the same year that *Other Americas* was published. This was a project that comprised of a collection of photos that spanned Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala and Mexico (MONOVISIONS, 2016). The images span a variety of themes, capturing both spiritual and religious traditions, as well as intimate domestic moments (Nair, 2011). Perhaps it is possible to explain the high score due to the religious symbolism imbued in those photos. 1988 was the year that *Sahel* was published, where Salgado spent 15 months living with people who were experiencing severe famine (Mraz, 2010). The photos that were published for this project were shocking and severely distressing which may explain the low score of the Artist Frame, as it would seem ‘indecent’ to frame such disturbing photos in an artistic light. However, it must be taken into account the fact that *Sahel* was not circulated in the United States the first time it was issued, and considering that only two articles were published that year, and both derived from American newspapers, perhaps this score is in relation to *Other Americas*. This if correct, would then contradict the previously high Artist score for the year it was published in.



Graph 1. Mean score per year for Artist Frame

The Artist Frame then continues to rise from 1989 until 1991 with a drastic dip in 1994 that falls below 1984 levels, nevertheless, it continues its upward trend, culminating in the highest mean score in 1998. 1998 was a year after the publication of *Terra*, a project in which Salgado documented the plights of Brazilian workers, and their struggle to regain a land they were forced off of due to the industrialization of agriculture (Nair, 2011).

Thereafter, the Artist Frame begins to decrease after the beginning of the 2000's. Only in 2009 and again in 2018, does the artist frame reach pre 2000's levels. Interestingly enough, 2013 was the year where the highest amount of articles on Salgado was published (refer to Table 3), with 43 articles, which may be explained

due to the publication of his latest project, *Genesis*. Furthermore, the highest scoring frame for that year was Artist Frame with a mean of 4. Considering the size, length and international support for *Genesis*, it comes as no surprise that this was the project that received the highest amount of media attention. *Genesis* consisted of an epic eight year long assignment that comprised mainly of pristine landscapes around the world. Bearing in mind the heightened global awareness of environmental degradation and global warming, which has gained traction in the media particularly from the start of the 2000s, and more so from 2010 onwards, *Genesis* coincided with this overall phenomenon. Additionally, in 2015 (where 20 articles were published with a high mean score of 4 with artist frame) the Paris Climate Agreement was agreed on and signed in 2016 (European Commission, 2018). As the purpose of this agreement is to maintain global temperatures below 2 °C (European Commission, 2018), as well as reduce emissions, *Genesis*' timely publication, has allowed for people to see the still 'untouched' places on Earth. A factor of which encourages support to enforce the Climate Agreement's goal.

Additionally, the mean of each frame was calculated in relation to the newspaper section it was found in. This was done in order to see the relevance of the frames in relation to the section in which they were published. There were 68 articles found that were published in the arts and culture section (refer to Table 3), with the highest amount of articles published in 2013, with the overall mean for Artist Frame scoring a 6.2. Let us have a quick look at expectation 2:

Expectation 2: Articles on Salgado will be more prominent in the arts and culture section of newspapers.

As has been verified through the comparison of the mean frame and its corresponding newspaper section, with 68 articles having been found in the arts and culture sections, therefore this expectation is correct. As can be gathered from the analysis, the Artist Frame has been found to be the most dominant out of the seven frames over a period of 26 years. The overall mean of the Artist Frame over the entire time period for this analysis is 4.8. This is an interesting find as it implies that newspapers frame Salgado more as an artist than a documentarian or a photojournalist, which is how he describes himself (Nair, 2011). Although it is intriguing to find the Artist Frame in such overwhelming majority, the researcher is not unduly surprised due to the reputation that Salgado has built for himself. This includes aspects such as the publication of his projects into books, exhibiting his photographs in museums, cultural centers and other similar locations on a global level as well as his controversial, yet signature technique. Now let us have a quick inspection at expectation 3:

Expectation 3: The most prominent frame that will be found in articles on Salgado will be the Artist frame.

As just mentioned, the most dominant frame found in articles covering Salgado was that of Artist Frame, therefore, this expectation is correct. Now let us look at expectation 3a:

Expectation 3a: Articles with the Artist Frame as most prominent will be featured in the arts and culture section of newspapers.

Expectation 3a is therefore correct, as the highest mentions of Artist Frame were found in the arts and culture section with a mean score of 6.2. Due to his technique of taking all his pictures in black and white (except a couple of photos of the Zo'e Tribe in the *Genesis* project) and the explicit composition of his photographs, it comes as no surprise that the media analyzes his work through an artistic lens. Which may imply that the media is analyzing the tonality of the blacks and whites, the effects of lighting, his ability to highlight contours, as well as the very composition of the photographs. The researcher states this, as vernacular such as *lighting*, *composition* and *black and white* were part of the vocabulary list to describe Artist Frame in the coding manual (see appendix 2). Furthermore, considering that the second highest mentions of Artist Frame were found to be in the arts and culture sections, it supports the argument that the media's view on Salgado resides more with the Artist Frame.

In essence, the media are looking at Salgado's work through an aesthetic lens, and judging his photographs on their make-up rather than at the subject matter of the photograph per say. Which is ironic in a way, because, as Salgado has repeatedly claimed, the aim of his photographs is to raise awareness of societal issues, and not to be interpreted as works of art (Nair, 2011). Rather, the fact that his photographs have an aesthetic value to them is of secondary importance for Salgado. Which is where the paradox comes into place, as the media are analyzing and making aesthetic judgments of his work, whereas the themes that are prevalent in his photographs are nevertheless being sidestepped or placed secondary to the aesthetic values of the photos. Therefore, this could perhaps be seen as diminishing the impact that Salgado wishes to raise, as the media focus more on his aesthetics than the message he wants to convey. As Salgado says, "I don't want anyone to appreciate the light or the palette of tones. I want my pictures to inform, to provoke discussion – and to raise money" (Bogre, 2012, p. 67). As Duncombe (2016) previously explained, activists wish to cause a *cultural shift in thought*, therefore, if the media is solely examining the composition of Salgado's photographs, it may imply that they are in fact undermining the messages in his images. As a result, the dominance of the Artist Frame may in fact

Subject Matter Frame

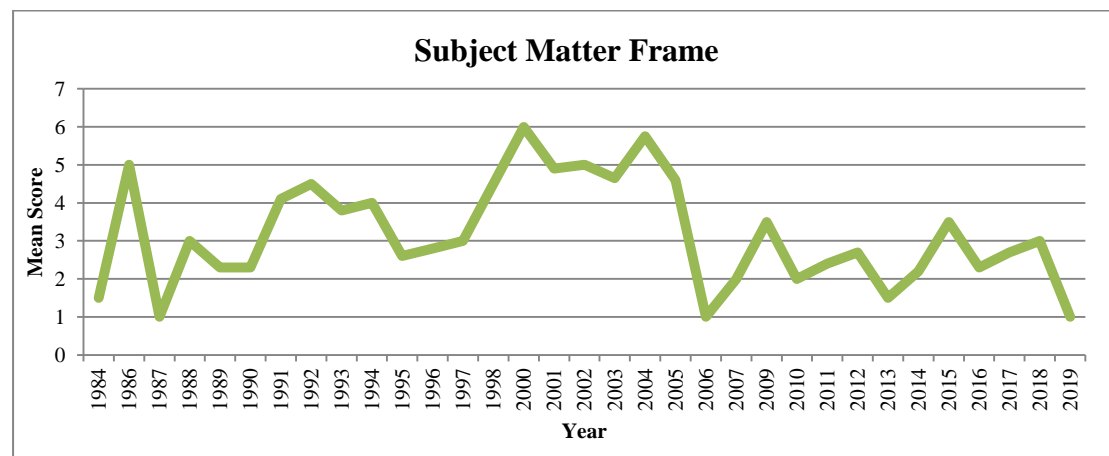
Subject Matter Frame refers to when the media's portrayal of Salgado's work focuses more on how Salgado conveys his messages through the content of his photographs. As Salgado wants to raise awareness about numerous different issues, it makes sense that the media will analyze the content of his photographs as an equivalent to the issues he wishes to raise awareness about. Therefore, the content of

his photographs are displaying the very issues he wants to create a debate about, which demonstrates the activist factor in his work.

This frame was found to be the second most prevalent throughout data, with an overall mean score of 3.2. This is an understandable result, as throughout Salgado's projects, the message he attempts to convey is made explicit. As Nair (2011) explains, Salgado's images cannot simply be observed as individual photographs, but rather, they need to be seen as part of a larger collection. Where it could be said that in all of his projects there exists a narrative thread that connects each collection and can be seen to have recurring themes throughout (Nair, 2011).

Graph 2 shows that in 1986 there is a sharp increase in the usage of Subject Matter as a frame, with a resulting mean score of 5. This was also the same year that *Other Americas* was published, however, considering that only one article was published that year (refer to Table 3), the mean score remains that of the original score attained when conducting the coding. The Subject Matter for *Other Americas* documented the effects of shifting political and religious conditions on rural lifestyles.

Thereafter, it can be observed that Subject Matter declines to its lowest point with a mean score of 1 in 1987. It begins to slowly climb in 1988 with a decrease in its fluctuation in 1989 and 1990. The low point in 1987 is perhaps explained by the fact that Salgado was not yet an eminent photographer, therefore media coverage on him was not as prominent as in later years. The highest point during the 1990's is reached in 1992 with a mean score of 4.5, and begins to decline until 1998 where it rises sharply until reaching its peak in 2000 (publication of *Migrations*) with a mean score of 6. In 1993 the year that *Workers* was published, there is a mean score of 3.8, however, in that same year 18 articles were published (refer to Table 3), the highest amount since the start of the data, which may imply that Salgado's presence in the media began to gain more traction. For Salgado (2003), *Workers* could be considered as a prequel to *Migrations*, as the rapid automation of manual labor that took place in the 1980's and 1990's caused a tremendous transformation of the labor market, whose effects were then documented in *Migrations*. The migration of such a large amount of people, particularly to urban centers was born out of the necessity to find other means of work, as traditional forms had become obsolete.



Graph 2. Mean score per year for Subject Matter Frame

In the first five years of the 2000's, it seems that Subject Matter Frame is more prominent than in the rest of the data, which could be explained due to *The End of Polio* project and the beginning of Salgado's *Genesis* project. In 2003 with a mean score of 4.6, *The End of Polio* was published, where Salgado worked together with various humanitarian organization to document a shared global effort to eradicate Polio. Although it was not fully eradicated, the topic itself demands attention, as Polio was a disease that affected children all over the world leaving them paralyzed for life (World Health Organization, 2017). Therefore, when Salgado joined this global effort, his photos acted as a visual support alongside the numerous essays that described the varied efforts of doctors, writers, and social policy experts to combat the disease (Nair, 2011). In displaying the efforts of such a varied group, the photographs were able to humanize and clarify the work that such a global endeavor involved, all of which were extensively covered by newspapers around the world. Which can be further supported by that fact that 2003 was also the year where the third highest amount of articles was published, amounting to that of 20 (refer to Table 3).

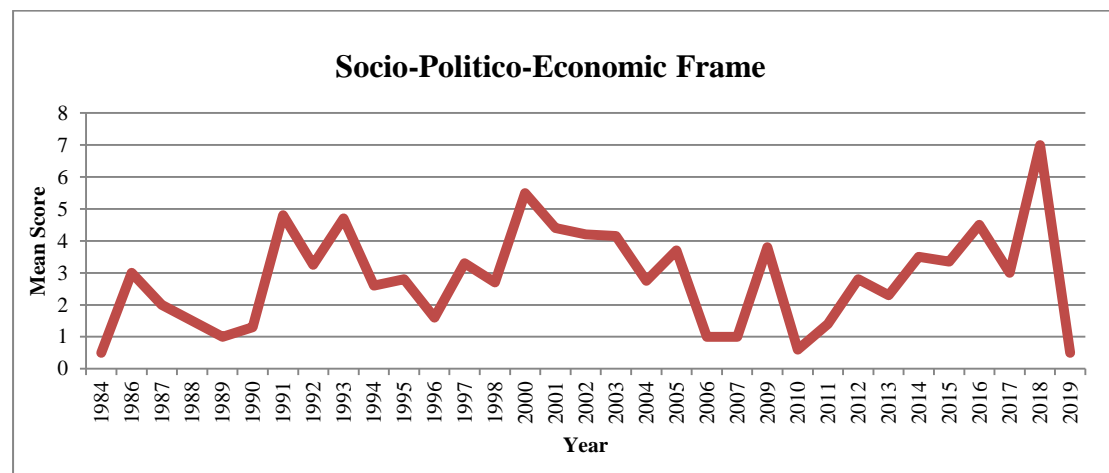
In 2004 Salgado launched the beginning of an eight year long project, that of *Genesis*. With the second highest mean score for Subject Matter with a 5.75, *Genesis* marked a complete shift away from Salgado's usual focus as a human photographer, where instead, he turned his attention to chronicling the pure landscapes of the planet. Considering that all of Salgado's previous work had focused on human populations and their living conditions around the world, the high score comes as no surprise to the researcher. Furthermore, Salgado had signed a contract with The Guardian, which would provide regular coverage on the advancements of his projects, so that he would not completely disappear from the media's eye. Interestingly enough, in 2004 there were only four articles published, but in 2005, a year after he began, 18 articles were published (refer to Table 3), a finding of which may support the fact that his presence in the media was being maintained, through regular updates of his travels. By maintaining Salgado's presence in the media, it could mean that readers were kept informed of his whereabouts, therefore ensuring that he would not fade away from the public's eye. Furthermore, as The Guardian was covering Salgado's progress with *Genesis*, perhaps the high score of Subject Matter means that The Guardian places more of an emphasis on how the content of Salgado's photos have changed in contrast to his other projects. In so doing, the Subject Matter would perhaps focus more on Salgado's reasoning and purpose in undertaking such a project as *Genesis*.

Socio-Politico-Economic Frame

The third most dominant frame prevalent throughout the data was that of Socio-Politico-Economic (SPE) Frame. The overall mean of this frame throughout the entire data was 2.9. This frame is similar to that of Subject Matter only that it differs in the sense that the newspaper coverage of Salgado's work is focused on how social, political and economic factors have been the cause of the subject matter within Salgado's photographs. This refers to explanations such as the increasingly rapid development of countries due to the spread of globalization in the 1980's, 1990's and

2000's in all three areas (Nair, 2011). Which in turn has caused mass migrations, increased global inequalities, the misuse of natural resources and the redistribution and reorganization of traditional forms of labor to new sectors (Nair, 2011).

From graph 3 below it is possible to observe that the SPE Frame only begins to become more prominent in the first three years of the 1990's. In 1986 there is a brief spike, which may be explained due to the publication of *Other Americas*, a project of which, as explained earlier in the Artist Frame, consisted of a collection of photos that spanned several countries in Latin America. As the photos also focused on peasant's relationship with the land, and the publication of the project also coincided with what some call Latin America's "Lost Decade" (Santiso, 2003), which resulted in a severe economic recession over the entire continent. It is therefore understandable that the framing of articles published in that year focus on the social, political and economic aspects in relation to Salgado's publication.



Graph 3. Mean score per year for Socio-Politico-Economic Frame

In 1993, the year that *Workers* was published, it can be observed that there is a small spike in the SPE Frame with a mean score of 4.7. The project of *Workers* consisted of a six year long compilation of photographs that documented the "end of the first big industrial revolution" (Salgado, 2003, p.2). The 1990's marked a decade where globalization began to gain traction, and industries in all sectors began to implement the automation of their factories, completely altering the manual labor sector (Kay, 2011). Thus the spike in this frame can be explained, as the automation of industries is a result of social, political and economic factors around the world.

It is then possible to observe a sharp rise in 2000 with a mean score of 5.5, where thereafter its presence begins to fall reaching a mean value of 1 in 2006 and 2007. 2000 was also the year that *Migrations* was published, a project of which documented the mass movement of people over 40 countries due to changing labor markets, economic hardships and conflict. The publication of *Migrations* also coincided with the turn of the millennium. A period that saw the unprecedented explosion of globalization, which restructured the global economic and political system, affecting the livelihoods of millions (Nair, 2011). Perhaps this explains the score for this frame in media coverage of Salgado, as his emphasis on human

displacement as an effect of capitalist processes is prevalent throughout the entire project.

Thereafter, it can be observed that SPE Frame experiences another sharp spike in 2009 with a mean score of 3.8, but which quickly falls to a low mean score of 0.6 in 2010. This low score could maybe be explained due to Salgado's absence from media coverage, as 2010 occurs in-between the project of *Genesis*, which is further supported by the fact that only three articles were published in that year. Subsequently, the trend begins to rise until reaching an all-time high in 2018 with a mean score of 7. However, as only one article was published (refer to Table 3), the mean score is in reality the original score it received during the coding procedure.

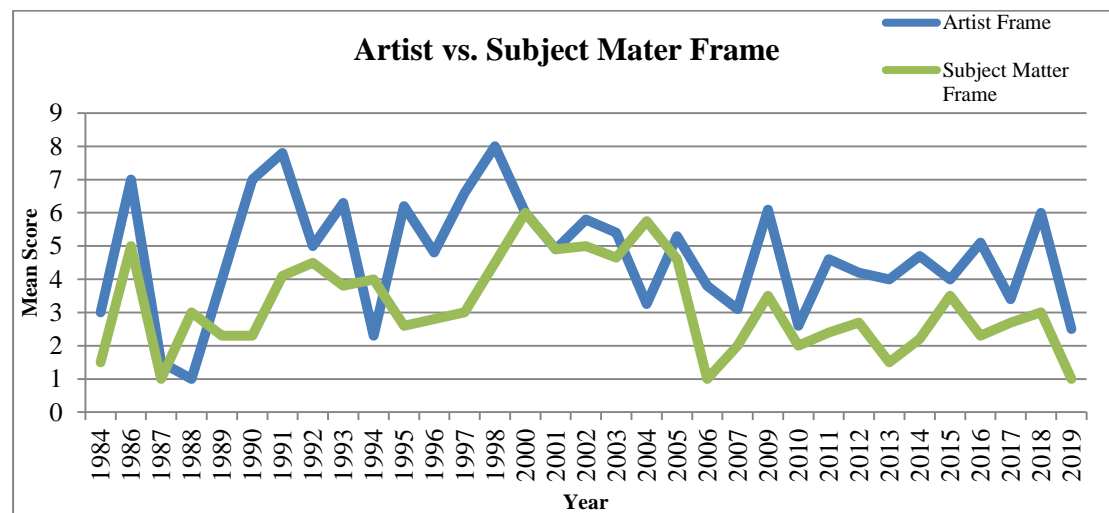
It is interesting to note that this is the third dominant frame found in newspaper coverage of Salgado, particularly because much of Salgado's projects centers on how global processes such as the relationship between economics and different sectors of the economy can affect the lives of millions. Considering that that Socio-Political-Economic Frame has come in third place, it may imply that in addition to examining Salgado's work first in an aesthetic, and thereafter 'substance' level, newspapers are also examining the social, economic and political factors behind the content of Salgado's photographs. In so doing, it could mean that newspapers are in reality contemplating the very themes that Salgado is so keen to raise awareness for, which could also suggest that reader's awareness of such topics is indeed increasing.

Artist vs. Subject Matter Frame

In graph 4, it can be observed in the years between 1984 and 1987, that Artist and Subject Matter Frame follow a similar trend, as they both experience a sharp rise in 1986. This may perhaps be explained due to the publication of *Other Americas*, a project of which was granted numerous awards and described as something akin to a "Gabriel García Márquez tale" (MONOVISIONS, 2016). As one of Salgado's first publications, *Other Americas* officially launched his career as a photographer. Perhaps the contrast between the aesthetical value of his photographs and the content of them, which documented the livelihoods of rural indigenous populations, is what caused for both of frames to have such a sharp peak. However, both frames undergo an instantaneous decline in 1987, which remains at an all-time low for Artist Frame through 1988, with a mean score of 1. In contrast, Subject Matter can be seen to rise slightly in 1988 with a mean score of 3, which may be linked to the publication of *Sahel*. However, since in *Sahel* was not circulated in the United States that year, and the two articles that were published in that year were from American newspapers, perhaps the score for Subject Matter had no relation to *Sahel*.

Thereafter, between 1992 and 1996, it can be observed that both frame's scores begin to oppose each other. In 1993, the year that *Workers* was published, Artist Frame experiences a sharp rise with a mean score of 6.3, whereas Subject Matter declines with a mean score of 3.8. Fluctuations of which can be observed to occur in each year until 1996, where the presence of both frames seem to work in contrast to each other. A trend of which can again be detected in 2000, 2004, 2005, 2007 and between 2015-2017. This could be interpreted by considering the polarity

that exists between the ‘art’ and ‘activism’ sides of activism. Perhaps these results can be explained due to the argument of *l’art pour l’art*. Where art is considered not to have a utilitarian function, and therefore, when Artist Frame is observed to increase and Subject Matter decreases, it could imply that the media are analyzing the aesthetics of Salgado’s work rather than the actual content of his photographs. Which would put into clarity the tension between the two domains, since neither is being considered together, but rather as separate entities.



Graph 4. Comparison of mean score per year for Artist and Subject Matter Frame

In contrast, between 1997 and 1998, both frames can be seen to rise in tandem, which was also the period of time that *Terra* was published. This interesting, since it creates a rather contradictory view of how the media utilizes these two frames. Although Artist Frame is still found to be more dominant, both are found to be on the rise, which may imply that the content of the images of *Terra* were perhaps impressive enough to cause a debate between their content and their aesthetic appeal.

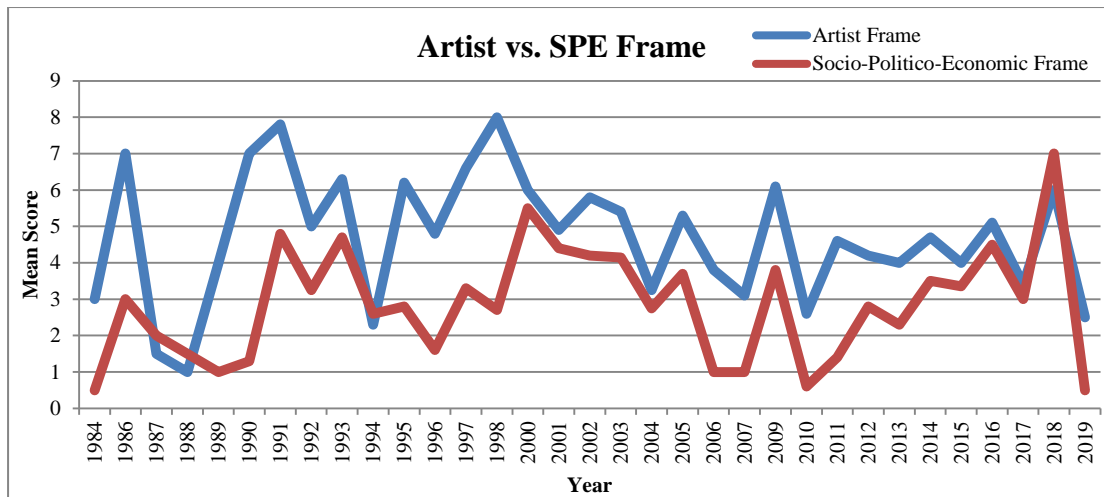
There are only three years in which Subject Matter can be found to have a higher mean score than that of Artist Frame, which is in 1988, 1994 and 2004. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, the two articles published in 1988 derived from American newspapers, so there is a small chance that the higher score of Subject Matter had any relation to the publication of *Sahel*. Perhaps it could be seen as an increase in the media’s examination of *Other Americas*, however this is not a concrete speculation. 1994 was a year after the publication of *Workers*, where it can also be observed that Artist Frame experience a sharp dip with a mean score of 2.3, whereas Subject Matter receives a mean score of 4. This could maybe be seen as a continuation of the media’s interest in *Workers*, since the year before Artist Frame experienced a sharp rise, therefore it could maybe be considered as the media turning their attention to the actual content of those photographs. 2004 is the year where there occurs the largest difference between Subject Matter and Artist Frame (in terms of Subject Matter having a higher score than Artist Frame), and is also the year where Salgado began *Genesis* and also the republication of *Sahel*. These scores may be

attributed to either two reasons, the first would be that it was the first time that Salgado was turning his attention to documenting nature rather than humanity, however, since Subject Matter Frame focuses more on the actual content of his photographs, this may be a weak link, since it was only the beginning of the project and no photographs were yet in circulation. The second reason, could be assigned to the republication of *Sahel*, which was then distributed in the United States, therefore the higher score for Subject Matter could mean that the media were taking a more in-depth approach to those photographs. Which could also perhaps explain Artist Frame's lower score, since as previously mentioned, it would seem 'indecent' to portray images of suffering in an artistic light.

Taking into consideration that Subject Matter was the second most dominant frame after that of Artist Frame, and which as previously mentioned, could reflect the perpetual tension present in the domain of activism. Where the media frames Salgado's work more as an artist than that of an activist, however, due to the very dichotomy that is made explicit in his photographs, it then becomes imperative to address the *subject matter* of his images, which could be seen as representing the activist side of activism, as his photographs have a *purpose* and are not intended to be solely considered as objects of art. A *mélange* of which is hopefully understood as such by the public.

Artist vs. Socio-Political-Economic Frame

An interesting trend that can be observed between the comparisons of these two frames in graph 5, is that for the years of 1986, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2004 and 2013 (all years where a project was published), both frames follow the same fluctuations, whether it is an increase or decrease in their score. This is an intriguing finding, as it may imply that when the media is reviewing or analyzing Salgado's publications, the utilization of both these frames have a high correlation in relation to each other. Perhaps this might imply that in utilizing the Artist Frame, the media use features of the SPE Frame to support *how* they analyze the aesthetic components of his work. A reasoning that would contradict the notion of *l'art pour l'art*; because of SPE's correlated presence in relation to that of Artist Frame, it could imply that the media are in fact politicizing the manner in which they apply the Artist Frame. The one exception to this trend occurs in 2000, where it can be observed that Artist Frame is in decline with a mean score of 6 and SPE increases with a mean score of 5.5. However, what can be noticed here is that both frames have a very similar score, implying that the presence of the two are still quite dominant in relation to each other. A factor of which could still be seen to support the aforementioned politicization of art.



Graph 5. Comparison of mean score per year for Artist and Socio-Political-Economic Frame

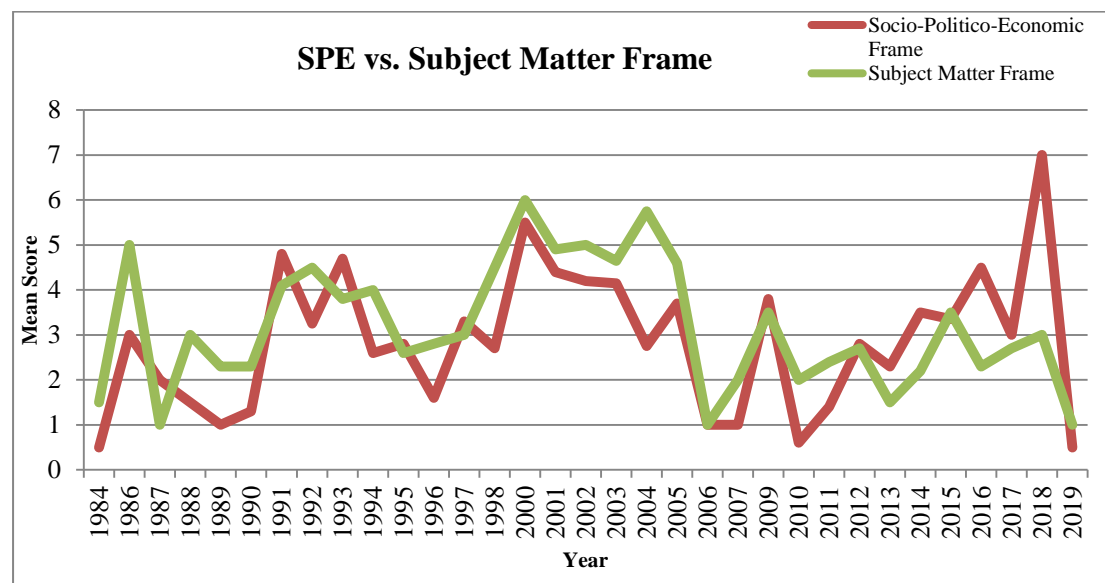
There are only four instances where SPE surpasses Artist Frame, which is found in the years of 1987, 1988, 1994 and 2018. For the years of 1987 and 1988 SPE receives a mean score of 2 and 1.5 respectively. As 1988 was the year that *Sahel* was originally published, the researcher would attribute the high score of SPE to this project, however as previously mentioned, *Sahel* was not then in circulation in the United States, therefore the researcher would suggest that the higher score for this frame could be attributed to newspaper coverage on *Other Americas*. Considering that SPE takes into account how social, economic and political factors influence the subject matter of Salgado's photos, perhaps this increase in SPE is in reference to the severe economic recession that Latin America experienced in the 1980's. A factor of which was the basis of the contextual background that influenced the subject matter of Salgado's photos. As these two frames exist in close relation to each other in the years that Salgado's project were published, it may imply that the public is also being 'shown' (in reference to how the media applies framing) the social, political and economic factors that influence the way that Salgado approaches his work.

Socio-Political-Economic vs. Subject Matter Frame

Graph 6 shows the comparison between Socio-Political-Economic (SPE) and that of Subject Matter Frame, and as can be seen, both seem to be quite closely correlated in terms of mean scores. However, they do not seem to follow the same fluctuation patterns according to year, particularly in reference to the time periods between 1988-1990, 1992-1996, 2002-2005, and 2015-2017. Considering that SPE can be understood as the underlying social, political and economic factors that are the cause for the subject matter in Salgado's photos, it would be expected that these two frames would be closely interrelated. In 1986, the year that *Other Americas* was published, both frames can be seen to be on an upward trend, with Subject Matter scoring a mean of 5 and SPE a mean of 3 respectively. However, taking into consideration that only one article was published that year (refer to Table 3), the mean scores are in reality the original score that resulted when conducting the coding. As the social, political and economic background of *Other Americas* resides with the

economic turn down of that decade, it is understandable the upwards trend that both frames scored.

In the year of 1988, when *Sahel* was published, the researcher would expect both Subject Matter and Socio-Political-Economic Frame to be the most dominant of all the frames, considering that *Sahel* covered a massive famine whose underlying causes were due to a mismanagement of land and resources that affected millions. However, bearing in mind that the publication of *Sahel* was not circulated in the United States that year, and the two articles that were published were both written by American newspapers, it might imply that the content of those articles had no relevance to the *Sahel* project itself.



Graph 6. Comparison of mean score per year for Socio-Political-Economic and Subject Matter Frame

The second period between 1992 and 1996 witnessed the publication of *Workers*. In 1993, with the publication of *Workers*, Subject Matter can be observed to be in a slight decline, whereas SPE experiences a small spike in its presence. As *Workers* can be seen as a documentation of changing labor practices due to the automation of many industries, it could perhaps be said that that the framing of such a project focused on the underlying factors that have lead to such a drastic change in the labor market, rather than the content of the images themselves. Perhaps further in favor of this argument is the publication of 18 articles that year (refer to table 3), considering that the mean of those articles resulted in a higher score for SPE, could imply that there was a higher tendency to focus on the causes of such a transformation.

In 1997 and in 2000 it can be noted that Subject Matter and SPE both result in an upward trend, particularly in 2000 where both experience a jump in their mean scores. 1997 was the year that *Terra* was published where Subject Matter has a mean score of 3 and SPE a mean score of 3.3. The close correlation of the two frames may be explained due to *Terra*'s focus on Brazilian peasants and their struggle to regain a land upon which their very survival depends. *Terra* could be seen as an extension of

Workers, where much of Brazil's farming practices were completely transformed due to the industrialization of the agriculture sector, leaving thousands without livelihoods. Therefore, coverage in that year, may have focused on how the industrialization of the industry due to land reforms and increasing entrenchment of neoliberalism in the country's economy led to the increasing alienation of peasants from the very property they hold such a close relation to (Flávio de Almeida and Ruiz Sánchez, 2000).

2000 was the year where *Migrations* was published, which is also the year where both frames are found to have their highest mean score in correlation with each other (for Subject Matter it is the highest year for which it scores, with a count of 6, whereas SPE's highest score is found to be in 2018). *Migrations* was a project that spanned Africa, Asia, Europe and South America which consisted of a series of images that served as photographic evidence of humanity on the move. A phenomenon of which was a result of a myriad of factors including war and conflict (such as the Rwandan Genocide that spilled over to the Congo), changing labor practices (the industrialization of traditional rural sectors, leading to the migration of rural population to urban centers), famine and other calamities (Nair, 2011). Salgado made no effort to shield his audience from the horrors and distressing scenes he was witness to, therefore, perhaps the high scores of both these frames, particularly with Subject Matter, may be due to some of the highly upsetting images present in this collection.

Thereafter, in 2004 it can be observed that Subject Matter and SPE diverge away from each other, with Subject Matter scoring a mean of 5.75 and SPE a mean score of 2.7. This digression may be explained due to two factors; 2004 was the start of *Genesis*, which marked a shift away from Salgado's traditional focus on humanity to that of nature. Therefore, perhaps, Subject Matter's score may be explained due to the change in the content of his images. The second reason may be due to the republication of *Sahel* in that same year, which by then was circulating in the United States. As the images in the *Sahel* collection depicted disturbing shots of people completely emaciated from hunger, it may explain the high score of Subject Matter. Whereas the lower score of SPE may be due to the relevance of the publication (in relation to year when the Sahel famine occurred), in that the social, political or economic factors behind it were already in the past (which doesn't detract from the fact that the Sahel is still currently an area that is continuously besieged by drought).

In 2006 there follows a sharp decline for both frames both with a mean score of 1, which is then followed by a rapid increase in 2009. As 2009 was in the middle of *Genesis*, perhaps this increase can be explained due to the contract Salgado signed with The Guardian, which provided regular updates on his travels, however, this result can only be hypothesized about. 2013 was the year that *Genesis* was published, which also observed a decline in both frames. The decline of SPE may be attributed to the fact that *Genesis* may have not been as politically driven as Salgado's other projects. Nevertheless, as his photographs depicted fantastic landscapes it –the researcher would have presumed– would have been expected to find a more dominant presence for Subject Matter. Following Salgado's last publication, Subject Matter and

SPE continue to fluctuate with relatively high mean scores in the years between 2015-2017, with 2018 reaching the peak mean score for SPE at 7. This may be explained due to the global circulation of *Genesis* in the form of exhibitions, and a variety of talks and lectures that Salgado gave on the project. However, it must be taken into account that in 2018 there was only one article published, therefore the mean score remains at its original coding score.

The fact that both Subject Matter and Socio-Politico-Economic Frames were found to be the second and third most dominant frames in newspaper coverage of Salgado might cause one to consider the theoretical implication of the activist side of activism. Where both Subject Matter and SPE can be considered to represent the issues that activists focus on changing, as well as the underlying factors that cause the particular issue. Where the main purpose of an activist is to generate a change in the status quo (Duncombe, 2016). Therefore, since these two frames were found to be more prominent, it could imply that newspapers are also considering the activist side of Salgado's work in relation to the aesthetic of his projects. Taking this into consideration, it may mean that readers become more conscious of the global process and its resulting effects of humanity which Salgado wishes to raise awareness about.

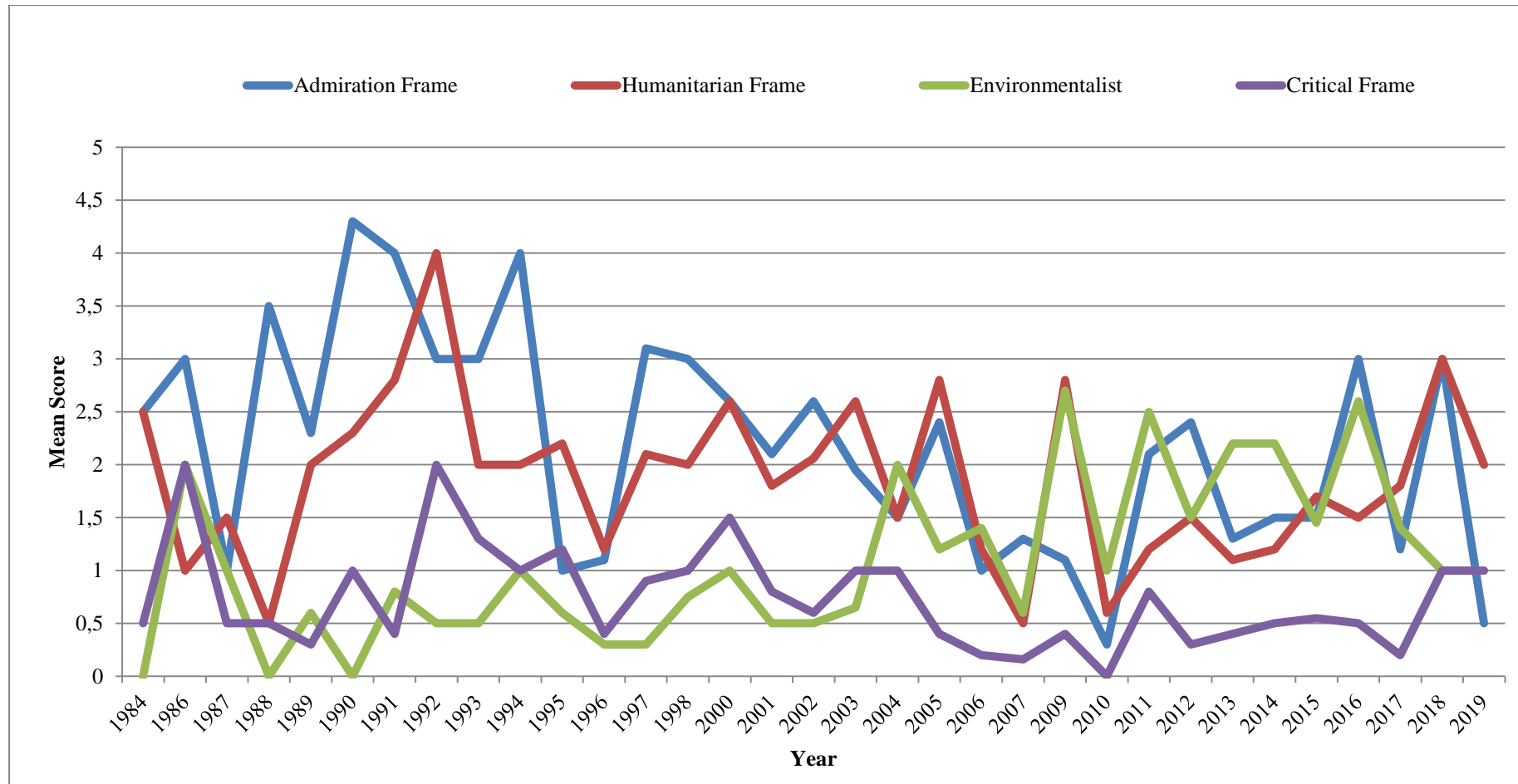
Admiration, Humanitarian, Environmentalist and Critical Frame

Overall, Admiration, Humanitarian, Environmentalist and Critical Frame were found to be the least observable throughout the entire data. As can be observed in graph 7 between 1986 and 1987 there is a clustering of the four frames, where both Environmentalist and Critical Frame have a mean score of 2 (one of the highest years for Critical Frame). Admiration Frame is found to be an outlier in that year with a mean score of 3, whereas Humanitarian Frame is in decline with a mean score of 1. However, in 1987 Admiration, Critical and Environmentalist Frame are in decline, whereas Humanitarian Frame begins to rise. 1986 was the year that *Other Americas* was published, a publication that spanned several Latin American countries, which documented remote populations, their relationship to land and religious traditions within a context of a rapidly changing political climate (MONOVISIONS, 2016). *Other Americas* was Salgado's first publication that received numerous awards and launched his career as a socially aware photographer, which perhaps explains the higher Admiration score. The Environmentalist's high score may be reflected in the numerous photos that depict the Latin American landscape (MONOVISIONS, 2016), whereas the Critical Frame's score could perhaps be explained due to Salgado's portrayal of the rural populations. However, Critical Frame would maybe focus more on the depiction of Salgado's subjects as being degrading or taking on a stance that encourages voyeurism. Since the Humanitarian Frame focuses on aspects of Salgado's work as being akin to that of an ethnographer, who conveys empathy and solidarity through his work (Kay, 2011), perhaps its decline in 1986 can be explained due to the higher score of Critical Frame, as both frames would seem to contradict each other. A statement of which may be supported due to the rise of the Humanitarian Frame in 1987 and the decline of the Critical Frame in the same year.

In the years between 1990 and 1994, it can be discerned that there is an increase in mean score for both Admiration and Humanitarian Frame, and a relatively small increase for Critical Frame. In 1990 all three frames can be seen to increase, with Admiration Frame reaching its peak mean score of 4.3. However in 1992, both Humanitarian Frame and Critical Frame are on the rise, which nullifies the above statement that these frames may contradict each other. The Humanitarian Frame has a mean score of 4, whereas the Critical Frame has a mean score of 2, factors of which may be due to the completion of *Workers*, which was thereafter published in 1993. It may be that the high score for Humanitarian Frame is in reference to this project, which might imply that the media were analyzing Salgado in the context of being a photojournalist, or as a documentarian. Where the terms of ‘photojournalist’ and ‘documentarian’ are utilized as they were part of the describing vernacular for the coding procedure of this frame (refer to appendix 2). Salgado’s photos acted as visual evidence of the extent of global manual labor as well as the transformation of industries due to automation; by documenting the plight of workers it may explain the high score for Humanitarian Frame. However the rise in the Critical Frame may be a criticism of how Salgado portrayed workers, as it may be for some, an outdated ode to traditional forms of labor.

It is then possible to observe that Environmentalist Frame becomes less prominent in the time period between 1987 until 2004, with a few minor spikes in 1989, 1992, 1994, and 2000. 2004 observes a spike with a mean score of 2, which was the year that Salgado began *Genesis*, a project of which focused on nature. In the same year, there occurs another clustering of the frames, where Admiration and Humanitarian Frame are in decline with both scoring a mean of 1.5. However, Environmentalist Frame increases with a mean score of 2 whereas Critical Frame falls below with a mean score of 1. Perhaps Admiration and Critical Frame’s score may be explained due to the absence of a publication, whereas the Humanitarian Frame’s score may be due to the initiation of *Genesis*, and Salgado’s shift in focus away from photographing humanity to that of nature. Environmentalist Frame’s increase in score could perhaps be ascribed to the very fact that Salgado’s was turning his attention to photographing nature. The following spikes for Environmentalist Frame after 2004 could be due to the contract that Salgado signed with The Guardian, which ensured coverage of Salgado’s whereabouts and the progress of the *Genesis* project.

As these four frames were the least observable throughout the data, it implies that newspaper coverage on Salgado focused primarily on the Artist, Subject Matter and Socio-Politico-Economic Frames. Interestingly enough, Critical Frame was found to be the least observable throughout the entire data set. The low scores of this frame could be attributed to the fact that within newspaper coverage of Salgado, there are more proponents of his work than there are critics. A factor of which may imply that reader’s perceptions of Salgado are, broadly speaking, more positive than negative. This finding implies that expectation 4 (the least prominent frame that will be found in articles on Salgado will be the Environmentalist frame) is incorrect.



Graph 7. Comparison of mean score per year for Admiration, Humanitarian, Environmentalist and Critical

Year of Publication	Number of Articles Published per Year
1984	2
1985	0
1986 <i>Other Americas</i>	1
1987	2
1988 <i>Sahel</i>	2
1989	3
1990	3
1991	7
1992	4
1993 <i>Workers</i>	18
1994	3
1995	5
1996	9
1997 <i>Terra</i>	13
1998	4
1999	0
2000 <i>Migrations</i>	18
2001	31
2002	15
2003 <i>The End of Polio</i>	20
2004 <i>Sahel</i>	4
2005	18
2006	5
2007	6
2008	0
2009	7
2010	3
2011	9
2012	9
2013 <i>Genesis</i>	43
2014	14
2015	20
2016	6
2017	7

2018	1
2019	2

Table 3. Number of articles published per year

Let us have a quick look at the first expectation;

Expectation 1: There will be in an increase of articles written about Salgado in the same year or the year after the publication of one of his projects.

As can be observed in Table 3 the years with the highest count of articles are in 1993, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2013, 2014 and 2015. Of this number, 2002, 2005, and 2015 are years that do not correspond to the year of publication of a project or the year after. Three years of which amount to 53 articles of the total data set (314). However, of the remaining aforementioned years, it can be observed that there is an increase of articles in either the same year as a publication or the year after and total 157 articles which is exactly half of the data set. This leaves 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989 as years that did not experience an increase in article publications. Nonetheless, it can be said that expectation 1 is correct. A factor of which may imply that newspaper coverage on Salgado increased the same year as a publication or the year after, which subsequently could be seen as a ‘successful marker’ of Salgado’s impact.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

It would be gratifying, if after having spent such an amount of time on this study, to explicitly say that it has been successful in determining a concrete criterion upon which to measure the impact of activism. However, such a statement would disregard the sheer complexity and range of factors that need to be taken into account when trying to quantify the end results of activist practices. It can be hoped, that this preliminary study can at least lay the groundwork to initiate a more in-depth discussion into the possibilities of developing such a criterion.

In having utilized a framing analysis to discover the range and type of frames applied by newspapers when discussing the works of Salgado, one can begin to identify recurring patterns in the utilization of these frames. As has been observed throughout the meandering process of this study, the frames most prominent in newspaper coverage on Salgado have been that of Artist, Subject Matter and Socio-Political-Economic Frames. Considering that Subject Matter was the second most predominant frame found after Artist Frame, puts into clarity the inherently academic tension that exists between the realm of the aesthetic and that of activism as mentioned in the theoretical framework. As individual domains, art and activism contradict each other; where art considers itself to be above the material susceptibilities of reality, which inhibits its involvement into the political realm, activism on the contrary has an insatiable relish for all exploits political, which imbues it with purpose. As such, when the two domains merge, there will always exist an intrinsic tension between the two.

Salgado in this respect embodies this inherent tension, a factor of which does not seem to deter him. The sheer dedication and passion towards all of his projects with the aim to raise societal awareness, while at the same time applying a consistent and uniform aesthetic to all of his work, has led to him to be highly respected both within the art and academic circles. As both the Subject Matter and Socio-Political-Economic Frame were found to be the second and third most predominant frame throughout the data, and considering them to be a reflection of the 'activist' side of activism, it can be speculated that newspaper coverage discussed the nature of Salgado's work, as well as his driving purpose behind each project. As such, it can be theorized that these frames can act as an indicator for what Duncombe (2016) elucidated as a *cultural shift in thought*. By examining Salgado's work by using these two frames, one could hypothesize that readers will also perceive Salgado through the lens of these frames.

The fact that the Artist Frame was by far found to be the most dominant throughout the data, most likely implies that newspapers view Salgado and his work more through an aesthetic lens. A finding of which causes one to consider the implications of this finding. As Groys (2014) suggested, the 'art' part of activism will usually be the reason for its downfall. This would imply that newspaper coverage is placing a higher emphasis on the aesthetics of Salgado's work, than on their content and original purpose that Salgado wished to transmit. As such, this could perhaps be seen as a diminishment of the intended impact of Salgado's work. Since Salgado's

purpose is to raise awareness of societal issues (Bogre, 2012), the fact that the media frame his work as art, undermines the message he tries to convey through his photographs.

Of course, relying on the amount and type of coverage on an activist does not translate into concrete results that can be said *this* is the effect of *this* action, however it does give one an initial idea into the extent and type of impact that can be achieved. Indeed, one way to observe and realize a more reliable criterion on which to measure impact is to pay attention to time (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). Impact can rarely be measured immediately or a short period of time after the production, as the factors that lead up to policy, institutional or social change can only become apparent after a significant amount of time has passed (Duncombe, Perlov, Lambert & Halford, 2018). However, considering that long-term dedication for this research is not achievable, an examination of newspaper coverage and their frames can serve to commence a discussion on how to measure impact.

Limitations

Since all of the data was gathered only via LexisNexis, there is a high probability that not all of the articles published on Salgado, in English, were to be encountered. This thesis is therefore limited to the LexisNexis database and its search parameters. Furthermore, as only English-language articles were used, the analysis is limited to mainly those articles published in Canada, The United States, Australia, Great Britain and any other country that has a newspaper service in English. As Salgado is Brazilian, and lives in France, it is hypothesized that if an analysis would include articles published by newspapers in Portuguese and French, it would yield a much more comprehensive and encompassing study.

Furthermore, when constructing the Frame Manual, that would guide the coding procedure, the researcher encountered difficulties when attempting to select the appropriate words to measure each frame. Since the articles written vary by journalist, organization, year and length, the vocabulary used has a high degree of variability, which is an awkward situation when trying to pinpoint relevant terms. Therefore, many articles had a low score or zero when the coding was finished, due to the fact that there are a wide variety of synonyms that can be used for the original words chosen per frame. This complication refers in particular to the Admiration, Humanitarian, Environmentalist and Critical Frame.

Additionally, the program used to conduct the coding procedure, provided a numerical score per article depending on the number of words (that were chosen to associate with each frame) it would encounter in the article. However, it did not provide an overview of *which* words were encountered. Therefore the results of the analysis are limited to the relationships found of the numbers per article as well as their relation to the timeframe they were found to be in.

Taking into consideration that Admiration, Humanitarian, Environmentalist and Critical Frames were the least discernable throughout the data set, it causes one to question the methodology applied. Since generic frames were not applicable to this study, issue specific frames had to be generated, which may put into question issues

of reliability and validity. However, as Van Gorp (2007) contemplated, it is important to consider that in striving to maintain and attain scientific accuracy, that it may in fact become a hindrance to the potential that framing analysis has to suggest.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

<u>Article Code Manual</u>	
Name of Variable	Instructions
Article Name	Full title of the news article.
Source	Refers to the database where the articles were gathered. In this case, the articles were assembled from LexisNexis Uni.
Newspaper Publication	Name of the newspaper publication who produced the article in question.
Date	The date of the article's publication, in order of the day/month/year.
List Number	The number of the article in accordance with its position on the list.
Number of Times S.S. mentioned	The number of times the name 'Sebastião Salgado' appeared in the body of the article. This includes counting the full name (Sebastião Salgado), first name (Sebastião), or last name (Salgado).
Page Number	Refers to the page number where the article can be located in relation to that day's full publication of a certain newspaper. 'N/A' signifies 'not applicable', which means that the page number was not available for that particular article.
Search Process	Refers to the process followed when searching for the articles. So a type of step-by-step explanation that would allow you to locate your positioning from where you last left off. For example; "Lexis Nexis -> News -> S.S. (Sebastião Salgado) -> English -> Oldest to Newest", this process was followed for the set of articles that were collected in one day. This process would then change in accordance with the date of the last

	article gathered. If it was the second day of collecting articles, the process would read as follows; “Lexis Nexis -> News -> S.S. -> English -> from 01 Jan 2002 -> Oldest to Newest”. What changes is the date from when the search would begin. This variable was added so the researcher would avoid confusion with regard to their position on a list with an available 2,775 articles to categorize.
URL	The Uniform Resource Locator, or the web address of the article in question.
Article Type	A tag that would give an approximate idea of what kind of article was being used (so whether it was a review, a profile piece, news piece or a critique, amongst others).
Length	The word count of the body of the article, excluding title/headline, name of newspaper, date, graphic and classification.

Appendix 2.

<u>Frames Coding Manual</u>	
Frame	Instructions
F1: Artist Frame <i>Description:</i> Artist Frame is chosen when the author of the article referred to Salgado’s work as artwork. This implies that the focus of the article in question emphasized the aesthetics of his photographs.	Single Count <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fine Art 2. Artist 3. Artistic Freedom 4. Photojournalis- 5. Exhibit 6. Project 7. Museum 8. Aesthetic 9. Esthetic 10. Visual Art 11. Visual Representation 12. Detail 13. Creative 14. Composition 15. Light 16. Shadow

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17. Portrait 18. Subject 19. Message 20. Perspective 21. Unique 22. Cultur- 23. Intensity 24. Black and White 25. Romanticism 26. Metaphor 27. Controlled 28. Sharp 29. Artistic Voice
F2: Socio-Politico-Economic Frame <i>Description:</i> A Socio-Politico-Economic Frame refers to a focus on Salgado's work as a documentation of how these three factors have shaped global processes.	Single Count <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Econom- 2. Left 3. Marx- 4. Capitalis- 5. Consumeris- 6. Redistribution 7. Migrat- 8. Workers 9. Labour 10. Labor 11. Development 12. Material 13. Exploit- 14. Corporate 15. Social Conflict 16. Technolog- 17. Neoliberal 18. Global 19. Inequality 20. Paradox 21. Politic-
F3: Subject Matter Frame <i>Description:</i> This frame is chosen when the article focuses on the themes of Salgado's work, as well as exploring how Salgado conveys his perspectives on global matters in his photographs.	Single Count <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political Philosophy 2. Suffering 3. Pain 4. Misery 5. Grief 6. War 7. Conflict 8. Genocide 9. Tragedy 10. Inequality 11. Justice 12. Beautifying

	13. Stratification 14. Respect 15. Dignity 16. Ideolog- 17. Displaced 18. Sympathy 19. Empathy 20. Symbolism 21. Metaphor 22. Perspective 23. Hope 24. Power
F4: Humanitarian Frame <i>Description:</i> A Humanitarian Frame is applied when the article's content centers on Salgado as an individual as well as his work in a context of being a humanitarian. This involves how Salgado describes himself, and how the author of the article interprets what Salgado does.	Single Count <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Document- 2. Solidarity 3. Empathy 4. Activis- 5. Sociolog- 6. Ethnograph- 7. Social Mobil- 8. Humanitarian 9. Cooperat- 10. Photojournalis- 11. Visual Sociolog- 12. Awareness 13. Communicat- 14. Issues 15. Controvers- 16. Proceeds 17. Donation 18. Social Conscience 19. Humanity
F5: Critical Frame <i>Description:</i> A Critical Frame is chosen when the article provides a critique of Salgado's work.	Single Count <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Coloni- 2. Oriental 3. Hegemon- 4. The Other 5. Elitist 6. Manipulat- 7. Imperialis- 8. Postmodern 9. Indigenous 10. Discourse 11. Commodifying Misery 12. Beautifying Misery 13. Debate 14. Voyeurism 15. Reinforcing Passivity

	16. Horrifying 17. Exploitation 18. Irony 19. Ironic 20. Hellish 21. Dehumani- 22. Glorify 23. Immoral 24. Manipulative
F6: Environmentalist Frame <i>Description:</i> The Environmentalist Frame is chosen when the article focuses on environmental aspects of Salgado's photography and his ideology of conservation. This frame will appear mostly in connection to Genesis and his Amazon reforestation project.	Single Count 1. Environmental Degradation 2. Environment 3. Ecolog- 4. Indigenous 5. Preserv- 6. Human Impact 7. Undisturbed 8. Outdated 9. Nature 10. Pristine 11. Balance 12. Reinforcing Passivity 13. Resilience 14. Change in consciousness 15. Carbon
F7: Admiration Frame <i>Description:</i> The Admiration Frame is chosen when the article praises Salgado's work.	Single Count 1. Awe 2. Award 3. Prize 4. Unique 5. Passion 6. Debate 7. Startling 8. Impressive 9. Extraordinary 10. Magnificent 11. Committed 12. Closeness 13. Compelling 14. Creative 15. Mindful 16. Divin- 17. Noble 18. Encourage Understanding 19. Sensible 20. Sensitiv- 21. Reputation 22. Persua-

	<div>23. Epic</div> <div>24. Insight</div> <div>25. Exceptional</div> <div>26. Striking</div> <div>27. The Best</div> <div>28. Clarity</div> <div>29. Command Attention</div>
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